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BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

VOLUME THE FIRST.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

K British Biography

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's HISTORICAL and CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION,

With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of new LIVES;

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. and F.S.A.

With the Assistance of other Gentlemen.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXVIII.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE,

A NOBLEMAN

OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED EMINENCE

IN HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE,

A ZEALOUS ENCOURAGER OF SUCH KNOWLEDGE,

AND THE EARLIEST PATRON OF

THE PRESENT EDITION OF THIS WORK,

THE FIRST VOLUME OF IT

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH THE GREATEST GRATITUDE

AND RESPECT,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBLIGED, AND

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

MAY 1, 1778.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE advantages which learning has received, from the invention of Printing, are doubtleſs very great: but by extending the dominion of knowledge ſo much beyond its former limits, there was a neceſſity introduced of compiling ſuch general collections, as are now frequent under the names of BIBLIOTHECS, LEXICONS, DICTIONARIES, *&c.* We do not mean for the bare interpretation of words, for ſuch were always common; but for the explanation of things, of which, indeed, there want not ſome examples among the *Antients*, but none that bear a very near reſemblance to thoſe in uſe among the *Moderns*. For the ſtate of literature in different ages makes different methods, and different inſtruments, requiſite for its attainment, in contriving of which, able men become great benefactors to the Republic of Letters.

By degrees, however, the number of books of this ſort have increaſed to ſuch a height, as to be in danger of loſing their utility; which evil was no ſooner perceived, than ſome active and induſtrious men endeavoured to correct it, by applying the ſame remedy, in reſpect to theſe collections, which their authors pretended to have uſed, with regard to the multitude of books written on the ſubjects their collections referred to. Thus, inſtead of *Geographical*, *Poetical*, or *Hiſtorical* Dictionaries, ſeparately; they ſtudied to give us all theſe in ONE. A great and uſeful deſign indeed, but much more eaſily conceived than executed; and the bare attempting to execute it, brought in a new kind of writing on this ſubject: for beſides *Hiſtorical*, which is become a very extenſive term, we very ſoon found, that, in the opinion of the learned, *Critical Dictionaries* were alſo neceſſary.

We have already of each, and of all theſe kinds in our language, either originals or tranſlations, and yet we preſume to hope for the favour of the public, in regard to a new work of this ſort, which we now preſent to the world, as in ſome meaſure more perfect than any hitherto publiſhed; the ſeeming boldneſs of which expreſſion will be taken off, if the reader conſiders, that it is the only reaſonable motive which could induce *us* to undertake, or *him* to approve, it. But as we cannot expect to be believed upon a bare aſſertion, we ſhall in this Preface, give a ſuccinct account of the origin, improvements, and cenſures of Hiſtorical Dictionaries, in order to ſhew on what grounds we judged this work to be neceſſary. We ſhall next explain the nature of this deſign, and thereby render it evident, that it differs from, and comprehends more, than any of this kind extant: And laſtly, we will take the liberty of pointing out ſome of the uſes to which it may be applied, and from whence it will appear highly requiſite and uſeful to the ſtudy of Britiſh Hiſtory.

I. The firſt Hiſtorical Dictionary, or rather the firſt attempt in that way, was the work of our learned and induſtrious countryman NICHOLAS LLOYD (*a*), Fellow of Wadham-college in Oxford, who ſpent thirty years in compiling it. Some indeed conſider GESNER's (*b*) work in this light, and conſequently the abridgments of it; and others the Dictionary of CHARLES STEPHENS, from the materials collected by ROBERT STEPHENS his father (*c*). But whoever conſiders and compares the work of Mr. LLOYD with theſe, will ſee it is a very different thing, and built upon a much broader foundation. To ſay the truth, if we regard the author's intention, we ſhall find this a very perfect and excellent work, and when we call it an attempt, we mean no more, than that the author confined his views to a part only, of what has been ſince conſidered as the ſubject of an Hiſtorical Dictionary; and not at all as an inſinuation of his not coming up to what he promiſed; for it had been happy, as well for the public as for themſelves, if thoſe who extended his plan had ſucceeded as well.

(*a*) The title of his book was, *Dictionarium Hiſtoricum, Geographicum, Poeticum, Gentium, Hominum, Deorum, Gentilitium, Regionum, Inſularum, Locorum, Civitatum, &c. ad Sacras & Profanas Hiſtorias Poetarumque fabulas intelligendas neceſſaria, Nomina, quo decet ordine, Complectens & Illuſtrans, &c.* Oxon. fol. 1670. It was printed again with great additions at London, 1686, folio.

(*b*) The title of Geſner's book was, *Bibliotheca Univerſalis, ſive Catalogus omnium Scriptorum locupletiſſimus, &c.* Tiguri 1545, in folio. Abridged by Lycoſthenes, Simler, and Friſius.

(*c*) Publiſhed in 1596, in *4to.* afterwards in 1621, 1628, 1633.

We ſtand indebted for the ſcheme of an *Hiſtorical Dictionary*, in its utmoſt extent, to a French Eccleſiaſtic, LEWIS MORERI, who formed it before he was twenty-five years of age, and executed it before he was thirty (*d*). The public has certainly great obligations to him on this account, and though he has been cenſured ſeverely for *daring* beyond his *ſtrength*, yet his name will live as long as his book, which is ſtill in great vigour, and perhaps after all, he has been blamed with very little reaſon. As ſoon as he had taken orders, he was ſent to Lyons, with directions to preach on the points controverted between Papiſts and Proteſtants; and finding that this required an extenſive knowledge of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, he compoſed for his private uſe a Common-Place Book, which at the inſtance of his friends he ranged in alphabetic order, and ſent it abroad in one volume in folio, in 1674, with the title of *An Hiſtorical Dictionary*, or *a Miſcellany of Sacred and Prophane Learning*.

(*d*) See the Preface to the Baſle edition of 1731.

It will immediately occur to the candid and ingenuous reader, that there was nothing of vanity or ſelf-conceit in this proceeding. The method he took was very agreeable to his purpoſe, and when converted into a Dictionary, if it proved defective, he was amongſt the firſt who diſcovered and became ſenſible of its defects. He thought himſelf obliged alſo to remove them, and his application to this was ſo aſſiduous, that it brought him into a kind of decay, which wore him away gradually, ſo that he died while his book was printing a ſecond time (*e*), with the addition of another volume, which however appeared in 1681, by the care of the Sieur Perayre, who was Under-Secretary to M. Pompone, Miniſter of State, with whom Moreri had alſo lived ſome time as his Chaplain, but quitted his houſe, that he might attend more cloſely to his Dictionary.

(*e*) P. Niceron Memoires pour ſervir a la Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, Tom. xxvii. p. 308.

If we were to judge univerſally of the value of works by the number of impreſſions, there are very few that will ſtand in rank ſuperior to this of Moreri, as may be diſcerned by the following account of its editions. I. At Lyons, 1674, in folio. II. At Paris, (though begun at Lyons) by the Sieur Perayre, and dedicated by him to the King, in two volumes, 1681. III. At Paris, printed exactly from the ſecond, 1683, in two volumes. IV. At Paris, 1687, in two volumes. V. At Lyons, 1688, in two volumes, with ſome additional articles. VI. At Amſterdam, 1691, by the celebrated M. le Clerc, in four volumes, taking in the Supplement printed at Paris as a third volume, in 1689. VII. At Amſterdam, nearly a copy of the former, 1694, in four volumes. VIII. At Amſterdam, without any conſiderable alterations, 1698. IX. At Paris, by the care of M. Vaultier, 1699, in four volumes. X. At Amſterdam, by the care of M. le Clerc, 1702, in four volumes. XI. At Paris, by M. Vaultier, with large augmentations, 1704, in four volumes. XII. At Paris, by the ſame editor, 1707, in four volumes. XIII. At Paris, by the care of M. du Pin, 1712, in five volumes. In 1714, they printed a Supplement in one large volume at Paris, and in 1716, by the care of M. Bernard, at Amſterdam, a Supplement in two volumes, folio. XIV. At Paris, 1718, in five volumes. XV. At Paris, by the care of ſeveral eminent perſons, 1724, in ſix volumes. XVI. At Baſle in Switzerland, 1731, in ſix volumes. XVII. At Paris, 1732, in ſix volumes. XVIII. At Amſterdam, 1740, in eight volumes.

This was tranſlated into Engliſh in 1694, but very indifferently. It was ſent abroad again by Mr. Jeremy Collier, and to this there have been ſeveral Supplements added. It has been alſo tranſlated into German more than once, and into Low-Dutch, but whether the Sclavonian verſion, which was intended by the late Czar Peter I. who employed ſeveral learned perſons therein, was ever finiſhed, is uncertain; nor can we aſſert, whether the Italian tranſlation, for which Propoſals were publiſhed in 1728, ever appeared or not. We may judge, however, from hence, how well the learned world in general was pleaſed with the deſign of this work, how little ſoever ſome critics might be ſatisfied with the execution. The form was the object of cenſure, not the matter; and it was this general approbation, which excited ſo many learned perſons to contribute their endeavours to carry it to the higheſt degree of perfection, an honour that would never have been beſtowed, but upon what was highly valuable in its nature.

Yet this vaſt ſucceſs, inſtead of defending the Hiſtorical Dictionary from, ſeems to have drawn upon it, the reſentment of the critics. The name of the *Dictionaire Bourgeois*, or the *Dictionary of the Vulgar* (*f*), was given at once by way of character and contempt. M. Menage is ſaid to have declared, *he would never read it becauſe it abounded with faults, and if he once got them into his head he ſhould*,

(*f*) *Melanges de Hiſtoire & de Litterature par Vigneul-Marville*, Paris, 1725, Vol. i. p. 365.

ſhould not eaſily get them out again (g). He was a man of good ſenſe and great learning, and therefore this deciſion of his has been greatly applauded. But might not one aſk without offence, How he came to know that there were abundance of faults in the book without reading it? or whether he could have acquired a tenth part of his learning, if he had conſtantly adhered to this rule, and read no books that were ſaid to have faults in them. M. le Clerc (*h*) was a fairer judge: he aſſerted that there were many faults in Moreri's Dictionary, he owned that it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, he pointed out the principal ſources of thoſe errors, and afterwards, according to thoſe rules, he corrected the book.

(*g*) Menagiana, p. 27, 28. Tom. i. Amſterdam, 1713.

(*h*) Parrhaſiana, Vol. i. p. 396, *& ſeq.*

But when the judgments of the learned and unlearned had been ſufficiently exerciſed upon this ſubject, a great genius undertook to examine it, and promiſed to place it in its true light, by compiling a Dictionary of faults, in which all the miſtakes in Moreri's great work ſhould be corrected as well as expoſed. The public however thought, and that very juſtly, it was much too mean an employment for Mr. Bayle, to compoſe a kind of table of the *errata* in Moreri's Dictionary, and therefore expreſſed a deſire, that he would rather give them ſomething of that kind which was entirely his own. He acquieſced in this deciſion, and in 1697, publiſhed his *Hiſtorical* and *Critical* Dictionary, which was received with general approbation by the beſt judges. In the execution of this work, he judged it requiſite to give a plain, clear, ſuccinct detail of facts in the text, and to illuſtrate this by a body of notes, which might ſerve by way of commentary, and give the reader ſatisfaction in thoſe points, that in the text were but barely mentioned, and yet deſerved a particular diſcuſſion.

This method of Bayle's was indubitably a great advantage, and this advantage in the hands of a man of extenſive learning, lively imagination, and happy expreſſion, appeared with all its luſtre. Our language was ſoon enriched with this treaſure, and though the verſion had no very high reputation, yet the excellence of the original gave it ſuch weight, that in a ſhort time the price became exceſſive, and we have ſince ſeen the greateſt eagerneſs in its favour expreſſed by the public, when that work was again tranſlated. By this we may learn with certainty, that the method and expreſſion of Mr. Bayle were as much calculated to inſtruct and to pleaſe, as the deſign of Moreri; and that, by joining theſe, an author might hope to render an Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary perfect; provided ſuch a plan was laid down, as there was a reaſonable proſpect of filling up from authentic materials. This was the rock that Moreri and moſt of his editors ſplit upon. They were for augmenting the number of their articles at all events, though the public complained that many of their articles already were too ſhort, void of authorities, unintereſting, and from theſe faults, altogether inſipid and unpleaſant: whereas Mr. Bayle, confining himſelf to ſuch articles only as he knew were either in themſelves, or could be made by him, entertaining to every reader, left it in the power of none to charge him with haſte, want of judgment, or inaccuracy.

It is not at all difficult, from the conſideration of theſe particulars, to diſcern the cauſes, why notwithſtanding all the pains taken about theſe noble and valuable works, they are both incomplete, and, which is worſe, are likely to remain ſo; every new edition of MORERI, with an increaſe of articles bringing an augmentation of errors, which, as M. LE CLERC long ago very judiciouſly obſerved, is an evil not to be cured, but by the joint labours of learned and induſtrious men in ſeveral countries, ſupported by a royal purſe. The Dutch bookſellers, after the deceaſe of Mr. Bayle, had a project for augmenting his performance, by procuring from the learned in different parts of Europe, ſelect articles for that purpoſe; but it does not appear that they have met with ſucceſs; or if they had, we have reaſon to believe, it would have turned rather to *their* profit than the advantage of the public, by ſwelling the bulk of that work, and leaving it ſtill incomplete, which, though ſatisfactory enough to *them*, would ſcarcely pleaſe any body elſe.

But after all, may not ſome method be found, without having recourſe to theſe direct Supplements to MORERI or BAYLE, of compaſſing by degrees, what, by the univerſal voice of the learned world, is declared to be ſo much wanting? Is it not both very poſſible and very practicable, to compile, in the method of Mr. BAYLE, in the ſeveral countries of Europe, complete Bodies of the *Perſonal Hiſtories* of the great and eminent perſons that have flouriſhed in them? Would not ſuch DICTIONARIES as theſe be, from the nature of this plan, in a great meaſure exempt from thoſe inconveniences, which made both M. LE CLERC,

and Mr. BAYLE, deſpair of ſeeing any thing of this kind perfect? Would not the BRITISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, GERMAN, and DUTCH BIOGRAPHIES, compoſe a body of this ſort of Hiſtory, abundantly more correct, and infinitely more uſeful, than any thing that hitherto has, or is hereafter likely to appear, under the form of SUPPLEMENTS to this or that DICTIONARY, undertaken either by one or more learned men in the ſame country, where they muſt be under inſuperable difficulties, both as to the procuring and judging of their materials? And will not ſome honour ariſe, ſome proportion of glory be due to the country, where this deſign, ſo uſeful to learning in general, as well as ſo beneficial to that country itſelf, ſhall be firſt ſet on foot?

II. It was with this view, that the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA was undertaken: it was in order to collect into one Body, without any reſtriction of time or place, profeſſion or condition, the memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen as have been eminent, and by their performances of any kind deſerve to be remembered. We judged that this would be a moſt uſeful ſervice to the Public, a kind of general MONUMENT erected to the moſt deſerving of all ages, an expreſſion of gratitude due to their ſervices, and the moſt probable means of exciting, in ſucceeding times, a ſpirit of emulation, which might prompt men to an imitation of their virtues. This was the firſt and great motive to the attempting ſuch a collection, towards which, indeed, we ſaw there were conſiderable materials ready prepared, though no ſign of any ſuch building's being ever traced, or that there had ever been a thought, either as to the expediency or poſſibility of erecting ſuch a ſtructure; a BRITISH TEMPLE OF HONOUR, ſacred to the piety, learning, valour, public-ſpirit, loyalty, and every other glorious virtue of our anceſtors, and ready alſo for the reception of the WORTHIES of our OWN TIME, and the HEROES of POSTERITY.

We very ſoon ſaw and were apprized of the difficulty of our taſk, and of the ſkill as well as labour neceſſary towards performing it with any degree of elegance and exactneſs. We ſaw that multitudes of Lives were already written, in different manners and from different motives, which varied widely as to almoſt all the facts that are common to them, and which would not admit of any reconciliation. We ſaw that general characters, high-flown panegyricks, or outrageous ſatires, had very frequently appeared under the appellation of Lives, without any regular ſeries of facts, with little or no reſpect to dates, and digeſted rather according to the whim and fancy of the writer, than in obedience to the laws which reaſon, and the practice of the beſt authors have eſtabliſhed, in reference to this kind of writing. We ſaw that moſt general Collections were too ſhort, and that many particular Lives were too prolix, that ſome were trifling, others tedious, and very many ſo careleſsly and incorrectly written, as to be of very little, if of any, ſervice, towards ſuch a work as we propoſed.

But the conſideration of theſe obſtacles, inſtead of diſmaying us, made us the more reſolute. We were far from being inſenſible of the pains we were to take; but at the ſame time, the neceſſity of undertaking them grew more and more apparent: we foreſaw that patience and induſtry were requiſite to ſecure ſucceſs in ſuch a deſign; but we ſaw too, that if this work was long delayed, neither patience nor induſtry would be able to accompliſh it. In this ſituation, the firſt thing to be conſidered was METHOD, and in reſpect to this we were determined to that of BAYLE; not from a blind and ſuperſtitious regard to the veneration the learned world have for his memory, and the high eſteem they profeſs for his excellent performance in this way, but becauſe it appeared to us the moſt natural, eaſy, and comprehenſive, the beſt adapted to our purpoſe, and the moſt likely to give our readers ſatisfaction, and not at all the worſe for his having invented, uſed, and thereby recommended it to the approbation of the learned.

The next thing that claimed our attention was the materials ready prepared, that is to ſay, the Collections already in the hands of the public: of the true value of which, it was neceſſary to form a right idea, to ſelect from them whatever was conducive to our deſign, and carefully to avoid their errors, at the ſame time that we preſerved their excellencies. We were thoroughly ſatisfied, that if we failed in theſe particulars, the public would not heſitate at doing them juſtice at our expence; and, therefore, we were extremely nice in our ſcrutiny; and, as the general remarks we made on this ſubject, in an advertiſement formerly prefixed to the firſt volume, have been very well received by the ableſt judges, we flatter ourſelves, that what we now offer more at large upon the ſame head, will not be diſ-

agreeable,

agreeable, as it leads to ſhew, as well the uſes and value of each of theſe Collections, as the reaſonableneſs, and even the neceſſity of embodying, as we have done, the ſubſtance of theſe ſeparate Collections, with many new Lives, which entered into none of them, in the performance now offered to the world.

We muſt begin (though the work was never publiſhed, and there are but very few MS. copies extant) with the Catalogue compoſed by JOHN BOSTON (*i*), a Benedictine Monk of the famous monaſtery of St. Edmond's-Bury in Suffolk, in the reign of Henry IV. (not Henry VI., as by the miſtake of the Printer it ſtands in the learned Dr. Gale's (*k*) Preface) who viſited all the abbies in England, examined their libraries, made an Alphabetical Catalogue of the books they contained, noted the firſt lines, gave a ſuccinct account of the authors, and a ſhort cenſure of their writings, grounded on other mens judgments as well as his own, and very accurately marked in what libraries they were to be met with (*l*). He it was who gave the firſt example of that method, which ſucceeding writers purſued: but if we may venture to judge from another work of his, not altogether unlike this in its kind (*m*), he was a more exact, and more conſiderate author, than moſt who have followed him, and therefore we have the more reaſon to complain, that ſo uſeful and curious a treatiſe is ſtill with-held from the Public.

(*i*) The title of this treatiſe was, *Catalogus Scriptorum Eccleſiæ.*

(*k*) In Præfat. ad XV. Script.

(*l*) Bal. de Script. p. 541. Pits, p. 593.

(*m*) His *Speculum Cœnobitarum*, publiſhed by Anthony Hall, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Trivet's Annals.

Upon this plan, the celebrated JOHN LELAND, one of the moſt able, and, beyond compariſon, the moſt induſtrious of our Antiquaries, compoſed his admirable *Commentaries of Britiſh Writers*, in four books, which of all the numerous, I had almoſt ſaid numberleſs works, which for his country's honour he undertook, was by him left moſt perfect. As it now appears, we do not diſcern the diſtinction of books mentioned by various writers, but undoubtedly it is the ſame work they mention, and one of the moſt valuable extant (*n*). In it our author gives us a Literary Hiſtory of Britain, from the times of the Druids, to the cloſe of the XVth century, with his cenſure of the authors, and ſhort catalogues, written with much learning, and no leſs modeſty. He was Library-Keeper to King Henry VIII., and had from him a licence to examine the libraries of all religious houſes in England, for which purpoſe he took many long and weary journies, purely to collect matter for this, and ſeveral other pieces relating to our Hiſtory and Antiquities, which, had he lived to finiſh, he would have left little for others. But alas! he was firſt prevented by a phrenſy, and before he was perfectly reſtored to his ſenſes, was taken off by death, April 18, 1552 (*o*), to the irreparable loſs of his country, and of the learned world.

(*n*) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Auctore J. Leland, Londinate.* Oxon. 1709, 8*vo.* 2 Vol.

(*o*) Bal. de Script. p. 672.

JOHN BALE, a native of Suffolk, and ſome time Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, was the next who undertook a work of this nature. The firſt edition, printed moſt part of it at Ipſwich, he publiſhed in 1549 (*p*), ſome years before Leland died, whoſe work he mentions in his Preface, and tells his readers that it was earneſtly expected, but it does not appear he had then ſeen it, and from ſome other of his writings, it is evident he had not (*q*). But in his exile on account of religion, he had leiſure to review and augment this work, which came out at Baſil, A. D. 1557, and again, A. D. 1559, in folio, and therein he acknowledges his having borrowed largely from Leland. It would have done great honour to his book, if he had either copied his author exactly, or had imitated his manner, and ſpoken of the authors he mentions with equal decency and temper. But from being a bigotted Papiſt, he became as violent a Proteſtant, and with great bitterneſs reflects upon moſt of thoſe from whom he differed in opinion, and ſuffers his paſſions to tranſport him frequently, not only beyond the bounds of modeſty, but truth. He goes above fifty years lower than Leland, and takes in a great many more authors, even within the compaſs of time common to them both: but he is not either ſo good a judge, or ſo exact a writer as the former. He is very apt to multiply books, and frequently converts the chapters of a book, into diſtinct treatiſes. He had many great helps and opportunities towards compleating his performance, and kept a very extenſive correſpondence for that purpoſe, which enabled him to add abundance of Scots and Iriſh Lives. He had in his own poſſeſſion a large treaſure of MSS. relating to our Hiſtory, and it muſt be owned, there are many things in his book that are not to be found elſewhere: but then he is hardly to be relied on, eſpecially where there is the leaſt room to ſuſpect he might be prejudiced: for there, as we ſhall in many inſtances ſhew, he had little or no command of himſelf, but allowed more to his temper than authorities; for he very ſeldom produces any voucher for what he ſays, though ſometimes he could hardly expect to be believed without it. The very bad uſage he met with from Papiſts

(*p*) This firſt edition in 4*to*, bears *Weſel* in the title-page, but that, and ſome additions, were only printed there, for the book was printed the year before at *Ipſwich*, by *John Overton.*

(*q*) In his additions to the ſecond edition of a poem of Leland's publiſhed by him.

(as the reader may ſee at large in his article) in ſome meaſure may excuſe the man, but cannot at all operate in giving credit to his book.

The next author of this ſort in point of time is JOHN PITS, in every reſpect the oppoſite of JOHN BALE before mentioned (*r*). He was a Hampſhire man, deſcended from parents in no great circumſtances, his mother being ſiſter to the famous Dr. SANDERS. He was bred while a boy at Wincheſter ſchool, and removed from thence to Oxford, where, after ſtudying two years, he imbibed Popiſh opinions, fled over to Flanders, reſumed his ſtudies at Douay, travelled from thence to Rome, and after receiving Prieſt's orders there, went to France: but troubles ariſing there, he withdrew into Lorrain, thence he went to Ingoldſtadt in Bavaria, where he received his Doctor's degree: after this he returned a ſecond time into Lorrain, and ſoon after left it, to go in quality of Confeſſor to the court of the Dutcheſs of Cleves; and, upon her deceaſe, he returned a third time into Lorrain, where he obtained a Deanery, in poſſeſſion of which he died about 1616 (*s*). It is evident from this account of his life, that he could not be very well qualified for the work he undertook, and indeed he has executed it very indifferently. He commends LELAND's performance highly, which, except as it is involved in BALE's book, he never ſaw, in the judgment of friends and foes (*t*). He abuſes BALE plentifully, whoſe work with all its imperfections he copies, and has added to them a multitude of faults of his own making. He brings down his account to 1614, when he finiſhed his book, which however was not publiſhed till 1619, after the author's death; and one reaſon, we are told, for making it public, was to bring BALE's book into diſuſe, by ſupplying the Romaniſts with another work of the ſame nature: and very probably, the preſerving the memories of the exiles of that Church, might be another motive to the rendering it public, which, for its merits in other reſpects, it could ſcarcely have deſerved.

(*r*) His title-page repreſents this Work as a firſt volume only, but nothing farther was ever publiſhed.

(*s*) De Illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 816, 817.

(*t*) See Biſhop Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 156.

We have a very comprehenſive Catalogue of the SCOTS writers, drawn up by THOMAS DEMPSTER of Mureſk (*u*), an itinerant Profeſſor of the *Belles Lettres*, who, after viſiting different parts of Europe, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth at Paris and other places, retired at laſt into Italy, where he compoſed his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of the *Scots Nation*, which however is really no more than a haſty Catalogue of Authors, a very ſuperficial account of their lives, and a very imperfect and incorrect detail of their writings. He was undoubtedly very zealous for the honour of his country, which prompted him to give a place in his Catalogue, to many that had no title to it from their writings. He alſo made no ſcruple of borrowing great men from other countries, to make his Collection the more illuſtrious; thus, St. ALBAN, Venerable BEDE, and Pope ADRIAN IV., were all *Scots* (*w*), if we truſt to his book. It is this vain humour of his, that has contributed more than any thing elſe to ſink the credit of his performance, which, in other reſpects, is little inferior to BALE's, and much ſuperior to PITS's, for DEMPSTER was truly a man of learning, and, with regard to the Lives of his contemporaries, it ſeems to be a faithful, though not a judicious, Collection. He was a furious Papiſt, lived an exile for his religion, and therefore we may be ſure, he beſtows no very good character on Proteſtant authors. Yet his love for his country ſomewhat qualifies this; and perhaps his book might have been more perfect, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to it, or if it had been ſo much as publiſhed by one of his countrymen: but it had not this good fortune: it was printed at Bononia in 1627, about two years after DEMPSTER's death, by one very affectionate to his memory, but an indifferent editor for all that.

(*u*) His title is *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Gentis Scotorum*, 4*to*.

(*w*) Hiſt. Ec. Gent. Scot. p. 23. 69. 34.

The learned in *Ireland* have been more fortunate in an Hiſtorian, than either thoſe of England or Scotland: for Sir JAMES WARE (*x*), a man of ſolid abilities, extenſive knowledge, and indefatigable induſtry, one who had taken vaſt pains in other reſpects, in preſerving and putting into order the Hiſtory of his country, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, as alſo its Antiquities, reſolved to extend his care likewiſe to its writers, of whom he publiſhed a very accurate account in 1639, divided into *two* parts, the *firſt* containing the natives, the *ſecond* ſuch learned perſons as though born in other countries, were beneficed and paſſed their days in that iſland. This work has no imperfections, but ſuch as were unavoidable at the time in which it was compoſed, and the worthy author ſpared no labour to correct moſt of theſe in a ſecond edition, which he was actually preparing for the preſs at the time of his deceaſe, in 1666. The world, however, has not been deprived of the great improvements made by him on this ſubject, the contents of which appear to advantage, in the third volume of the *Engliſh* tranſlation of his Works, very lately publiſhed,

(*x*) *De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ, lib. ii. Prior continet Scriptores in Hibernia natos; Poſterior Scriptores alios, qui in Hibernia Munera aliqua obierunt*, Dublinii 1639, 4*to*.

publiſhed *(y)*, and which altogether, fully juſtify the compliment paid him by Biſhop NICOLSON, who ſtiles him the CAMDEN *of Ireland (z)*. Had the works hitherto mentioned (LELAND's excepted) been penned like this, they would have been far more uſeful, and we ſhould have been better able to have relied upon them, which now we cannot do, where any other materials lie within our reach. But had theſe books been ever ſo well executed, it is evident they could have ſupplied us only with the Memoirs of Men of Letters, ſo that how uſeful ſoever they might have been in that reſpect, they could not be ſaid to bear any proportion to the advantages propoſed from a book of this kind, which not only comprehends the ſubſtance of all theſe performances, and continues their ſubjects, upon a more extenſive plan, down to our own times, but alſo takes in many other heads equally curious and uſeful, and much more agreeable and entertaining. But to proceed at preſent with the view of our materials.

(y) This Hiſtory of the Iriſh Writers makes the entire *third* volume of the Tranſlation of Sir *James Ware*'s Writings, by *Walter Harris*, Eſq; who has continued the Hiſtory to the preſent time.

(z) Iriſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 20.

We have no Collection, which, from its title and plan, promiſes ſo much as FULLER's, who undertook to give us the *Worthies of England:* but he is far from performing this: his Lives are in effect no more than ſhort characters, interſperſed now and then with remarkable ſtories, which are not always to be depended upon, and there is very little new in him: BALE, FOX, and STOWE, are his principal authors, from whom he takes plentifully in this, as well as in his *Church Hiſtory*. There are others who have paſſed harſher ſentences on his labours; but our buſineſs is not to decry thoſe who have gone before us, but barely to repreſent how far they are, or are not, helpful towards the filling up this deſign. Dr. FULLER's foundation was broad, but the ſuperſtructure is not anſwerable. We may ſay the ſame of his *Church Hiſtory*, and of his ABEL *Redivivus*, all of them proving him to be a fanciful, rather than a faithful, writer, very little concerned about dates or circumſtances; and, if one might be indulged for once in his manner of ſpeaking, rather deſirous of making his readers *merry* than *wiſe*. It may be alledged, however, that this was the humour of thoſe times, and that he erred with numbers, which, though an indifferent, is yet ſome excuſe.

As the taſte for this kind of knowledge improved, ſome abler, and more accurate writers began to appear; among whom we may reckon the *Oxford Antiquary* ANTHONY WOOD, who, after penning with great care and induſtry the *Hiſtory* and *Antiquities* of that famous *Univerſity*, undertook to give us the *Writers* alſo, for two centuries before, and the *Prelates* likewiſe who had been bred at *Oxford* within the ſame ſpace. Some have cenſured this work in very coarſe terms, and without queſtion it is far enough from being perfect: the ſpleen of the author diſcovers itſelf frequently, the compoſition is by no means elegant, and there is an unuſual bluntneſs and aſperity in the language. Yet, with all theſe defects, it is out of compariſon more uſeful and inſtructive than any thing that had appeared before. Authorities are here cited, which are abſolutely wanting in FULLER and LLOYD (another writer of Worthies); and though, from the Tranſcriber or Printer's faults, there are many miſtakes, yet here are dates, and the Lives are ranged in an eaſy and intelligible method; ſo that we may truly affirm, one half of the learned men of this part of the iſland, have their names, the capital particulars of their Lives, and a tolerable catalogue of their writings preſerved, for that period to which his Collections relate. It was once hoped, we ſhould have ſeen like attention ſhewn towards the learned men educated at *Cambridge*; and had the work been executed as it was deſigned, by the late reverend and excellent Mr. BAKER, it muſt have been a maſterly performance; ſince, with all the care and induſtry of WOOD, he had a fine genius, a piercing underſtanding, and wrote a correct ſtile, equally removed from the ſtarched ſetneſs of a ſententious writer, and from that luxuriancy of language that produces long and languid periods. But beſides all theſe, he had ſtill greater qualities, ſuch as calmneſs of mind, candour of heart, and a moſt unſuſpected integrity. We may juſtly therefore regret the loſs of ſuch a work, from ſuch a man; but as his Collections are ſtill preſerved, we may yet hope to ſee their contents by ſome lucky accident or other. In the mean time Mr. WARD's Lives of the *Profeſſors* in *Greſham-College*, may ſerve as a ſpecimen, how ſuch Collections ought to be formed, ſo as to ſtand out of the reach of cenſure.

We might extend theſe remarks much farther, but that in ſome reſpects it would be a needleſs, in others an unpleaſant taſk. The Lives of our POETS have been often, but never well, written: LANGBAIN is too conciſe, and his

follower, who pretends to have improved him, has much miſtaken his talent, and done very little honour to thoſe he has attempted to celebrate. We have very few memorials of PHYSICIANS, though ſcarcely any nation has produced better; and as to DIVINES, the greateſt part of their memoirs are rather funeral orations or panegyricks than narratives. Yet ſome ſingle Lives we have, of a moderate compaſs, admirably well written; as for inſtance, WALTON's Life of Sir HENRY WOTTON, SPRAT's Life of COWLEY, and the Life of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE by an intimate friend. Some great men have alſo left excellent materials, for repreſenting their own actions in a fair and true light, ſuch as the great Lord Treaſurer CECIL, the famous Chancellor CLARENDON, and the celebrated Earl of STRAFFORD.

Upon the whole it is very apparent, that hitherto there has nothing appeared of the ſame nature with our deſign. Some plans have been *too narrow*, as ſhutting out all Lives of action except by accident; others *too extended*, by taking in the remarkable perſons of other nations as well as our own: ſo that we have built upon nobody's foundation, and are at liberty to make the moſt we can of the ſcheme we have choſen. In the next place we readily confeſs, and have ſpent ſome time in giving evidence againſt ourſelves, that there is no want of materials, and that the blame muſt fall upon us, if they are not well put together. But granting we ſhould be ſo fortunate as to ſucceed, it may very well be demanded, of what ſingular uſe and advantage will this work be? What will it afford beyond our former helps? Why ſhould we add this to the many Dictionaries already publiſhed? To which we anſwer, that it will be of general advantage, that it will contribute vaſtly to facilitate the attainment of the moſt uſeful kind of knowledge, and that to make this more plainly appear, will deſerve ſome farther obſervations.

III. It is very evident from this view of the work, that the title of it will be exactly fulfilled, that is to ſay, it will be a complete *Body* of *Britiſh Biography*, and contain a much larger, and more methodical Collection of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than hitherto has ever appeared. In it the reader will find, not only our moſt famous Divines, and moſt eminent Scholars, with a clear and rational account of their works, but alſo the memoirs of our ableſt Stateſmen, our great Captains, our moſt illuſtrious Seamen, and our worthieſt Patriots: in ſhort, all who have rendered themſelves remarkable in public poſts, or deſerve to be remembered for their private virtues, and theſe too in all ages, from the earlieſt accounts our Hiſtorians contain, down to the preſent time; ſo that it will equally ſerve, to give us juſt notions of the merit of our remoteſt anceſtors, and of their poſterity. It will be of uſe alſo to ſucceeding times: for this Body of Lives being once in the hands of the Public, improvements will be continually made, and every man of genius, every perſon endowed with a generous and liberal ſpirit, will become more ſteady and more aſſiduous, as well as more eager in purſuit of knowledge and virtue, when he is ſenſible that his labours will not be buried in oblivion, but that whatever he glorioufly atchieves will be faithfully recorded.

But the bare ſetting down of facts and dates, though in itſelf highly uſeful, and of great importance to Hiſtory, is but half the merit of this work. For at the ſame time that the text is to the full as copious, and, by the exactneſs of the authorities, much more correct than the articles of MORERI, the notes make a perpetual commentary, in the manner of BAYLE, in which all doubtful points are examined, diſagreeing relations compared, and the truth, from thence, ſet in a clear light. By this means, abundance of hiſtorical paſſages that are ſcattered in works upon other ſubjects, in prefaces to books, or in looſe pamphlets, are ſecured from being overlooked, and brought into their proper places, of which many inſtances might be given, if their number did not, in ſome meaſure, render it unneceſſary. Thus, in the Life of Archbiſhop ABBOT, the reader will find many facts that relate to him, taken from authors very difficult to be met with, and extracts from ſome that are ſcarcely to be had at all, by which all our General Hiſtorians are corrected, and the whole of that Prelate's life and adminiſtration, is fairly and fully ſet forth to public view. In the article of Pope ADRIAN IV., our own and foreign writers are compared, and thereby ſeveral circumſtances rectified, as to which our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians were very widely miſtaken. The article of ALLEYN the Player is very curious, and contains a multitude of circumſtances, that, if they had not been drawn together for the uſe of this work, would never have appeared. Beſides, in ſeveral articles there have been inſerted

inſerted papers from the cloſets of the curious, that hitherto had not ſeen the light; as in the article of Dr. ANTHONY, the proceſs of his *Aurum Potabile* at large, which was formerly reputed a medicine of great value; and, in the article of BALES the Writing-Maſter, there is the famous Lineal Cypher, invented by the Marquis of Worceſter, which though mentioned by him in a work lately reprinted, yet the ſecret itſelf was firſt made public here.

We may from hence perceive, that it enables us to ſee the moſt material points in our Hiſtory, in all the ſeveral lights in which they have been placed by different authors, accompanied frequently with obſervations and remarks, that ſerve to explain and illuſtrate them, ſo as to clear up truth more effectually, than it was poſſible to do by any other method. As for inſtance; ARDEN's treaſon, of which our Hiſtorians ſpeak ſo variouſly and ſo doubtfully, is, under his article, ſhewn to have been a ſtate artifice of a great Miniſter, to whom this gentleman had given offence. The caſe of Archbiſhop ABBOT's killing the Keeper, is ſhewn in a different light from that in which it has been repreſented, either by friends or enemies; and it is plainly demonſtrated, that it had nothing to do with his laſt ſuſpenſion, though mentioned as the pretence for it, by ſome of our beſt Hiſtorians. The Character of Lord Chancellor BACON is vindicated from many calumnies, and his corruption as fairly ſtated from the beſt authorities. Many other inſtances might be given, even in the compaſs of the firſt volume; but theſe are abundantly ſufficient to prove the truth of this aſſertion, and to let the reader ſee, that never any work was better calculated to render our Hiſtory perfectly intelligible, to throw light even on the obſcureſt paſſages, and to ſet matters of fact, as well as the characters of particular perſons, in that point of view in which they ought to be conſidered, independently of the prejudices of times, and the preposſeſſions of many of our Hiſtorical Writers, who, from their being miſled by paſſion, or for want of proper lights, have either fallen ſhort of, or exceeded the truth.

By this means, the work before us becomes both a Supplement and a Key, not only to our General Hiſtories, but to particular Memoirs; ſo that by comparing the characters of great men, as drawn by particular pens, with their articles in this *Biographical Dictionary*, we ſee how far they are conſiſtent with, or repugnant to, truth. By it alſo we are enabled, where characters are omitted, to ſupply them, and to find diſtinct and particular relations of remarkable facts, which are barely mentioned, or but ſlightly deſcribed in other books. By it alſo we are enabled to recover or rectify dates, which are either omitted or miſtaken, if they have any relation to conſiderable perſons, as almoſt all memorable actions have: and whereas moſt Hiſtories drop even the greateſt men when no longer concerned in great affairs, we can here follow them in their retreats, and ſee how their private life agreed or diſagreed, with the maxims owned by them in their more active ſcenes of life. We can alſo trace, by this means, the beginnings of their greatneſs, and learn the ſteps by which they roſe to thoſe high poſts and employments, which gave them place in Hiſtory, and be thereby enabled to apprehend more fully, and underſtand more clearly, what is ſaid of them. We may add to this, that we have an opportunity likewiſe of ſeeing the families from which they roſe, or which are deſcended from them; ſo that we are able to connect our Antient with our Modern Hiſtory, and from thence to diſcover an infinite number of curious and uſeful circumſtances, which otherwiſe might eſcape our notice.

If, inſtead of conſidering it in this general manner, and in reſpect to the bulk of our Hiſtory, we examine it more cloſely, and reflect on the relation it bears to the particular branches of that ſtudy, we ſhall find it of no leſs utility. For example, as to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; Biſhop GODWIN has given us a very ſuccinct detail of the ſucceſſion of our Prelates in their reſpective Sees, and his work has been very accurately continued down to the preſent time. Yet even with reſpect to the moſt eminent men, theſe accounts are very ſhort, and in all other Catalogues they are ſtill ſhorter and leſs correct, ſo that frequently they raiſe our curioſity without ſatisfying it. But here we can immediately turn to the Lives of moſt of theſe Prelates, and take a view of their moſt conſiderable actions both before and after they were honoured with the mitre. We may ſay the ſame thing with reſpect to the Law, of which we have a like ſeries of ſucceſſions, but nothing more: whereas, in this work, almoſt all our Chancellors, our moſt diſtinguiſhed Judges, and many other eminent men of that honourable and learned profeſſion, have their memoirs preſerved, and their principal actions recorded. We may affirm the like of our Miniſters of State, the Generals of our armies, and

our Sea-officers, to which we may add, thoſe Orators who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in either Houſe of Parliament, where liberty of ſpeech, as it is an excellence in our Conſtitution, contributes alſo to render this work particularly valuable, by introducing into *Britiſh Biography*, characters that will ſcarcely be found in any foreign work of the ſame kind.

With reſpect to Men of Letters, we have been as careful as it was poſſible, and though we have not, as in ſome other Collections, preferred them to men who have paſſed their days in action, yet we have made it our ſtudy to repreſent their characters fairly and fully, and to gratify the reader with correct catalogues of their works. This we have done with reſpect to polite as well as grave writers, and have endeavoured to retrieve, as far as lay in our power, the memoirs of Philoſophers, Phyſicians, Mathematicians, Chemiſts, *&c.* that have not been hitherto taken notice of in this manner. We have likewiſe given a ſuccinct account of any diſputes or controverſies in which they were engaged; and where any opportunity offered, we have not failed to mention the ſubſtance of ſcarce treatiſes, and, where the ſubject required it, extracts from them, referring, at the ſame time, to the books, where farther ſatisfaction might be had on thoſe heads. Where works have been publiſhed without a name, or where authors have thought fit to make uſe of diſguiſed or fictitious appellations, we have given what light we could, and have ſupported what we ſay by proper authorities, agreeably to the deſign of making this a Critical as well as an Hiſtorical Dictionary. And with the ſame view we have ſometimes corrected the miſtakes of other writers, with as little prejudice as was poſſible to their reputation, being thoroughly ſenſible, that in many caſes thoſe miſtakes were involuntary, and, at the time they wrote, perhaps not to be avoided.

As to the Lives of the remarkable perſons that have flouriſhed in Scotland and Ireland, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that due care has been taken to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with the learned in both thoſe countries, which we hope will ſufficiently appear in the articles included in this work. We have alſo been very diligent in comparing, where it was practicable, hiſtorical facts with records, which is the only means of recovering and aſcertaining dates. We have likewiſe conſulted thoſe large collections of letters and papers publiſhed for fifty years paſt, and have had recourſe to ſeveral Collections that are not yet printed, by which means a multitude of uſeful and curious particulars have been brought to light, and very large chaſms, in Collections of this kind formerly made, have been filled up, to a degree, even beyond our expectations. The mention of this, leads us to make our acknowledgments to ſuch as have favoured us with theſe communications, and whoſe names are mentioned in the courſe of this work where it is requiſite, and where we were permitted to uſe that freedom.

The memoirs of ſuch of our countrymen as, either on account of their good or ill fortune, have ſpent the greateſt part of their days in foreign parts, have been collected with all the care and circumſpection poſſible, and no diligence has been wanting, to procure the beſt intelligence that could be had in ſuch caſes; and we hope it will appear, that many errors committed by foreign writers, in reſpect to ſuch perſons eſpecially, have been rectified. With the view of doing the greater juſtice in this particular, we have conſulted, as the reader will perceive by frequent citations from them, moſt of the Hiſtories of Popes, Cardinals, and Religious Orders, publiſhed abroad; as well as the memoirs of foreigners who have reſided in England, and ſuch as have inſerted particular parts of our Hiſtory in their works, not to mention the ſeveral foreign Dictionaries, in which, for the moſt part, Engliſh Lives are remarkably defective, and perſons of the ſame name are frequently confounded, which ſhews how much preferable our Plan is to one that might appear more general, but which, at the ſame time, muſt ſubject us unavoidably to the like miſtakes. Theſe obſervations ariſe naturally from the ſubject, and are moſt of them requiſite to do juſtice to our readers and to ourſelves, and to make it appear that a work of this importance has been conducted throughout with mature deliberation, and that being apprized of the many and great difficulties that lay in our way, we have not failed to uſe all the induſtry, and to employ all the ſkill that was in our power, to overcome and ſurmount them; not that we have the vanity to ſuppoſe we have been always ſucceſsful; but there is reaſon to hope for ſome indulgence from the public, when men have ſpared no pains or aſſiduity in its ſervice, which is all the excuſe we have or deſire to plead.

There

There are many other points relative to the ſeveral heads into which we have divided this Preface, that might have been examined, and would have contributed to prove the neceſſity as well as utility of a work like this; but we choſe rather to leave theſe to the reflection of the learned and judicious peruſer, than to expatiate too much on a ſubject, which we hope is already ſufficiently clear. For the principal motives to an undertaking right in itſelf, being once placed in a true light, ſuch as are well acquainted with the ſubject which they concern, eaſily enter into all their branches, and often penetrate farther than thoſe who laid them down; and we are willing to leave this in the reader's power, rather than fatigue him with a multitude of obſervations and remarks, which, however juſt, however pertinent in themſelves, become tedious and troubleſome when carried beyond their proper bounds. This we thought neceſſary to mention, that thoſe, who, in peruſing this diſcourſe, or the book to which it belongs, perceive many more advantages than are here pointed out, may not conceive they were wholly unknown or unattended to by us; but may rather be ſatisfied that we paſſed them by, to leave no room for the diſagreeable imputation, of having exhauſted a ſubject all lovers of Britiſh Hiſtory are ſo well verſed in, that with the greateſt eaſe they are capable of reaching its utmoſt receſſes, without the aſſiſtance of a guide. Something, on the appearance of a Collection like this, after ſo many which at firſt ſight ſeem of the ſame nature, it was abſolutely requiſite to ſay, in juſtice to ourſelves and to the public, which is enough to account for our prefixing this Preface; and the fear of diſpleaſing our judges by ſaying too much, and detaining them too long, is the proper apology for not extending it farther; and will, in the eyes of equitable Critics, excuſe us for not inſerting many things, that might otherwiſe be thought conſiderable omiſſions. In an age leſs learned, a longer Preface would have been not only tolerable but agreeable: but in this, when almoſt every reader enters into the method as well as matter of the books that come before him, it is enough to touch the principal heads of enquiry.

One thing, however, we muſt be permitted to mention before we can conclude; and that is, the care taken to bring all remarkable articles into our BIOGRAPHY at once, and under the ſame alphabet, ſo that the memorable facts throughout our whole Hiſtory, the diſputable points relating to Chronology, the circumſtances attending every event of importance, as well as the characters and actions of the perſons principally concerned in them, may be all readily found and repreſented to the reader, ſupported by proper evidence, and explained, by the compariſon of what has been advanced concerning them by different writers. To have left out articles of note, would have been unpardonable in an HISTORICAL, and to have treated ſuch articles ſuperficially, unworthy of a CRITICAL DICTIONARY. The fulfilling our Plan, after we were ſatisfied of its being approved by the PUBLIC, became our indiſpenſable duty, and to that we have conſtantly attended in the choice, and in the manner of treating our articles. If, therefore, they appear more numerous than might be expected, or the doing them juſtice requires a little more room than at firſt might be conceived requiſite, let it be conſidered, how far the reputation of our country, the honour of our anceſtors, the reſpect due to the memories of great men, and the vaſt importance of ſetting worthy examples before the eyes of poſterity, are concerned. When we reflect ſeriouſly upon this, and on the cruelty, we might even ſay impiety, of ſacrificing the glory of great characters to trivial circumſtances, and mere conveniency, it might juſtly be apprehended, that the world would rather reſent our timidity, if we ſhould diſtruſt their approbation of the liberty neceſſary to be taken in this reſpect, than cenſure us for doing at once, and in the eaſieſt and moſt effectual manner, what, ſome time or other, muſt have been done, if we had been too ſcrupulous in the performance of what we undertook. Architects are ſeldom cenſured for ſmall miſtakes in their eſtimates, if the ſtructure they propoſed to erect, be but uniform and complete. Beſides, a palace finiſhed at once, is always cheaper, as well as more beautiful, than when helped out by additional buildings, made neceſſary from the cramping of the firſt deſign.

We have now executed, in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, what we propoſed at the entrance of this Diſcourſe, and therefore have nothing to do more than to conclude it. We have ſhewn how theſe kind of *Dictionaries* came firſt into uſe, and why they were received with ſuch univerſal eagerneſs and avidity.

In giving the Hiſtory of MORERI's performance, we have explained the cauſes which hindered that work from being carried to perfection, even by the moſt able and learned men in *Europe:* in our account of Mr. BAYLE's deſign, we have deſcribed the manner in which he gave that ſuperior value to an undertaking of this ſort, and ſhewed how, inſtead of a *Library* for the *Ignorant*, it might be made the *Treaſure* of the *Learned:* we have pointed out the reaſons why it ſeems to be impoſſible, or at leaſt impracticable, ever to carry either of theſe works to the higheſt degree of perfection, by a mere addition of *Supplement* after *Supplement:* we have propoſed a new method of attaining this, and of giving the extent of MORERI's plan, and the accuracy of BAYLE's deſign, to one and the ſame work: laſtly, we offer to the Public this ſpecimen of the poſſibility of ſuch a performance; and ſhould they honour the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA with their approbation, it will very probably prove the means of exciting, in other countries, a deſire to erect the ſame kind of general monument, to the memory of deſerving perſons, which would effectually juſtify what we have laid down on that head, and furniſh a more complete *Body* of *Perſonal Hiſtory*, than, as yet, the world has ſeen, or ſo much as expected.

PRE-

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

EVERY judicious reader muſt be ſenſible, that it would be impoſſible to write a complete Preface to this Work till the whole of it ſhall be finiſhed. It is, however, neceſſary to ſay ſomething here as well with regard to the preſent deſign in general, as to ſeveral particular circumſtances, which require immediate notice. The deſign, as mentioned in the title-page, is to give a ſecond edition of the Biographia Britannica, with corrections, enlargements, and the addition of new lives. The new lives will form a very important part of this undertaking. It is apprehended that they will amount to more than three hundred articles; and it will be our endeavour, by having recourſe, as far as lies in our power, to the moſt original information, to render them peculiarly authentic. This is the caſe with thoſe which occur in the preſent volume. The aſſiſtance we have received is ſuch as reflects no ſmall honour upon us; and we truſt that it will encourage others to be ready in beſtowing a ſimilar aid. It is one advantage of our Work, that, as it is not confined to a narrow compaſs, we can fully avail ourſelves of the helps which may be afforded us. We can enter more largely into characters, facts, literary productions, and incidental queſtions than compendious Biographies; from the proper utility of which, however, we have no inclination to detract. In the writing of new lives, we do not include thoſe only that have been determined ſince the publication of the firſt edition, but ſeveral names which might, and, indeed, ought to have had a place in that edition. The ſelection of theſe names, ſo as to eſcape the charge of omiſſion or ſuperfluity, will be a taſk of ſuch difficulty, as to require the candid allowance of our readers for the unavoidable differences of taſte and judgment.

The additions to the former articles will be numerous, and, in ſome caſes, of conſiderable extent. Thoſe to ADDISON and Lord BACON, in the preſent volume, are particularly large. In the additions to ADDISON, there is an important and curious paper relative to that great man's quarrel with Mr. Pope; for which we are indebted to a moſt eminent and reſpectable perſon, who hath not indulged us with the liberty of mentioning his name. The enlargements conſiſt either of new circumſtances in the lives of celebrated men, or of farther extracts and remarks with regard to their characters, works, and actions. The additional matter is, for the moſt part, inſerted at the end of each article.

As to a number of corrections which have already occurred, or will hereafter occur, in the courſe of the undertaking, it would be needleſs to point them out diſtinctly. It is ſufficient to rectify in ſilence any little inaccuracies of language or ſentiment, or any ſlight miſtakes in dates and facts, which will almoſt unavoidably take place in ſo voluminous a publication. We have exerted ourſelves, in this reſpect, with conſiderable attention; and the inſtances in which we have made the ſmaller neceſſary alterations, would appear, if carefully examined, to be very numerous. But we do not wiſh to be underſtood as having performed more than we have actually done. We do not pretend to write this great work over again, or, where there is no apparent cauſe for doubt or ſuſpicion, to re-examine every fact. This would be an endleſs, as well as a needleſs taſk. Where the writers who preceded us, and who were men of diſtinguiſhed hiſtorical knowledge, had all the materials before them which we could have, and plainly exerted great ability, impartiality, and diligence in making uſe of theſe materials, there could be no call upon us to diſpute the truth of their narrations, or the fidelity of their references. Whatever articles

ſhall be found to have been drawn up with any deficiency of care and attention, muſt have a proportionable liberty taken with them; and we are afraid that this part of our employment will be increaſed, when we come towards the latter end of the work. It is to be regretted that Dr. Campbell ceaſed to write, after the cloſe of the fourth volume. The Supplement, in particular, was ſo haſty and imperfect a performance, that, excepting in a few inſtances, we purpoſe to cancel it entirely. Accordingly, in the preſent volume, we have given new lives of ABERNETHY and ARBUTHNOT. In that of ABERNETHY, beſides its being capable of improvement in other reſpects, we were furniſhed, by the Rev. Mr. Joſiah Thompſon, of St. Mary Axe, with ſome curious eccleſiaſtical information concerning the Preſbyterians in Ireland, and the ſteps which were taken, previous to the obtaining of the Act of Toleration in that country. The account of Dr. Arbuthnot, in the Supplement, was tranſcribed, almoſt verbatim, from the memoirs of him prefixed to the two little volumes of what are called his Miſcellanies. This, as the compoſition ought to be our own, would of itſelf have been a ſufficient reaſon for writing a freſh life of the Doctor, even if we had not otherwiſe been enabled to render it more perfect.

In a work drawn up by various perſons, it is not eaſy for them always to concur in the ſame views of things. There are ſeveral inſtances in which we do not agree with the ſentiments advanced, and the repreſentations given, by our learned predeceſſors; and yet, where they were not merely incidental modes of expreſſion, of no ſignificance to the main article, it would have been improper to ſtrike out, or new model what they had ſaid. It would have been depriving them of that right which they undoubtedly had to ſtate facts according to their own ideas: in theſe caſes, therefore, we have taken the liberty, in ſubſequent notes, of declaring our difference of opinion, with the reaſons on which that difference is founded.

A few articles, in the firſt volume of the Biographia, were of ſo little comparative importance, that they might, perhaps, originally have been ſpared. But, as they take up a very ſmall ſpace, and ſome perſons may wiſh to have them retained, we have preſerved them in the preſent edition. There is only one inſtance wherein we have omitted an article, which is that of ATHERTON. This man had not the leaſt claim, from his abilities or public actions, to a place in the work. The ſtory of him is ſhocking and indelicate, and told in a manner extremely diſagreeable. Doubts, likewiſe, have lately been ſuggeſted concerning part of the facts related of him. On theſe accounts, we were happy to find that our own inclination, of dropping him entirely, was confirmed by the opinion of ſeveral gentlemen, diſtinguiſhed for their learning and judgment.

It is proper to take notice, that we have changed the ſignatures at the end of the lives, and have placed, in their ſtead, the initial letters of the real names of each of the authors, ſo far as they have come to our knowledge. The articles formerly marked T, were drawn up by Mr. Broughton, and thoſe ſigned G and R, by Mr. Oldys. The ſignatures of Dr. Campbell were E and X, that of Mr. Morant C, and that of Dr. Nicolls P. We know not who was the writer of the lives, in this volume, which have the letter D annexed to them; and, therefore, we have let that letter ſtand as before.

With reſpect to the aſſiſtance we have received, we are not yet able to do full juſtice to our benefactors. Many of them will be ſpecified in the courſe of the ſeveral Articles to which their communications belong. Other names, to whom we have already been obliged, will hereafter be enumerated. Among thoſe whoſe favours are not confined to a ſingle Article, we have the honour of mentioning the noble and learned Peer, to whom the preſent Volume is inſcribed. Sir William Muſgrave hath permitted us to make uſe of the curious Collection of Anecdotes and Memoranda, which was of ſuch ſignal benefit to the late ingenious and worthy Mr. Granger, in compiling his Biographical Hiſtory of England. Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; hath communicated a number of MSS., corrections and additions, which were made, by Mr. Humphrey Wanley, to Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes. To Dr. Percy, beſides his own valuable aſſiſtances, which will be acknowledged in their proper places, we are indebted, for directing us to the purchaſe of a large and uſeful body of Biographical materials, left by Mr. Oldys. To Dr. Hunter, the Rev. Dr. Douglas, Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne, the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Reed of Staples Inn, Robert Dingley, Eſq; J. C. Brooke, Eſq; of the Herald's College, and Richard Gough, Eſq; we ſtand obliged on various accounts. But our moſt

particular

particular acknowledgments are due to Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart. one of the Lords of Seſſion and of Juſticiary in Scotland. This gentleman, whoſe accurate and extenſive acquaintance with Britiſh Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Biography, requires no encomium, hath favoured us with a ſeries of obſervations, reaching through ſeveral volumes of our Work; and which have enabled us to correct and improve it in various important reſpects. Such auſpicious beginnings encourage us to hope for the aſſiſtance of other intelligent and learned men; and, indeed, we already know, that we ſhall hereafter be enabled to enlarge the liſt of our benefactors.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to inform our readers, that we have endeavoured to avail ourſelves of the many hiſtorical and miſcellaneous productions which have appeared ſince the firſt publication of the Biographia Britannica. This will be evident in the courſe of the undertaking. We always produce our authorities; and it is a rule with us, never to refer to a book which we have not ſeen. If any facts be derived from ſecondary information, we have cited the authors alone from whom they are taken.

From the Article of Mr. THOMAS BAKER it will be evident, that, as occaſion calls for it, we ſhall not neglect an application to our two juſtly celebrated Univerſities. To theſe illuſtrious ſeats of learning, we ſhall have recourſe, as upon other accounts, ſo particularly for intelligence concerning the many ornaments of Science and Literature educated in them. We need not ſay, that we ſhall not be inattentive to the valuable collections in the Britiſh Muſeum.

It is our wiſh, and will be our aim, to conduct this publication with real impartiality. We mean to riſe above narrow prejudices, and to record, with fidelity and freedom, the virtues and vices, the excellencies and defects of men of every profeſſion and party. A work of this nature would be deprived of much of its utility, if it were not carried on with a philoſophical liberality of mind. But we apprehend that a philoſophical liberality of mind, whilſt we do full juſtice to the merit of thoſe from whom we differ either in religious or political opinions, doth not imply in it our having no ſentiments of our own. We ſcruple not to declare our attachment to the great intereſts of mankind, and our enmity to bigotry, ſuperſtition, and tyranny, whether found in Papiſt or Proteſtant, Whig or Tory, Churchman or Diſſenter. A hiſtory that is written without any regard to the chief privileges of Human Nature, and without feelings, eſpecially of the moral kind, muſt loſe a conſiderable part of its inſtruction and energy.

We know not whether any apology will be deemed needful, for our having indulged ourſelves in ſome remarks and reflections on ſuch incidents and ſubjects as occaſionally came in our way. Since the work we are publiſhing is critical, as well as hiſtorical, it is hoped that our conduct in this reſpect doth not require an apology. It is well known how much Monſ. Bayle's grand performance was recommended by his ingenious obſervations and diſcuſſions. We are deeply ſenſible how inferior we muſt always be to that great man in his excellencies, and it is no part of our inclination to copy after him in his defects. But, while we reject his ſcepticiſm and licentiouſneſs, we ſhould rejoice to poſſeſs the ſame ability of applying facts to valuable purpoſes. Biography may be conſidered in two lights. It is very agreeable and uſeful, when it hath no other view than merely to relate the circumſtances of the Lives of eminent men, and to give an account of their writings. But it is capable of a ſtill nobler application. It may be regarded as preſenting us with a variety of events, that, like experiments in Natural Philoſophy, may become the materials from which general truths and principles are to be drawn. When Biographical knowledge is employed in enlarging our acquaintance with Human Nature, in exciting an honourable emulation, in correcting our prejudices, in refining our ſentiments, and in regulating our conduct, it then attains its true excellence. Beſides its being a pleaſing amuſement, and a juſt tribute of reſpect to illuſtrious characters, it riſes to the dignity of SCIENCE; and of ſuch ſcience as muſt ever be eſteemed of peculiar importance, becauſe it hath MAN for its object.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 38, Line 10, *for* 1563, *read* 1543.
——106, —— 60, of the note [*F*], *for* Hutchinſon, *read* Hutcheſon.
——175, —— 46, *for* Lumbrook, *read* Lambrook.
——176, —— 5, of the ſecond column, *dele*, the Reverend Mr. Toller of London.

N. B. The New Articles, and the additional Notes and Obſervations, are diſtinguiſhed by Brackets [ ] at the beginning and end.

THE LIVES OF THE Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

A.

AARON and JULIUS *(Saints)* ſuffered martyrdom together, during the perſecution under the Emperor Diocletian, in the year 303 [*A*], about the ſame time with St. Alban (*a*), the protomartyr of Britain (*b*) [*B*]. What their Britiſh names were, we are no where told; it being uſual with the Chriſtian Britons, at the time of baptiſm, to take new names from the Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Nor have we any certainty as to the particulars of their death; only that they ſuffered the crueleſt torments. They had each a church erected to his memory [*C*]; and their feſtival is placed, in the Roman Martyrology, on the firſt of July. They are here joined together in one article, becauſe, like Saul and Jonathan, *in their death they were not divided* (*c*).

(*a*) *See the Article* St. ALBAN.

(*b*) Beda, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7. & Galfr. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. v. c. 5.

(*c*) 2 Sam. i. 23.

[*A*] AARON *and* JULIUS ——— *ſuffered martyrdom together, in the year* 303.] Venerable Bede, who mentions the martyrdom of theſe two ſaints (and of many others of both ſexes, in different places, who were put to death with the crueleſt torments) calls them *Citizens* of *Urbs Legionum*. *Paſſi ſunt ea tempeſtate* Aaron & Julius, Legionum Urbis Cives, *aliique utriuſque ſexus diverſis in locis perplures, qui diverſis cruciatibus torti, & inaudita membrorum diſcerptione lacerati, animas ad ſupernæ civitatis gaudia perfecto agone miſerunt* (1). *Urbs Legionum*, or the City of Legions, was a name given by the Romans to ſeveral cities of Britain; as Leiceſter, Exeter, and Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales: which laſt muſt here be meant, becauſe the churches, dedicated to St. Aaron, and St. Julius, were built in that city, and the bodies of the ſaints themſelves interred there (2).

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(2) See Remark [*C*].

[*B*] ——— *About the ſame time with St. Alban.*] That St. Alban, nevertheleſs, claims the honour of the protomartyrdom, appears from the teſtimony of Matthew of Weſtminſter; who, mentioning the martyrdom of St. Alban under the year 303, adds, by way of Corollary, that Aaron and Julius, and many others, both men and women, ſuffered at the ſame time in Britain; St. Alban, however, being the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or *the firſt who impurpled Britain with his blood*. *Eodem tempore paſſi ſunt in Britannia Aaron & Julius, cum aliis pluribus viris & fœminis, qui ad deſiderabile cæleſtis Hieruſalem gaudium per martyrium convolarunt; exiſtente tamen beato Albano protomartyre, qui Britanniam primitivo ſanguine purpuravit* (3).

(3) Flor. Hiſtor. *ad* Ann. 303,

[*C*] *They had each a church erected to his memory.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, deſcribing the city of Caer-Leon (4), tells us, the bodies of Aaron and Julius lie buried in that city, each of whom has a church dedicated to him; that of Julius graced with a choir of nuns, and that of Aaron with a famous order of canons. And Biſhop Godwin tells us (5), that the remains of theſe churches, or chapels, were viſible not very long ſince; the one ſituated on the eaſt ſide, the other on the weſt ſide of the town, about two miles diſtant from each other.

(4) *In* Itinerar. l. v.

(5) Comment. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Landav. *n.* 21.

B.

ABBADIE (JAMES) was born at Nay in Berne, in the year 1658 (*a*), as there is good reaſon to believe, though ſome indeed ſay, that he was born in 1654 (*b*). He ſtudied at Puy Laurent, at Saumur, at Paris, and at Sedan; at which laſt place, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity. He intended to have dedicated himſelf very early to the miniſtry, but the circumſtances of the Proteſtants in France, rendered it impracticable there, for which reaſon, he readily accepted the offer of the Count d'Eſpenſe, who had a conſiderable poſt in the ſervice of the Elector of Brandenburgh, who deſired

(*a*) Niceron. Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres, tom. xxxiii, p. 381.

(*b*) *See this Article, in the General Dictionary.*

to carry him with him to Berlin, where the Elector intended to ſettle a French miniſter (*c*). It is not very clear, at what time he arrived in that city, but it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it might be either in 1680, or 1681. He reſided there for many years with great reputation, and in high favour with the Elector Frederick William; making now and then a trip to Holland, on account of publiſhing his writings, which were received with great applauſe (*d*). At firſt, the congregation of French Refugees at Berlin was but thin, but after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numbers retired into Brandenburgh, and were received with the utmoſt compaſſion; ſo that Mr. Abbadie had a great charge, of which he took all imaginable care, and, by his intereſt, rendered them many ſervices at court (*e*). In the ſpring of the year 1688, the Elector died, and our author then accepted of a propoſal made him by the Marſhal Schomberg, to go with him firſt to Holland, and then into England, with the Prince of Orange. In the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1689, he followed that great man into Ireland, where he remained till after the battle of the Boyne, which happened in July 1690, wherein his patron was killed, which occaſioned his return to England (*f*). He became quickly afterwards, miniſter of the French church at the Savoy; but the air diſagreeing with him, he went over again to Ireland (*g*); where, in conſequence of King William's recommendation of him to the government there for ſomething conſiderable, he would have been promoted to the deanery of St. Patrick's, if he had been acquainted with the Engliſh language. But, on this account, it was thought improper to place him in the greateſt preferment in the city of Dublin. However, he obtained the deanery of Killaloo, with one or two little things annexed to it, in order to make him amends for his diſappointment; though with theſe helps he had not above half the value of what had been intended for him. His preferments amounted, at firſt, to 240 pounds *per annum*; but afterwards, upon a great ſcarcity of money in Ireland, he was obliged to let them, during incumbency, for 120 *l.* a year; a neceſſity to which many other clergymen, as well as himſelf, were, at the ſame time, reduced. Mr. Abbadie had repeated promiſes of being farther provided for; but they were not carried into execution (*b*). His occaſions, and eſpecially the printing of his books, called him frequently into England and Holland; in both which places he was extremely beloved. He was ſtrongly attached to the cauſe of his Royal Maſter, as appears by his elaborate defence of the Revolution, and his hiſtory of the Aſſaſſination Plot (*i*). He gave alſo very high proofs of his loyalty to King George the Firſt; and would doubtleſs, if he had lived longer, have ſhown the like reſpect to his late Majeſty. In 1726, Mr. Abbadie growing old, and finding that he wanted an amanuenſis to aſſiſt him in his ſtudies, ſolicited ſome farther promotion, and went into England for that purpoſe; being ſtrongly recommended by the excellent Archbiſhop Boulter, to Lord Carteret, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to Dr. Gibſon, Biſhop of London; but with what ſucceſs doth not appear (*k*). If there were any intentions in his favour, they were fruſtrated by his death; for he departed this life at Mary-le-bon, on the 25th of September, 1727, aged, according to ſome accounts, ſixty-nine (*l*), according to others, ſeventy-three (*m*). He had great natural abilities, improved by a large ſtock of ſolid and uſeful learning; was a moſt zealous Proteſtant, and, without flattery, one of the moſt eloquent men of the age, in which he lived. His works, of which the reader will find an account in a note [*A*], bore many editions in his lifetime, and are ſtill in eſteem

(*c*) Niceron. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) *See this Article in the Supplement to Moreri, printed at Paris in* 1734.

(*e*) Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 43.

(*f*) Niceron, p. 382.

(*g*) *See the General Dictionary, and the Supplement to Moreri.*

(*b*) Lord Primate Boulter's Letters, v. i. p. 90, 91. 101.

(*i*) See the Note [*A*].

(*k*) Boulter's Letters, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Niceron. tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

(*m*) *General Dictionary.*

[*A*] *Will find an account in a note.*] In order to give the reader as diſtinct a detail of this author's writings as poſſible, we will mention them in the order in which they were publiſhed. 1. *Sermons ſur divers textes de l'Ecriture*, Leiden 1680. *i. e.* Sermons on ſeveral texts of ſcripture, 8*vo*. This volume contains four ſermons, and was the firſt work Monſieur Abbadie publiſhed.

2. *Panegyrique de Monſeigneur l'Electeur de Brandebourg*, Roterdam 1684, in 4*to*. *i. e.* A panegyrick on the Elector of Brandenburgh. This treatiſe Gregorio Leti tranſlating into Italian, inſerted in his hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenburgh. The book was publiſhed pretty early in that year, and was ſpoken of by M. Bayle, not only with great condeſcenſion, but alſo with ſuch marks of approbation as are not uſual with that author (1).

3. *Traité de la Verité de la Religion Chrêtienne*, Roterdam 1684, in 8*vo*. Two Volumes. *It. Seconde edition revüe & augmentée*, Roterdam 1688, in 12*mo*. Two Tomes. *It.* Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo*. Two Tomes. *It. Quatriéme edition*, Roterdam 1701, in 12*mo*. Three Tomes. *It. Cinquiéme edition*, ibid. 1715, in 12*mo*. *It. Sixiéme edition*, ibid. 1719, in 12*mo*. *It. Septiéme edit.* Amſterdam in 1729, 3 Vols. 12*mo*. *i. e.* A treatiſe on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

Mr. Bayle commends this piece alſo, as one of the moſt perfect in its kind (2); and indeed, it has been always ſo eſteemed, as well by the Roman Catholick as the reformed divines. The Abbé Houteville, a late writer, ſpeaks of it in theſe terms: 'The moſt 'ſhining of thoſe treatiſes for defence of the Chriſ-'tian Religion, which were publiſhed by the Pro-'teſtants, is that written by Mr. Abbadie. The 'favourable reception it met with, the praiſes it 'received almoſt without example immediately after 'its publication, the univerſal approbation it ſtill 'meets with, render it unneceſſary for me to join 'my commendations, which would add ſo little to 'the merit of ſo great an author. He has united in 'this book, all our controverſies with the infidels. 'In the firſt part, he combats the Atheiſts; the 'Deiſts in the ſecond; and the Socinians in the 'third: philoſophy and theology enter happily 'into his manner of compoſing, which is in the true 'method, lively, pure, and elegant, eſpecially in 'the firſt books; for towards the end, he ſeems to 'have leſs fire. I ſee methinks there, a dryneſs 'which looks like the ſhore left by the ebb of the 'full tide of eloquence (3).' This work was tranſlated into Engliſh, and into High Dutch, in which language it hath gone through two editions with notes (4).

4. *Reflexions ſur le Préſence réelle du Corps de Jeſus Chriſt dans l'Euchariſtie, compriſe en diverſes Lettres.* La Haye 1685, in 12*mo*. *i. e.* Reflexions on the real preſence in the Sacrament. There was a ſecond edition at Roterdam in 1713, but the author diſowned both,

(1) Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 43. Niceron. t. xxxiii. p. 384.

(2) Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 156. 172. tom. iv. p. 618, 619.

(3) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique, ſur la methode des principaux auteurs, &c. p. clxxxvii.

(4) Niceron. tom. xxxiii. p. 383.

esteem (*n*), though, perhaps, they are rather beginning to be neglected. This is the less surprising with regard to his treatise on the Revelations, and some of his controversial and occasional writings. But we apprehend that even his capital productions are not, at present, much read; at least, in our own country [*B*]. Upon the whole, Mr. Abbadie's imagination, learning, and eloquence, appear to have been superior to his judgment.

(*n*) Niceron. tom. xxxiii. p. 382.

both, as being full of errors, which in many places destroyed the sense (5).

(5) Niceron. tom. xxxiii. p. 384. Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 272.

5. *Traité de la Divinité de nôtre Seigneur Jesus Christ*, Roterdam 1689, in 8*vo*. *i. e.* A Treatise on the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. A translation of this work has lately been published by the Reverend Mr. Abraham Booth, a dissenting minister in London.

6. *L'Art de se connoitre soi-même, ou la Recherche des Sources de la Morale*, Roterdam 1692, in 12*mo*. *i. e.* The Art of knowing one's self. This excellent system of morality, was printed again at Lyons in 1693, in 12*mo*. But therein all the passages which favour the Protestant Religion are left out. A Flemish translation followed, printed at Roterdam, in 8*vo*. in 1700. And a High Dutch translation at Augsburg, in 1712, in 8*vo*. (6)

(6) Niceron, p. 385.

7. *Défence de la Nation Britannique; où les droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Societé sont clairement établis au sujet de la Révolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Autheur de l'Avis important aux Refugies*. A Londres 1692, in 8*vo*. *i. e.* A defence of the Revolution in England (7).

(7) Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. iv. p. 254. Niceron. p. 385. This Treatise of our Author's was in answer to Mr. Bayle, but without taking notice that the *Avis important* was his.

8. *Panegyrique de Marie Reine d'Angleterre décedée le* 28 *Decembre* 1694, la Haye 1695, in 4*to*. *i. e.* A panegyrick on Mary Queen of England.

9. *Histoire de la Conspiration derniere d'Angleterre, avec le detail des diverses entreprises contre le Roi, & la Nation, qui ont precedé ce dernier attentat*. Londres 1696, in 8*vo*. An account of the late conspiracy in England. This book was written by order of King William the Third, and the original papers necessary for compiling it, were furnished to the author by the Earl of Portland, and Sir William Trumball, Secretary of State. It was reprinted in Holland, and was also translated into English, but is at present so scarce, that it is known to very few. Perhaps it may not be amiss to take notice, that this conspiracy was that design, commonly called the Assassination Plot (8).

(8) Niceron. p. 387. General Dictionary, in the article ABBADIE. See also our article of BERNARDI.

10. *La Vérité de la Religion Reformée*, Roterdam 1718, in 8*vo*. Deux Tomes. The Truth of the reformed Religion. At the entrance of this work, stands the following address, *Dedicated to the true God, whose great Name, Holy and Terrible, be exalted of all, by all, and over all, for ever, Amen. Humbly offered to his anointed George* I. *King of Great Britain*, &c. It was this book, that Dr. Henry Lambert, Bishop of Dromore, caused to be translated into English, and afterwards disliking that version, translated it himself, for the instruction of the Roman Catholicks in his diocese. It is written in a very warm pathetick stile, but not without a tincture of enthusiasm, which appeared still more strongly in the subsequent piece (9). The year following, he revised the French translation of the Common Prayer Book, which he likewise dedicated to his Majesty King George I. (10).

(9) Niceron, p. 386.

(10) Nouvelles Litteraires, Vol. X. p. 475.

11. *Le Triomphe de la Providence & de la Religion, ou l'ouverture des sept sceaux par le Fils de Dieu; ou l'on trouvera la premiere partie de l'Apocalypse clairement expliquée par ce qu'il y a de plus connu dans l'histoire & de moins contesté dans la parole de Dieu. Avec une nouvelle & très sensible demonstration de la Verité de la Religion Chrétienne*, Amsterdam 1723, in four vols. 12*mo*. The Triumph of Providence and Religion, or the opening the Seven Seals by the Son of God, &c. This is one of the boldest Commentaries on the Revelations, that ever was published. It must, however, be allowed, that there are in it abundance of surprising things, and the strongest proofs, that the fire of the author's imagination, was not at all damped by his years (11). Besides these, he published several single sermons, and other little tracts, which it is not necessary to mention. In 1727, he sent abroad proposals for printing all his works, as well those already published, as many that he had by him ready for the press, in four volumes 4*to*. But before he could bring his design to bear, he was taken away by death (12).

(11) Niceron, ubi supra, p. 386.

(12) Ib. p. 387.

[*B*] *At least in our own country.*] One of the worst effects arising from the vast multiplicity of new publications is, that it occasions old works, which have great merit, to be laid aside, and almost forgotten. Many instances might be given of this; but we shall probably find cause, in the course of our undertaking, to resume the subject, with respect to more important writers.

C. and K.

ABBOT (George) Archbishop of Canterbury: A man, whose extraordinary abilities, high rank in the church, and influence in publick affairs, deserve that the circumstances of his life should be transmitted to posterity with the greatest accuracy and impartiality possible. He was born October 29, 1562, at Guilford, in Surry, of very worthy parents (*a*); remarkably distinguished by their steady zeal for the Protestant Religion; for their living long, and happily together, and for their singular felicity in their children [*A*]. While his mother was pregnant with this son, she is said to have had a dream which proved at once an omen, and an instrument of his future fortunes. Her dream was this: She fancied she was told in her sleep, that if she could eat a Jack, or Pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a Jack, and had thus an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story being much talked of, and coming to the ears of some persons of distinction, they offered to become sponsors for the child, which was kindly accepted, and they had the goodness to afford many testimonies of their affection to their godson while at school, and after he was sent to the university (*b*). Such were the good effects of his mother's dream [*B*]. When he was grown up to an age proper for receiving the first tincture

(*a*) Thomas Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to*. 1651, p. 539. Ant. Wood, in his Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. i. c. 583. See also the inscription on the archbishop's tomb, at Guilford, in the Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the county of Surrey, by John Aubrey, Esq; 8*vo*. 1719. Vol. iii. p. 285.

(*b*) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii, p. 281.

[*A*] *For their singular felicity in their children.*] Mr. Maurice Abbot was by trade a Clothworker, and settled at the town of Guilford, in Surry, where he married his wife Alice March, and suffered for his stedfastness in the Protestant religion, through the means of Dr. Story, who was a great persecutor of such persons in the reign of Queen Mary (1). But these storms being blown over, they passed the remainder of their days quietly, living together fifty-eight years. She deceased September 15, 1606, and he September 25, the same year, the former being eighty, and the latter eighty-six years of age (2). They left behind them six sons, of whom Robert the eldest, was then one of the King's chaplains, our author, George, had been thrice vice-chancellor of Oxford, and their youngest son Maurice, was at this time an eminent merchant of the city of London (3).

(1) Abel redivivus, p. 540.

(2) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii, p. 298.

(3) Abel redivivus, p. 539.

[*B*] *Such were the good effects of his mother's dream.*] The story of this dream was first published by Mr. Aubrey,

tincture of learning, he was ſent with his eldeſt brother Robert (of whom in a ſubſequent article) to the free-ſchool, erected in their native town of Guilford, by King Edward VI; and having paſſed through the rudiments of literature, under the care of Mr. Francis Taylor, who had then the direction of that ſchool (*c*), he was in 1578 removed to the univerſity of Oxford, and entered a ſtudent in Baliol College (*d*). On November 29, 1583, being then bachelor of arts, he was elected probationer fellow of his college; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of arts, he entered into holy orders, and became a celebrated preacher in the univerſity (*e*). He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1593, and proceeded doctor in that faculty, in May 1597; and in the month of September, of the ſame year, he was elected maſter of Univerſity College (*f*). About this time it was, that the firſt differences began between him and Dr. Laud, which ſubſiſted as long as they lived, and were the cauſe of great uneaſineſs to both (*g*). In the year following, which was 1598, he publiſhed a Latin work which did him great honour; and which was afterwards reprinted in Germany (*h*). On March 6, 1599, he was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, in the room of Dr. Martin Heton, who was preferred to the biſhoprick of Ely: Dr. Abbot being then about thirty-ſeven years of age (*i*). Some writers ſay that he was alſo dean of Glouceſter (*k*), but this is abſolutely a miſtake [*C*]. In 1600, he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford (*l*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf while in that high office, by the opinion he gave with reſpect to the ſetting up again the croſs in Cheapſide, about which there were great diſputes; but in the end he carried his point againſt Dr. Bancroft, then Biſhop of London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury; which gained him great reputation, as appears by a tract publiſhed on that ſubject (*m*) [*D*]. He likewiſe publiſhed the ſame year his ſermons on the prophet Jonah, which were received with great applauſe (*n*). In 1603, he was again choſen vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and diſcharged that office a ſecond time with general approbation (*o*). In the ſucceeding year 1604, that tranſlation of the Bible which is now in uſe was made by the direction of King James; and Dr. Abbot was the ſecond of eight learned divines in the univerſity of Oxford, to whom the care of tranſlating the whole New Teſtament (excepting the Epiſtles) was committed (*p*). He likewiſe publiſhed this year an anſwer to Dr. Hill's Reaſons for upholding Popery (*q*). In 1605, he was a third time vice-chancellor (*r*). In the ſucceeding year, he

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. c. 583.
(*d*) Ibid.
(*e*) Ibid. c. 584.
(*f*) Ibid.
(*g*) Dr. Peter Heylyn's life of Archbiſhop Laud, fol. 1668, p. 53.
(*h*) See Note [*Z*].
(*i*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. fol. 1716. p. 289.
(*k*) Dr. John Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, fol. 1719. p. 574. and J. Dart's Hiſt. of Canterbury Cathed. fol. 1726, p. 173.
(*l*) Ant. Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. c. 157.
(*m*) See Note [*D*].
(*n*) See Note [*Y*].
(*o*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i c. 165.
(*p*) See Fuller's Church Hiſt. lib. x. fol. 46. 57. J. Lewis's Compl. Hiſt. of the Tranſlations of the Bible and Teſtament, 8*vo*. 1739, p. 311.
(*q*) See Note [*Z*].
(*r*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. c. 168.

Aubrey, in the year 1696 (4). He ſeems, from what he ſays in another work of his, to have enquired afterwards very carefully into the truth of it; which was atteſted to him by the miniſter, and ſeveral of the moſt ſober inhabitants of Guilford (5): yet it muſt be owned, that it is not a little ſtrange this dream ſhould never be taken notice of before, eſpecially conſidering the humour of the times in which the archbiſhop lived, and the proneneſs of Fuller and Lloyd, who have both written accounts of this biſhop, to ſet down whatever carried in it any thing of the wonderful.

(4) In his Miſcellanies, 8*vo*. p. 50.

(5) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 281.

[*C*] *That he was dean of Glouceſter is abſolutely a miſtake.*] This is very evident, from conſulting the ſucceſſion of the deans of Wincheſter and Glouceſter. Dr. Abbot was inſtalled dean of Wincheſter, March 6, 1599, as appears by the regiſter (6), and on June 3, 1609, Dr. Thomas Moreton was inſtalled, on the promotion of Dr. Abbot to the ſee of Litchfield and Coventry (7); ſo that the latter plainly held this deanery nine years. As for that of Glouceſter, Dr. Griffith Lewis was ſucceeded therein, after he had held it ſeven years, by Dr. Thomas Moreton, in 1607 (8), who was removed to Wincheſter, upon the promotion of Dr. Abbot; from whence, I imagine, the miſtake muſt have proceeded. Mr. Bayle, in his article, has heightened his error, for he makes Dr. Abbot ſucceed Dr. Moreton, in the deanery of Glouceſter (9), which was excuſeable in him, as a foreigner; but it is ſurpriſing to find ſuch as write Engliſh hiſtories, ſetting down falſe facts of this nature, merely through want of attention.

(6) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 289.

(7) Idem. Ibid. p. 103.

(8) Idem, ibid. Athen. Oxon. c. 584.

(9) *See his Article of* ABBOT.

[*D*] *A tract publiſhed on that ſubject.*] The croſs at Cheapſide was taken down in the year 1600, in order to be repaired; and upon this occaſion, the citizens of London deſired the advice of both univerſities on this queſtion; Whether the ſaid croſs ſhould be re-erected or not? and Dr. Abbot, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, gave it as his opinion, that the crucifix with the dove upon it ſhould not be again ſet up, but approved rather of a pyramid, or ſome other matter of mere ornament, for the reaſons aſſigned in his letter. In this determination he acted conſiſtently with his own practice, when in his ſaid office he cauſed ſeveral ſuperſtitious pictures to be burnt at the market-place of Oxford; and among the reſt, one in which was the figure of God the Father, over a crucifix, ready to receive the Soul of Chriſt; and he profeſſes in this letter, that he was moved to ſuch proceedings by his own obſervation and experience. 'I remember, ſays 'he, in that college (Baliol) where I firſt lived, a 'young man was taken praying, and beating his 'breaſt, before a crucifix in a window; which 'cauſed the maſter and fellows to pull it down, 'and ſet up other glaſs. Which example, makes 'me nothing doubt, but that the croſs in Cheapſide 'hath many, in the twilight and morning early, 'who do reverence before it, beſides Campian, 'whoſe act is famous, or rather infamous, for it. 'And, I am informed, that ſo much hath been ſignified by the neighbours, or inqueſt, making preſentments concerning the circumſtances of this 'cauſe. By all which, I do conclude, that it is a 'monument of their ſuperſtition; a great inducement, and may be a ready way to idolatry; and 'that there can be no tolerable uſe of this matter, 'which may be able to countervail the dangers and 'obloquy ariſing upon the retaining of it; and ſo 'much the rather, becauſe it is perceived that 'many evil-affected men do make their advantage 'from hence, to inſinuate into the minds of their 'credulous hearers, that it is a token of the return 'of their faith again into this land, ſince their 'monuments are not extinguiſhed in the chief ſtreet 'of our greateſt city.' He afterwards deſires, that the reader would obſerve, he ſays, the magiſtrates are to redreſs ſuch enormities: 'For, continues he, 'I do not permit inferior men to run headlong 'about ſuch matters; and to rend, break, and 'tear, as well within, as without, the churches; 'which was that which Luther reprehended; but 'the advice and conſent of ſuperior powers is to be 'had herein, that all things may be done decently, 'and in order.' He held it therefore neceſſary, that they ſhould apply to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Whitgift) and to the Biſhop of London (Bancroft) for inſtructions (10). The iſſue of the matter was, that the croſs only was erected again, without either the body, or the dove, which was agreeable in the main to the ſentiments of the vice-chancellor, and heads of houſes at Oxford.

(10) Cheapſide Croſs cenſured and condemned, by a *letter* ſent from the Vice-chancellor, &c. of Oxford; in anſwer to a queſtion propounded by the citizens of London, &c. 4*to*. London, 1641.

he is said to have had a great ſhare in the troubles of Laud, who was called to an account by the vice-chancellor, Dr. Ayry, for a ſermon of his preached before the univerſity (*s*); and that year likewiſe, he loſt his father and mother (*t*). In 1608, died his great patron Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High Treaſurer of England, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, ſuddenly at the council table, at whoſe funeral, Dr. Abbot preached a ſermon, which was afterwards printed, and generally recommended (*u*). After his deceaſe, Dr. Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and Treaſurer of Scotland, one of King James's early favourites, and who had all along had a very high ſhare in his eſteem, and with him he went this year into Scotland, in order to aſſiſt in the execution of a very important deſign, for eſtabliſhing an union between the Churches of that kingdom and this: wherein he behaved with ſo much prudence and moderation as gained him a very high character, and is thought to have been the firſt ſtep to all his future preferment (*w*) [*E*]. While he was at

(*s*) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 54.
(*t*) See Note [*A*].
(*u*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. c. 584.
(*w*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, fol. 1672, p. 383.

[*E*] *The firſt ſtep to all his future preferments.*] There is no point in which all the writers who mention this Prelate, more clearly agree, than in this, that his journey to Scotland brought him into that height of favour with the King, which ſo ſuddenly raiſed him in little more than three years, from Dean of Wincheſter, to Archbiſhop of Canterbury: yet it has ſo fallen out, that hitherto his tranſactions in Scotland have lain ſo much in the dark, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcern how he merited by them ſo high a ſhare of the Royal favour. To explain therefore this hitherto untouched point, ſhall be the buſineſs of this note, the rather becauſe it will ſhew how unjuſtly this great man has been charged with unfriendlineſs to the eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, and coldneſs in regard to the Hierarchy. King James had ſuffered ſo much before his acceſſion to the Crown of England, from the ſpirit and power of the Preſbyterians in Scotland, that he was greatly ſet on reſtoring the ancient form of Government by Biſhops, in that kingdom; the care of which was principally entruſted to the Earl of Dunbar, to whom Dr. Abbot was now chaplain (11). That noble Lord, who is by all writers allowed to have been both the wiſeſt and beſt man of all the favourites of that nation, had proceeded ſo far in this matter two years before, as to obtain an act for the reſtitution of the eſtates of Biſhops; but the Preſbyterians made ſo ſteady a reſiſtance, that the conſequences which were hoped from the reſtoring of that order, were in the utmoſt danger of being diſappointed. But by the ſkill and prudence, the ſound ſenſe, and great moderation of Dr. Abbot, theſe difficulties were removed, and the clergy of Scotland, who had refuſed to admit the Biſhops for their moderators in their church ſynods, were brought to a better temper, and things put into ſuch a train, as afterwards produced the entire eſtabliſhment of the Epiſcopal Order in Scotland; for which the King had been ſo long ſtruggling, and to ſo little purpoſe. The account given by the famous hiſtorian of the Church of Scotland, ſufficiently proves the truth of what has been aſſerted. 'About 'the end of June (1608) ſays he, the Earl of Dun-'bar came from court, and with him two Engliſh 'Doctors, Abbot and Higgins. Dr. Maxy, one 'of the King's chaplains came by ſea. It was re-'ported, that no ſmall ſums of money were ſent 'down with him, to be diſtributed among the mi-'niſters and ſome others. The Engliſh doctor 'ſeemed to have no other direction, but to perſuade 'the Scots that there was no ſubſtantial difference in 'religion between the two realms, but only in 'things indifferent, concerning government and 'ceremonies; and to report, that it was his ma-'jeſty's will, that England ſhould ſtand as he found 'it, and Scotland as he left it. But when he came 'to St. Andrews, Mr. Robert Howie, a man of a 'ſeditious and turbulent ſpirit, declaimed againſt 'the diſcipline and government of our Kirk; and 'then they uttered their mind in plain terms: no 'order was taken with ſo manifeſt a breach, after 'the laſt conference. This was the policy of the 'aſpiring Biſhops, to cry peace, peace, and to crave 'ſilence of their oppoſites; when, in the mean 'time, they minded not to be ſilent themſelves, when 'they found occaſion (12).' This very clearly proves, that it was by a kind and moderate, not a haughty and ſevere behaviour, that the Engliſh doctor, as he calls Dean Abbot, won ſo much upon the Scots miniſters, as to bring them into a compliance with the King's deſires; ſo that in two years afterwards, the Lord High Treaſurer, Dunbar, who was entirely governed in this matter by the advice of his able chaplain, procured an act in the General Aſſembly, by which it was provided, 'That the 'King ſhould have the indiction (or calling) of all 'General Aſſemblies: That the Biſhops, or their 'deputies, ſhould be perpetual moderators of the 'dioceſan ſynods: That no excommunication, or 'abſolution, ſhould be pronounced without their 'approbation: That all preſentations of benefices 'ſhould be made by them; and that the depriva-'tion or ſuſpenſion of miniſters, ſhould belong to 'them: That every miniſter at his admiſſion to a 'benefice, ſhould take the oath of ſupremacy, and 'canonical obedience: That the viſitation of the 'dioceſe ſhall be performed by the Biſhop or his 'deputy only: And finally, that the Biſhop ſhould 'be moderator of all conventions, for exerciſings 'or propheſyings, which ſhould be held within 'their bounds (13).' All which were afterwards ratified and confirmed by authority of the parliament of that kingdom. Such were the merits of Dr. Abbot in this reſpect, and ſo great juſtice was there done to them by his noble patron, the Treaſurer, in the report he made to his majeſty, of the Dean's behaviour in this reſpect, that, in conjunction with the ſervice rendered his majeſty, by giving his unqueſtioned teſtimony in the affair of Gowrie's conſpiracy, he was raiſed ſo high, and ſo firmly fixed in the eſteem of his royal maſter, as that no oppoſition could prevent his arriving at the ſupreme dignity in his profeſſion (14). As a proof of his advancing his fortune by this means, it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe the obſervation of a contemporary hiſtorian, after Dr. Abbot was raiſed to the archiepiſcopal dignity, who tells us, 'That the firſt preacher, and the firſt in that 'embaſſage, which King James ſent into Scotland, 'to eſtabliſh thoſe neighbouring churches, was he, 'whoſe eminency both for place and piety is now 'worthily foremoſt in guiding our own; and whoſe 'bleſſed travels in that ſervice, as they were accept-'able to God, his majeſty, and that nation; ſo 'are they a document to others, how powerful and 'admirably ſucceſsful true learning is, where it is 'guided with true prudence; and where piety and 'the love of God's glory is linked with charity and 'zeal of man's good (15).'

[A regard to truth obliges us to add, that Dr. Abbot went as far as any other court chaplain could do, in that extravagant flattery of his royal maſter, which was ſo much the faſhion of the time, and which was by no means confined to eccleſiaſtics. Speaking of King James (16), he ſays, 'whoſe 'life hath been ſo immaculate and unſpotted in the 'world, ſo free from all touch of viciouſneſs and 'ſtaining imputation, that even malice itſelf, which 'leaveth nothing unſearched, could never find true 'bleminſh in it, nor caſt probable aſperſion on it. 'Zealous as David; learned and wiſe, the Solomon 'of our age; religious as Joſias; careful of ſpread-'ing Chriſt's faith as Conſtantine the Great; juſt 'as Moſes; undefiled in all his ways as a Je-'hoſaphat or Heſekias; full of clemency as ano-'ther Theodoſius.' If Mr. Walpole had ſeen this paſſage, he certainly would not have ſaid, that 'honeſt Abbot could not flatter (17).' It is probable, from the preceding extract, that his adulation contributed,

(11) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

(12) The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, by Mr. David Calderwood, fol. 1680. p. 588, 589.

(13) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 381, 382.

(14) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 64.

(15) J. Speed's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Book x. fol. 1227.

(16) *Vide* the Preface to the Pamphlet mentioned in the next note, p. 34, 35.

(17) Noble Authors, Vol. i. p. 174.

at Edinburgh upon this occaſion, a proſecution was commenced againſt one George Sprot, Notary of Aymouth, for having been concerned in Gowrie's conſpiracy eight years before, for which he was tried before Sir William Hart, Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, condemned and executed. A large account of this affair was drawn up by the judge, and a narrative prefixed thereto, by Dr. Abbot, who had been eye-witneſs of all that paſſed, and this was publiſhed at London, in order to ſettle the minds of the people, with regard to that conſpiracy; which had been hitherto looked upon as a very myſterious affair, and about the reality of which there had been very great doubts (*x*) [*F*]. The King knew ſo well the difficulties that were to be encountered in this northern nation, that it gave him very high ideas of the abilities of the man, who was able to overcome them; and therefore, when another ſet of men filled

(*x*) A Compendious Hiſtory of the Catholic Church, ſhewing her Deformation and Reformation, by Alexander Petrie, fol. Hague, 1662, part iii. p. 554. Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 443. Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

tributed, together with other cauſes, to accelerate his promotions. But let it be remembered in his favour, that he appears, in the latter part of his life, to have maintained a greater degree of chriſtian ſimplicity. It hurts an ingenuous mind to reflect, that ſuch groſs flattery was paid to our monarchs, by men otherwiſe of reſpectable characters; men who were diſtinguiſhed by their profeſſion of piety, and by the gravity and ſtrictneſs of their manners. Perhaps the taſte of the age was not ſufficiently refined to perceive the difference between fulſome panegyric, and that delicate turn of compliment which prevails in a highly poliſhed ſtate of ſociety. Perhaps people were brought up with ſuch an extravagant veneration for princes, that they did not dare, even in their own minds, to judge of the actions of their ſovereigns with a becoming freedom. But, after all, it is to be feared that the flattery of the times we are ſpeaking of, as well as of other times, is principally to be charged to ſelf-intereſted views and purpoſes. ——— Lord Cromarty repreſents Dr. Abbot as having been *providentially* in Scotland, in the year 1608, about ſome concerns of his own (18). This is a ſurpriſing inſtance of careleſſneſs: for the Doctor expreſsly ſays (19), that he was at Edinburgh that year, 'by the commandment of his Majeſty.']

(18) Cromarty's treaſonable Conſpiracies of the Earls of Gowrie, p. 126.

(19) Page 18 of the Preface above referred to.

[*F*] *There had been very great doubts.*] [This conſpiracy was framed by John, Earl of Gowrie, ſon to that Earl of Gowrie, who had been executed in 1584, for having, in 1582, been concerned with ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, in ſurpriſing the King's perſon at Ruthven caſtle (20). The preſent ſcheme, which was carried on with great diligence and ſecrecy, was to invite the King, upon ſome pretence or other, to the Earl's houſe at Perth, and there to make ſure of him. This deſign was executed on Tueſday Auguſt the 5th, 1600, when the King was brought thither by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who pretended that he had diſcovered and ſecured, the evening before, an unknown man, of a ſuſpicious aſpect; and had found under his cloak, a pot filled with a vaſt quantity of foreign gold. James ſuſpected this perſon to be a trafficking prieſt, ſent with a view of exciting new commotions in the kingdom, and reſolved to have him examined by the Magiſtrates of Perth. This reſolution was violently oppoſed by Ruthven, who, at length, perſuaded the King to ride to the Earl of Gowrie's houſe; though not without being accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, and others, whoſe attendance Ruthven endeavoured to prevent. After dinner, Ruthven whiſpered the King, that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown perſon was kept (21). 'James commanded him to bring Sir Thomas Erſkine along 'with them; but, inſtead of that, Ruthven ordered 'him not to follow: and conducting the King up 'a ſtair-caſe, and then through ſeveral apartments, 'the doors of which he locked behind him, led 'him at laſt into a ſmall ſtudy, in which there 'ſtood a man clad in armour, with a ſword and dagger by his ſide. The King, who expected to have 'found one diſarmed and bound, ſtarted at the 'ſight, and inquired if this was the perſon; but 'Ruthven ſnatching the dagger from the girdle 'of the man in armour, and holding it to the King's 'breaſt, "Remember, ſaid he, how unjuſtly my "father ſuffered by your command; you are now "my priſoner; ſubmit to my diſpoſal without reſiſtance, or outcry; or this dagger ſhall inſtantly "avenge his blood." James expoſtulated with 'Ruthven, intreated, and flattered him. The 'man, whom he found in the ſtudy, ſtood, all the 'while, trembling, and diſmayed, without courage either to aid the King, or to ſecond his 'aggreſſor. Ruthven proteſted, that if the King 'raiſed no outcry, his life ſhould be ſafe; and 'moved by ſome unknown reaſon, retired in order 'to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour 'the care of the King, whom he bound by oath, 'not to make any noiſe during his abſence.

'While the King was in this dangerous ſituation, 'his attendants growing impatient to know whither 'he had retired, one of Gowrie's attendants entered 'the room haſtily, and told them that the King 'had juſt rode away towards Faulkland. All of 'them ruſhed out into the ſtreet; and the Earl, in 'the utmoſt hurry, called for their horſes. But 'by this time, his brother had returned to the 'King, and, ſwearing that now there was no remedy, he behoved to die, offered to bind his 'hands. Unarmed as James was, he ſcorned to 'ſubmit to that indignity; and cloſing with the 'aſſaſſin, a fierce ſtruggle enſued. The man in 'armour ſtood, as formerly, amazed and motionleſs; and the King dragging Ruthven towards a 'window, which during his abſence he had perſuaded the perſon with whom he was left, to 'open, cried, with a wild and affrighted voice. "Treaſon! Treaſon! Help! I am murdered!" 'His attendants heard, and knew the voice; and 'ſaw, at the window, a hand which graſped the 'King's neck with violence. They flew with 'precipitation to his aſſiſtance. Lennox and Mar, 'with the greater number, ran up the principal 'ſtair-caſe, where they found all the doors ſhut, 'which they battered with the utmoſt fury, endeavouring to burſt them open. But Sir John Ramſey, entering by a back-ſtair, which led to the 'apartment where the King was, found the door 'open; and ruſhing upon Ruthven, who was ſtill 'ſtruggling with the King, ſtruck him twice with 'his dagger, and thruſt him towards the ſtair-caſe, 'where Sir Thomas Erſkine and Sir Hugh Herries 'met, and killed him; he crying with his laſt 'breath, "Alas! I am not to blame for this "action." During this ſcuffle, the man, who had 'been concealed in the ſtudy, eſcaped unobſerved. 'Together with Ramſey, Erſkine, and Herries, 'one Wilſon, a footman, entered the room where 'the King was, and before they had time to ſhut 'the door, Gowrie ruſhed in with a drawn ſword 'in each hand, followed by ſeven of his attendants 'well armed, and with a loud voice threatened 'them all with inſtant death. They immediately 'thruſt the King into the little ſtudy, and ſhutting 'the door upon him, encountered the Earl. Notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, Sir John 'Ramſey pierced Gowrie through the heart, and 'he fell down dead without uttering a word; his 'followers having received ſeveral wounds, immediately fled. Three of the King's defenders were 'likewiſe hurt in the conflict. A dreadful noiſe 'continued ſtill at the oppoſite door, where many 'perſons laboured in vain to force a paſſage; and 'the King being aſſured that they were Lennox, 'Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the 'inſide. They ran to the King, whom they unexpect-

(20) Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. ii. p. 89. 91. 107. 8vo. edit. 1776.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 252, 253.

filled the King's head and heart with apprehenſions, he had recourſe to Dr. Abbot, as the fitteſt perſon, to put things again into the right channel. The caſe was this; his majeſty being engaged in the mediation of peace between the crown of Spain, and the United Provinces; by which the ſovereignty of the latter, was to be acknowledged by the former: he demanded the advice of the convocation then ſitting, as to the lawfulneſs of eſpouſing the cauſe of the States (y). Upon this opening, they launched at once

(y) Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 37. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 561. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. ſub Anno 1609.

'expectedly found ſafe, with tranſports of congratulation; and he, falling on his knees, with all 'his attendants round him, offered ſolemn thanks 'to God for ſuch a wonderful deliverance. The 'danger, however, was not yet over. The inhabitants of the town, whoſe Provoſt Gowrie was, 'and by whom he was extremely beloved, hearing 'the fate of the two brothers, ran to their arms, 'and ſurrounded the houſe, threatening revenge, 'with many inſolent and opprobrious ſpeeches 'againſt the King. James endeavoured to pacify 'the enraged multitude, by ſpeaking to them from 'the window; he admitted their magiſtrates into 'the houſe; related to them the whole circumſtances of the fact; and, their fury ſubſiding by 'degrees, they diſperſed (22)." The motives of the two brothers for attempting to commit ſo deteſtable an action, the end they had in view, and the accomplices on whom they depended, were altogether unknown. From the words of Ruthven it might be thought, that they intended to revenge their father's death: but the injuries their father had ſuffered could ſcarcely be imputed by them to the King, who, beſides his youth, was, at that time, under abſolute ſubjection to the violence of a faction; and had afterwards endeavoured to repair the wrongs done to the father, by conferring benefits on the children. Three of Earl Gowrie's attendants, who were executed at Perth, for aſſiſting him in the attack upon the King's ſervants, could give no light into the motives by which their maſter was actuated. Andrew Henderſon, the Earl's ſteward, who, upon a promiſe of pardon, confeſſed himſelf to be the man that had been placed in the ſtudy by Gowrie's command, did not know for what end that ſtation had been aſſigned him (23). The whole tranſaction appeared ſo dark, that when the account of it was carried to Edinburgh, and the miniſters of that city were commanded, by the Privy Council, to return public thanks to God, for the protection he had ſo viſibly afforded the King in the late conſpiracy, they refuſed to enter into any detail of particulars. They offered to give public thanks for the King's ſafety, but alleged, that they could not deliver from the pulpit, what appeared to be dubious and uncertain. At length, however (Mr. Robert Bruce excepted), they were all prevailed upon, though with great difficulty, to own that they were convinced of the truth of the conſpiracy. No ſcruples appeared in the proceedings of Parliament. The puniſhment due to traitors was inflicted on the dead bodies of the two brothers; their eſtates and honours were forfeited; the ſurname of Ruthven was aboliſhed; and the fifth of Auguſt was appointed to be obſerved annually, as a day of public thankſgiving (24). James appointed alſo, after his acceſſion to the throne of England, a weekly commemoration of his deliverance, by a Tueſday's ſermon at court (25). The diſcoveries of Sprot, if true, undoubtedly proved that the two brothers had not carried on their machinations without aſſociates. Theſe diſcoveries were extorted from him, partly by torture, and partly by voluntary confeſſion; but he adhered to his confeſſion to the laſt.] On the execution of this Sprot, an account of his ſhare in the conſpiracy was publiſhed, with a preface to the reader, ſubſcribed by Dr. Abbot, and almoſt as large as the account itſelf (26). As this little tract is become very ſcarce, it may not be amiſs to give ſome paſſages from it. 'There 'are few in this iſland, ſays he, of any underſtanding, but have heard of the traiterous, and bloody 'attempt of the Earl Gowrie and his brother, againſt 'the perſon, and life, of our moſt bleſſed Sovereign. 'Wherein albeit there were ſuch evidences, and arguments, as that any man who would have taken 'notice thereof, might have been ſufficiently informed therein, even at the very firſt, and afterwards, 'by the clear depoſitions (for moſt pregnant circumſtances) and ample atteſtations of many 'perſons of honour and quality; the parliament 'of that kingdom took full knowledge thereof, 'and accordingly proceeded to the forfeiting of 'the whole eſtate of that Earl, and of his 'heirs for ever: yet ſome humorous men, whom 'in that reſpect I may juſtly term unthankful 'unto God, and undutiful to their King, out of 'fond imaginations, or rather, if you will, ſeditious 'ſuppoſitions of their own, did both at home and 'abroad, by whiſperings and ſecret buzzings into the 'ears of the people (who were better perſuaded of 'them than indeed there was cauſe), employ their 'wits and tongues, to obſcure the truth of that 'matter, and to caſt an imputation where it was 'leaſt deſerved. Which, when God had permitted, 'for the ſpace of ſome years to rankle and feſter in 'the bowels of thoſe who were the authors of it; 'the ſame God, in his wiſdom, at laſt meaning to 'cure them, if they would be cured, of that malady, 'diſcovered that in the ſame treaſon, although 'carried never ſo ſecretly, there were other confederates, of whom hitherto the world had taken no 'kind of knowledge. And albeit two of the perſons 'intereſted in that buſineſs were lately dead, and 'departed unto far greater torment than all the 'earth could lay upon them (unleſs they died repentant), yet it was apprehended, that a third party 'remained, who had foreknowledge of that conſpiracy, and was able to utter much of the ſecrets of 'it: one George Sprot, a notary, inhabiting at 'Ayemouth, a place well known in that county. 'Which matter, or ſome part thereof, being made 'known to an honourable perſon, a moſt faithful 'ſervant to His Majeſty (27): firſt, by ſome words 'that fell from Sprot himſelf, and afterwards, by 'ſome papers found upon him; it was ſo wiſely carried, and ſo prudently brought about, by the 'great care and diligence of that nobleman (God 'Almighty bleſſing the buſineſs) that ſo much was 'revealed, as followeth in this treatiſe, upon the 'acts to be ſeen, which are here ſet down at large, 'word for word, as they agree with the proceſs 'original, and other examinations, that ſuch as 'have been averſe, may at laſt receive ſatisfaction. 'Touching all which I ſhall ſay nothing, but only 'report that which befel upon the day of his death, 'when he ſuffered for that treaſon. Having then 'the ſentence paſſed on him, upon Friday, Auguſt '12, 1608, in the forenoon, and publicly being 'warned to prepare himſelf to his end, which muſt 'be that day after dinner, he moſt willingly ſubmitted 'himſelf unto that puniſhment, which (as he then 'acknowledged) he had juſtly deſerved. And being left to himſelf, till dinner time was expired, 'then came to him into that private place where he 'remained, ſome of the reverend biſhops, diverſe 'lords of the Seſſion (28), two of the Engliſh miniſters, there employed by his majeſty, with diverſe other miniſters of the town of Edinburgh. 'Before whom he firſt acknowledged and avouched 'his former confeſſion to be true, and that he would 'die in the ſame; and then falling on his knees, in 'a corner of that room where he and they then 'were, in a prayer to God uttered aloud, he ſo paſſionately deplored his former wickedneſs, but eſpecially that ſin of his, for which he was to die, 'that a man may juſtly ſay, he did, in a ſort, deject and caſt down himſelf to the gates of Hell, as 'if he ſhould there have been ſwallowed up in the 'gulph

(22) *Ibid.* p. 254—256.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 257, 258.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 268. 270.

(25) Sir A. W.'s Court and Character of King James, p. 8, 9.

(26) The Title of this Pamphlet runs thus, The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction, of George Sprot, Notary, in Ayemouth. Together with his conſtant and extraordinary Behaviour at his Death, in Edinburgh, Auguſt 12, 1608. Written and ſet forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Juſtice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the treaſonable device betwixt John, Earl of Gowry, and Robert Logane, of Reſtalrig (commonly called Leſterig), plotted by them for the cruel murthering of our moſt gracious Sovereign. Before which treatiſe, is prefixed alſo a preface, written by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Wincheſter; who was preſent at the ſaid Sprot's execution. London, printed by Melch. Bradwood, for William Aſpley, 1608, 4to. Containing 60 Pages, of which the Preface makes 38.

(27) The Earl of Dunbar.

(28) Archbiſhop Glaſcow, Bp. Brichen, Ld. Halyrud-houſe, John Preſton, Collector. Regiſter, Juſtice Clerk, D. Maxwell, M. Hodſon, M. P. Galloway, M. J. Hall, Ch. Lumſden, and others.

once into the wide ſea of politics, and inſtead of ſatisfying the King's ſcruples, excited new jealouſies and apprehenſions, as appears by a very ſingular letter written by him to

'gulph of deſperation: yet, preſently laying 'hold upon the mercies of God in Chriſt, he 'raiſed himſelf, and ſtrangely lifted up his ſoul 'unto the throne of grace, applying joy and com-'fort to his own heart ſo effectually, as cannot well 'be deſcribed. In the admitting of this conſolation 'into his inward man, he burſt out into tears, ſo 'plentifully flowing from him, that for a time they 'ſtopped his voice. The ſight, and hearing where-'of, wrought ſo forcible an impreſſion in thoſe per-'ſons of honour, and learned men, who beheld him, 'that there was ſcarce any one of them, who could 'refrain tears in the place, as diverſe of themſelves 'that day did witneſs unto me (29). ——— After-'ward being brought to the ſcaffold where he was to 'die, he uttered many things, among which, I ob-'ſerved theſe: He acknowledged to the people, 'that he was come thither to ſuffer moſt deſervedly; 'that he had been an offender againſt Almighty 'God, in very many reſpects; but that none of his 'ſins was ſo grievous unto him, as that for which 'he muſt die; wherein, notwithſtanding he was not 'an actor, but a concealer only: That he was in-'gyred (involved) in it by the Laird of Raſtal-'rig, and his ſervant, the Laird of Bour, both 'which, he ſaid, were men that profeſſed not reli-'gion. Whereupon he exhorted men to take heed, 'how they accompanied with ſuch as are not reli-'gious; becauſe, ſaid he, with ſuch as make not 'profeſſion of religion, there is no faith, no truth, 'no holding of their word, as himſelf had tried and 'found. But touching the treaſon, for the con-'cealing whereof he was condemned, he added, 'that he was preſerved alive to open that ſecret 'myſtery which ſo long had lain hid. That God 'had kept him ſince that attempt of the Earl Gow-'rie, from very many dangers, but notedly from 'one, when being in apparent hazard of drowning, 'he was ſtrangely delivered; which, ſaid he, was 'God's work, that I might remain alive unto this 'happy and bleſſed day, that the truth might be 'made known. And now I confeſs my fault, to the 'ſhame of myſelf, and to the ſhame of the devil; 'but to the glory of God. And I do it not either 'for fear of death, or for any hope of life (for I 'have deſerved to die, and am unworthy to live), 'but becauſe it is the truth, which I ſhall ſeal with 'my blood. My fault, ſaith he, is ſo great, that 'if I had a thouſand lives, and could die ten thou-'ſand deaths, yet I might not make ſatisfaction, 'that I ſhould conceal ſuch a treaſon againſt ſo gra-'cious a King. Theſe, and the like words, when 'he had ſpoken upon one ſide of the ſcaffold, he 'turned him to the ſecond ſide, and afterwards to the 'third (that all the people might hear), where he 'ſpake to the ſame purpoſe as formerly he had 'done (30). ——— And here, being told by the 'ſaid miniſters, and other perſons of quality, that 'being ſo near his departure out of the world, it con-'cerned him to ſpeak nothing but the truth, and 'that upon the peril of his ſoul: he anſwered, that 'to the end that they ſhould know that he had 'ſpoken nothing but the verity, and that his confeſ-'ſion was true in every reſpect, he would (at the laſt 'gaſp) give them ſome apparent token for the con-'firmation of the ſame. Then fitting himſelf to 'the ladder, the executioner cometh to him, and as 'the manner is, aſking forgiveneſs of him; "with "all my heart," ſaith he, "for you do but your "office, and it is the thing I deſire; becauſe ſuffer-"ing in my body, I ſhall in my ſoul be joined to "my Saviour." Aſcending up to the ladder, 'he deſired the people to ſing a pſalm with 'him, which they did with many a weeping 'eye. He named the 6th pſalm, and beginning, 'or taking it up himſelf, in every verſe or line 'thereof, he went before the people, ſinging both 'loud and tunably unto the very end. Then once 'again confirming and avowing his former confeſ-'ſion, he covered his own face, and commending 'his ſoul to God, he was turned off the ladder; 'where hanging by the neck ſome little while, he 'three ſeveral times, gave a loud clap with his hands, 'that all the ſtanders-by might hear, which was the 'ſign or token (as it ſeemeth) which he a little be-'fore had ſaid, that he ſhould give at his laſt gaſp, 'for the ratification and avowing of thoſe things 'which by his confeſſion he had ſo many times de-'clared and delivered. Theſe things were done in 'the open ſight of the ſun, in the King's capital 'town, at the market-croſs in Edinburgh, in the pre-'ſence of diverſe thouſands of all ſorts; of the no-'bility, of the clergy, of the gentry, of the burgeſſes, 'of women and children; myſelf, with the reſt of 'the Engliſh miniſters, ſtanding by, and looking 'on, and giving God the glory, that after ſo long 'a ſpace as eight years and eight days (for ſo it was 'by juſt computation, after the attempt of Gowrie) 'he was pleaſed to give ſo noble a teſtimony unto 'that, which by ſome maligners had been ſecretly 'called in queſtion, without any ground or reaſon. 'I have reported at length, thoſe particulars, which 'I heard and ſaw; which that honourable perſonage 'who wrote this treatiſe following, doth ſomewhat 'more briefly deliver, but yet both of us very truly, 'as thouſands can witneſs (31).'

(29) Dean Abbot's Preface, p. 18—22.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 24—26.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 27, 28.

[It is remarkable, that Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſhould have paid no regard to the confeſſion of G. Sprot. 'Whether or not,' ſays he, 'I ſhould 'mention the arraignment and execution of George 'Sprot, notary, in Eymouth, who ſuffered at Edin-'burgh in the Auguſt preceding, I am doubtful; 'his confeſſion, though voluntary and conſtant, 'carrying ſmall probability. This man had de-'poned, "That he knew Robert Logan of Reſtal-"rig, who was dead two years before, to have "been privy to Gowrie's conſpiracy, and that he "underſtood ſo much by a letter that fell into his "hand, written by Reſtalrig to Gowry, bearing "that he would take part with him in the revenge "of his father's death; and that the beſt courſe "ſhould be to bring the King by ſea to Faſcaſtle, "where he might be ſafely kept, till advertiſement "came from thoſe with whom the earl kept intelli-"gence." It ſeemed a very fiction, and to be a 'mere invention of the man's own brain; for 'neither did he ſhew the letter, nor could any wiſe 'man think that Gowry, who went about that 'treaſon ſo ſecretly, would have communicated the 'matter with ſuch a man as this Reſtalrig was 'known to be. As ever it was, the man remained 'conſtant in his confeſſion; and at his dying, when 'he was to be caſt off the ladder (for he was hanged 'in the public ſtreet of Edinburgh), promiſed to 'give the beholders a ſign for confirming them in 'the truth of what he had ſpoken; which alſo he 'performed, by clapping his hands three ſeveral 'times after he was caſt off by the executioner (32).'

(32) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 509, 3d edition.

The diſcoveries of Sprot, however, were not only credited at that time, but have been conſidered as authentic by two of the lateſt hiſtorians of Scotland, Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Guthrie. There is ſcarcely any thing, in the whole hiſtory of that country, which is attended with greater difficulties and perplexities than Gowrie's conſpiracy. The moſt judicious, as well as the beſt written, account of this extraordinary event, ſeems to be that which we have in Dr. Robertſon; part of whoſe relation of it has already been given (33); and whoſe reflections upon it, together with his ingenious and plauſible conjecture, with relation to the motive and object of Earl Gowrie's attempt upon the perſon of King James, we ſhall inſert; as they cannot fail of being acceptable to our Readers. 'But though it be thus unex-'pectedly diſcovered that Gowrie did not act with-'out aſſociates (referring to Sprot's confeſſion), 'little additional light is thrown, by this diſcovery, 'on the motives and intention of his conduct. It 'appears almoſt incredible that two young men of 'ſuch diſtinguiſhed virtue ſhould revolt all at once 'from their duty, and attempt a crime ſo atrocious 'as the murder of their ſovereign. It appears ſtill 'more improbable, that they ſhould have concerted 'their undertaking with ſo little foreſight and pru-'dence. If they intended that the deed ſhould 'have remained concealed, they could not have 'choſen a more improper ſcene for executing it than 'their own houſe. If they intended that Henderſon 'ſhould have ſtruck the blow, they could not have 'pitched on a man more deſtitute of the courage,

(33) Hiſtory of Scotland, Vol. ii. p. 251—272, 8vo. edition of 1776.

to Dr. Abbot, upon this ſubject [G]. It does not appear what effect this letter of the King's produced; but in all probability it anſwered his majeſty's end in writing it, as it is an inconteſtible proof of the confidence he had in the perſon it was written to. At leaſt thus much is certain, that Dean Abbot ſtood ſo high in the King's favour, that on the

'that muſt direct the hand of an aſſaſſin; nor could 'they expect that he, unſolicited, and unacquainted 'with their purpoſe, would venture on ſuch a de'ſperate action. If Ruthven meant to ſtab the King 'with his own hand, why did he withdraw the dag'ger, after it was pointed at his breaſt? How could 'he leave the King after ſuch a plain declaration of 'his intention? Was it not prepoſterous to com'mit him to the keeping of ſuch a timid and falſe 'aſſociate as Henderſon? For what purpoſe did he 'waſte the time, in binding the hands of an unarm'ed man, whom he might eaſily have diſpatched 'with his ſword? Had Providence permitted them 'to embrue their hands in the blood of their ſove'reign, what advantage could have accrued to them 'by his death? and what claims or pretenſions could 'they have oppoſed to the rights of his children? 'Inevitable and inſtant vengeance, together with 'perpetual infamy, were the only conſequences they 'could expect to follow ſuch a crime.

'On the other hand, it is impoſſible to believe that 'the King had formed any deſign againſt the life of 'the two brothers. They had not incurred his in'dignation, by any crime; and were in no degree 'the objects of his jealouſy or hatred; nor was he of 'a ſpirit ſo ſanguinary, or ſo noted for raſh and de'ſperate valour, as to have attempted to murder them 'in their own houſe, where they were ſurrounded 'with many domeſtics, he only with a ſlender and 'unarmed train; where they could call to their aſ'ſiſtance the inhabitants of a city, at the devotion of 'their family, while he was at a diſtance from all aid; 'and leaſt of all would he have choſen for his aſſoci'ates, in ſuch an enterpriſe, the Earl of Mar, and 'the Duke of Lenox, the former connected in cloſe 'friendſhip with the houſe of Gowrie, and the latter 'married to one of the Earl's ſiſters.

'Whichſoever of theſe oppoſite ſyſtems we em'brace; whether we impute the intention of mur'der to Gowrie, or to the King; inſuperable dif'ficulties ariſe, and we are involved in darkneſs, 'myſtery, and contradictions. Perhaps the ſource 'of the whole conſpirrcy ought to be ſearched for 'deeper, and by deriving it from a more remote 'cauſe, we may diſcover it to be leſs criminal.

'To keep the King of Scots in continual depend'ance, was one great object of Elizabeth's policy. 'In order to this, ſhe ſometimes ſoothed him; and 'ſometimes bribed his miniſters and favourites; and 'when ſhe failed of attaining her end by theſe 'means, ſhe encouraged the clergy to render any ad'miniſtration ſhe diſtruſted unpopular, by decrying 'it, or ſtirred up ſome faction of the nobles to op'poſe, and to overturn it. They, unacquainted 'with the arts of undermining a Miniſtry by in'trigues, had recourſe to the ruder practice of ren'dering themſelves maſters of the King's perſon, 'that they might thereby obtain the directions of his 'councils. Thoſe nobles, who ſeized the King at 'the *Raid of Ruthven*, were inſtigated and ſup'ported by her. Bothwell, in all his wild attempts, 'enjoyed her protection, and found a retreat in her 'dominions. The connections which James had 'been forming of late with the Roman Catholic 'princes, his ſecret negociations in England with 'her ſubjects, and the maxims by which he govern'ed his own kingdom, all contributed to excite her 'jealouſy. She dreaded ſome great revolution in 'Scotland to be approaching, and it was her inte'reſt to prevent it. The Earl of Gowrie was one 'of the moſt powerful of the Scottiſh nobles, and 'deſcended from anceſtors warmly attached to the 'Engliſh intereſt. He had adopted the ſame ſyſtem, 'and believed the welfare of his country to be in'ſeparably connected with the ſubſiſtence of the al'liance between the two kingdoms. During his 'reſidence at Paris, he had contracted an intimate 'friendſhip with Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's 'ambaſſador there, and was recommended by him 'to his court, as a perſon of whom great uſe might 'be made. Elizabeth received him, as he paſſed 'through England, with diſtinguiſhed marks of re'ſpect and favour. From all theſe circumſtances, 'a ſuſpicion may ariſe, that the plan of the con'ſpiracy againſt the King was formed at that time, 'in concert with her. Such a ſuſpicion prevailed in 'that age, and from the letters of Nicolſon, Eliza'beth's agent in Scotland, it appears not to be 'deſtitute of foundation. An Engliſh ſhip was ob'ſerved hovering, for ſome time, in the mouth of 'the frith of Forth. The Earl's two younger 'brothers fled into England, after the ill ſucceſs of 'the conſpiracy, and were protected by Elizabeth. 'And James himſelf, though he prudently con'cealed it, took great umbrage at her behaviour. 'None, however, of Elizabeth's intrigues in Scot'land tended to hurt the King's perſon, but only 'to circumſcribe his authority, and to thwart 'his ſchemes. His life was the ſureſt ſafeguard of 'her own, and reſtrained the Popiſh pretenders to 'her crown, and their abettors, from deſpe'rate attempts, to which their impatience and 'bigotry might, otherwiſe, have urged them on. 'To have encouraged Gowrie to murder his ſove'reign, would, on her part, have been an act of 'the utmoſt imprudence. Nor does this ſeem to 'have been the intention of the two brothers. Mr. 'Ruthven, firſt of all, endeavoured to decoy the 'King to Perth, without any attendants. When 'theſe proved more numerous than was expected, 'the Earl employed a ſtratagem in order to ſeparate 'them from the King, by pretending that he had rode 'away towards Falkland, and by calling haſtily for 'their horſes, that they might follow him. But 'ſhutting James up, mean while, in a diſtant corner 'of the houſe, and by attempting to bind his hands, 'their deſign ſeems to have been rather to ſeize, 'than to aſſaſſinate him. And though Gowrie had 'not collected his followers, ſo as to have been 'able to detain him long a priſoner in that part of 'the kingdom by open force, he might ſoon have 'been conveyed aboard the Engliſh ſhip, which 'waited perhaps to receive him, and he might have 'been landed at Faſt-Caſtle, a houſe of Logan's, 'in which, according to many obſcure hints in his 'letters, ſome rendezvous of the conſpirators was 'to be held. Amidſt the ſurpriſe and terror, into 'which the King muſt have been thrown by the 'violence offered to him, it was extremely natural 'for him to conclude that his life was ſought. It 'was the intereſt of all his followers to confirm him 'in this belief, and to magnify his danger, in order 'to add to the importance and merit of their own 'ſervices. And thus his fear, and their vanity, 'aided by the credulity and wonder, which the con'templation of any great and tragical event, when 'not fully underſtood, is apt to inſpire, augmented 'the whole tranſaction. On the other hand, the ex'travagance and improbability of the circumſtances, 'which were added, detracted from the credit of 'thoſe, which really happened; and even furniſhed 'pretences for calling in queſtion the truth of the 'whole conſpiracy.']

[G] *A very ſingular letter written by him to Dr. Abbot, upon this ſubject.*] This letter from the King to Dr. Abbot, was firſt publiſhed on occaſion of the famous diſpute between Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, and his adverſaries, on his taking the oaths to King William III., after ſome heſitation, and grounding the defence of his conduct on (Biſhop) Overall's Convocation Book (34). It is not neceſſary here, to enter at all into the merits of that diſpute: but as the letter has a cloſe connection with the hiſtory of the Archbiſhop's life, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it (35).

'Good Dr. Abbot,

'I Cannot abſtain to give you my judgment of 'the proceedings in the convocation, as you will 'call it; and both as *rex in ſolio*, and *unus gregis in eccleſia*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the 'crown, nobody calls in queſtion, but they that 'neither love you nor me, and you may gueſs whom 'I mean; all that you, and your brethren, have ſaid 'of

(34) A Vindication of the Caſe of Allegiance, due to Sovereign Powers; in Reply to an Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intitled, Obedience and Submiſſion to the preſent Government demonſtrated from Biſhop Overall's Convocation Book; with a Poſtſcript in Anſwer to Dr. Sherlock's Caſe of Allegiance, &c. by William Sherlock, Maſter of the Temple, 4to. 1691, p. 4.

(35) New Obſervator, Vol. iii. No. xii. the Author of which tells us, the Original is in the hands of an eminent perſon; the four laſt lines in the King's own hand, and the reſt in the Secretary's.

the death of Dr. Overton, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, which happened the latter end of April 1609, his majeſty thought of Dr. Abbot as his ſucceſſor, and he was accordingly conſecrated Biſhop of thoſe united ſees, on December 3, in the ſame year (z). But this, it ſeems, did not appear in the King's eyes a ſufficient recompence, for the ſervices rendered him by ſo able a man; and therefore, before he had ſat a month in this biſhoprick, he was tranſlated to London, that ſee becoming void by the death of Dr. Thomas Ravis, and he was accordingly removed thither on the 20th of January following (a). It was but a ſhort time that he poſſeſſed both theſe biſhopricks, and yet in that ſhort time, he ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the diligent performance of his function, by conſtant preaching, and by expreſſing the utmoſt readineſs to promote learning and learned men, that he obtained a general good character, as appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times (b) [H]. While the good biſhop was thus employed, a new opportunity offered of the King's teſtifying his eſteem of, and confidence in, this worthy perſon, by the Archiepiſcopal See of Canterbury's becoming vacant, as it did, on the 2d of November 1610, by the death of Dr. Richard Bancroft (c). The court Biſhops immediately caſt their eyes upon the celebrated Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then Biſhop of Ely, and pointed him out to the King, as one ſufficiently qualified to take upon him the government of the Church; and they thought this recommendation, joined to the King's known regard for the parts and piety of this eminent man, enough to ſecure his promotion to the Primacy (d). But either the King himſelf thought of the Biſhop of London, or he was propoſed to him by his old friend and patron, the Earl of Dunbar; and therefore, without taking the advice of thoſe prelates, his majeſty preferred Biſhop Abbot to the throne of Canterbury, in which he was ſeated on the 9th of April, 1611 (e); and on the 23d of June following, was ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council (f). Thus we ſee him, before he had arrived at the age of fifty, exalted to the higheſt dignity in the Church, and celebrated

(z) Regiſt. Bancroft, fol. 96. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 584. 735. Godwin de Præſulib. Angliæ, Lond. 4to. 1616, p. 225.

(a) *Ibid.* fol. 103. Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 735.

(b) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

(c) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 365. Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 584.

(d) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 383.

(e) Regiſt. ipſius, fol. 1.

(f) Camden. Annal. Jacobi I.

' of a king in poſſeſſion (for that word, I tell you, is
' no more, than that you make uſe of in your canon)
' concerns not me at all: I am the next heir, and
' the crown is mine by all rights you can name, but
' that of conqueſt; and Mr. Solicitor has ſufficiently
' expreſſed my own thoughts, concerning the nature
' of kingſhip; and concerning the nature of it, *ut in*
' *mea perſona*, and I believe you were all of his opi-
' nion, at leaſt none of you ſaid any thing contrary
' to it, at the time he ſpoke to you from me: but
' you know, all of you, as I think, that my reaſon
' of calling you together, was to give your judg-
' ments; how far a chriſtian and a proteſtant king
' may concur to aſſiſt his neighbours to ſhake off their
' obedience to their own ſovereign? Upon the ac-
' count of oppreſſion, tyranny, or what elſe you
' like to name it. In the late Queen's time, this
' kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the Hollanders
' both with arms and advice, and none of your coat
' ever told me, that any ſcrupled at it in her reign.
' Upon my coming to England, you may know that
' it came from ſome of yourſelves, to raiſe ſcruples
' about this matter; and albeit I have often told
' my mind concerning *jus regium in ſubditos*, as in
' *May* laſt, in the ſtar chamber, upon the occaſion
' of Hales's pamphlet; yet I never took any notice
' of theſe ſcruples, till the affairs of Spain and
' Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours call
' on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and
' Spain, and the honour of the nation will not ſuffer
' the Hollanders to be abandoned, eſpecially after ſo
' much money and men ſpent in their quarrel;
' therefore I was of the mind to call my clergy to-
' gether, to ſatisfy not ſo much me, as the world
' about us, of the juſtneſs of my owning the Hol-
' landers at this time. This I needed not to have
' done, and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I
' had not; you have dipped too deep, in what all
' kings reſerve among the *arcana imperii*; and what-
' ever averſion you may profeſs againſt God's be-
' ing the author of ſin, you have ſtumbled upon the
' threſhold of that opinion, in ſaying, upon the
' matter, that even tyranny is God's authority, and
' ſhould be remembered as ſuch. If the King of
' Spain ſhould return to claim his old pontifical
' right to my kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for
' others to fight for it; for you tell us upon the
' matter beforehand, his authority is God's autho-
' rity, if he prevail.

' Mr. Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my mind
' further on this theory buſineſs; I ſhall give you my
' orders about it by Mr. Solicitor, and until then,
' meddle no more in it, for they are edge tools; or
' rather like that weapon that is ſaid to cut with
' one edge, and cure with the other: I commit
' you to God's protection, good Dr. Abbot, and
' reſt

Your good friend,

JAMES R.

[H] *As appears from ſeveral memorials of thoſe times.*] While he was Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, it appears that he ſolicited Archbiſhop Bancroft, to beſtow a prebend upon Dr. Thomas James, who was Sir Thomas Bodley's Librarian at Oxford (36). In the year 1610, Thomas Tiſdale, of Glimpton, in Oxfordſhire, Eſq; bequeathed five thouſand pounds to Dr. George Abbot, then Biſhop of London, Sir John Bennet, and Dr. Array, to purchaſe lands for the maintenance of ſeven fellows and ſix ſcholars; which money was laid out in the purchaſe of two hundred and fifty pounds a year. Afterwards, Richard Wightwick, B. D. rector of Eaſt-Iſle, in Berkſhire, gave lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three fellows, and four ſcholars; upon which, the truſtees beforementioned having repaired, and in a manner rebuilt Broad-Gate-Hall, in Oxford, procured, in the reign of King James, upon their petition ſetting forth theſe facts, a charter of Mortmain, for ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, to this new foundation, which was called Pembroke College (37), in reſpect to William, Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor of the Univerſity; and for our Prelate's activity in accompliſhing this affair, Dr. Thomas Clayton, who was the firſt maſter of the new college, wrote him a very handſome letter of acknowledgment, which is ſtill extant (38). In Auguſt 1610, he conſecrated the new church-yard on the weſt ſide of the Fleet-Ditch, the ground of which had been given to the inhabitants of St. Bride's pariſh, by the Earl of Dorſet (39). His zeal, and indefatigable diligence, in the public exerciſe of his function, was ſo remarkable, and the conduct of his private life ſo exemplary, as well as irreproachable, that we find him celebrated by a poet of that time, for uniting the wiſdom of the ſerpent, with the innocency of the dove (40); which was not only true of him then, but in the whole ſucceeding courſe of his life; wherein it may be truly ſaid, that as his abilities raiſed him to preferment, ſo nothing but his rigid virtue and incorruptible probity expoſed him to thoſe ſtorms of envy and malice, which, however they might affect his fortune, could never ſhake his conſtancy, or prejudice his reputation.

(36) Reliq. Bodleian. 8vo. 1703. p. 228.

(37) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. xvii. lib. xi. p. 125. See his Worthies alſo in Oxfordſhire.

(38) The Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, by Mr. John Ward, fol. 1740. p. 210.

(39) Newcourt's Dioceſe of London, Vol. i. fol. 316.

(40) See the Scourge of Folly, conſiſting of Satyrical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy Perſons, &c. by John Davis, of Hereford, 8vo. *ſine Anno*, p. 187.

by one of his contemporaries, and a biſhop too, for his learning, eloquence, and indefatigable diligence in preaching and writing, notwithſtanding the great burthen that lay upon him, from the neceſſary attendance on the duties of his high office; eſpecially preſiding in the high commiſſion court, which ſat weekly at his palace, and his regular aſſiſting at the council, which, while his health permitted, he never failed (*g*). At this time he was in the higheſt favour both with Prince and People; and appears to have had a principal hand in all the great tranſactions in Church and State. He was never eſteemed exceſſively fond of power, or deſirous of carrying his prerogative, as Primate of England, to an extraordinary height; yet as ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick, he ſhewed a ſteady reſolution in the maintenance of the rights of the high commiſſion court, and would not ſubmit to Lord Coke's prohibitions (*b*). He likewiſe ſhewed his concern for the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion abroad, by procuring his majeſty's application to the States General, againſt Conrade Vorſtius, whom they called to the Profeſſorſhip of Leyden (*i*); in which affair Sir Ralph Winwood was employed; and when it was found difficult to obtain from the States that ſatisfaction which the King deſired, his Grace, in conjunction with the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, framed an expedient for contenting both parties (*k*) [*I*]. In all probability this alarmed ſome of the warm churchmen at home, who were by no means pleaſed with the King's diſcountenancing abroad thoſe opinions which themſelves favoured in both univerſities. But whatever their ſentiments upon this matter might be, Archbiſhop Abbot ſeems to have had as great concern for the church as any of them, when he thought it really in danger, as appears by a ſhort and plain letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, about one Mr. Amias, who had been appointed preacher in the Engliſh congregation at the Hague, of whom the Biſhop ſays, that he was a fit perſon to breed up the captains and ſoldiers there in mutiny and faction, and, conſequently, very unfit for his office (*l*). His great concern for the true intereſt of religion, made him a zealous promoter of the match between the Elector Palatine, and the Princeſs Elizabeth; and that Prince coming here in October 1612 (*m*), his Grace thought fit to invite the nobility that attended him to an entertainment, at his archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth, where, though uninvited and unexpected, the Elector himſelf reſorted, to ſhew his great reſpect for the Archbiſhop, and was ſo well pleaſed with his welcome, that when he feaſted the members of the privy council at Eſſex Houſe, he ſhewed particular reſpect to the Archbiſhop, and thoſe who attended

(*g*) Godwin de Præſul. Angliæ, p. 225.

(*b*) Memorials of affairs of State, in the Reigns of Queen Eliz. and King James I. Collected from the Original Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood, fol. 1725, Vol. iii. p. 281.

(*i*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 384.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 294. 296. 317. Heylyn, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 346.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

[*I*] *Framed an expedient for contenting both parties.*] [If the Archbiſhop took ſo active a part in the affair of Conrade Vorſtius as is here repreſented, his Grace's conduct was far from meriting the approbation beſtowed upon it. But the ingenious author of the Confeſſional endeavours to ſhew, that there is no ſufficient proof of King James's having been inſtigated by Dr. Abbot, to act againſt Vorſtius (41). This, however, is aſſerted by Brandt, whoſe words are as follows. 'At laſt, ſome found means, by 'the aſſiſtance of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 'to engage King James, who then paſſed for the 'moſt learned Prince of his age, in the quarrel 'againſt Vorſtius (42).' Sir Ralph Winwood, likewiſe, in a letter from the Hague to Mr. Trumbull, Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, in which ſome account is given of the diſputes occaſioned in Holland, by Vorſtius's book *De Attributis Dei*, ſays; 'The knowledge whereof being come to the 'notice of our Lord of Canterbury, out of the care 'he hath to preſerve religion in its antient purity 'and integrity, he hath ſo far prevailed with his 'Majeſty, that from him I have had charge publicly to proteſt againſt the reception of this Vorſtius, which I have done in the aſſembly of the 'States General (43).'

(41) Confeſſional, p. 284, 285. Note, 3d Edition.

(42) Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. ii. p. 97.

(43) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. 296.

Theſe are reſpectable authorities; and will be found the more deſerving of credit, when we conſider the Archbiſhop's known averſion to Arminianiſm, and his perſuaſion of that doctrine's being favourable to popery. Nevertheleſs, it is highly probable that James the Firſt's zeal in the affair might carry him farther than was agreeable to the natural moderation of Dr. Abbot's temper. This may fairly be collected from a letter of the Earl of Saliſbury to Sir Ralph Winwood, in which, after relating the pains that had been taken by Sir Noel Caron, the Dutch Ambaſſador, to moderate the King in the caſe of Vorſtius, the Earl adds; 'But, 'Sir, all was ſpoken to a deaf ear; for Almighty 'God doth know the zeal which ſtirreth the King 'againſt that man, ſo kindles in him upon every 'accident of diſcourſe, as we have all reaſon to 'bleſs God in making us ſubject to a King, that, 'without mixture of glory or private deſign, taketh 'ſo much to heart the injury that is done to the 'bleſſed Trinity.' The expedient, referred to in the text, will be fully explained by the following extract from the ſame letter. 'I have entered into 'thought and conferred with my Lord of Canter'bury, what expedient might be found out to ac'commodate things to all parties contentments, 'and have at length reſolved of this courſe, which 'we have cauſed in our two names to be imparted 'to Sir Noel Caron; and you may conceive, that 'we would not have ventured upon it but with '*underhand warrant:* That ſeeing the States are 'reſolved to hear Vorſtius, as being enforced thereto 'by the liberty of their countries to yield therein 'unto him; ſo the States do ſuſpend any preſent 'judgment, until they may have ſent the whole 'proceſs of the cauſe in writing abroad to the 'churches of France, Geneva, Switzerland, the 'Palatinate, and Heſſen, to underſtand their ad'vices and opinions in it; that ſo the States may 'thereby be the better grounded to paſs their de'finitive ſentence afterwards, either for or againſt 'Vorſtius: but with this condition, that after Vor'ſtius ſhall have been heard, he be forthwith ſent 'out of the United Provinces, until the States 'ſhall reſolve (upon knowledge of the opinions of 'the churches as aforeſaid), to paſs their definitive ſentence; for if he be found to be an heretic, 'we aſſure ourſelves the States will not receive 'him; if not, his Majeſty hath no cauſe to take 'exceptions againſt him. So that you may obſerve 'theſe gradations which are required; firſt to ſend 'Vorſtius preſently out of Leyden (though it be 'but to ſome other of their towns), until the 'hearing; and after the hearing to ſend him out 'of the provinces, until the States do pronounce 'their ſentence conformable to the opinions of the 'churches; and ſo either keep him out for ever, 'or reſtore him if he be innocent (44).' Among other cauſes of the King's oppoſition to Vorſtius, reaſon of ſtate has been aſſigned; but nothing of that ſort appears in Winwood's Memorials. The whole affair ſeems to have originated in religious opinion and prejudice; and ſcarcely any thing can ſet James the Firſt's pedantry and bigotry in a more contemptible light, than his interfering ſo warmly in ſuch an inſignificant concern as the appointment made by a foreign power to a profeſſorſhip of divinity in one of its own univerſities.]

(44) *Ubi ſupra*, Vol. iii. p. 317.

him.

him (n). [The feſtivity occaſioned by the arrival of the Elector Palatine was interrupted, for a time, by the illneſs and death of Henry, Prince of Wales, who departed this life on the 6th of November, in the 19th year of his age; and our prelate had the melancholy offices of attending that accompliſhed prince in his dying moments, and of preaching his funeral ſermon (o).] On the fourteenth of February following, the marriage of the Elector with the Princeſs Elizabeth was ſolemnized with great ſplendor, the Archbiſhop performing the ceremony on a ſtage erected in the middle of the royal chapel; and on the tenth of April, his Electoral Highneſs returned to Germany (p); but before his departure, he made a preſent of plate to the Archbiſhop, of the value of a thouſand pounds, as a mark of the juſt ſenſe he had of the pains his Grace had taken in accompliſhing his marriage; and as an additional mark of his confidence, he wrote to him from Canterbury, in relation to the cauſes of that diſcontent with which he left England (q) [K]. The concern his majeſty had ſhewn for removing Arminius firſt, and then Vorſtius, had given their favourers in Holland ſo much uneaſineſs, that the famous Hugo Grotius, the great champion of their cauſe, was ſent over to England, to endeavour to mitigate the King's diſpleaſure, and, if poſſible, to give him a better opinion of the Remonſtrants, as they began then to be called; and we have a very ſingular account of the man, and of his negotiation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop (r) [L]. In the ſpring of the year 1613, the affair of the Charterhouſe was ſettled, and at the cloſe of the month of June, his Grace, and the reſt of the truſtees

(n) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 428. 430.

(o) Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 350. 352, 353. 357. 363, 364.

(p) Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 65. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 380. Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(q) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 454.

(r) See that Letter in the Note.

[K] *To the cauſes of that diſcontent, with which he left England.*] The Prince Elector Palatine, a little before he left England, addreſſed himſelf to the King, in hopes of obtaining the enlargement of the Lord Gray, who had been a long time a priſoner in the Tower. But this application ſo little pleaſed the King, that he told him roundly in anſwer, he marvelled, how he ſhould become ſuitor for a man whom he neither knew, or ever ſaw; to which the Prince Elector anſwered, that this was true, but that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke de Boüillon, Prince Maurice of Naſſau, and Count Henry, who were well acquainted with him. In all probability, this, inſtead of giving the King ſatisfaction, filled him with new apprehenſions; for his reply was in a very quick ſtile: Son, ſaid he, when I come into Germany, I promiſe you not to importune you for any of your priſoners. This was ſo far from operating favourably in behalf of Lord Gray, that he was ſoon after more cloſely reſtrained, upon pretence of ſome private converſation he had with one of Lady Arabella's women, which proved after all to be no more than an amorous intrigue. Theſe particulars we learn from a letter written by Mr. Chamberlaine to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated May 6, 1613, and he adds, 'It is thought the Prince Palatine went not away ſo well ſatisfied, being refuſed in diverſe ſuits and requeſts; and I hear that from Canterbury he wrote to the Archbiſhop, complaining, *That the King did not uſe him like a ſon, but rather like a youngling, or childiſh youth, not to be regarded* (45).

(45) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 454.

[L] *Of the man, and of his negociation, from the pen of the Archbiſhop.*] This is contained in a letter from his Grace to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 1, 1613, from Lambeth: it contains a great variety of curious particulars, ſome of which follow (46). 'You muſt take heed, how you truſt Dr. Grotius too far, for I perceive him to be ſo addicted to ſome partialities in thoſe parts, that he feareth not to laſh, ſo it may ſerve a turn. At his firſt coming to the King, by reaſon of his good Latin tongue, he was ſo tedious, and full of tittle-tattle, that the King's judgment was of him, that he was ſome pedant, full of words, and of no great judgment. And I myſelf, diſcovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him, ſo long as he would talk, (which is a great burthen to men replete with buſineſs) did privately give him notice thereof, that he ſhould plainly, and directly, deliver his mind, or elſe he would make the King weary of him. This did not ſo take place, but that afterwards he fell to it again, as was eſpecially obſerved one night at ſupper at the Lord Biſhop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr. Caſaubon (as I think), my Lord intreated him to ſtay ſupper, which he did. There was preſent Dr. Steward, and another Civilian, unto whom he flings out ſome queſtion of that profeſſion, and was ſo full of words, that Dr. Steward afterwards told my Lord, that he did perceive by him, that, like a ſmatterer, he had ſtudied ſome two or three queſtions, whereof when he came in company he muſt be talking to vindicate his ſkill; but if he were put from thoſe, he would ſhew himſelf but a ſimple fellow. There was preſent alſo, Dr. Richardſon, the King's profeſſor of divinity in Cambridge, and another Doctor in that faculty, with whom he falleth in alſo about ſome of thoſe queſtions, which are now controverted among the miniſters in Holland. And being matters wherein he was ſtudied, he uttered all his ſkill concerning them: my Lord of Ely ſitting ſtill at the ſupper all the while, and wondering what a man he had there, who never being in the place or company before, could overwhelm them ſo with talk for ſo long a time. I write this unto you ſo largely, that you may know the diſpoſition of the man, and how kindly he uſed my Lord of Ely, for his good entertainment.——You will aſk me what is this to you? I muſt tell you therefore, that you ſhall not be without your part. At the ſame time that Sir Noel Caron was together with Grotius, being now to take his leave of the King, it was deſired of his majeſty, that he would not haſtily give his judgment concerning points of religion, now in difference in Holland, for that his majeſty had information but of one ſide, and that his Ambaſſador did deal partially, making all reports in favour of the one ſide, and ſaying nothing at all for the other. For he might have let his majeſty know, how factious a generation theſe contradicters are; how they are like to our puritans in England; how refractory they are to the authority of the civil magiſtrate, and other things of like nature, as I wrote you in my former letter. I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this information, whereout I conceive you will make ſome uſe, keeping theſe things privately to yourſelf, as becometh a man of your employment. When his majeſty told me this, I gave ſuch an anſwer as was fit; and now upon the receipt of your letters, ſhall upon the firſt occaſion give further ſatisfaction. All things reſt there as they did, and I, as ready to do you all the good offices, remain, &c.

'GEORGE, Cant.'

(46) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 459.

[This letter concerning Grotius, which certainly ſhews how much the Archbiſhop was miſtaken with regard to that great man, hath been thought to reflect ſome diſcredit on our prelate. But the writer of the Confeſſional obſerves in his behalf, that 'his diſaffection to Grotius was owing to the endeavours and propoſals of the latter, towards a coalition of the proteſtants and papiſts, which every wiſe and conſiſtent proteſtant, in every period ſince the reformation, as well as Abbot, has conſidered as a *Suare*, and treated accordingly.' This author farther remarks, that 'the worſt

truſtees, took poſſeſſion of that place, purſuant to the will of Mr. Sutton (s); and if this gave the Archbiſhop, as no doubt it did, great ſatisfaction, an affair that happened about the ſame time diſturbed him not a little. This was the famous caſe of divorce between the Lady Frances Howard, daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, and Robert, Earl of Eſſex, her huſband; which has been always conſidered as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of King James's reign, though the part acted therein by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury added much to the reputation he had already acquired, for unſhaken and incorruptible integrity [*M*]. The circumſtances that attended this affair might poſſibly leſſen the King's favour to him in ſome reſpects, but he ſtill retained a great ſhare of it, as appears by the raiſing of his brother to the ſee of Saliſbury, in the year 1615 (t); but with Queen Anne, he ſtood always on the beſt terms poſſible (u). He made uſe of his intereſt with her majeſty, when all other applications had failed, to engage her to recommend Mr. George Villiers, ſo well known afterwards in the world, to his majeſty's favour, for which at that time the young man was ſo grateful as to call him father (w), and to deſire

(s) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 367.

(t) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 68.

(u) As we learn from himſelf, in a paſſage of a work of his, tranſcribed in Note [*N*].

(w) See the Article of VILLIERS (GEORGE Duke of Buckingham).

'worſt part of Grotius's character, in the preceding 'letter, is taken from the report of others; and 'might make the worſe impreſſion upon the Arch-'biſhop's mind, as his Grace was aware of the 'pernicious tendency of Grotius's negociations with 'James and his *Arminianizing* prelates, particularly 'by his joining with the latter in advancing max-'ims in favour of arbitrary power (47).' Theſe obſervations are important; but it may ſtill be doubted, whether they will entirely exculpate the good prelate from the charge of prejudice againſt thoſe who had embraced the tenets of Arminius; which tenets in themſelves may be as little connected with any peculiar principles of government, as the oppoſite theological opinions.

(47) Confeſſional, p. 285. Note.

It has been imagined, upon the foundation of a letter written by Caſaubon to Grotius, that the Archbiſhop expreſſed his approbation of an edict, publiſhed by the States of Holland in 1614, relating to the Gomariſts and Arminians; which was intended to reſtore peace between the contending parties; and was conſidered by many as too favourable to the remonſtrants. If he did approve of it, he ſcarcely acted in perfect conſiſtency with his known principles. But the fact appears to be queſtionable, even from Caſaubon's own account; and the Confeſſionaliſt hath produced good reaſons to evince, that no approbation of the formula contained in the edict was ever ſhewn it by our worthy prelate (48).]

(48) *Ibid.* p. 288. 291. Note. Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. ii. p. 137. 142.

[*M*] *Unſhaken and incorruptible integrity.*] This affair of the divorce was by the King referred to a court of delegates, conſiſting of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, and Rocheſter, Sir Julius Cæſar, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Daniel Dunn, Dr. John Bennet, Dr. Francis James, and Dr. Thomas Edwards. This affair was drawn out into a great length, and many accidents happened in the courſe of it, which gave the Archbiſhop infinite diſquiet. He ſaw plainly, that the King was very deſirous the Lady ſhould be divorced, and, on the other hand, he was in his judgment directly againſt the divorce. He laboured all he could to extricate himſelf from theſe difficulties, by having an end put to the cauſe ſome other way than by ſentence, but it was to no purpoſe; for thoſe who drove on this affair, had got too great power to be reſtrained from bringing it to the concluſion they deſired. The Archbiſhop was told, that a predeceſſor of his, which was Archbiſhop Grindall, had ſuffered about Dr. Julio's divorce, and ſo might he; but this, however, did not at all move him. On the contrary, he prepared a ſpeech againſt the nullity of the marriage, which he intended to have ſpoken in the court at Lambeth, September 25, 1613; but he did not make uſe of that ſpeech, becauſe the King ordered them to deliver their opinions in few words. He continued, however, inflexible with regard to his opinion; and therefore, when ſentence was pronounced, the court was divided in the following manner (49).

(49) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 390, 391.

The commiſſioners who gave ſentence in the Lady Eſſex's behalf, were,

Wincheſter,
Ely,
Litchfield and Coventry,
Rocheſter,
} Biſhops.

Sir Julius Cæſar,
Sir Thomas Parrey,
Sir Daniel Dunn,
} Doctors of Law.

The commiſſioners diſſenting.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Biſhop of London.

Sir John Bennet,
Francis James,
Thomas Edwards,
} Doctors of Law.

To juſtify his conduct in this matter, the Archbiſhop drew up the reaſons which induced him to be againſt the ſentence, which King James thought fit to anſwer himſelf, and wrote alſo a letter to him upon that ſubject, in which there are ſome things that are very ſingular, and therefore worthy the reader's notice. 'After that I had fully peruſed 'and rightly conſidered of all your papers, I found 'your principles ſo ſtrange, and your doubts ſo far 'ſought, that I thought it neceſſary, as I have 'already ſaid, to ſet down unto you my obſerva-'tions upon them. But to conclude my letter with 'that plainneſs that becometh one of my quality; 'I muſt freely confeſs, that I find the grounds of 'your oppoſition ſo weak, as I have reaſon to ap-'prehend, that the prejudice you have of the per-'ſons, is the greateſt motive of breeding theſe 'doubts into you; which prejudice is the moſt 'dangerous thing that can fall in a judge, for 'miſleading of his mind. And the reaſon moving 'me to this apprehenſion, is partly grounded upon 'your laſt words to me at your parting from Wind-'ſor, and partly upon a line ſcraped out in your 'paper of doubts, for I am ſure you think me not 'ſo blunt a ſecretary, but that I can read a line 'ſo ſcraped out. In your laſt ſpeeches with me, 'you remember you told me, what aſſurance you 'had of the Earl's ability out of his own mouth, 'which you ſaid you could not but truſt, becauſe 'he was ſo religious a nobleman. But when I told 'you of the other party's contrary affirmation, 'you remember how you uſed the word iniquity; 'and how far your interlined line ſeems to have a 'harmony with this word, yourſelf can beſt judge. 'Now then if I would aſk you, what proof you have 'of the one's religion more than the other's; you 'muſt anſwer me by judging upon the exterior; 'and how deceivable that gueſs is, daily experience 'teaches us: but with a holy proteſtation, that I 'never knew any thing but good of the young 'Earl. Was not this the ground of maſter *Robert* '*Bruſe*'s incredulity, becauſe he knew the Earl of '*Gowry* to be truly religious, &c. (50)' This letter might and probably did trouble the Archbiſhop: however he perſiſted in the ſame conduct, and never could be brought to do any thing, that might appear ſo much as a tacit approbation of that ſentence; as is moſt evident in the account given of this matter, and all the circumſtances attending it (at leaſt in relation to the Archbiſhop), written by himſelf, and publiſhed within theſe few years (51).

(50) Caſe of the Earl of Eſſex, and the Lady FrancesHoward, p. 129.

(51) See a farther account of this treatiſe in note [*Z*].

his advice as to his behaviour, which the Archbiſhop very freely gave him; and it had been very happy for him if he had always followed thoſe councils [*N*]. Towards the cloſe of the next year, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbiſhop of Spalato (*x*), took ſhelter here, from the perſecution with which he was threatened by the Pope, for diſcovering his diſlike both of the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of Rome, and was very kindly received by his majeſty, who was pleaſed to order the Archbiſhop to entertain him (*y*), which he did with generous hoſpitality, till he was otherways provided for by the King. In the ſpring of the year 1618, *viz.* on the ſecond of March, our good Archbiſhop loſt his brother the biſhop of Saliſbury (*z*); and before his grief was well over for ſo near a relation, he met with freſh diſturbance from the King's declaration for permitting ſports and paſtimes on the Lord's day, which was dated at Greenwich, May 4, 1618 (*a*). This declaration was ordered to be read in churches, and the Archbiſhop being accidentally at Croydon in Surry when it came thither, had the courage to forbid its being read, which however the king winked at, notwithſtanding there were ſome about him who let no opportunity ſlip of irritating him againſt this prelate (*b*). [His Grace did a great ſervice this year to the Proteſtant religion, by procuring the manuſcript of Father Paul's excellent hiſtory of the Council of Trent. The perſon employed to negociate the affair was Mr. Nathaniel Brent, who, with no ſmall hazard to himſelf, and to the entire ſatisfaction of the Archbiſhop, found means to convey the whole copy ſafe to England (*c*).] The council of Dort ſat this year, to which were ſent from hence in the beginning of the month of October four commiſſioners, and amongſt them Dr. Hall, Dean of Wincheſter, with whoſe health the climate of Holland diſagreeing, he returned, and Dr. Goad, the Archbiſhop's chaplain, was ſent in his place (*d*). The end of this year proved as diſagreeable to the Biſhop as its beginning; in Autumn, the Queen, his gracious miſtreſs, falling ill of that diſtemper, which, after a tedious ſickneſs, brought her to her end on the firſt of March following (*e*). The Archbiſhop himſelf began alſo to grow infirm; and finding himſelf leſs fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, reſolved, while he had ſtill ſtrength, to enter upon a great and good deſign, which he had long meditated as a teſtimony of affection to his native town of Guilford, where, on the fifth of April 1619, he was preſent when Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the firſt ſtone of his hoſpital, which the Archbiſhop afterwards nobly endowed (*f*) [*O*]. It was towards the end of this year, that the Elector Palatine accepted of the crown of Bohemia (*g*), which occaſioned

(*x*) Camd. Annal. Jacob. I. Dec. 17, 1616.

(*y*) Id. *ibid.*

(*z*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 431. Heylyn's Hiſt. of Abp. Laud, p. 75.

(*a*) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Sabbath, p. 493.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 709.

(*c*) Some letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent. Publiſhed by Dr. Lewis Atterbury, 1705. *Vide* alſo article, BRENT.

(*d*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. of Britain, Cent. xvii. lib. x. p. 80.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. April 5, 1619. Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 283. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 199.

(*g*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James I. p. 481.

[*N*] *If he had always followed thoſe councils.*] We have this very remarkable paſſage from the Archbiſhop's own pen, in the diſcourſe he wrote upon his diſgrace, under the reign of King Charles. In that diſcourſe he obſerves, that it was one of King James's maxims, to take no favourite but what was recommended to him by his Queen; that if ſhe afterwards complained of this Dear One, he might anſwer, it is long of yourſelf, for you were the party that commended him unto me. Our old maſter, ſays the Archbiſhop, took delight ſtrangely in things of this nature. He ſays, that Queen Anne was graciouſly pleaſed to give him more credit than ordinary, and therefore when others had ſolicited her in vain, he was applied to; but for ſome time her majeſty would not liſten to his perſuaſions, or think of recommending Villiers, for which ſhe often gave him theſe reaſons. My Lord, you and the reſt of your friends know not what you do. I know your maſter better than you all; for if this young man be once brought in, the firſt perſons that he will plague muſt be you that labour for him, yea, I ſhall have my part alſo; the King will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may ſeem to be beholden to none but himſelf. Noble Queen (cries out the Archbiſhop after reporting this fact) how like a propheteſs did you ſpeak! The reſt of the ſtory being but ſhort, will appear beſt in the Archbiſhop's own words. 'In 'the end, ſays he, upon importunity, Queen Anne 'condeſcended, and ſo preſſed it with the King, 'that he aſſented thereunto; which was ſo ſtricken 'while the iron was hot, that in the Queen's bed-'chamber, the King knighted him with the rapier 'which the Prince did wear. And when the King 'gave order to ſwear him of the bed-chamber, So-'merſet, who was near, importuned the King with 'a meſſage, that he might only be ſworn a Groom; '—— but myſelf and others that were at the door, 'ſent to her majeſty that ſhe would perfect her 'work, and cauſe him to be ſworn a Gentleman 'of the chamber. There is a lord or two living 'that had a hand in this atchievement: I diminiſh 'nothing of their praiſe for ſo happy a work, but 'I know my own part beſt; and on the word of 'an honeſt man, I have reported nothing but truth. 'George went in with the King, but no ſooner he 'got looſe, but he came forth unto me in the privy-'gallery, and there embraced me: he profeſſed that 'he was ſo infinitely bound unto me, that all his 'life long he muſt honour me as his father. And 'now he did beſeech me that I would give ſome 'leſſons how he ſhould carry himſelf. When he 'earneſtly followed this chace, I told him I would 'give him three ſhort leſſons, if he would learn 'them. The firſt was, that daily upon his knees 'he ſhould pray to God to bleſs the King his maſter, 'and to give him (George) grace ſtudiouſly to ſerve 'and pleaſe him. The ſecond was, that he ſhould 'do all good offices between the King and the 'Queen, and between the King and the Prince. 'The third was, that he ſhould fill his maſter's ears 'with nothing but truth. I made him repeat theſe 'three things unto me, and then I would have 'him to acquaint the King with them, and to tell 'me when I met him again, what the King ſaid 'unto him. He promiſed me he would; and the 'morrow after, Mr. Thomas Murrey, the Prince's 'tutor, and I ſtanding together in the gallery at 'Whitehall, Sir George Villiers coming forth and 'drawing to us, he told Mr. Murrey how much he 'was beholden unto me, and that I had given him 'certain inſtructions, which I prayed him to rehearſe, 'as indifferently well he did before us; yea, and 'that he had acquainted the King with them, who 'ſaid, they were inſtructions worthy of an Arch-'biſhop to give to a young man. His countenance 'of thankfulneſs for a few days continued, but 'not long, either to me or any other of his well-'wiſhers. The Roman hiſtorian Tacitus hath ſome-'where a note, That benefits while they may be 'requited ſeem courteſies, but when they are ſo 'high that they cannot be repaid, they prove mat-'ters of hatred (52).'

(52) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. i. p. 460, 461.

[*O*] *His hoſpital which he afterwards nobly endowed.*] This hoſpital ſtands almoſt over-againſt Trinity Church, built of brick in a quadrangular form, with a noble tower at its entrance, and four

ed great diſputes in King James's councils, ſome deſiring that his majeſty ſhould not interfere in this matter at all, from a foreſight that it would produce a war in Germany; others again, believing that both natural affection to his ſon and daughter, and a juſt concern for the Proteſtant intereſt, ought to have engaged his majeſty warmly to ſupport the new election (*b*). The Archbiſhop agreed in ſentiment with the laſt-mentioned party, and not being able at that time to attend the privy council, he wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State [*P*]. The next year was in a great meaſure ſpent in debates and negociations upon this ſubject, in which the King took a great deal of pains with little effect (*i*). The Archbiſhop's declining ſtate of health making exerciſe a thing not only convenient but neceſſary for him, he was wont in the ſummer to make a tour into Hampſhire for the ſake of recreation, and being invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramzil upon the edge of Berkſhire, and not far from Hartford Bridge, his Grace met there with the greateſt misfortune that befel him in the whole courſe of his life; for hunting in this park on the twenty-fourth of July, he let fly a barbed arrow from a croſs-bow at one of the deer, which unfortunately ſtruck one Peter Hawkins, my Lord Zouch's keeper, who was quite out of the Biſhop's ſight, and had been warned more than once to keep out of

(*b*) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 83.

(*i*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 485. Wilſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 137.

ſmall turrets over the gate. His Grace endowed it with lands to the value of three hundred pounds *per annum*, one hundred pound of which was to be employed towards ſetting the poor to work, and the other two hundred pounds, for the maintenance of a maſter, twelve brethren, and eight ſiſters, who have blue cloaths, and gowns of the ſame colour, and two ſhillings and ſix pence a week, each. In the chapel, which is ſpacious and high roofed, there are two windows of painted glaſs, very well ſtained, repreſenting the ſtory of the patriarch Jacob and his family, and amongſt the figures there are three angels holding ſcrolls, in which are theſe words:

Do pauperibus. Reddo Deo. Quid retribuam Domino? hic vota reſolvam.

I give to the poor. I reſtore to God. What ſhall I return unto the Lord? here will I pay my vows.

On ſcrolls in ſeveral places of the windows are theſe words:

Clamamus Abba Pater (53).

(53) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 282.

This I take to be a kind of alluſion to the Archbiſhop's name, which was ſometimes written Abbat, as appears by the picture before his brother's life, in Dr. Fuller's collection (54); but, however, the alluſion will hold in the Latin without this ſuppoſition. The twenty-ninth of October, being the anniverſary of the Biſhop's birth, is commemorated here, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the time being, is the viſitor of this hoſpital (55).

(54) Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 538. and his name is likewiſe ſpelt Abbat in the Index.

(55) Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

[*P*] *He wrote his mind with great plainneſs and freedom to the Secretary of State.*] This letter ſhall be here tranſcribed, not ſo much in proof of the matter of fact aſſerted in the text, as in reſpect to the work itſelf, for ſo it may be ſtyled, though no more than a letter, ſince it contains a compendious ſyſtem of the Archbiſhop's ſentiments in religion and politics; ſo that if we were to ſpend ever ſo much time in the enquiry after theſe points, we ſhould never be able to point them out ſo clearly, fully, and in a manner ſo much to the reader's ſatisfaction, as they are here (and in another letter hereafter cited) repreſented by the Archbiſhop's own pen (56).

(56) Cabala, third edit. p. 102.

To Secretary NAUNTON.

'Good Mr. Secretary,

'I HAVE never more deſired to be preſent at any conſultation, than that which is this day to be handled, for my heart and all my heart goeth with it; but my foot is worſe than it was on Friday, ſo that by advice of my phyſician I have ſweat this whole night paſt, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

'But for the matter; my humble advice is, that there is no going back, but a countenancing of it againſt all the world; yea ſo far as with ringing of bells and making of bonfires in London, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be certainly underſtood, that the coronation is paſt. I am ſatisfied in my conſcience that the cauſe is juſt, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he hath taken a courſe to make that kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath ſet up the Prince that is choſen to be a mark of honour through all Chriſtendom, to propagate his goſpel, and to protect the oppreſſed, I dare not for my part give advice, but to follow where God leads.

'It is a great honour to the King our maſter, that he hath ſuch a ſon, whoſe virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And methinks I do in this and that of *Hungary*, foreſee the work of God, that by piece and piece the kings of the earth that gave their power unto the beaſt (all the word of God muſt be fulfilled) ſhall now tear the whore and make her deſolate, as St. John in his Revelation has foretold. I pray you therefore, with all the ſpirits you have, to put life into this buſineſs; and let a return be made into *Germany* with ſpeed, and with comfort, and let it be really proſecuted, that it may appear to the world, that we are awake when God in this ſort calleth us.

'If I had time to expreſs it, I could be very angry at the ſhuffling which was uſed towards my Lord Doncaſter, and the ſlighting of his embaſſage ſo, which cannot but touch upon our great maſter who did ſend him; and therefore I would never have a noble ſon forſaken for reſpect of them, who truly aim at nothing but their own purpoſes.

'Our ſtriking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palſegrave*, will ſtrengthen the union, will bring on the States of the Low-Countries, will ſtir up the King of *Denmark*, and move his own uncles, the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Bouvillon*, together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in *France*), to caſt in their ſhares; and *Hungary*, as I hope, (being in that ſame cauſe) will run the ſame fortune. For the means to ſupport the war I hope *providebit Deus*: the parliament is the old and honourable way, but how aſſured at this time I know not; yet I will hope the beſt: certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave ſpirits will voluntarily go. Our great maſter, in ſufficient want of money, gave ſome aid to the Duke of *Savoy*, and furniſhed out a pretty army in the cauſe of *Cleve*. We muſt try once again what can be done in this buſineſs of a higher nature, and all the money that may be ſpared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the jewels that were laid up in the Tower, to be gathered by the mother for the preſervation of her daughter; who, like a noble princeſs, hath profeſſed to her huſband, not to leave herſelf one jewel, rather than not to maintain ſo religious and righteous a cauſe. You ſee that lying on my bed I have gone too far; but if I were with you this ſhould be my language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to repreſent to the King, my maſter, telling him, that when I can ſtand, I hope to do his majeſty ſome ſervice herein. So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

* Sept. 12, 1619.

GEORGE, Cant.

* This date wanting in the Cabala, is ſupplied from Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 42.

the

the way, in the left arm, by which wound a large blood veſſel being pierced, he bled to death in an hour's time (*k*). This unforeſeen accident threw the Archbiſhop into a deep melancholy, though he was not conſcious to himſelf of the leaſt inadvertency or indiſcretion, neither did this wear off in time, but throughout his whole life he obſerved a monthly faſt on a Tueſday, the day on which this fatal miſchance fell out, and ſettled an annuity of twenty pounds on the widow, which ſoon procured her another huſband (*l*). This affair made a very great noiſe, and there wanted not ſome to repreſent it in a ſiniſter light to King James; but his Majeſty gave his judgment of the matter in a ſhort and clear ſentence: *An angel*, ſaid he, *might have miſcarried in this ſort* (*m*). When he was afterwards informed of the legal penalties which his Grace had incurred by this accident, he wrote him a conſolatory letter with his own hand, in which amongſt other things he told him, that *he would not add affliction to his ſorrow, or take one farthing from his chattels or moveables which were forfeited by law* (*n*). The Archbiſhop immediately on this misfortune retired to his own hoſpital at Guilford, there to wait the deciſion of the great point as to the irregularity which ſome imagined he had incurred, for it happened very unluckily that at this juncture there were four Biſhops elected but not conſecrated, *viz.* Dr. John Williams, lord keeper of the great ſeal, to the ſee of Lincoln; Dr. John Davenant, to that of Saliſbury; Dr. Valentine Cary, to that of Exeter; and his old antagoniſt Dr. William Laud, whoſe preferment, on this occaſion, he had warmly oppoſed, to that of St. David's; and all, except Dr. Davenant, ſcrupled the Archbiſhop's capacity to lay hands on them till he was cleared from all imputation as to this fact (*o*). The King being informed of this, directed, in the beginning of October following, a commiſſion to the ten following perſons, *viz.* the Lord Keeper; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Rocheſter; the Elects of Exeter and St. David's; Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; Sir John Dodderidge, one of the juſtices of the King's bench; Sir Henry Martin, Dean of the Arches; and Dr. Steward; to conſider and reſolve the three following queſtions (*p*). 1. *Whether the Archbiſhop was irregular by the fact of involuntary homicide?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the two Judges, and the two Civilians, were very clear that he was not irregular; but the other five thought he was (*q*). 2. *Whether that act might tend to ſcandal in a churchman?* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart, and Dr. Steward, doubted; all the reſt agreed, that a ſcandal might be taken though not given (*r*). 3. *How his Grace ſhould be reſtored, in caſe the King ſhould follow the deciſion of thoſe commiſſioners, who had found him irregular?* All agreed that it could not be otherwiſe done than by reſtitution from the King, but they varied in the manner. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Dr. Steward, thought it ſhould be done by the King, and by him alone, in the ſame patent with the pardon. The Lord Keeper, and the Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Exeter, and St. David's, were for a commiſſion from the King directed to ſome Biſhops. Judge Dodderidge and Sir Henry Martin were deſirous it ſhould be done both ways, for abundant caution (*s*). This return was made to his majeſty on the tenth of November 1621 (*t*), and accordingly a pardon and a diſpenſation, both bearing date at Weſtminſter the twenty-ſecond of November, paſſed the great ſeal, by which his majeſty aſſoiled the Archbiſhop from all irregularity, ſcandal, or infamation (if any was incurred), and declared him capable of all metropolitical authority, as if this accident had never happened (*u*). Such was the cloſe of this buſineſs, after a great variety of proceedings, and many arguments publiſhed on both ſides [Q.] Yet all this could not ſatisfy the minds of thoſe who had ſcrupled his power of laying on hands, and therefore they petitioned the King, that they might not be compelled to wound their conſciences by ſubmitting to ſuch a conſecration; and in compliance with their deſire, the Biſhop of Lincoln was conſecrated in King Henry VIIth's chapel, on the eleventh of November, by the Biſhops of London, Worceſter, Ely, Oxford, and Landaff; and the Biſhops of Sarum, Exeter, and St. David's, in the chapel of the Biſhop of London's palace, on the eighteenth of November, by the ſame reverend Prelates (*w*). It does not appear, that his Grace was at all leſſened, by the ſuggeſtions of his enemies, in the King's favour, or his courage in any degree abated, by the troubles he had met with (*x*). On the contrary,

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory of Britain, Cent. xvii. Book x. p. 87. Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, 1674, p. 521. Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Archbiſhops, p. 68.

(*l*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*, p. 88. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 65.

(*m*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*n*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*o*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 531.

(*p*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 121.

(*q*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 67.

(*r*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*s*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 122, 123. Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.

(*t*) Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) Sanderſon's continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. xvii. p. 337. 340.

(*w*) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 68.

(*x*) Bp. Hacket, in the place before cited, ſays, the Archbiſhop was wont to diſſent from the King as often as any at the council-board, and that his Majeſty loved him the better for his courage and ſincerity.

[Q.] *And many arguments publiſhed on both ſides.*] As the caſe was abſolutely new, and ſuch a one as naturally afforded room for talkative and buſy men to diſplay their abilities; there was nothing ſurprizing in the noiſe this accident made, or the various conſtructions put upon it by different people, according as their notions or their prejudices led them. The Archbiſhop being ſenſible of all this, either wrote himſelf, which is moſt probable, or cauſed to be written, a very ſhort piece, under the title of an apology (57), which, on the eighth of October 1621, was ſent to Sir Henry Spelman, who, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, returned an anſwer to it, which diſcovers full as much ſeverity as learning. It is not very clear to whom this apology was addreſſed, or for whoſe ſatisfaction the anſwer to it was written: but it is very probable that both were intended for the uſe of the Commiſſioners, appointed by the King, to inquire into the ſuppoſed irregularity of the Archbiſhop, of which his Grace had notice on the fifth of October, and the Commiſſioners applied themſelves very cloſely to their buſineſs, from that time. Both theſe pieces are extant, in the poſthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, but theſe do not ſeem to have been the only pieces that were penned on this occaſion; for we are told by a reverend Prelate, that the fact was much diſcourſed of in foreign univerſities, eſpecially amongſt our neighbours the Sorbonniſts, who diſputed it three ſeveral times in the ſchools, and concluded the accident to have amounted to a full irregularity, which is an incapacity to exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical act of order or juriſdiction (58).

(57) The whole title is, An Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, the Keeper, wounded in the park at Bramzil, July 24, 1621, by an unknown hand; but from the ſtile it ſeems to be the Archbiſhop's. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 107.

(58) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 65, 66.

contrary, we find him, in the year 1622, oppoſing the Spaniſh match, which was a thing the King had ſet his heart upon, with the greateſt firmneſs and ſpirit, and even venturing, under his hand, to give his ſentiments on that ſubject in terms ſo vigorous and pathetic, that no pen can properly repreſent them but his own (y) [R]. The King however remained fixed in his reſolution, and the articles agreed on for the ſaid marriage, were ſworn to, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, and other great officers of ſtate, notwithſtanding which they never took effect (z). [In the Parliament that met on the 19th of February 1623-4, our Prelate took an active part in the meaſures which were then purſued for perſuading the King to diſſolve his treaties with Spain, relating to the marriage and the Palatinate. He delivered both the addreſs and the remonſtrance which were preſented to his majeſty, from the two Houſes, on this occaſion; and he introduced the remonſtrance with a preamble, expreſſing the joy of the Parliament, that the King had ſhewn himſelf ſenſible of the inſincerity of the Spaniards, and of the indignities offered by them to his ſon the Prince, and to his royal daughter. This part of the preamble appears to have given ſome offence to James the Firſt (a). Indeed, Dr. Abbot was remarkably zealous in every thing in which the Proteſtant Religion was underſtood to be concerned.] The Archbiſhop thenceforward aſſiſted but ſeldom at council, being hindered chiefly by his infirmities (b); but in the King's laſt ſickneſs he was called for, and attended with great conſtancy, and received the higheſt marks of the King's confidence, to the very laſt moment of his life, and was near him when he expired, on the twenty-ſeventh of March 1625 (c). At the coronation of King Charles I. the Archbiſhop, as his office required, ſet the crown upon his majeſty's head, though he was extremely weak, and much troubled with the gout (d); but thenceforward he viſibly declined in the King's favour, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched for an opportunity to make the Archbiſhop feel the weight of his diſpleaſure. This was at laſt taken, for his refuſing to licence a ſermon, preached by one Dr. Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonſhire, to juſtify and promote a loan, which the King had demanded. This ſermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent aſſizes 1627, before the Judges at Northampton (e), and it was tranſmitted

(y) Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 80. Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111. Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(z) Rushworth's Hiſt. Collections, Vol. i. p. 88.

(a) Parliamentary Hiſtory, Vol. vi. p. 91. 101—104.

(b) See his own narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 438, 439.

(c) Sir A. W.'s Court and Character of King James, p. 175.

(d) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 204.

(e) This ſermon was intitled, *Apoſtolical Obedience, &c.* 4to. 1627.

[R] *No pen can properly repreſent them but his own.*] This letter from the Archbiſhop to King James is without date, but the ſubject points out plainly enough the time when it was written; and it is inſerted here, to ſhew the Archbiſhop's principles in religion, in regard to which there cannot be a fuller teſtimony.

'May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

'I HAVE been too long ſilent, and am afraid, by my ſilence, I have neglected the duty of the 'place it hath pleaſed God to call me unto, and 'your majeſty to place me in: but now I humbly 'crave leave, I may diſcharge my conſcience towards God, and my duty to your Majeſty; and 'therefore I beſeech you freely to give me leave to 'deliver myſelf, and then let your Majeſty do with 'me what you pleaſe. Your Majeſty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion, I beſeech you 'to take into your conſideration what your act is, 'what the conſequence may be; by your act, you 'labour to ſet up the moſt damnable and heretical 'doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of '*Babylon*. How hateful it will be to God, and 'grievous to your good ſubjects, the profeſſors of 'the Goſpel, that your Majeſty who hath often 'diſputed, and learnedly written againſt thoſe 'hereſies, ſhould now ſhew yourſelf a Patron of 'thoſe wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told 'the world, and your conſcience tells yourſelf, are 'ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable. And 'hereunto I add what you have done, in ſending the 'Prince into Spain, without conſent of your council, the privity and approbation of your people; 'and although you have a charge and intereſt in the 'Prince, as ſon of your fleſh, yet have the people a 'greater, as ſon of this kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majeſty) are their eyes fixed, and 'welfare depends; and ſo tenderly is his going apprehended, as (believe it) however his return may 'be ſafe, yet the drawers of him into this action, ſo 'dangerous to himſelf, ſo deſperate to the kingdom, 'will not paſs away unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. 'Beſides, this Toleration which you endeavour to 'ſet up by your proclamation, cannot be done 'without a parliament; unleſs your Majeſty will let 'your ſubjects ſee, that you will take unto yourſelf ability to throw down the laws of your land at 'your pleaſure. What dreadful conſequences theſe 'things may draw afterward, I beſeech your Majeſty to conſider, and above all, leſt by this Toleration, and diſcountenancing of the true profeſſion of the Goſpel, wherewith God hath bleſſed 'us, and this kingdom hath ſo long flouriſhed 'under it, your Majeſty do not draw upon this 'kingdom in general, and yourſelf in particular, 'God's heavy wrath and indignation.

'Thus in diſcharge of my duty towards God, to 'your Majeſty, and the place of my calling, I have 'taken humble leave to deliver my conſcience. 'Now, Sir, do what you pleaſe with me (59).'

This Letter is likewiſe printed by Arthur Willſon in his hiſtory, with this reflection, both on the King and the Archbiſhop. 'Thus did our Solomon in 'his latter time (though he had fought with beaſts 'at Epheſus, as one ſaith of him) incline a little too much to the Beaſt: yet he made his tale 'ſo good to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (what 'reſervation ſoever he had), that he wrought 'upon the good old man (afterwards), in the concluſion of the work, to ſet his hand as a witneſs to 'the articles (60).' Upon this, another hiſtorian of the ſame reign takes upon him to inſinuate, that this long letter to the King was penned to pleaſe his diſciples, and copies given to publiſh in print after his deceaſe; for, ſays he, we never heard tidings of it till now, in our laſt days; 'for Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, was 'the firſt man that ſigned to the poſtſcript, which 'atteſted thoſe articles of the marriage, and ſo did 'all the privy council.' Then ſpeaking of the excuſe made by Mr. Willſon, for the Archbiſhop, this writer adds, *I can tell him there were two other Biſhops, John, Biſhop of Lincoln, and Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, men of far greater merit, and high eſteem, and evener conſcience, that ſubſigned with him* (61). But in this fact he is miſtaken, for Lancelot, Biſhop of Wincheſter, did not ſign more willingly than the Archbiſhop. The apology of the other hiſtorian alſo was unneceſſary, for the articles which the Archbiſhop apprehended, and wrote againſt, were private articles, as appears plainly from the whole tranſaction printed in Ruſhworth (62). But another great writer gives quite another turn to this whole affair, for he owns that the letter came abroad, not in theſe laſt times, as Sanderſon calls them, but at the very time when it was ſuppoſed to be written, yet he denies that the Archbiſhop was the author of it, and ſuggeſts, that it was only fathered upon him, that it might make the greater impreſſion upon the people (63).

(59) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 85.

(60) Life and Reign of King James, p. 236.

(61) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 550.

(62) See his Collections, Vol. i. p. 85, 101.

(63) Heylyn's Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 111.

to the Biſhop, with the King's direction to licenſe it, which he refuſed to do, and gave his reaſons for it; notwithſtanding which, the ſermon was licenſed by the Biſhop of London (Dr. Mountaigne), after many things had been corrected therein, from the lights given by the Archbiſhop's objections, for which however it was reſolved that he ſhould ſuffer (*f*). Diſcourſes of this nature were ſo loud at court, that ſome of his Grace's friends overheard and reported them to him, upon which he thought fit to retire to his palace at Croydon, a month before his uſual time. On the fifth of July, Lord Conway, who was then Secretary of State, made him a viſit, and intimated to him, that the King expected he ſhould withdraw to Canterbury, which the Archbiſhop declined, becauſe he had a law-ſuit at that time with that city, and deſired he might rather have leave to go to his houſe at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was yielded to (*g*); and on the ninth of October following, the King granted a commiſſion to the Biſhops of London, Durham, Rocheſter, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute archiepiſcopal authority, the cauſe aſſigned being no more than this, *That the Archbiſhop could not at that time, in his own perſon, attend thoſe ſervices, which were otherwiſe proper for his cognizance and juriſdiction* (*h*). Some writers have pretended, that his ſuppoſed irregularity, occaſioned by the death of Peter Hawkins, was revived; but the commiſſion which is extant on record ſhews the contrary, nor indeed was that affair ever thought of afterwards (*i*). But the Archbiſhop did not remain long in this ſituation; for the neceſſities of the times rendering a parliament neceſſary, his Grace was ſent for about Chriſtmas, and not only reſtored to his authority and juriſdiction, but, on his coming to court from his palace at Lambeth, was received when he quitted his barge, by the Archbiſhop of York and the Earl of Dorſet, who conducted him to his majeſty, where, having kiſſed the King's hand, he was deſired not to fail the council table twice a week (*k*). His Grace ſat in that parliament which began on the ſeventeenth of March following, and continued in the full exerciſe of his office ever after, of which it may not be amiſs to take notice in this ſingular inſtance. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt 1628, he conſecrated Richard Montagu, to the ſee of Chicheſter, a man who had been remarkably buſy in ſupporting the pretence of his irregularity, and at this conſecration Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, aſſiſted, which is the cleareſt proof that can be, that no doubts ſtuck longer as to his irregularity, even with thoſe who loved him leaſt (*l*). In parliament, the Archbiſhop maintained his credit in as high a degree as any of his predeceſſors, and it is more than probable, that the knowledge of this procured him ſuch marks of reſpect, as were at this time afforded him by the court. When the Petition of Right, that great pillar of the Engliſh liberty, was under conſideration, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury delivered the ſenſe of the houſe of Lords thereupon, at a conference with the houſe of Commons, and at the ſame time laid before them ſuch propoſitions as their Lordſhips had agreed upon, for which, thanks were returned, in a ſet ſpeech, by Sir Dudley Diggs (*m*). [When Dr. Manwaring was brought before the Bar of the houſe of Lords, by impeachment of the Commons, for having maintained, in two ſermons preached before his Majeſty, and afterwards publiſhed, "That the "King's royal will and command, in impoſing loans, taxes, and other aids, upon "his people, without common conſent in parliament, did ſo far bind the conſciences "of the ſubjects of this kingdom, that they could not refuſe the ſame without peril "of eternal damnation;" and "that the authority of parliament is not neceſſary for "the raiſing of aids and ſubſidies;" the Archbiſhop, by leave of the Peers, gave the Doctor a ſevere, but juſt admonition; and declared that he both miſliked and abhorred his two ſermons (*n*).] The intereſt of Biſhop Laud was now ſo great at court, that he drew up a ſcheme of inſtructions, which having the King's name at the head of them, were, in the month of December 1629, tranſmitted to his Grace, under the pompous title, *His Majeſty's inſtructions to the moſt reverend father in God, George, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be obſerved and put in execution, by the ſeveral Biſhops in his province* (*o*). Theſe inſtructions his Grace communicated to his ſuffragan Biſhops, in which, as Heylyn obſerves, he acted *miniſterially*; but to ſhew that he ſtill meant to exerciſe his own authority in his own dioceſe, he reſtored Mr. Palmer and Mr. Udnay to their lectureſhips, after the Dean and Archdeacon of Canterbury had ſuſpended them, and, in other reſpects, ſoftened the rigour of thoſe inſtructions, which were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the Church, which the Archbiſhop thought a burden too hard to be borne by the tender conſciences of thoſe who made the fundamentals of religion their ſtudy, and were not ſo zealous for forms (*p*). His conduct in this and other reſpects is ſaid to have made his preſence unwelcome at court, and ſo indeed it ſeems to have been; for upon the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles II.) which happened on the twenty-ninth of May 1630, Laud, then biſhop of London, had the honour to baptize him as dean of the chapel, notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury is the Ordinary of the court, and the King's houſhold, wherever it is, are regarded as his pariſhioners; ſo that this was viſibly as much a ſlight upon the Archbiſhop, as an act of favour towards his antagoniſt (*q*). The Archbiſhop however was proof againſt all ſuch accidents as theſe, and went on doing his duty without fear or favour, and yet one of the laſt acts of his life plainly ſhews, that he was very far from being ſo indifferent towards the diſcipline and ceremonies of the

(*f*) See his Narrative, in Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 438, 439.

(*g*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*h*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 435. Frankland's Annals, p. 211. In both places the commiſſion is printed at large.

(*i*) The reign of King Charles by Hammond L'Eſtrange, Eſq; p. 71, 72. Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, by H. L. Eſq; written by Dr. Heylyn, p. 54.

(*k*) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 195.

(*l*) Biſhop Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 68.

(*m*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 552, 553. Frankland, ubi ſupra, p. 282.

(*n*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. viii. p. 209, 210.

(*o*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. vi. p. 75.

(*p*) Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 201.

(*q*) Sanderſon's complete Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles, p. 141. Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 209.

the Church of England, as ſome have repreſented him. This act of his was an order, dated the third of July 1633, requiring the pariſhioners of Crayford in Kent, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, on their knees, at the ſteps aſcending to the communion table (*r*). We may well ſtyle this one of his laſt acts, ſince a month afterwards, *viz.* on the fourth of Auguſt in the ſame year, he died at his palace of Croydon, worn out with cares and infirmities, at the age of ſeventy-one. He was buried according to his own expreſs direction, in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the holy Trinity, in his native town of Guilford in Surrey (*s*). Soon after his deceaſe, a noble monument was erected over his grave, with the effigies of the Archbiſhop in his robes, ſupported by ſix black marble pillars of the Dorick Order, raiſed on pedeſtals of books piled up (*t*). On his tomb there is a large Latin inſcription in honour of the Archbiſhop, which having been already more than once in print, need only be referred to here (*u*). The facts related in this article, clearly evince that he was a man of great natural parts, and thoſe ſufficiently improved, for the worthy performance of whatever his high ſtation in the Church required. He ſhewed himſelf in many circumſtances of his life, a man of great moderation towards all parties, a ſteady friend to the Proteſtant religion, an honeſt though perhaps not an humble courtier, and one who was deſirous that the clergy ſhould have attracted the reverence and eſteem of the laity, by the ſanctity of their manners, and the uprightneſs of their behaviour, rather than have claimed them as neceſſarily annexed to their function. Theſe notions of his, ſquaring little with the humour of ſome writers, have drawn upon him many reflections that he did not deſerve [*S*]. The general hiſtorians of thoſe times ran much into writing of characters, and that which Hammond l'Eſtrange beſtowed upon the Archbiſhop, has been copied into various works. Dr. Heylyn makes uſe of it to expreſs what he did not care ſhould fall from his own pen (*w*), though upon other occaſions he has treated that writer in his hiſtory very freely: Lloyd has copied that character without naming his author (*x*); and to ſay the truth, it is from thence, that moſt of the ſtrokes of ſatire beſtowed upon the memory of this great man have been ſtolen (*y*); and yet how little ſuitable that character is to the perſon for whom it was drawn, the reader will eaſily perceive from the piece itſelf [*T*]. He has not met with much better quarter from the noble hiſtorian, though there is more of decency preſerved in his animadverſions, as the reader will perceive from the picture of our Archbiſhop drawn

(*r*) Regiſt. Abbot, III. fol. 143.

(*s*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 585.

(*t*) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 285.

(*u*) Le Neve's Lives of Proteſtant Biſhops, p. 112. Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 285. 287.

(*w*) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 243, 244.

(*x*) State Worthies, p. 749.

(*y*) See the Notes [*S*] and [*T*].

[*S*] *Reflections that he did not deſerve.*] Our old church hiſtorian tells us, 'That he forſook the birds 'of his own feather to fly with others, generally 'favouring the laity, more than the clergy, in 'cauſes that were brought before him (64).' One would imagine from hence, that this Archbiſhop had been a man of great ſeverity in his government; whereas another writer cenſures his Grace for his remiſſneſs in viſitations (65): and as it is impoſſible that a man ſhould be guilty of oppoſite offences at the ſame time, it may fairly be preſumed, that he was guilty of neither; but that the bearing hard upon immoral clergymen in the high commiſſion court, and his tenderneſs for good men, who were ſcrupulous about ceremonies, expoſed the Archbiſhop to ſuch cenſures from thoſe who loved the former too well, and had too little pity for the latter. Mr. Sanderſon ſtrikes much deeper at the Archbiſhop's character, for in his hiſtory he tells us, 'That his Grace grew ſo much out of humour with 'the court, on the queſtioning his regularity, upon 'the accident of Peter Hawkins's death, that he re'fuſed, becauſe he was not permitted to go to the 'altar, to attend the ſervice of the council-table; 'ſaying to our author, *Since they will have it ſo, 'that I am incapable of the one, I ſhall ſpare myſelf 'the trouble of the other* (66).' He adds to this charge a much higher. He ſays, 'That the Arch'biſhop fell upon downright Puritan principles, and 'had ſo many church and ſtate mal-contents viſited 'him, that it produced a new ſect, who were ſtyled '*Nicodemites*, and his diſciples; for which he gives 'this wiſe reaſon: *That the Archbiſhop had conſtant'ly candle-light in his chamber and ſtudy, making it 'midnight at noon-day* (67).' The concluſion of his charge is the bittereſt of all, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe his own words. 'Here he began to be 'the firſt man of eminency in our Church, a ring'leader of that faction, for I can name thoſe then 'his private diſciples, which lately appeared deſ'perate proſelytes (68).' Theſe paſſages were firſt printed in another book, word for word (69), from whence it evidently appears, that Sanderſon wrote them both. Yet with reſpect to the charge, Fuller aſſures us, that Dr. Barnard, the Archbiſhop's houſehold chaplain, and near relation, knew nothing of this burning candle in his chamber and ſtudy (70); and as to the mal-contents that reſorted to him, the Archbiſhop has fully purged himſelf of that accuſation, in the narrative of his troubles (71). This humour of inveighing againſt the Archbiſhop, was not confined to his own times, but has prevailed even amongſt later writers. Mr. John Aubrey having tranſcribed what is ſaid of this prelate on his monument, adds immediately; 'Not'withſtanding this moſt noble character, tranſmitted 'to poſterity on this Archbiſhop's monument, he 'was, though a benefactor to this place, no friend 'to the Church of England, whereof he was head, 'but ſcandalouſly permitted that poiſonous ſpirit of 'Puritaniſm to ſpread all over the whole nation, by 'his indolence at leaſt, if not connivance and en'couragement; which ſome years after broke out, 'and laid a flouriſhing Church and State in the 'moſt miſerable ruins; and which gave birth to 'thoſe principles, which, unleſs rooted out, will 'ever make this nation unhappy (72).' I might eaſily add more inſtances of the ſame ſort, but that I am perſuaded the reader will think theſe ſufficient, and therefore I ſhall conclude this note, with an obſervation of Fuller's. 'The truth is, ſays he, the 'Archbiſhop's own ſtiffneſs and averſeneſs to com'ply with court deſigns, gave advantage to his ad'verſaries againſt him, and made him more obnoxi'ous to the King's diſpleaſure. But the blame did 'moſt light upon Biſhop Laud, men accounting this 'a kind of *filius ante diem*, &c. As if not content 'to ſucceed, he endeavoured to ſupplant him, who 'might well have ſuffered his decayed old age to 'have died in honour: What needs the *felling* of a 'tree a *falling* (73)?'

(64) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. xvii. Book xi. p. 128.

(65) L'Eſtrange in his Reign of King Charles, p. 227.

(66) Reign and Death of King James, p. 531.

(67) *Ibid.*

(68) *Ibid.*

(69) Aulicus Coquinaria, or, A Vindication in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled, *The Court and Character of King James*, London, 1650, 12mo. p. 132.

(70) Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra.

(71) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 438. 462. Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 213. 224.

(72) Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. iii. p. 287.

[*T*] *From the piece itſelf.*] This hiſtorian writes thus: 'Not long after his return from *Scotland*, 'aged and ſelf-fear, *George Abbot* the titular Arch'biſhop of *Canterbury*, went to his everlaſting home, '*Auguſt* 4. A very learned man he was, his eru'dition all of the old ſtamp, ſtiffly principled in the 'doctrine of St. *Auguſtine*; which they who under'ſtand it not, call *Calviniſm*, therefore diſreliſhed 'by thoſe who inclined to the *Maſſilian* and *Armi'nian* tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his 'converſation. But ſome think a better *Man* than 'Arch-

(73) Church Hiſtory, Cent. xvii. Book xi. p. 128.

drawn by his pen [U]. A later writer juſtly eſteemed for his extenſive knowledge of the Engliſh hiſtory, and not ſo much addicted to party, has done much more juſtice to the virtues and abilities of this great Prelate, and therefore we think it reaſonable to annex his teſtimony to theſe memoirs [X]. His charity and public ſpirit ought certainly to have been ſet in a clearer light, than hitherto they have been, by the friends to the Church; the rather, becauſe a writer, remarkable for his keenneſs, has been pleaſed to aſſert (z), that *marks of his benefaction we find none, in places of his breeding and preferment*;

(z) Heylyn's Life of Abp. Laud, p. 245.

'Archbiſhop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the dignity, than with a ſpirit anſwering the function, in the exerciſe whereof he was conceived too facile and yielding; his extraordinary remiſſneſs in not exacting ſtrict conformity to the preſcribed orders of the Church in point of ceremony, ſeemed to reſolve thoſe legal determinations to their firſt principle of indifferency, and led in ſuch an habit of inconformity, as the future reduction of thoſe tender conſcienced men to long diſcontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. This was the height of what I dare report his failings reached to: that he was a ringleader of that ſect which lately appeared deſperate proſelytes, both I am with a late author to affirm (74), warrant I have none, to leave ſo ill a ſavour upon his fame, nor can it be infallibly inferred from theſe men, their being then in favour with him. Their principles perhaps were entertained ſince his death, or if before, not then declared, and until ſuch ſecrets be diſcovered, men may be miſtaken in thoſe they favour; the greateſt ſufferer of theſe times was ſo (75).' As injurious as this character is in ſome points, yet it is plain, that the author did not credit what Mr. Sanderſon had aſſerted, and indeed, it is happy for this Archbiſhop's memory, that almoſt all his cenſurers have contradicted each other, and thereby afforded juſt room to poſterity, to queſtion the truth of what they have all advanced, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that in all their cenſures, they entered into the ſecrets of this Prelate's heart, and take upon them to publiſh to the world, what, if true, could be known only to God and himſelf.

(74) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 530, 531.

(75) L'Eſtrange's Reign of King Charles, p. 127.

[U] *Drawn by his pen.*] The Earl of Clarendon ſpeaks of him thus: 'It was about the end of *Auguſt* in the year 1633, when the King (*Charles* I.) returned from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*, where the Queen kept her court; and the firſt accident of moment that happened after his coming thither, was the death of *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had ſat too many years in that ſee, and had too great a juriſdiction over the Church, though he was without any credit in the court from the death of King *James*, and had not much in many years before. He had been maſter of one of the pooreſt colleges (*Baliol*) in *Oxford*, and had learning ſufficient for that province. He was a man of very moroſe manners, and a very ſour aſpect, which in that time was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's firſt *Scotch* favourite, he was preferred by King *James* to the biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and preſently after to *London*, before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any pariſh church in *England*, or Dean or Prebendary of any cathedral church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the ſtate and intereſt of the clergy; as ſufficiently appeared throughout the whole courſe of his life afterward.

'He had ſcarce performed any part of the office of Biſhop in the dioceſe of *London*, when he was ſnatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never-enough to be lamented death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who underſtood the Church excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the *Calviniſtic* Party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of the *Nonconformiſts*, by and after the conference at *Hampton Court*, countenanced men of the greateſt parts in learning, and diſpoſed the clergy to a more ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had been accuſtomed to; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguiſhed all that fire in *England* which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any man who underſtood and loved the Church, that infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.

'But *Abbot* brought none of this antidote with him, and conſidered the Chriſtian religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe men moſt who did that moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation of the diſcipline of the Church, or the conformity of the articles or canons eſtabliſhed, he made little inquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the ancient and ſolid ſtudy of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of *Calvin*, and for his ſake did not think ſo ill of the diſcipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and eccleſiaſtical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to him, and at leaſt equally preferred by him: and though many other Biſhops plainly diſcerned the miſchiefs which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remiſſneſs, and prevented it in their own dioceſes as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Biſhop of *London*, (Dr. *Laud*) from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to thoſe defections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much diſcountenanced and almoſt ſuppreſſed that ſpirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that univerſity, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Archbiſhop, whoſe houſe was a ſanctuary to the moſt eminent of that factious party, and who licenſed their moſt pernicious writings, left his ſucceſſor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order, that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill filled, by many weak, and more wilful churchmen (76).'

(76) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Oxon. 1707. 8vo. p. 88, 89.

[X] *Teſtimony to theſe memoirs.*] 'Archbiſhop *Abbot*, ſays he, was a perſon of wonderful temper and moderation; and in all his conduct, ſhewed an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the act of *uniformity* beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the *Church*; or the *prerogative* of the Crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the *ſtate*. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwiſe of conſiderable learning and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, ſtoop to the humour of the times; and now and then, by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave occaſion to his enemies to repreſent him, as not well inclined to the *prerogative*, or too much addicted to a *popular intereſt*; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government (77).'

(77) Memoirs of the moſt material tranſactions in England, for the laſt 100 years, by Dr. Wellwood, 8vo. 1700. p. 38.

[To this character we ſhall add that which is given of the Archbiſhop by the author of the Confeſſional: 'There never was a Prelate freer from the fiery zeal of an eccleſiaſtic, perhaps hardly ever a private clergyman, than George Abbot. It was reckoned his diſgrace in the next reign, that he did not tread in the ſteps of the fiery Bancroft.' "Had Laud ſucceeded Bancroft, ſaid they, and the project of conformity been followed without interruption, the enſuing ſchiſm might have been prevented (78). He was ſlack and negligent, ſays the firebrand Heylyn, in the courſe of his government, and too indulgent to that party which Bancroft had kept under ſuch juſt ſeverity (79)." If to this we add the noble ſtand he made againſt the Spaniſh match; his unwearied endeavours and vigilance againſt Popery; his ſpirited letter to James I. on that ſubject; and his not only refuſing to licenſe, but confuting the poſitions in Sibthorp's ſermon; theſe particulars, and his uniform

(78) Fuller's Worthies, Surry, p. 83.

(79) Hiſt. Preſb. p. 389.

'adherence

ment; which is at once an unjuſt and unchriſtian aſperſion [Y]. In regard to his learning, ſucceeding ages may judge thereof, from his writings upon various ſubjects, of the moſt remarkable of which, we have, for the reader's ſatisfaction, added a ſuccinct account [Z]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that there was another writer of both his names, who flouriſhed ſomewhat later. This George Abbot wrote *a paraphraſe on Job*, *a vindication of the Sabbath*, and *a paraphraſe on the Pſalms*. This laſt was printed in 1650, and it appears from thence, that the author was lately dead, and had been, while living, a member of the parliament then ſitting (*a*). Another George Abbot, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, in 1622, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*b*), was our Prelate's nephew, and the ſon of Sir Maurice Abbot, but it does not appear that he was a writer (*c*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 585.
(*b*) *Ibid.*
(*c*) *Ibid.*

'adherence to the ſame principles during his whole 'life, oblige me to think, that Mr. La Roche, or 'rather, perhaps, Brandt, was miſinformed with 'reſpect to Abbot's exciting King James to declare 'againſt Vorſtius; and that, taking the whole of 'the Archbiſhop's character together, no eccleſiaſtic 'of that time, and very few of any other time, 'have leſs abounded with a fiery unjuſtifiable zeal 'than Archbiſhop Abbot (80).]

(80) Conſeſſional, p. 285, 286. Note.

[Y] *An unjuſt and unchriſtian aſperſion.*] The Archbiſhop loved hoſpitality, and living as became a man of his rank, he tells us himſelf, that this was recommended to him by King James, and that he never forgot his majeſty's injunctions upon that head (81), neither is it the Archbiſhop alone that mentions this, but even ſome who did not wiſh him very well, and who plainly intimate, that amongſt the reſt of his faults, he was thought to live too high, to have too much company, and to become thereby too popular (82). This hoſpitality of his, together with the troubles he met with, muſt have hindered him from growing rich, and conſequently put it in ſome meaſure out of his power to ſhew his public ſpirit in other reſpects, how much ſoever it might be his inclination. Yet ſome inſtances we find of his generoſity in this way, at leaſt enough to falſify Heylyn's reflection; for beſides his noble and well-contrived charity at Guilford, he gave to the ſchools of arts in Oxford, one hundred pounds at one time, and fifty pounds at another (83). In 1619, he beſtowed a large ſum of money on the library of Baliol college, for augmenting the number of books, and repairing the building (84). He built a fair conduit in the city of Canterbury, for the convenience of the inhabitants (85). He likewiſe intended to have left a yearly revenue for the ſupport of that conduit, if he had not been deterred by the ungrateful uſage he met with from the mayor and corporation (86). In 1624, he contributed to the founding of Pembroke college in Oxford (87). He diſcharged a debt of three hundred pounds owing from Baliol to Pembroke college (88). About the year 1632, he gave one hundred pounds to the library of Univerſity college (89). To the town of Guilford he left one hundred pounds, to be lent without intereſt to four poor tradeſmen of that town, for two or three years. To the poor of that town, twenty pounds; to the poor of Lambeth, thirty pounds; to forty of his inferior ſervants, ten pounds each; beſides forty pounds, to ſupply any forgetfulneſs towards ſuch as had ſerved him. All the books in his great ſtudy, marked with his name, to his ſucceſſors for ever; beſides ſome from his ſtudy at Croydon, to the Dean and Chapter at Wincheſter, and others to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (90).

(81) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 454.
(82) Heylyn, ubi ſupra, p. 244.
(83) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 23, 24.
(84) *Ibid.*
(85) Batteley's edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 138.
(86) See Archbiſhop Abbot's Will in the prerogative office, Ruſſel, 85.
(87) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 333. Balioforgus, p. 91. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham college, p. 210.
(88) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 334.
(89) *Ibid.* p. 60.
(90) See the Archbiſhop's Will, as above cited.

[Z] *Added a ſuccinct account.*] As to his works, we ſhall endeavour to give a liſt of them in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Quæſtiones ſex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, diſcuſſæ & diſceptatæ anno* 1597, *in quibus è ſacra Scriptura & Patribus, quid ſtatuendum ſit definitur. Oxoniæ* 1598, 4to. It. *Francofurti* 1616, 4to. This ſecond edition was publiſhed by the famous Abraham Scultetus. 2. *Expoſition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain Sermons preached at St. Mary's Church in Oxford*; London, 4to. 1600. And again 1613. 3. *His Anſwer to the Queſtion of the Citizens of London, in January* 1600, *concerning Cheapſide Croſs*; London, 1641. Of this treatiſe we have before given a particular account. 4. *The Reaſons which Dr. Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papiſtry, unmaſked and ſhewed to be very weak*, &c. Oxon. 4to. 1604. This Thomas Hill quitted the Church of England for that of Rome, and wrote this book to vindicate that change (91). 5. *A Preface to the Examination of George Sprot*, &c. of which we have before given a large account. 6. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter, May* 26, 1608, *at the Funeral of Thomas, Earl of Dorſet, late Lord High Treaſurer of England, on* Iſaiah xl. 6. *by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Wincheſter, one of his Lordſhip's Chaplains*; London, 4to. 1608. 7. *Tranſlation of a Part of the New Teſtament, with the reſt of the Oxford Divines*, printed in 1611. 8. *Some Memorials, touching the Nullity between the Earl of Eſſex and his Lady, pronounced September* 25, 1613, *at Lambeth; and the difficulties endured in the ſame.* This treatiſe makes fifty-ſix pages in twelves, and has the following remarkable atteſtation at the end of it. 'This 'narration is wholly written with mine own hand, 'and was finiſhed October 2, 1613; being the 'eighth day after giving the ſentence. And I 'proteſt before Almighty God, that I have not 'willingly wrote any untruth therein; but have 'delivered all things fairly, to the beſt of my 'underſtanding, helping myſelf with ſuch memo-'rials and notes, as I took from time to time; that 'if there was occaſion, I might thus ſet down at 'large, the truth to poſterity, when this caſe ſhall 'be rung from *Rome* gates, or the fact hereafter be 'queſtioned.

GEORGE, *Cant.*'

(91) The title of it was, *A Quartron of Reaſons of Catholic Religion, with as many brief Anſwers of Refuſal.* Antw. 4to. 1600, which was anſwered alſo by F. Dallingham.

To this is added, *Some obſervable things ſince September* 25, 1613; *when the ſentence was given in the cauſe of the Earl of Eſſex, continued unto the day of the marriage, December* 26, 1613; which appears alſo to have been penned by his Grace, or by his direction; and to it is annexed, *The ſpeech intended to be ſpoken at Lambeth, September* 25, 1613, *by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when it came to his turn to declare his mind, concerning the nullity of marriage between the Earl of Eſſex and the Lady Frances Howard* (92). 9. *A brief Deſcription of the whole World; wherein is particularly deſcribed all the Monarchies, Empires, and Kingdoms of the ſame, with their Academies*, &c. *by the Moſt Reverend Father in God, George, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, London, 8vo. 1634. Of which work there have been many editions. 10. *A ſhort Apology for Archbiſhop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins, dated October* 8, 1621; of which we have already given an account. 11. *Treatiſe of perpetual Viſibility and Succeſſion of the true Church in all Ages.* London, 4to. 1624. His name is not to this book, only his arms impaled by thoſe belonging to the ſee of Canterbury, are put before it. Dr. Heylyn acquaints us with the reaſon of his writing it, but does not tell us why he did not own it (93). 12. *A Narrative containing the true Cauſe of his Sequeſtration and Diſgrace at Court; in two Parts: written at Ford in Kent* 1627 (94). Biſhop Hacket (95) aſſures us, that he had ſeen this manuſcript in the Biſhop's own writing, and had ſeveral of the facts contained in it from the Archbiſhop's own mouth. 13. *Hiſtory of the Maſſacre in the Valteline* (96). 14. *His Judgment at bowing at the name of Jeſus.* Hamburgh 1632. 8vo. Beſides many inſtructions to the Biſhops of his dioceſe, ſpeeches in parliament, letters, and other occaſional compoſitions, too numerous to be mentioned here.

(92) Theſe were printed all together, under the title of, *The Caſe of Impotency as debated in England*, &c. Lond. 12mo. 1719. In the preface it is ſaid, that the original manuſcript, in Archbiſhop Abbot's own hand-writing, is ſtill in the hands of an eminent Lawyer.
(93) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 53.
(94) Printed in Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. i. p. 438. 461. and in the Annals of King Charles, from p. 213, to 224.
(95) Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 68.
(96) Printed in the third volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church, edit. 1631.

ABBOT (Robert) brother to the former; was alſo born in the ſame town of Guilford, *anno* 1560 (*a*), and bred up under the ſame ſchool-maſter there; till being ſufficiently qualified for the univerſity he was ſent to Baliol College in Oxford, *anno* 1575. He took his Maſter of Arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, alſo a conſtant lecturer at St. Martin's Church, in the Quadrivium, and ſometimes at Abingdon in Berkſhire (*b*). His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithſtanding the diſtinction which ſome have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of theſe two brothers; 'That George was the more 'plauſible preacher, Robert the greater ſcholar; George the abler ſtateſman, Robert 'the deeper divine: gravity did frown in George, and ſmile in Robert (*c*).' Such were the qualities of this Robert, that upon the firſt ſermon he preached at Worceſter, he was made lecturer in that city, and ſoon after Rector of All-Saints there; and upon a ſermon he preached at Paul's Croſs, he was preſented to the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamſhire, by one of his auditors, John Stanhope, Eſq; as Dr. Featley has obſerved in his life (*d*). In 1594 he became no leſs eminent for ſome of his writings; particularly, againſt a certain Papiſt on the ſacrament. He then took his degrees in Divinity; that of Doctor being completed in 1597 (*e*). In the beginning of the reign of King James I. he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this King ſo well eſteemed of his writings, that, with the ſecond edition of Dr. Abbot's book *de Antichriſto*, in 1608, his majeſty ordered his own commentary upon part of the Apocalypſe to be printed: an honour which that King did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the Doctor's pen had now brought him alſo into general eſteem, for what he had hitherto publiſhed in defence of William Perkin's *Reformed Catholic*, againſt Dr. William Biſhop, now a ſecular prieſt, but afterwards, in the Pope's ſtyle, a titular Biſhop, of the aërial Dioceſe of Chalcedon. It is my author's aſſertion, that Dr. Abbot has herein given that William Biſhop as great an overthrow, as Jewell to Harding, Bilſon to Allen, or Reynolds to Hart (*f*). At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatiſe, he ſoon after wrote, intitled, *The true ancient Roman Catholic*; which he dedicated to Prince Henry; to whom it was ſo acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand (*g*), and promiſed his aſſiſtance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the Church. And though by that Prince's untimely death the Doctor loſt ſome hopes, yet, in courſe of time, his deſerts found other friends to do him that juſtice. In 1609, he was unanimouſly elected Maſter of Baliol College (*b*). Here it is obſerved of him, that he was careful and ſkilful, to ſet in this nurſery the beſt plants; and then took ſuch care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the Univerſity of Oxford, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew ſweeter fruit, than in Baliol College, while he was maſter (*i*). His diligent reading to his ſcholars, and his continual preſence at public exerciſes, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. Theſe regulations and improvements he rendered effectual, by eſtabliſhing piety, which had been much neglected; reſtoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a ſtranger in that ſociety (*k*). In May 1610, we find him nominated by the King, among the firſt fellows of his majeſty's Royal College at Chelſea, then newly founded, and deſigned as a kind of fortreſs for controverſial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarriſoned, with the moſt able and ſelect champions for the Proteſtant cauſe, againſt all aſſaults of Popery (*l*). In November the ſame year, he was made Prebendary of Normanton, in the church of Southwell (*m*). Upon his preaching a ſermon before the King, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of Dr. Thomas Holland's death was brought from Oxford, his majeſty named him ſucceſſor in the Theological Chair, uſually called the King's Profeſſor of Divinity; but he modeſtly refuſed the ſame, till his brother procured a mandate from the King for him to hold it. Some remarkable circumſtances we meet with of him in this ſtation [*A*]; and herein he has had the character given him of a profound divine; moſt admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and ſchoolmen;

(*a*) Samuel Clark's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, &c. 4*to*. 1650, p. 458.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. 1721. Vol. i. col. 430.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*d*) In Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4*to*. 1650, p. 540.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Dr. Daniel Featley's Life of Biſhop Abbot, ubi ſupra, p. 539.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 545.

(*b*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*i*) Dr. Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 543.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 544.

(*l*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, lib. x. fol. 52.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. ut ſupra.

[*A*] *Some remarkable circumſtances, &c. in this ſtation.*] Among the reſt, while he was Profeſſor in the chair at Oxford, was, his preaching a ſermon before the univerſity; in which, he ſo ſignificantly laid open the oblique methods then uſed by thoſe who ſecretly favoured Popery, to undermine the Reformation; and Dr. Laud, then preſent, was ſo notoriouſly ſuſpected to be one who uſed thoſe methods, as to have the ſaid reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, Dr. Neal, then Biſhop of Lincoln (therefore about the year 1614), to know whether he ſhould not make a direct reply to it. The paſſage Laud objected to, was, that Abbot ſhould ſay, 'There were men, who, under pretence 'of truth, and preaching againſt the Puritans, 'ſtruck at the heart and root of that faith and religion now eſtabliſhed among us; which was the 'very practice of Parſons and Campian's counſel, 'when they came hither to ſeduce young ſtudents; 'who, afraid to be expelled, if they ſhould openly 'profeſs their converſion, were directed to ſpeak freely againſt the Puritans, as that would ſuffice: ſo 'theſe do not expect to be accounted Papiſts; becauſe 'they ſpeak only againſt Puritans; but becauſe 'they are indeed Papiſts, they ſpeak nothing againſt 'them: or if they do, they beat about the buſh, 'and that ſoftly too, for fear of diſquieting the 'birds that are in it.' Hereupon Laud, in his letter to the ſaid Biſhop of Lincoln complains, 'That he was fain to ſit patiently at the rehearſal 'of this ſermon, though abuſed almoſt an hour together, being pointed at as he ſat; yet would 'have taken no notice of it, but that the whole 'univerſity applied it to him; and his friends told 'him, he ſhould ſink in his credit, if he anſwered 'not Dr. Abbot in his own: nevertheleſs, he would 'be patient, and deſired his Lordſhip to vouchſafe 'him ſome direction (1).' But, as we hear not that Laud did anſwer it, the Biſhop might perhaps vouchſafe him rather directions to be quiet.

(1) See Ruſhworth, Vol. i. p. 62.

and

and a more moderate Calviniſt than either of his two predeceſſors in the divinity chair, Holland and Humphrey, were; which he expreſſed by countenancing the Sublapſarian way of predeſtination (*n*). Laſtly, upon the King's peruſal of his *Antilogia*, againſt the *Apology* for Garnet, and the fame of his incomparable lectures in the univerſity, upon the King's ſupreme power, againſt Bellarmine and Suarez (printed after his death), his majeſty, when the ſee of Saliſbury fell void, ſent his *Congé d'Elire* for him to the Dean and Chapter. Thus, as he ſet forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other ſtill advanced in the temple of honour (*o*), though indeed, but leiſurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obſtruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan (though cordial to the doctrine of the Church of England), and the unwillingneſs of ſome friends to adorn the Church with the ſpoil of the Univerſity, and mar a Profeſſor to make a Biſhop (*p*). He was conſecrated by his own brother the Archbiſhop, on December 3, 1615, in his chapel at Lambeth (*q*): herein equalizing the felicity of Seffridus, ſome time Biſhop of Chicheſter, who being a Biſhop himſelf, alſo ſaw his brother, at the ſame time, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*r*). Other biſhopricks were talked of for him; but the buſineſs of the nullity (before mentioned in his brother's life) made a nullity for a time, ſays my author, in his Grace's good intentions; inſomuch that King James, when the Doctor, newly conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum, came to do his homage, ſaid pleaſantly to him, Abbot, *I have had very much to do to make thee a Biſhop; but I know no reaſon for it, unleſs it were becauſe thou haſt written againſt one*; alluding to the name of the Popiſh prieſt before-mentioned (*s*). In his way to Sarum, he made a farewel oration at the univerſity, with great applauſe. We have ſome fragments of it preſerved, in the original Latin, by two authors (*t*); and a tranſlation thereof, or epitome in Engliſh, by a third (*u*). His brethren, the heads of houſes, and other Oxford friends, parted with him on the edge of his dioceſe with tears for grief; and the gentry of Sarum received him with thoſe of joy. He ſoon obſerved the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetouſneſs of thoſe who filled their purſes with that money which ſhould have been applied to its repairs (*x*). Therefore he uſed ſuch means with the Prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church (*y*); and then laboured to amend the congregation, both by doctrine and diſcipline; viſiting his whole dioceſe in perſon, and preaching every Sabbath-day, whilſt his health would permit, which was not long; for that ſedentary courſe, to which he had accuſtomed himſelf, by his cloſe application to ſtudy, brought upon him the gravel and ſtone (*z*). But in all the bodily tortures of his laſt fit, his ſoul was at eaſe; and his heavenly hopes diſpoſed him contentedly to reſign all earthly enjoyments. He was ſo far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life ſupportable, that he gave it others. Even to the Judges, who in their circuit came to viſit him on his death-bed, he ſpared not his Chriſtian admonitions; and beſides his precepts, gave them his example, of the comforts that flowed from a clear conſcience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned leſs to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had ſo much endeared himſelf to them, by diligence in his paſtoral charge, by his hoſpitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all (*a*). Having ſummoned his domeſtics, with deſire to declare his faith, he was perſuaded to refrain, it being manifeſt in his writings. Thus, being quite worn out with exhortations, benedictions, and the pains of his diſeaſe, he lay a while in a ſlumbering ſtate; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for ſome ſpace, departed this life, on March 2, 1617 (and not, as ſome have miſtaken, the year after), in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this ſee two years and three months; being one of the five Biſhops which Saliſbury ſaw in ſix years (*b*). He was buried over-againſt the Biſhop's ſeat in the cathedral: having been twice married; the laſt time, with ſome diſpleaſure to the Archbiſhop, about half a year after his promotion to the ſaid ſee. He left one ſon, or more, and alſo one daughter, named Martha (*c*), who was married to Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College in Oxford; and their daughter Margaret, married Dr. Edward Corbet, Rector of Haſeley in Oxfordſhire; who gave ſome of the Biſhop's MSS. to the Bodleian Library, as may appear in the article ſet apart for the enumeration of his writings [*B*]. There was another Robert Abbot, a Miniſter, and author alſo of ſeveral devout pieces; who though he

(*n*) *Idem.*

(*o*) Dr. Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 541.

(*p*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*q*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops ſince the Reformation, 8*vo.* 1720, p. 94.

(*r*) H. Hollandi Herwologia Anglica, fol. Arnhem, 1620, p. 186.

(*s*) Dr. Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 548.

(*t*) Holland, ut ſupra, and Featley, p. 546.

(*u*) Donald Lupton's Hiſtory of modern Proteſtant Divines, 8*vo.* London, 1637, p. 314.

(*x*) Dr. Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 549.

(*y*) *Ibid.*

(*z*) *Idem.*

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 550.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Surrey.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 431.

[*B*] *Enumeration of his writings.*] And firſt, thoſe in print are, *The Mirror of Popiſh Subtilties: diſcovering the Shifts which a cavilling Papiſt, in behalf of Paul Spence a Prieſt, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine, &c. concerning the Sacraments*, &c. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Whitgift, London, 4*to.* 1594. 2. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Prieſthood of Chriſt.* Sermon on the 110th Pſalm. Dedicated to Biſhop Babington, 4*to.* London 1601. 3. *Antichriſti Demonſtratio; contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptam Belarmini*, &c. Dedicated to King James, London, 4*to.* 1603; and in 8*vo.* 1608. This is much commended by Scaliger (2). 4. *Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr. W. Perkins, againſt the Baſtard Counter-Catholic of Dr. William Biſhop, Seminary Prieſt.* Dedicated to King James: the firſt part 4*to.* 1606. the ſecond part 4*to.* 1607. third part 4*to.* 1609. A moſt elaborate work, as one calls it (3); and another wiſhes, that W. Biſhop had anſwered all the ſaid Reformed Catholic; then we ſhould have had in Abbot's encounter, a whole ſyſtem of controverſies exactly diſcuſſed; and the truth of the Reformed Religion, in all points ſolidly confirmed by ſcripture, fathers, and reaſon (4). From a ſmall typographical error in one author, there is another alſo who has made a great blunder about this book; for the former, mentioning 'Dr. *Abbot*'s two volumes againſt *Biſhop*'s (5),' (next to another book, which was written by his brother, the Archbiſhop) has, by not

(2) Scaligerana, p. 1.

(3) Herwologia Angl. p. 189.

(4) Dr. Featley in Abel Redivivus, p. 545.

(5) See William London's Catalogue of the moſt vendible Books in England, &c. 1658, in the Divinity Books.

he was ſcarcely a writer before Biſhop Abbot died, is yet here mentioned, that ſome readers may not confound him with this Biſhop of Saliſbury, as others have divided him into three diſtinct perſons (*d*); becauſe ſo many different livings are mentioned to his name in his books: never conſidering that one man might, by removal, or ſucceſſively, enjoy them all, as was the caſe here: that Robert Abbot being firſt beneficed in Kent, afterwards in Hantſhire, and laſtly in London.

(*d*) The Bodleian Catalogue, both editions.

not obliterating the laſt letter of the laſt word, and by neglecting to diſtinguiſh it as a proper name, in *Italicks*, given a foreigner occaſion to make his ſaid brother the Archbiſhop, author of a *Treatiſe againſt Biſhop*'s (6); which, as hath been truly obſerved, would be ſomewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. *The old Way; a Sermon at St. Mary's, Oxon*; 4*to*. London, 1610. Dedicated to Archbiſhop Bancroft, and tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Drax. 6. *The true ancient Roman Catholic: being an Apology againſt Dr. Biſhop's Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic*; 4*to*. 1611. Dedicated to Prince Henry, as was before obſerved. 7. *Antilogia: Adverſus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jeſuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jeſuitâ proditore*; London, 4*to*. 1613. Dedicated to King James. The ſaid apology was printed three years before (7); and further thereof, with the true name of its jeſuitical author, may be ſeen elſewhere (8). 8. *De gratiâ & perſeverantiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi*. London, 4*to*. 1618. & Francf. 8*vo*. 1619. Dedicated to Prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomſoni, Anglo-Belgici Diatribam, de amiſſione & interceſſione Juſtificationis & Gratiæ, animadverſio brevis*. Alſo printed after his death; London, 4*to*. 1618: for he finiſhed this book the laſt day of his life; and then his brother, the Archbiſhop, directed Dr. Featley, the Biſhop's domeſtic chaplain, to draw up from his Grace's notes, the atteſtation which is affixed thereto. 10. *De ſupremâ Poteſtate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxonienſi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Francf. Suarez, Lond.* 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his ſon, to George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(6) Henning. Witte in Diar. Biographicum, 4*to*. 1691.

(7) *Andr. Eudæm. Joannis Cyd nii, è ſoc. Jeſu oct. prodit. Ed. Coqui, Apologia pro H. Garneto. Colon. Agrip.* 8vo. 1610.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, (before the laſt Edition of his Hiſtory) p. 179.

He alſo left behind many compoſitions in manuſcript, as his Sermon at St. Mary's, *in vindication of the Geneva Bible from Judaiſm and Arianiſm* (9); which Dr. Howſon oppoſed, till King James turned his edge from Geneva to Rome; and then, he as fiercely declared againſt the Pope: *That he'd looſen him from his chair, though he were faſtened thereto with a teupenny nail* (10). Our author alſo left other Sermons, which he had preached at Paul's Croſs, and at Worceſter; and ſome in Latin, at Oxford, &c. Lectures on St. Matthew. *Examination of Mr. Biſhop's Reproof of his Dedication*, &c. *to the Anſwer of his Epiſtle to the King*. Preface to be inſerted after the dedication of his book *De Antichriſto*: beſides Commentaries on ſome parts of the Old Teſtament. And a Commentary in Latin, *upon the whole Epiſtle to the Romans*; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; wherein he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and encloſed the whole magazine of his learning (11); and it is regretted, that the Church ſhould be deprived of ſuch a treaſure, particularly that of Worceſter, to which he ſeems to have bequeathed it, in his epiſtle to the ſermons he dedicated to Biſhop Babington: this work, in four volumes folio, was given by Dr. *Corbet* beforementioned, to the *Bodleian* library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our laſt quoted author; 'If all he wrote on the hiſtory of 'Chriſt's paſſion, the prophet *Eſay*, and the *Epiſtle* 'to the Romans, had ſeen the light, he had come 'near unto, if not overtaken, the three prime 'worthies of our univerſity, *Jewell*, *Bilſon*, and 'Reynolds (12).'

(9) Featley, ubi ſupra, p. 551.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 546.

(11) *Idem.* p. 542.

(12) Dr. Featley in Abel Red. p. 539.

ABBOT (MAURICE) or rather MORRIS, the youngeſt of ſix ſons, born to Mr. Maurice Abbot, of Guilford, by his wife Alice March, and brother to Robert and George before mentioned. He was bred up to trade, and became an eminent merchant in the city of London, but was more remarkably diſtinguiſhed, by his applying himſelf to the direction of the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company, and his earneſt attention to whatever might promote the extenſive commerce of this nation, or ſtrengthen her foreign colonies. In this quality, we find him one of the commiſſioners employed in the negociation and concluſion of a treaty with the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, by which the Molucca Iſlands, and the commerce to them, is declared to be two-thirds belonging to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, and one to the Engliſh. This treaty was concluded at London, on the ſeventh of July, 1619, and ratified by the King the ſixteenth of the ſame month, and is as remarkable a (*a*) tranſaction as any in that reign [*A*.] It was in conſequence of this treaty, and in order to recover the goods of ſome Engliſh merchants, that Sir Dudley Diggs, and Maurice Abbot, were ſent over into (*b*) Holland, in the ſucceeding year, 1620, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. He was afterwards one of the farmers of the cuſtoms, as appears from a commiſſion granted in 1623, to him and to many other perſons, for adminiſtering the oaths to ſuch perſons, as ſhould either deſire to paſs the ſeas from this kingdom, or to enter it from foreign countries (*c*). In the ſucceeding year, 1624, he was appointed one of the council, for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the colony of Virginia, with very full powers for

(*a*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, by R. Sanderſon, Tom. xvii. p. 171.

(*b*) Camden. An. November, 1620.

(*c*) Continuation of Rymer, ubi ſupra, p. 467.

[*A*] *As any in that reign.*] The preamble of this treaty recites, That whereas there had been long and great diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India Companies, and that commiſſioners had met at London in the year 1613, and at the Hague in 1615, for the accommodating theſe diſputes, without effect, his Majeſty and the States General had been pleaſed to grant full powers to certain commiſſioners on the part of his Majeſty and the States; as alſo the like full powers to ſeveral perſons on the behalf of each of the companies, by whom a treaty was framed and concluded, in which the right of both parties to the trade of the Indies is freely acknowledged, free acceſs is allowed to the ſervants of one company in all the forts and factories of the other; it is farther agreed that each company ſhould furniſh ten men of war, for the joint defence of their commerce, each from ſix to eight hundred tons, carrying 150 men, and thirty pieces of cannon. The fortreſſes on the iſlands of Banda and Amboyna, are therein ſettled, for the mutual benefit of both nations; and it is agreed, that their garriſons ſhall be maintained out of the cuſtoms and duties levied both on the Engliſh and Dutch: in a word, this appears to have been a kind of treaty of coalition, which one would have imagined muſt have prevented for the future, any diſputes in that part of the world, and ſecured the trade thereof to the Maritime Powers. In the ratification, his Majeſty promiſes, that during the time for which this treaty was concluded, which was twenty years, he would not erect any other company, for carrying on the trade to the Eaſt Indies, than that with which this agreement was made (1).

(1) Continuation of Rymer's Fœders, Tom. xvii. p. 171—174.

the

the government of that colony, as by that commiſſion (*d*) appears [*B*]. On the acceſſion of King Charles I. to the throne, Mr. Abbot was the firſt perſon upon whom he conferred the honour of knighthood (*e*), and ſo great was his intereſt at that time in the city, that we find him choſen to the firſt parliament called in that King's reign, *viz.* in 1625, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Heneage Finch, and Mr. Robert Bateman (*f*). In 1627, he was one of the ſheriffs of London, with Henry Garway; Sir Cuthbert Hacket, being then Mayor (*g*). About the year 1635, he erected a noble monument to the memory of his brother, George, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his native town of Guilford (*h*). In 1638 he was Lord Mayor of the city of London (*i*), and deceaſed on the tenth of January, 1640 (*k*), but as to any farther particulars we have not been able to diſcover them, except that he was a great lover and encourager of trade, as well as very fortunate therein [*C*]. He had a ſon whoſe name was George, fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and who took the degree of Bachelor of Law, in 1630 (*l*).

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 609.

(*e*) Tho. Walkeley's catalogue of Dukes, Marquiſſes, &c. 8*vo.* 1639, p. 85.

(*f*) Maitland's Hiſt. of London, p. 565.

(*g*) Stow's Survey of London, p. 597.

(*h*) As appears by the monumental inſcription.

(*i*) See Thomas Heywood's Porta Pietatis, or ſolemn entry of Sir Maurice Abbot, Lord Mayor, 4*to.* 1638.

(*k*) Smith's Obituary apud Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 18.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 585.

[*B*] *As by that commiſſion appears.*] This commiſſion, which was iſſued in virtue of two acts of parliament, one in the firſt year of the King, for preventing perſons from going out of the kingdom without licence; and another in the third, for the better diſcovering and repreſſing Popiſh recuſants, is directed to the Recorder of the city of London, the Receivers and Collectors of the Cuſtoms, the General Surviſor and Comptrollers of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, the head Searcher of the ſame Port, and to Sir John Wolſtenholme, Abraham Jacob, Henry Garway, and Morris Abbot (and thus he wrote his name himſelf) and to ſeveral other perſons, impowering them to examine all perſons going from or coming to this kingdom, and for granting them letters teſtimonial, as alſo for ſtaying ſuch as they ſhould ſuſpect, as well as for adminiſtering the oaths and other purpoſes (2).

(2) *Ibidem*, p. 467. 470.

[*C*] *As well as very fortunate therein.*] This is particularly aſſerted in a dedication to Sir Maurice, when Governor of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies, by Mr. Robert Aſhley, the author of a tranſlation mentioned in the margin (3).

(3) Cochin China: containing many admirable rarities and ſingularities in that country; extracted out of an Italian relation, lately preſented to the Pope, by Chriſt. Borri, who lived there certain years; publiſhed by R. A. London, 4*to.* 1633.

C.

[ABERNETHY (John) an eminent Preſbyterian Divine, who flouriſhed in the kingdom of Ireland during the preſent century, was born at Colraine, in the county of Londonderry in the province of Ulſter, on the 19th of October 1680 (*a*). His father was a diſſenting miniſter in that town, and his mother the daughter of Walkinſhaw of Walkinſhaw, in Renfrewſhire, in Scotland. He continued nine years under the care of his parents, when he was ſeparated from them, in conſequence of his father's having been ſent, in 1689, by the Preſbyterian clergy to London, to ſolicit ſome affairs; during which interval his mother, to avoid the troubles occaſioned by the inſurrection of the Iriſh, withdrew from her own houſe in Colraine to Derry (*b*). Young Abernethy was at this time with a relation in Ballymenagh, who determined, in the general confuſion, to remove to Scotland, and carried the child with him; having no opportunity of conveying him to his mother (*c*) [*A*]. By this happy event he eſcaped the hardſhips of the ſiege of Derry, in which Mrs. Abernethy loſt all her other children (*d*). He continued three years at the grammar-ſchool in Scotland, and then returned to his father's family, which was again fixed in Colraine. Here, however, he only remained at ſchool till he arrived at the age of thirteen, at which time he was ſent to the college at Glaſgow. This he often and juſtly regretted, as an error in the management of his education, ariſing from the flattering ideas his parents had entertained of his genius; ſince it could not reaſonably be thought, that he had attained a ſufficient knowledge of claſſical authors to fit him for academical ſtudies, or that his mind was enough ripened for that reflection which is neceſſary to render them ſucceſsful (*e*).

(*a*) *Vide* his life prefixed to his Sermons on various occaſions, the third edition, printed in London, for D. Brown, &c. 1762, p. 2.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 1, 2. Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. iii. p. 519, 520.

(*c*) His Life, ubi ſupra, p. 2, 3.

(*d*) For the particulars of this remarkable ſiege, ſee Walker's Diary. Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. iii. p. 524. 534. And the General Hiſtories of the Time.

(*e*) His Life, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

Mr. Abernethy continued at Glaſgow till he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts. At this period his own inclination led him to the ſtudy of phyſic; but, in conformity to the advice of his friends, he determined to apply himſelf to that of divinity; with a view to which deſign, he went to the univerſity of Edinburgh, and was ſome time under the care of the celebrated Profeſſor Campbell (*f*). Upon his return home, he proſecuted his ſtudies with great ſucceſs, and was ſoon taken notice of by the Preſbytery of Route, of which his father was a member. Under the direction of the Preſbytery, he went through the uſual trials as a candidate for the miniſtry, and was licenſed to preach before he was one and twenty. In June 1701, he was invited to officiate in the diſſenting congregation at Antrim, which was then vacant; and the people, upon hearing him, expreſſed an inclination to call him to the paſtoral charge; but he reſolved, before he ſettled any where, to make a ſhort reſidence in Dublin, for the purpoſe of farther improvement (*g*). In that city, his preaching was ſo acceptable to the Preſbyterian Society of Wood-Street, that they gave him an invitation to ſtay with them ſome time; which requeſt was made, with an intention of

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

[*A*] *Having no opportunity of conveying him to his mother.*] The author of his life gives the following account of an accident which happened when he was on his way to Scotland; and conſiders it as a remarkable interpoſition of Providence for his preſervation. 'At Belfaſt, he was diverting himſelf with a ſervant, who attended him upon the great bridge, by which that is joined to the county of Down. They ſtood upon the bridge a conſiderable time; but Mr. Abernethy happening to caſt his eye upon ſomething at a diſtance which catched his fancy, they ran off on a ſudden; and the moment they removed, the arch upon which they had been ſtanding fell down; ſo that they very narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to pieces (1).'

(1) *Ibid.* p. 3, 4.

choosing him joint pastor with the Reverend Mr. Boyse (*b*). However, his father's advice, in concurrence with his own inclination, determined him to return to the North. He quickly received an unanimous call from the congregation at Antrim; and was preparing to be ordained there, when his father died (*i*) [*B*]. In consequence of this event, he was invited to settle at Colraine, and there arose a competition between the two dissenting churches of Colraine and Antrim, which should have him for their pastor. But the matter being referred to the general synod [*C*], the synod determined in favour of Antrim; at which place Mr. Abernethy was ordained on the 8th of August 1703. Soon after, he married Mrs. Susannah Jordan, whose mother, Mrs. Heyland (*k*), was a woman of a very uncommon character, and particularly distinguished for the generosity of her spirit, her tender affections, and her most exemplary piety. The daughter copied the excellent pattern which had been set before her; so that Mr. Abernethy found himself entirely happy in the conjugal relation (*l*). His congregation at Antrim being a large one, he applied himself with great diligence to the duties of his station, and his public performances speedily became much admired. He had an ardent thirst for the acquisition of knowledge, which engaged him in a very industrious course of reading; and he was the principal support of a society of ministers and candidates, in the neighbourhood, who met from time to time to spend a day in useful conversation, and in communicating their studies. This excellent design was carried on for several years with considerable success. His abilities soon rendered him the subject of general observation to his brethren in the ministry; and the vivacity of his spirit, and his true wit, tempered with an exact purity of manners and good breeding, equally recommended him to the best company among the laity. He was taken notice of, from his first appearance in the Synod, for his uncommon genius, joined with admirable wisdom and discretion, with consummate candor and modesty; and he quickly gained a great ascendency in that assembly, so as to have a very large share in the management of public affairs. As a speaker, he was considered as their prime ornament, and he maintained his character and esteem in these respects to the last, when the principles he had embraced had raised against him many fierce antagonists (*m*).

(*b*) *Vide* his article in this work.

(*i*) Ubi supra, p. 5.

(*k*) By a second marriage, she had become the wife of Dominic Heylan', Esq; of Castleroe.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 6.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 6, 7, 8.

When Mr. Abernethy had been settled nine years at Antrim, he received a very earnest invitation from the Dissenting congregation in Derry. But his own inclinations rendered him averse to a removal. He was happy in his situation: he loved his people, was useful among them, and had a pleasing prospect of farther success. It was, therefore, a satisfaction to him, that the General Synod, when the matter was debated before them, determined for his continuance at Antrim (*n*).

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 8, 9.

Soon after this, in the year 1712, he lost his wife, by whom he had had one son and three daughters. This event made a deep and lasting impression upon his mind. He had the utmost affection for her; and though he bore up under his loss with all possible decency, yet there were the plainest indications that his grief was exceedingly intense. He chose, for a considerable time, to retire from the world, as much as was consistent with his performing the duties of his station. But his sufferings, upon this occasion were abundantly compensated by his progress in knowledge, and in all virtuous improvements (*o*) [*D*].

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 9.

Mr. Abernethy, in the year 1716, applied himself to the execution of a project, which he had long revolved in his mind, of trying whether he could remove the prejudices

[*B*] *When his father died.*] Mr. John Abernethy senior was held in high esteem by all who knew him; and the character drawn of him by an intimate and judicious friend is, 'That he was an 'eminent Christian, a learned divine, a vigilant 'laborious pastor, a man of deep penetration, and 'solidity of judgment, of a strength of memory 'most unparalleled, of an extensive public spirit, a 'delicate taste for correct speaking and writing, and 'a man of polite behaviour and address (2).'

(2) *Ibid.* p. 5.

[*C*] *But the matter being referred to the general synod.*] The writer of Mr. Abernethy's life informs us, that the General Synod 'is the yearly meeting 'of the whole dissenting ministers associated in the 'North, with a ruling elder for each minister. This, 'according to their constitution, is the highest 'church judicatory to which appeals lie from lesser 'associations, usually called sub-synods; as to these 'last, appeals lie from the several presbyteries 'within their bounds.' From the above account it appears, that the dissenters in the north of Ireland had formed themselves exactly upon the model of the Church of Scotland. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that great numbers of them were either born in, or descended from that country; and that their ministers were educated in its universities. The Irish presbyterians, like their brethren in Scotland, were warmly attached to the Westminster Confession of Faith. So great was their veneration for it, that in the year 1705, an act passed in the synod, requiring candidates to subscribe to it at their entrance into the ministry. This act became afterward no little cause of embarrassment to such of the Dissenting Clergy as had departed from the tenets of the Westminster Confession, or had conceived a dislike to subscription in general; and still continues, if we are not misinformed, to be a burden upon persons of the same turn of mind (3).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 6. 57, 58.

[*D*] *And in all virtuous improvements.*] Mr. Abernethy left behind him a diary of his life, which begins in February 1712-13, a little after his wife's death; and it might, possibly, take its rise from the situation of his mind under that affliction. It consists of six large volumes in quarto, in very small writing, and very closely written. It is, indeed, an amazing work, in which the temper of his soul is throughout expressed with much exactness; and the various events he met with are described; together with his reflections upon them, and his improvements of them. The whole bears such characters of a reverence and awe of the Divine presence upon his mind, of a simplicity and sincerity of spirit, and of the most careful discipline of the heart, that how great soever his reputation in the world was, it shews his real worth to have been superior to the esteem in which he was held (4).

(4) *Ibid.* p. 9 10.

The

dices of the native Iriſh in the neighbourhood of Antrim (who were almoſt univerſally of the Popiſh perſuaſion), and engage them to embrace the Proteſtant religion. His heart was much ſet upon the accompliſhment of this deſign; and, for a conſiderable time, he managed it alone. He went frequently to the place where the greateſt numbers of them lived, invited them to attend his lectures, converſed freely with them from houſe to houſe, and laboured to convince them of their errors. The encouragement he derived from their attendance upon public worſhip, and from the good impreſſions which were made upon ſome of them, was ſo great, that he requeſted the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring miniſters; and they zealouſly united with him in carrying on the ſcheme. Nor were his labours among the Iriſh entirely without effect. Several of them, who had been prevailed upon to renounce Popery, continued firm to the Proteſtant principles, and gave ſatisfactory evidence of their ſincere piety. Others, however, reverted back to their former perſuaſion; and the ſucceſs of the deſign doth not appear, upon the whole, to have been equal to Mr. Abernethy's expectations and hopes (*p*). While he was thus employed in the North, and had acquired a high reputation, he was invited, in the year 1717, by the congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters, at *Uſher's Quay* in Dublin, to be their paſtor, in conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Arbuckle. About the ſame time he received an invitation to the congregation at Belfaſt, uſually called the *Old Congregation*. The General Synod, after a long debate among the parties, one for his going to *Dublin*, another for *Belfaſt*, and a third for his remaining at *Antrim*, came to a determination in favour of the firſt. This matter brought Mr. Abernethy into no ſmall degree of perplexity. He had contracted a great affection for his people in *Antrim*, and his labours among them had been ſucceſsful. He highly valued the ſociety of his brethren in that neighbourhood, and was held by them in the utmoſt eſteem and regard. It was his opinion that he could ſerve the purpoſes of Chriſtianity, and of the diſſenting intereſt, as effectually in Antrim as in any other ſituation; and, therefore, he thought it extremely hard that any miniſter ſhould be removed by the mere authority of the Synod, contrary to the judgment of his own mind. At the ſame time, *that* authority had generally been deemed indiſputable; and any thing that was likely to weaken it, or to bring it into contempt, was looked upon with great jealouſy. In this ſituation Mr. Abernethy's friends gave him different advices. Many of them urged him to comply with the Synod, and had terrifying apprehenſions of what might be the conſequences of his diſobedience; while others were convinced that the Synod had been guilty of an unjuſt ſtretch of power, and that he ought to follow his own judgment in the diſpoſal of himſelf. The reſult of his counſels was, that he determined to ſhew ſo much reſpect to the ſynodical deciſion, as to pay a viſit to the congregation at *Uſher's Quay*, that he might take a full view of the ſtate of things, and come to a concluſion upon the beſt and moſt impartial inquiry he could make. Accordingly, after three months ſtay in Dublin, he returned to Antrim, with a fixed reſolution of continuing there (*q*). This act of reſiſtance to the authority of the Synod was, at that time, ſo remarkable and uncommon a caſe, that it is particularly proper to relate, how it came to paſs that Mr. Abernethy was induced to venture upon a conduct which was very unpopular among the generality of the Iriſh Diſſenters, provoking to many, and, in the account of ſome, directly criminal (*r*). He had early in life been ſenſible of the pernicious tendencies of a party-ſpirit in matters of religion, and of the evils which ariſe from the tyrannical exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical power, in what form or conſtitution ſoever it hath ſubſiſted. The violent exerciſes of ſuch a power he had always oppoſed; and he was very zealous in embracing every occaſion, whether public or private, of recommending Chriſtian Charity.

(p) *Ibid.* 34—36.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 39—42.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 42.

The author of his life hath given a large account of this Diary, and made a number of extracts from it, which prove, beyond contradiction, that the preceding repreſentation of him is ſtrictly juſt (5). Among other inſtances of Mr. Abernethy's devotion, we find that he frequently ſhut himſelf up the whole day, which he ſpent in prayer, in reading the ſcriptures, and in religious meditation. As this may be aſcribed by ſome, to an enthuſiaſtic or ſuperſtitious turn of mind, we ſhall tranſcribe his reaſons for ſpending ſo much time in the ſecret duties of piety; from which it will be evident, that his notions of the end and deſign of religion were rational and manly. 'I have reſolved to ſet apart 'this day for the ſolemn exerciſes of devotion. 'Not that I place religion in ſuch things; for cer-'tainly it conſiſts in a conformity of the habitual 'diſpoſition to the will of God, and an uniform 'tenor of converſation. When I was a child in 'religion, that is, beginning to be ſerious, many 'a danger I was expoſed to, particularly that of 'being impoſed upon by a warm imagination, lay-'ing too great ſtreſs upon what I counted divine 'impreſſions, upon fervours and raptures in religion. 'This, I believe, ſome young and unexperienced 'Chriſtians are apt to fall into. But true Chriſtia-'nity conſiſts in love to God and charity to man, 'which is the *bond of perfectneſs*. It conſiſts in 'doing juſtly, and loving mercy; in meekneſs, 'patience, and contentment. O my ſoul, endeavour 'to grow in theſe virtues! That is the ſure 'way of pleaſing God; and it is eſſentially neceſ-'ſary to real religion, that a deſign of pleaſing 'God be conſtantly and uniformly purſued: where-'ever that is neglected, ſincerity is loſt. But I 'apply myſelf to theſe exerciſes, *firſt*, becauſe they 'are a noble employment of the mind, moſt worthy 'of its rational powers, tending to their higheſt 'perfection, and affording moſt ſolid joy. *Secondly*, 'In ſolemn tranſactions with God, I may hope for 'ſuch a confirmation in virtuous ſentiments and 'diſpoſitions, and ſuch advantages over worldly 'luſts, as may be of great uſe to me in future life; 'and this hope is juſtified by experience. *Thirdly*, 'I would lay ſtricter obligations upon myſelf to 'greater watchfulneſs, and cautions againſt the 'ſprings of error, and perplexity, and guilt, into 'which I have been formerly miſled, and my life 'rendered uncomfortable (6).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 10. 32.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19, 20.

But,

But, ſome time before the attempt was made to remove him to Dublin, he had acquired much lower opinions of the deference to be paid to the authority of ſpiritual aſſemblies, than he had heretofore entertained. This revolution in his mind was owing to Biſhop Hoadly's celebrated ſermon on the kingdom of Chriſt; to ſeveral of the papers written in the controverſy occaſioned by that ſermon; and, eſpecially, to the Biſhop's defence againſt the repreſentation of the Committee. Mr. Abernethy became, from henceforward, a ſtrenuous advocate for religious freedom, and endeavoured to promote it to the utmoſt of his abilities. Nor was he the only diſſenting clergyman in the North of Ireland, whoſe ſentiments were much enlightened by the writings of Doctor Hoadly and his aſſociates. A ſpirit of Chriſtian liberty and charity remarkably diffuſed itſelf in that country; and, in conſequence of it, a conſiderable number of miniſters, and others, formed themſelves into a ſociety of a ſimilar nature with that mentioned in the preceding part of this article, and conſiſting chiefly of the ſame perſons. Their deſign was the improvement of uſeful knowledge; for the attainment of which end, they made it their endeavour to bring things to the teſt of reaſon and ſcripture. Mr. Abernethy promoted this deſign with the greateſt zeal. He conſtantly attended the meetings of the ſociety; and no man contributed more than he did to promote the true purpoſes for which it was inſtituted. As the gentlemen who compoſed it frequently met at Belfaſt, which was the moſt centrical place, the name was given them of the Belfaſt Society (*s*). But afterwards, when ſeveral of the members had withdrawn themſelves from it, on account of the debates which aroſe in that part of the kingdom concerning eccleſiaſtical power and Chriſtian liberty; thoſe who continued to purſue the deſign of it, came to be diſtinguiſhed by the title of Non ſubſcribers (*t*) [*E*]. Mr. Abernethy was juſtly conſidered as the head of the Non-ſubſcribers. As ſuch, he had the greateſt ſhare, both in conducting their counſels, and managing their public debates; and his behaviour in theſe reſpects procured him an extraordinary reputation for ſound wiſdom and eloquence. He was particularly diſtinguiſhed by an evenneſs and conſtancy of temper, which nothing could ruffle or diſcompoſe. The vivacity and quickneſs of his apprehenſion, the perfect preſence of his mind, and the penetration of his judgment, in conjunction with an eaſy and ready utterance, and a clear, ſtrong, and agreeable voice, enabled him to ſpeak *extempore* for a long time together, with ſuch pertinency of ſentiment, and fluency of expreſſion, as commanded the reſpect and attention of the hearers. Theſe talents excited admiration and applauſe, even when the cauſe he pleaded for was diſliked (*u*). In truth, Mr. Abernethy had full occaſion for the exertion of his abilities. He, and his Non-ſubſcribing brethren were ſurrounded with difficulties and troubles. They were regarded with jealouſy, treated with obloquy and reproach, oppoſed with vehemence; and prejudices, invincible by reaſon, were formed againſt whatever they alleged in their own defence and favour. The populace, in moſt places, conceived a great averſion both to their perſons, and their public performances; and to this the authority of the Synod very much contributed (*w*). The majority of the Synod conſiſted of narrow-minded and bigoted men; who, in ſeveral caſes, were influenced by a ſpirit of animoſity and contention, and exerciſed their juriſdiction with no little hardſhip and injuſtice (*F*).

(*s*) Ubi ſupra, p. 42—46.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 47.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 63, 64.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 64, 65.

The exertions of Mr. Abernethy's zeal againſt ſubſcription, were not confined to the debates of thoſe eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies of which he was a member. He appeared, likewiſe,

(7) Mr. Mears was the Author of a Catechiſm for Children, a Collection of Family Prayers, and a Treatiſe on the Lord's Supper, which are in good reputation. Beſides theſe, he publiſhed one or two occaſional ſermons. He was born at Longford, Jan. 24, 1694-5, educated at Glaſgow or Edinburgh, and licenſed to preach by the preſbytery of Down, May 28, 1718. On the 10th of Feb. 1719-20, he was ordained, by the ſame preſbytery, paſtor of the diſſenting congregation at Newtown Claneboy, in the county of Down; from which place he removed to Clonmell in 1736. He ſettled at Dublin in 1740, where he continued till his death, which was on the 11th of October, 1767. Mr. Mears was a man of good abilities, of great integrity, and the intimate friend and aſſociate of Abernethy, Duchal, Mr. William Bruce, &c. He was, likewiſe, the gentleman, as well as the Chriſtian, and was held in general eſteem *.

* *From information communicated by the family.*

(8) Ubi ſupra, p. 47. 57. 62.

[*E*] *The title of Non-ſubſcribers.*] Beſides Mr. Abernethy, the principal members of this ſociety were, Dr. James Kirkpatrick and Mr. Samuel Halyday, both of Belfaſt; Mr. Michael Bruce of Hallywood, Mr. Thomas Nevin of Down-patrick, Mr. John Mears of Newtown (7), Mr. Harper of Moyra, Mr. John Henderſon of Dunane, Mr. Thomas Shaw of Ahgill, Mr. William Taylor of Carncaſtle, Mr. Joſias Clugſton of Larne, and Mr. Thomas Wilſon of Ballyclare. Theſe gentlemen appear to have been men of conſiderable abilities and of unblameable lives. Indeed, had they not been eminent for the purity of their manners, nothing could have ſupported them againſt the torrent of prejudice which they had at firſt to contend with: for their ſide of the queſtion was very unpopular, and the clamour raiſed againſt them almoſt univerſal. The characters of Meſſrs. Kirkpatrick, Halyday, Bruce, Taylor, Shaw, Harper, and Nevin, are drawn at ſome length, and to great advantage, by the author of Mr. Abernethy's life. Thoſe of Meſſrs. Wilſon, Clugſton, Henderſon, and Mears, are omitted, becauſe they were ſtill living (8). The avowed principles of theſe Non-ſubſcribers were as follows: 'Firſt, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath in 'the New Teſtament determined and fixed the 'terms of communion in his church: that all 'Chriſtians who comply with theſe have a right to 'communion; and that no man, or ſet of men, 'have power to add any other terms to thoſe ſettled 'in the goſpel. Secondly, That it is not neceſſary 'as an evidence of ſoundneſs in the faith, that candidates for the miniſtry ſhould ſubſcribe the Weſtminſter Confeſſion, or any uninſpired form of articles, or Confeſſion of Faith, as the term upon 'which they ſhall be admitted; and that no church 'has any right to impoſe ſuch a ſubſcription upon 'them. Thirdly, That to call upon men to make 'declarations concerning their faith, upon the penalty of cutting them off from communion, if 'they ſhould refuſe it; and this merely upon ſuſpicion and jealouſies, while the perſons required 'to purge themſelves by ſuch declarations, cannot be fairly convicted upon evidence, of any error 'or hereſy; is to exerciſe an exorbitant and arbitrary power, and is really an Inquiſition (9).

(9) Ibid. p. 59. 60.

[*F*] *And exerciſed their juriſdiction with no little hardſhip and injuſtice.*] Of this a remarkable inſtance was exhibited, in the caſe of the Reverend Thomas Nevin, M. A. Paſtor of the Church of the Preſbyterian Denomination in Down-patrick, who was accuſed of having aſſerted in converſation, 'That it is no blaſphemy to ſay that Chriſt is not 'God (10).' It appears, however, that this was not a general aſſertion, but ſpoken with a particular reference to the Jews. Mr. Nevin had mentioned, in

(10) *Vide* the trial of Thomas Nevin, M. A.; a thick pamphlet in crown octavo, publiſhed at Belfaſt, in 1725, p. 2, 3.

likewiſe, from the preſs, in the ſame cauſe. So early in the diſputes concerning church government as 1719, he publiſhed a ſermon, from Rom. xiv. 5. *Let every man be fully perſuaded in his own mind*; in which he explained the rights of private judgment, and the foundations of Chriſtian liberty. This ſermon hath by many been eſteemed an excellent

in company, with diſlike, that article of the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith (ch. xxiii. § 3.), which declared that it was a branch of the civil magiſtrate's power, to ſuppreſs all blaſphemies; and he had urged, that if the Jews, who are uſually reckoned by Chriſtians as guilty of blaſphemy, for denying Chriſt to be God, were to be treated according to that article, they would be put to death inſtead of being converted; and by that means the predictions of the ſcriptures, concerning their converſion, would be rendered utterly impoſſible to be fulfilled. Being aſked, whether it were not a ſin or error in the Jews to deny the divinity of our Lord, he replied, that it was no doubt a ſin and error in them, but not ſuch as made them obnoxious to puniſhment from the ſecular powers. It was then urged upon him, whether it was not *blaſphemy in them to deny Chriſt to be God*; to which he anſwered, and repeated it again, *That it was no blaſphemy in them to deny Chriſt to be God* (11). This was the whole crime of which Mr. Nevin was guilty; and indeed, he was ſo far from calling in queſtion the divinity of our Saviour, that he gave the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of his belief in that doctrine. In his letter to Mr. Smith, he makes the following declaration, which many will think was too great a conceſſion: 'If any thing ſaid by me can, 'with any ſhew of juſtice, amount to prove me an 'Arian, or one that denies the divinity of my 'deareſt Lord, let not country, nor law, nor ſynod 'ſpare me (12).'

(11) *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 8.

The proofs of Mr. Nevin's orthodoxy were of no avail. He was brought before the General Synod which met at Dungannon, in June 1724, and the Synod's proceedings againſt him were irregular in two reſpects. He ought to have been previouſly examined by his own preſbytery, and thence the matter ſhould have been referred to the Synod. But, contrary to all cuſtom and decorum, they took it up in the firſt inſtance. When they had gone thus far, they did not proceed in the method of regular trial, but inſiſted upon Mr. Nevin's purging himſelf by making an expreſs declaration of his belief of the Supreme Deity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. This he refuſed, not only as an irregular demand (ſince he was willing and deſirous to put himſelf upon his trial), but as exerciſing an inquiſitorial power in the Chriſtian church; and for his refuſal he was turned out of the Synod. However, a conſiderable number of miniſters proteſted againſt his expulſion, among whom was Mr. Abernethy. In peruſing the proceedings of this aſſembly of preſbyterian divines, who were not themſelves members of an eſtabliſhment, and who ſubſiſted only on a toleration which had been obtained but a few years before, we ſhall find as much bigotry and injuſtice as are to be met with in almoſt any eccleſiaſtical council (13).

(13) *Ibid.* paſſim.

The proteſt which was drawn up on this occaſion was very long, and remarkably good. It ſeems indeed ſuperior to the reſt of the pamphlet in which it is contained, and to Mr. Nevin's defence, although that is exceedingly ſenſible; and, conſidering the ſhort time he had to prepare it in, does him great honour. It is probable, from Mr. Abernethy's active ſpirit, from his zeal for religious liberty, and from the lead he took in all important affairs, that he had no ſmall hand in the compoſition of the proteſt; on which account we have mentioned it in this place.

Such was the attachment of the Iriſh diſſenting clergy to the doctrine of ſubſcription, that they ſeem to have been unwilling to receive the benefits of the Toleration Act, unleſs it required ſubſcription to the Weſtminſter Confeſſion. While the ſcheme for obtaining the act was in agitation, it was reſolved, at a meeting of miniſters and gentlemen, held at Antrim, on the tenth and ſeventeenth of November 1715, that the firſt thing they ſhould propoſe and *inſiſt* upon, as the terms on which they would *accept* of a toleration, ſhould be upon their ſubſcribing the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith. When this reſolution came to be conſidered at the General Synod which met at Belfaſt on the 19th of June 1716, the Synod unanimouſly approved of it, and agreed to adhere to it. A difficulty however having been ſtarted, both at Antrim and Belfaſt, whether the government would accede to the terms upon which they wiſhed to obtain a toleration, it was, at length, determined, after much conſideration and debate, that it would not be a relinquiſhing of the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith, as *their* confeſſion of faith, to accept of a toleration on the condition of their ſubſcribing the following formula: 'I profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus 'Chriſt, the eternal Son of God, and in God 'the Holy Ghoſt, and that theſe three are 'one God, the ſame in ſubſtance, equal in 'power and glory. I believe the ſcriptures of 'the Old and New Teſtament were given by 'divine inſpiration; and that they are a perfect 'rule of faith and practice; and purſuant to this 'belief I agree to all the doctrines common to all 'the Proteſtant Churches at home and abroad, 'contained in their and our public Confeſſions of 'Faith.' It was further reſolved, 'that it was law'ful to ſubſcribe the above formula, if enjoined by 'lawful authority, as the condition of a toleration.' Laſtly, it was reſolved by the Synod, 'that after 'uſing all proper endeavours for obtaining a tole'ration upon ſubſcribing the (Weſtminſter) Con'feſſion of Faith, and after its appearing that ſuch 'an attempt was hopeleſs, they would aſk a tolera'tion upon the above formula, at ſuch a ſeaſon as 'ſhould be agreed upon to be convenient.' From the unanimity with which theſe reſolutions were carried, and from Mr. Abernethy's being miniſter of Antrim, and a member of the General Synod, it is certain that he concurred in them; ſo that he muſt either at that time have entertained very different ſentiments from what he ſoon afterwards embraced; or elſe he, and the reſt of his brethren who might ſecretly be averſe to eccleſiaſtical reſtraints, had no conception of being able to procure a Toleration Act, without ſubmitting to a religious teſt. But, notwithſtanding the zeal which the Iriſh Diſſenters expreſſed for having the Weſtminſter Confeſſion bound upon them; or, at leaſt, a formula which implied an approbation of that Confeſſion, they were not gratified in their deſires. A toleration was granted them upon much more catholic and generous terms; and this, we are told, was entirely owing to the friendly interpoſition of King George the Firſt. The act took place on the 1ſt of January 1719, old ſtyle; and the conditions of it are, that the Diſſenting Miniſters ſhall take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; renounce, upon oath, the belief of the Pope's uſurped power over temporal princes; and renounce ſeveral of the groſſer Popiſh doctrines, as Tranſubſtantiation, the Invocation of the Virgin Mary, of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Maſs, &c. It was alſo required, that the place of worſhip ſhould be regiſtered. Near the end of the act is the following clauſe: 'Provided this act ſhall 'not extend to give any eaſe to Papiſts or Popiſh 'recuſants, nor to any that, in preaching or writ'ing, ſhall deny the doctrine of the Trinity, as 'declared in the Thirty-nine articles agreed upon 'in Convocation held at London in the year 1562, 'and referred to in the act of 17 and 18 of Charles 'the Second, chap. 6.' When any miniſters conform to the act, nothing is ſaid to them concerning the above clauſe, nor is a word ever uttered relative to what they ſhould or ſhould not preach, what they do or do not believe. Having taken the oaths, they are only deſired to write under them their names, in the county liſt or regiſtry. In the warm contentions which afterwards aroſe between the Subſcribers and the Non-ſubſcribers, the latter very pertinently rebuked their antagoniſts for departing from thoſe pacific and healing meaſures, of which ſo excellent an example had been ſet them in the royal clemency and moderation.

Now we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to relate a circumſtance which inſpired a general ardour for carrying into execution a ſcheme

excellent performance; but it greatly increaſed the jealouſies and diſcords which were then ſpringing up among the Iriſh Diſſenters. As it ſtruck at ſome favourite points reſpecting eccleſiaſtical power and the terms of communion, it raiſed a vehement oppoſition. Several papers were written againſt it, and the Belfaſt Society exerted themſelves in its defence (*x*).

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 56.

Afterwards, when the diſcords were carried to a ſtill higher pitch, and a rupture was threatened, Mr. Abernethy publiſhed a ſmall piece, intitled, '*Seaſonable* Advice to the contending parties in the North;' which was accompanied with a Preface, by the Reverend Meſſrs. Weld, Boyſe, and Chappin, of Dublin. The deſign of the publication was to prove, that there ought to be no breach of communion among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, on account of their different ſentiments and practices concerning ſubſcription to the Weſtminſter Confeſſion. The paper was anonymous: but a large anſwer to it having been given by one Mr. Maſterton, Mr. Abernethy thought proper to make a full reply, in a book to which he prefixed his name; and a poſtſcript to which was added, by the three gentlemen before mentioned. The endeavours of Mr. Abernethy, and ſome of his brethren, to prevent a ſeparation, were without effect. The Synod determined, in the year 1726, that the Miniſters, who were uſually called the Non-ſubſcribers, ſhould no longer be of their body; and revived, with additional force, the act of 1705, requiring the candidates for the miniſtry to ſubſcribe the Weſtminſter Confeſſion. From that time the excluded members formed themſelves into a ſeparate Preſbytery (*y*). Great, however, were the difficulties and diſcouragements to which theſe gentlemen were expoſed. They ſuffered much in their characters, and their ſocieties, in conſequence of the clamours and the odium which were raiſed againſt them. New congregations were erected in ſeveral places, of ſuch as ſcrupled to attend the religious ſervices of the Non-Subſcribers. Mr. Abernethy found that the reputation he had acquired, and which was eſtabliſhed by a long courſe of a moſt exemplary life, was no ſecurity to him againſt theſe evils. Some of his people forſook his miniſtry; and, at length, the number of the diſſatisfied increaſed ſo much, that they were formed by the Synod into a diſtinct ſociety, and provided with a paſtor. Nevertheleſs, the far larger part of his old friends adhered firmly to Mr. Abernethy, and retained as high an eſteem of him as ever (*z*).

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 58, 59. 60.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 74, 75, 76.

In this ſituation of things, he became leſs averſe to the thoughts of a removal from Antrim than he had heretofore been; and, accordingly, in the year 1730, he accepted of a call from the congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters in *Wood-ſtreet, Dublin*, to ſucceed the Reverend Mr. Boyle, one of their miniſters lately deceaſed. His acceptance, however, of the invitation, was only upon condition that he could ſettle his people at Antrim to their ſatisfaction; which was ſoon happily accompliſhed. From his diary it appears that he entered upon his new charge with great concern of mind, and with an earneſt ſolicitude that he might perform the ſervice of it in a reputable and ſucceſsful manner. Though he was arrived at that period of life, in which many think they may be excuſed from a laborious application to ſtudy, yet he gave himſelf to reading, meditation, and the compoſition of ſermons, with as much ardour and diligence as ever. He wrote all his diſcourſes at full length, and compoſed one almoſt every week. His turn of preaching was now conſiderably different from what it had been in early life. For ſome years he delivered his ſermons with a very great pathos, which tended to ſtrike the imaginations and the paſſions of his hearers. But he departed much from this practice in his riper age. He was deſirous of avoiding every thing which looked like enthuſiaſm, and addreſſed himſelf, therefore, more directly to the conſciences of men, and to the higher principles of action, in a ſtyle ſtrong and nervous, rather than pathetic. At Dublin, he conſtantly uſed his

which had before been thought of, for obtaining an act of toleration in Ireland. As the reverend Mr. Samuel Fowke, paſtor of the joint churches of Waterford, Kilkenny and Eniſcorthy, was preaching at the latter place, in the year 1716, Francis Toplady and Clement Archer, Eſqrs; Juſtices of the peace for the county of Wexford, and one Carrol, a conſtable, entered the room; and the conſtable was ordered to take Mr. Fowke by force from the deſk; the Juſtices at the ſame time, calling him by opprobrious names. He pleaded, that he had a certificate, ſigned by the Mayor, and Mayor elect of Waterford, giving him an honourable character, and ſetting forth that he had taken the oath of allegiance to his Majeſty, to whom he was a faithful ſubject: That the King, who had confirmed liberty of conſcience in England, would give no thanks to thoſe who diſturbed Diſſenters, being proteſtants, in Ireland: That he came to the place by invitation, and had creditable perſons with him, who would be ſecurity for his good behaviour. Notwithſtanding this remonſtrance, he was taken, as a criminal, to an attorney's office, where the Juſtices ſigned a warrant to ſend him, as a vagrant, from conſtable to conſtable, to the bounds of the county, which was accordingly done. This was not the firſt time that Mr. Fowke had been ill treated. He had before been once diſturbed in the ſame county, and obliged to appear at the aſſizes. Upon occaſion of the ſecond violence, he reſolved to take public notice of it; and accordingly he preferred a complaint, by way of petition, to their Excellencies the Duke of Grafton and Lord Galway, who ordered a ſevere reproof to be ſent Meſſieurs Toplady and Archer, for the part they had acted. Though, in conſequence of this reproof, Mr. Fowke and his friends were no more diſturbed in their religious aſſemblies, the affair did not reſt there. For the caſe having been repreſented to the Diſſenting Miniſters in Dublin, and particularly to Mr. Boyſe and Mr. Chappin, they immediately entered into the moſt vigorous meaſures for obtaining a Toleration Act; and which, as we have ſeen, were crowned with a ſucceſs far ſuperiour to the expectations or wiſhes of moſt of the Iriſh Diſſenting Clergy. It is probable, however, that many of them who, before the year 1719, had changed their ſentiments with regard to ſubſcription to Confeſſions of faith, would ſincerely rejoice at the extenſive liberty with which they had legally been favoured (14).

(14) From authentic manuſcripts in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Joſiah Thompſon, in Berry-ſtreet, St. Mary Axe, London, and by him communicated to the Editor.

notes

notes in the pulpit; a method which he had not practiſed in the North. This method he did not apply to from any neceſſity, but from a conviction that it was right, on ſeveral accounts; and, eſpecially, as it had a tendency to diſcourage the negligence which ſome might otherwiſe be tempted to give way to in the compoſition of their ſermons (*a*) [*G*].

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 75. 78. 89, 90.

Not long after his ſettlement at Dublin, he entered again into the married ſtate, with Miſs Boid, daughter of Mr. John Boid, a gentleman of character and fortune, at Rathmore, near Antrim. With this lady Mr. Abernethy lived, in all the tenderneſs of conjugal affection, to his death (*b*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 77.

The Diſſenters in Ireland were about this time ſolicitous to emancipate themſelves from the incapacities laid upon them by the Teſt Act. With a view to promote the deſign, Mr. Abernethy wrote a paper, to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice (*c*) of all ſuch laws, as, upon account of mere differences in religious opinions and forms of worſhip, excluded men of integrity and ability from ſerving their country, and debarred them of thoſe privileges and advantages to which they had a natural and juſt title, as free-born ſubjects. What he particularly inſiſted upon was, that, conſidering the ſtate of Ireland, it was a great error, in point of policy, to continue reſtraints which weakened the Proteſtant intereſt, and were prejudicial to the government. In the year 1733, the Iriſh Diſſenters received ſuch encouragement from ſome perſons of diſtinction in England, and ſuch ſtrong aſſurances of ſupport from many members of parliament in their own country, that they propoſed to move the Houſe of Commons for a bill to repeal the Sacramental Teſt; and Mr. Abernethy again appeared from the preſs, in favour of the ſcheme. He publiſhed, in conjunction with two friends, ſeveral papers upon the ſubject, which are generally underſtood to have been written with as much ſpirit and ſtrength of reaſon, as are to be met with in any thing which appeared on that ſide of the queſtion. His arguments, however, were found to have but little force, when ſet in oppoſition to the views and intereſts of different contending parties. The deſign miſcarried (*d*) [*H*].

(*c*) This was in the year 1731.

(*d*) Ubi ſupra, p. 78, 79, *Vide* Tracts and Sermons mentioned in the note [*I*] below.

Mr. Abernethy continued his labours in Wood-ſtreet with much reputation for ten years; during which term he was very happy in the ſociety and eſteem of his friends. Though he was well qualified to ſhine in converſation, and poſſeſſed a moſt cheerful temper, he was not fond of frequently appearing in mixed company. No man ever leſs affected to put himſelf in the way of the *great*; and, indeed, he regarded it as the indication of a little mind, to court them with ſuch humble application as is often done. From the ſtrength of his conſtitution, the vigour of his ſpirit, and the perfect temperance of his life, it was hoped that his uſefulneſs would long be preſerved. But this pleaſing proſpect was unexpectedly cut off. He had been ſubject, from time to time, to attacks of the gout, which had hitherto only affected the extremities. But, in December 1740, that diſorder ſuddenly attacked his head, and quickly produced the uſual melancholy ſymptoms. As ſoon as he became ſenſible what his caſe was, he was convinced that his diſſolution approached; an event for which he was fully prepared. Accordingly he met death with great compoſure and firmneſs of mind; with a chearful acquieſcence in the will, and fixed truſt in the power and goodneſs of that Being who governs the univerſe. He died in the ſixtieth year of his age. An account of his works, and ſome farther particulars concerning his character, will be given in the notes [*I*] and [*K*] (*e*).

(*e*) *Vide* his Life, ubi ſupra, P. 79—83.

ABEL

[*G*] *Compoſition of their ſermons.*] Mr. Abernethy's change in the mode of his preaching was, probably, one cauſe of his declining popularity. If he had continued that warm, pathetic, and (in a certain degree) extemporaneous manner which he had formerly practiſed, he might, notwithſtanding the alteration of his opinions, have retained a greater meaſure of acceptance among the people. Many of thoſe diſſenters who, at this period, had embraced the notions of Dr. Samuel Clarke, adopted at the ſame time his method of compoſing ſermons, without being able, perhaps, to attain the clearneſs and ſtrength with which that great man delivered his ſentiments, though they had no pathos to recommend them. Mr. Abernethy's abilities were, indeed, of the firſt rate, and his diſcourſes are admirable, according to the model he propoſed in the latter part of his life. But it is certain, that a conſiderable number of thoſe non-conforming clergy, to whom the title hath been given of the rational Diſſenters, weakened their compoſitions, and injured their uſefulneſs, by imagining that they were to addreſs to the reaſon only, and not to the affections of mankind; a notion which, in every view of it, is abſurd; and peculiarly ſo in men who are engaged in keeping up a ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed church. Their tranſition, likewiſe, from a looſe, warm, and vehement, to a correct and unanimated mode of preaching, was too ſudden and violent. For the Diſſenting Miniſters had not ſufficiently availed themſelves of the excellent examples which, from the time of the reſtoration, had been ſet them by the moſt eminent divines of the church of England; ſuch, for inſtance, as Barrow, Tillotſon, Scougal, Sharp, Lucas, Biſhop Moore, and others. I ſay, the diſſenting miniſters had not, in general, availed themſelves of theſe examples; for no doubt, there were many exceptions to the truth of this obſervation.

[*H*] *The deſign miſcarried.*] I remember to have read ſome years ago, a curious manuſcript narration of the proceedings in this whole affair, which was then in the hands of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. I know not from whence the Doctor had it, nor whether he carried it with him to America, or left it behind him in England. The Diſſenters were oppoſed in their attempt by the formidable and ſucceſsful pen of Dr. Swift. The Dean wrote three tracts againſt them, which are diſtinguiſhed by all that aſperity he was capable of; and which uſually marks his compoſitions, where the Whigs, and eſpecially the Preſbyterians, are concerned (15).

(15) Swift's Works, Vol. ix. p. 280. 344.

[*I*] *An account of his works.*] The moſt celebrated of Mr. Abernethy's writings were his two volumes of Diſcourſes on the Divine Attributes, the firſt of which only was publiſhed during his life. Theſe excited a very general attention and admiration, at the time of their publication; were much applauded and

and recommended by the late excellent Archbiſhop Herring; and are ſtill held in the higheſt eſteem by thoſe who reliſh the moſt liberal and manly ſentiments on the great ſubjects of natural religion. The matters treated of are,

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'The Being of God proved from the frame of the material world.'

II.

'The Being of God proved from the animal and rational life.'

III.

'The Being of God proved from human intelligence and morality.'

Theſe three Diſcourſes from Rom. i. 19, 20.

IV.

'The Spirituality of the Divine Nature explained and aſſerted.' John iv. 24.

V.

'The Unity of God proved from the apparent unity of deſign in his works.' Deut. vi. 4.

VI.

'Abſolute Eternity explained, and ſhewn to be a peculiar attribute of God.' Pſal. xc. 2.

VII.

'The Doctrine of God's Omnipreſence explained and vindicated.' Pſal. cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10.

VIII.

'God's almighty Power, by what acts manifeſted, and in what ſenſe to be underſtood.' Gen. xvii. 1.

IX.

'The true notion of Divine Omniſcience; of its nature, manner, and extent.' Pſal. cxlvii. 5.

X.

'The Wiſdom of God manifeſted in the Conſtitution and Government both of the natural and moral World.' 1 Tim. i. 17.

VOL. II.

I.

'Moral Agency explained, and in what ſenſe it is to be attributed to God.' Rev. xv. 4.

II.

'The Goodneſs of God proved from his works.' Mark iv. 18.

III.

'The principal objections againſt the Goodneſs of God anſwered.' Mark x. 18.

IV.

'The Goodneſs of God explained and improved.' Mark x. 18.

V.

'The Juſtice of God explained and proved.' Pſal. lxxxix. 14.

VI, VII.

'The Divine Perfections incomprehenſible.' Job xi. 7.

VIII.

'Religion diſtinguiſhed from Superſtition, and ſhewn to be true Wiſdom.' Job xxviii. 28.

IX.

'Religion ſhewn to be perfectly conſiſtent with the true Intereſt of Mankind.' Job xxviii. 28.

X.

'The Love of God explained and recommended.' Matth. xxii. 37.

XI.

'Of Truſt in God, and praying to him.' Pſal. lxii. 8.

Four volumes of Poſthumous Sermons were likewiſe publiſhed, the two firſt in 1748, and the others in 1757; to which is prefixed the Life of the Author, written, as is generally underſtood, by Dr. Duchal. The ſubjects are,

VOL. I.

I.

'Of Self-denial.' Matth. xvi. 24.

II.

'The Goſpel a Law of Liberty.' James ii. 12.

III, IV.

'Of Repentance.' Matth. iv. 17.

V.

'Peter's Denial of his Maſter practically improved.' Matth. xxvi. 74.

VI.

'Of Juſtification by Faith.' Rom. iv. 16.

VII.

'Of a Conſcience void of Offence.' Acts xxiv. 16.

VIII.

'Perfect Love gives boldneſs in the Day of Judgment.' 1 John iv. 17, 18.

IX.

'Loving Chriſt above all, the character of his true diſciples.' Matth. x. 37.

X.

'Of the proper Improvement of Occaſions of Sorrow.' Eccleſ. vii. 2, 3, 4.

XI.

'The Happineſs of the Righteous in all Circumſtances illuſtrated.' Iſa. iii. 10.

XII.

'The Path of the Juſt, like the Shining Light.' Prov. iv. 18.

VOL. II.

I.

'Mutual Edification the Duty of Chriſtians.' Rom. xv. 2.

II.

'Sincere Obedience neceſſary to our Acceptance with God.' Matth. vii. 21, 22, 23.

III.

'The Cauſes and Dangers of Self-deceit.' Matth. vi. 22, 23.

IV.

'Of Chriſtian Fortitude.' 2 Peter, i. 5.

V.

'Of Knowledge.' 2 Peter, i. 5.

VI.

'Of Temperance.' 2 Pet. i. 6.

VII.

'Of Patience.' 2 Pet. i. 6.

VIII.

'Of Godlineſs.' 2 Pet. i. 6.

IX.

'Of Brotherly Kindneſs and Charity.' 2 Pet. i. 7.

X.

'Sincere Obedience the beſt Preparation for knowing the Truth.' John vii. 17.

XI.

'Of the Vanity of Man's Judgment compared with that of God.' 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

XII.

'Of acknowledging God in all our Ways.' Prov. iii. 6.

XIII.

'A Sermon preached on a Public Faſt, appointed by Authority, on occaſion of a Declaration of War with Spain.' Ezek. xiv. 12, 13.

XIV.

'Prudence neceſſary in converſing upon religious Subjects.' Matth. vii. 6.

XV.

'Religious Converſation recommended.' Mal. iii. 16, 17.

VOL. III.

I.

'Religion and Virtue conſidered under the Notion of Wiſdom.' Prov. i. 1, 2, 3, 4.

II.

'The Excellency of Wiſdom.' Prov. viii. 6, 7.

III.

'The Ways of Wiſdom, Ways of Pleaſantneſs.' Prov. iii. 17.

IV.

'Wiſdom, the Strength of the Mind.' Prov. xxiv. 5.

V.

'The Favour of God attained by Wiſdom.' Prov. viii. 35.

VI.

'Long-life, Riches, and Honour, the Fruits of Wiſdom.' Prov. iii. 16.

VII.

'The Love of Wiſdom neceſſary to the attaining of it.' Prov. viii. 17.

VIII.

'Diligence in ſeeking Wiſdom always ſucceſsful. Prov. viii. 17.

IX.

'Self-government eſſential to Wiſdom.' Prov. xxv. 28.

X.

'The Proud and Scornful incapable of attaining to Wiſdom.' Prov. xiv. 6.

XI.

XI.

'Attending to public Inſtruction, and other inſtrumental Duties, recommended.' Prov. viii. 34.

XII.

'Walking with wiſe Men, a Means of attaining to Wiſdom.' Prov. xiii. 20.

XIII.

'The Foundation of Confidence towards God explained.' 1 John iii. 19, 20, 21.

XIV.

'On the ſame Subject.'

XV.

'Walking by Faith, not by Sight, explained and recommended.' 2 Cor. v. 7.

VOL. IV.

I.

'Temptations to Evil not from God.' James i. 13, 14.

II.

'Men tempted to Evil by their own Luſts.' James i. 14.

III.

'Of natural, moral, and civil Liberty.' Galat. v. 1.

IV.

'Of Chriſtian Liberty.' Galat. v. 1.

V.

'On the ſame Subject.'

VI.

'Of the Kingdom of God.' Rom. xiv. 17.

VII.

'Of believing in Jeſus Chriſt.' 1 John iii. 23.

VIII.

'Of Inability to do Good ariſing from vicious Habits.' Jerem. xiii. 23.

IX.

'A Sermon addreſſed particularly to young People.' Pſalm. xxxiv. 11, 12, 13, 14.

X.

'How Divine Worſhip is to be acceptably performed.' Eccleſ. v. 1—8.

XI.

'The Evil and Folly of Covetouſneſs.' Luke xii. 15.

XII.

'The proper Improvement of temporal Poſſeſſions.' Luke xvi. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

XIII.

'Of the Bleſſedneſs of the Pure in Heart.' Matth. v. 8.

XIV.

'Of the Bleſſedneſs of the Peace-makers.' Matth. v. 9.

XV.

'A Converſation becoming the Goſpel recommended.' Philip. i. 27.

In 1751 there was a volume publiſhed, printed for Griffiths in St. Paul's Church Yard, and ſold by Bradley, Bookſeller in Dublin, entitled, 'Scarce and valuable Tracts and Sermons occaſionally publiſhed by the late Reverend and learned John Abernethy, M. A. now firſt collected together: containing,

I. 'Reaſons for the Repeal of the Sacramental Teſt, in Five Numbers.' (From the Dublin Edit. 1733.)

No. 1. 'The Argument taken from the Nature and Genius of Chriſtianity.'

No. 2. 'An argument for repealing the Teſt Act, taken from its proſtituting the ſacrament, and its tendency to irreligion.'

No. 3. 'An argument for repealing the Teſt Act, taken from its inconſiſtency with the principles of civil liberty.'

No. 4. 'An anſwer to the objections againſt the repeal of the Teſt Act, taken from that law's being a ſecurity to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.'

No. 5. 'Some political arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt.' One of the two friends, in concert and with the aſſiſtance of whom theſe numbers were written, was Mr. William Bruce of Dublin, a very extraordinary character of whom may be found in the Monthly Review, vol. xiii. p. 253—267. and vol. xiv. p. 351—356.

II. 'The Nature and Conſequences of the Sacramental teſt conſidered; with reaſons humbly offered for the repeal of it.' Firſt printed at Dublin, 1731.

III. 'Seaſonable Advice to the Proteſtant Diſſenters in the North of Ireland; being a defence of the late General Synod's charitable declaration, with a recommendatory preface by the reverend Nath. Weld, J. Boyſe, and R. Choppin.' Firſt printed at Dublin, 1722.

IV. 'Religious Obedience founded on perſonal Perſuaſion. A ſermon preached at Belfaſt, Dec. 9, 1719, on Rom. xiv. 5.'

V. 'Perſecution contrary to Chriſtianity. A ſermon preached in Woodſtreet Dublin, on the 23d of October, 1735, being the Anniverſary of the Iriſh Rebellion; on Matth. v. 44.'

Theſe are all the ſermons and tracts contained in this collection. But he publiſhed likewiſe,

'A Sermon preached at Antrim, Nov. 13, 1723. at a faſt obſerved in the preſbyterian congregation in Ulſter, by agreement of their miniſters, on account of diviſions; on 1 Cor. iii. 3. Printed at Belfaſt, 1724.' And

'A Reply to the Rev. Mr. Maſterton, in defence of the Seaſonable Advice to the Diſſenters in the North of Ireland. With a Poſtſcript by the Rev. Meſſrs. Weld, Boyſe, and Chappin, in vindication of their recommendatory preface to the Seaſonable Advice.'

There is alſo mentioned in his life, p. 83, as the firſt thing he publiſhed, 'A Sermon on occaſion of the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, on Pſal. xx. 6.' And likewiſe, 'A Sermon before the General Synod (when he was Moderator), on Dan. xii. 4.'

All the performances here deſcribed, except one, are referred to or mentioned, but not with their full titles, in Dr. Duchal's Life of Mr. Abernethy.

[*K*] *Farther particulars concerning his character.*]

'His behaviour as the head of a family was, in all reſpects, exemplary. Beſides the daily regular worſhip of God in it (a matter in which he was very exact himſelf, and which with the greateſt zeal he recommended to others, accounting it one great cauſe of the decay of religion, ſo juſtly complained of in the preſent age, that family worſhip was ſo much neglected), he ſet apart a day, from time to time, ſeveral hours of which he ſpent with his family, inſtructing his children and ſervants, and praying with them. And he had the teſtimony of all in his houſe, and of all the neighbourhood, to the great meekneſs of his ſpirit, the evenneſs of his temper, and a generous affectionate care of all that were under his roof.

'It may be reckoned amongſt his more private labours, that every fortnight, for ſeveral years, he ſpent a day with the Members of his Seſſion, or (as it is ſometimes called) Conſiſtory, and as many of the principal perſons in the congregation as were diſpoſed to attend ſuch ſervice, in prayer and converſation upon uſeful ſubjects. Many of theſe have ſpoken frequently of it ſince, as what was of great advantage to them. Several points in Chriſtianity, which are leſs obvious to the unlearned, were freely diſcourſed upon, and every man had opportunity of propoſing his difficulties. But the converſation always turned principally upon matters relating to practice, and which might tend to edification.

'In the public ſervice he followed the rules then uſually obſerved in the north; expounding ſome portion of ſcripture, and preaching twice every Lord's-day. On Wedneſday he always preached a ſermon; after which he ſpent ſome time converſing with the Members of the Seſſion, about the ſtate of the congregation; and inquiring into any public ſcandals, which were laid before them, according to the rules of diſcipline obſerved amongſt the Diſſenters, in which he was very exact (16).

'He was very remarkable for true and ſprightly wit, which was always correct, and the moſt diſtant poſſible from levity; this rendered his converſation as agreeable and entertaining, as it was improving and uſeful; no perſon of any taſte could grow weary of his company. He had naturally a negligent air, and the appearance of inattention. As there was nothing at all affected in theſe, they were not diſagreeable to ſuch as knew him; but ſtrangers were often ſurpriſed to hear him reaſon juſtly, and ſpeak with exact-

(16) Life of Abernethy, p. 32, 33, 34.

'neſs, when he appeared to them very little to 'mind what he was engaged in.

'Of his eminent piety much has been already 'ſaid, but it deſerves a particular remark, that 'piety appeared in him in the moſt amiable manner, 'and like itſelf, manly and rational; there was 'nothing gloomy, nothing ſtiff or unnatural in his 'religion; and he was extremely happy in a free, 'eaſy, and chearful manner, in conjunction with 'the greateſt tenderneſs of ſpirit, and the warmeſt 'zeal for God. In his temper and behaviour, men 'ſaw that religion, as it was intended to be, ſo is 'in reality, the perfection of nature; no other than 'the proper exerciſe and improvement of our facul-'ties, and the beſt means of attaining to the true 'enjoyment of life.

'The whole of his conduct was guarded by the 'greateſt prudence. The moſt important ſecrets 'might, with perfect ſafety, be committed to him; 'and he had the greateſt tenderneſs for the cha-'racters of mankind. He never ſpoke to a man's 'diſadvantage, when it was not neceſſary to anſwer 'ſome good end; and was utterly abhorrent of 'ſpeaking evil to gratify a malicious or envious 'ſpirit, or from poverty of invention and want of 'what to ſay in company. Indeed, his whole be-'haviour was ordered with great diſcretion. He 'was carefully attentive to all the decencies of life. 'The purity of his manners was unblemiſhed. He 'was exactly temperate, rather, indeed, to a fault, 'abſtemious; and ſeemed to take pleaſure in the 'greateſt ſeverities of virtue.

'His paſſions were naturally ſtrong, but they 'were under ſuch correction, that his temper was 'uſually ſpoken of as quite immoveable. Incidents 'which would have been ſhocking to other men, 'were met by him without any apparent emotion. 'And in ſome circumſtances of life, which were 'extremely afflicting, he not only carried it with 'decency, but ſhewed ſuch a tranquillity of ſpirit 'and conſtancy, as amazed his friends. All who 'were acquainted with the delicacy of his temper, 'knew, that this was not in the leaſt owing to 'inſenſibility; and therefore muſt have high ideas 'of him, as having by religion and virtuous diſ-'cipline got above the common weakneſſes of 'human nature. There was, indeed, no part of 'his character more to be admired than this.

'His mind was formed for friendſhip. He en-'tered into the true ſpirit of it, and had a great 'reliſh for thoſe ſtrict intimacies in which only the 'higheſt joys of it can be taſted. But it will be 'readily concluded from his character, that it muſt 'be with very few that he could enter into ſuch in-'timacies. When he did, the generoſity of his ſpirit, 'the tenderneſs of his affection, and faithful con-'ſtancy, muſt render that relation very happy to his 'friend. His Diary ſhews, that he had ſome ſuch 'friendſhips, and he frequently mentions them with 'a ſpirit which became that ſacred relation.

'But he was a hearty friend, in the general ac-'ceptation of that term, to all men of worth, and 'ready to do good to all as he had opportunity. 'He was indeed ſparing in profeſſions, but never 'failed in important acts of kindneſs; and where 'he thought reſpect was due, he came ſhort of no 'one in paying it. But he had a juſt ſenſe how un-'worthy it was of him to put on appearances of 'reſpect to the worthleſs; and a ſhew of honour 'and regard, where diſregard only and neglect 'were to be juſtly expected. From this mean vice 'no man was ever more free. He knew what was 'due to others, and what he owed to himſelf; and 'was peculiarly happy in maintaining the dig-'nity of his own character, conſiſtently with mo-'deſty and the greateſt meekneſs of ſpirit.

'He took much pleaſure in directing and aſſiſting 'young candidates in their ſtudies; and was al-'ways ready to enter into converſation with them 'upon any points, with the difficulty of which 'their minds were preſſed and entangled. But 'made it his care, principally, to aſſiſt their reaſon-'ings, and informing their judgments of things by 'argument, and according to evidence; endea-'vouring to encourage liberty of thinking; and to 'take them off from all undue regard to authority, 'as he was himſelf the moſt diſtant poſſible from 'claiming any, or thinking the worſe even of the 'youngeſt learner for differing from him in diſput-'able points.

'His faithfulneſs to his friends ſhewed itſelf re-'markably in one thing, which is amongſt the very 'tendereſt offices, and requires the diſcreeteſt hand; 'that is, animadverting freely upon their culpable 'weakneſſes. This he never failed of doing when 'there was the leaſt proſpect of advantage from it. 'And though he could act this part with ſeverity 'enough, when that was neceſſary, yet it was 'ſo tempered with good will, and an apparent inten-'tion to ſerve the beſt purpoſes, that no one, not 'quite loſt to ingenuous ſentiments, could be diſ-'pleaſed with him. And he thoroughly underſtood 'how to addreſs himſelf to men in the moſt effec-'tual manner; and could touch the affections and 'ſprings of action with great dexterity, ſuiting his 'application to the various tempers of men, which 'no one could more readily find out (17).

'But many thought he did not excel more in 'any thing than in prayer. In this he had a fluency 'of thought and expreſſion, which ſeemed inex-'hauſtible. And the diſcerning hearer might 'eaſily perceive great fervour of ſpirit, with an ex-'act propriety of words; and very exalted ſtrains 'of devotion, without any thing of the falſe ſub-'lime, but perfectly ſuitable to the gravity of a 'ſolemn addreſs to God. It appears from his 'Diary, that he was at much pains to qualify him-'ſelf for performing this part of the public ſervice 'after a right manner. His prayers, upon ſome 'particular occaſions, were compoſed with great 'care, and committed to memory. And as he 'looked upon the ſcriptural ſtyle to be the moſt be-'coming in our addreſſes to God, ſo he made 'much uſe of ſcriptural phraſes; and was ever 'very happy in the choice of thoſe which were beſt 'adapted to the matter of his petitions, or adora-'tion and praiſe (18).'

(17) *Ibid.* p. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 91.

K.

ABLE or ABEL (Thomas) Chaplain to Queen Catherine, conſort of King Henry VIII. (*a*), diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in oppoſing the proceedings of that king, and in particular the divorce of his royal miſtreſs. To this end, as Anthony Wood informs us, he wrote a piece intituled, *Tractatus de non diſſolvendo Henrici & Catherinæ matrimonio*, i. e. 'A Treatiſe proving that the marriage of King Henry and Queen Catherine ought not to be diſſolved.' [But the title of the work, according to Biſhop Tanner (*b*), was, *Invicta Veritas:* "An Anſwer, that by no manner of law it "may be lawful for the King to be divorced from the Queen's Grace, his lawful and "very Wife;" unleſs theſe writers ſpeak of two different productions, which may poſſibly be the caſe, as Thomas Able, in Stat. 25 Henry VIII. c. 12. is deſcribed as having "cauſed to be printed and ſet forth in this realm, diverſe books againſt the "divorce and ſeparation (*c*)."] He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, on the fourth of July 1513 (*d*); and that of Maſter of Arts, on the twenty-ſeventh of June 1516 (*e*). In the year 1534, he fell under a proſecution for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, called *The Holy Maid of Kent* [*A*]; [and was adjudged guilty

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 54.

(*b*) Tanner's Bibliotheca Hibernico-Britannica, p. 1.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 19.

(*e*) *Id. ib.* col. 24.

[*A*] *He was proſecuted for being concerned in the affair of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent.*] Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1) gives us the following account of that impoſtor. 'Elizabeth Barton —— 'had almoſt ſtirred up more than one tragedy: for 'being ſuborned by the Monks, to uſe ſome ſtrange geſticu-

(1) Life and Reign of Henry VIIIth, *apud* Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. i. *ad an.* 1534.

guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, by the abovementioned act of Parliament.] He was alſo one of thoſe, who denied the King's ſupremacy over the Church; for which he was apprehended and impriſoned, and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered in Smithfield, on the thirtieth of July 1540. During his impriſonment, he was ſo cloſely confined, that the keeper of Newgate was committed to the Marſhalſea priſon, for ſuffering him to go out upon bail (*f*). Bouchier gives him the character of a very learned man, and tells us, he uſed to teach the Queen muſic and the languages (*g*).

(*f*) Stow's Annals, an. 1534.

(*g*) *Vir longè doctiſſimus, qui reginæ aliquando in muſicarum tactu & linguis operam ſuam navaverat.* T. Bouchier, Hiſt. Eccl. de martyrio fratr. Ord. Minor. D. Franciſci. Ingolf. 1583.

'geſticulations, and to exhibit divers feigned miracles, accompanied with ſome wizardly unſoothſayings, ſhe drew much credit and concourſe to her; inſomuch that no mean perſons, and, among others, Warham late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, gave ſome belief to her: ſo that notwithſtanding the danger that was to give ear to a prediction of her's, that Henry VIII. ſhould not live one month after his marriage with Mrs. Bolen, ſhe was cried up with many voices: Sylveſter, Darius, and Antonio Pollioni, the Pope's agents here, giving credit and countenance thereunto. But the plot being at laſt diſcovered, ſhe was attainted of treaſon in the parliament, and executed with her chief accomplices ſhortly after; at which time ſhe confeſſed their names, who had inſtigated her to theſe practices, and whom ſhe had acquainted with her revelations.'

B. and K.

ACCA (St.) (*a*) Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northumberland [*A*], ſucceeded Wilfrid in that ſee, in the year 709. He was a Monk of the order of St. Benedict, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and had his education under the moſt holy prelate Boſa, Biſhop of York; and from thence was taken under the patronage of Wilfrid, whom he accompanied in a journey to Rome. Here he improved himſelf in ſeveral things, relating to eccleſiaſtical uſage and diſcipline; which (his hiſtorian tells us) it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country (*b*) [*B*]. This prelate, [by the help of architects, maſons, and glaſiers, hired in Italy,] ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence [*C*], furniſhed it with plate and holy veſtments, procured a large collection of the lives of the Saints, and erected a noble library conſiſting chiefly of eccleſiaſtical learning (*c*). About the year 732, Acca was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown [*D*]. He was eſteemed a very able divine, and was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſic [*E*]. He wrote

(*a*) Brompton calls him Atta. *Chronic.* apud Decem Scriptor. col. 795.

(*b*) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. lib. v. c. 20.

(*c*) *Id. ib.*

[*A*] *Biſhop of Haguſtald, or Hexam, in Northberland.*] As this epiſcopal ſee has been now a long time extinct, the curious reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee here a ſhort account of it, as extracted from our old Engliſh hiſtorians by Mr. Camden. 'And now 'the whole Tine, being well grown, and ſtill increaſing, preſſes forward in one channel for the 'ocean, by *Hexam*, which Bede calls Haguſtald. 'This was the *Axelodunum* of the Romans, where 'the firſt cohort of the Spaniards were in garriſon, 'as the name implies, as alſo its ſituation on a 'riſing hill; for the Britons called ſuch a mount '*Dunum*. But take an account of this place from 'Richard its Prior (‡). *Not far from the ſouthern 'bank of the river* Tine, *ſtands a town, of ſmall 'extent indeed at preſent, and but thinly inhabited; 'but (as the remaining marks of its ancient ſtate will 'teſtify) heretofore very large and magnificent. This 'place is called* Hextoldeſham, *from the little rivulet 'of* Hextold, *which runs by, and ſometimes ſuddenly 'overflows it. In the year* 675, *Etheldreda, wife of 'King Egfrid, aſſigned it for an epiſcopal ſee to St. 'Wilfrid; who built here a church, which, for the 'curiouſneſs and beauty of the fabric, ſurpaſſed all the 'monaſteries in England.* ——— But the honour [of 'being an epiſcopal ſee] after the twelfth Biſhop, 'was wholly loſt, the Daniſh wars prevailing. 'Afterwards it was only reckoned a manour of the 'Archbiſhops of York, till they parted with their 'right in an exchange made with Henry VIII. (1).

(‡) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. *de ſtatu & epiſcopis Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. i.

(1) Camden's *Britannia*, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. ii. col. 1083.

[*B*] —— *Which* —— *it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country.*] *Cum quo etiam Romam veniens* (ſays Bede) *multa illic quæ in patria nequiverat eccleſiæ ſanctæ inſtitutioni utilia didicit, & ſuis ſubjectis tradidit* (2). From this aſſertion of Bede's it appears, that the Engliſh and Roman churches were not yet brought to an uniformity in all points.

(2) Beda, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. v. c. 20.

[*C*] *He ornamented his cathedral to a great degree of beauty and magnificence.*] The author of a catalogue of the Biſhops of Hexam, publiſhed by Wharton (3), has the following remark upon this Prelate's benefactions, which it may not be improper to ſet down. *Lubens hæc commemoro, ut priſcam gentis noſtræ devotionem, & in ſacris magnificentiam, Lectores intueantur: neve ornamenta eccleſiarum pretioſa a primævæ (inter nos) fidei ſimplicitate aliena habeantur.* —— 'I willingly mention theſe benefactions, that 'the readers may ſee the ancient devotion of our 'nation, and its magnificence in ſacred matters; 'and that rich ornaments of churches may not be 'thought foreign to the ſimplicity of faith among 'us.'

(3) Anglia Sacra, Pars i. p. 696.

[*D*] *He was driven from his ſee into baniſhment, but for what cauſe is unknown.*] We learn this particular of the life of Biſhop Acca from Richard, Prior of Haguſtald (4). That Author's words are: 'Anno vero Dominicæ incarnationis 732 & regni 'Ceolvulfi IV, & epiſcopatus ſui 24, de ſede ſua 'fugatus eſt ——— Qua autem urgente neceſſitate pulſus fit, vel quo diverterit, ſcriptum non 'reperi. Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eo tempore 'epiſcopalem ſedem in *Candida* inceperit & preparaverit. ——— *In the year of Chriſt* 732, *the 'fourth of the reign of Ceolwolf, and the twenty-'fourth of his promotion to the epiſcopacy, he was 'driven from his ſee* ——— *But, what urgent 'neceſſity obliged him to withdraw, or to what place 'he retired, we are no where told. Some indeed pretend, he then laid the foundation of an epiſcopal ſee 'at* Candida Caſa *or* Withern.' The ſuppoſition (here mentioned) of Acca's founding the ſee of *Candida Caſa*, during the time of his exile, cannot be true, ſince that biſhopric was founded (or rather reſtored) before Bede finiſhed his Hiſtory, that is before the year 731: as appears from Bede himſelf. 'At vero Provinciæ Northan-hymbrorum, 'cui rex Ceolvulf præeſt, quatuor nunc epiſcopi 'præſulatum tenent: Wilfrid in Eboracenſi Eccleſia, Æthiwald in Lindisfaronenſi, Acca in Haguſtaldenſi, Pecthelm in ea quæ *Candida Caſa* vocatur; quæ nuper, multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in ſedem pontificatûs addita, ipſum primum habet antiſtitem (5). —— *In the province of North-'umberland, over which King Ceolwolf reigns, there 'are now four Biſhops governing their reſpective ſees; 'Wilfrid in the Church of York, Æthiwald in that of 'Lindisfarne, Acca in that of Haguſtald, and Pecthelm in that called* Candida Caſa; *of which he is 'the firſt Biſhop, it having been lately taken into the 'number of epiſcopal ſees, on account of the great increaſe of the faithful.'*

(4) *De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtald. Eccleſ.* c. 15.

(5) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 24.

[*E*] *He was remarkably ſkilled in church-muſic.*] Bede informs us, that Acca retained in his ſervice, during twelve years, an excellent ſinger named Maban; by the help of whoſe inſtructions, he revived the uſe of church-muſic, and ſinging of anthems. This

wrote the following pieces: 1. *Paſſiones Sanctorum*, i. e. 'The Sufferings of the Saints.' 2. *Officia ſuæ Eccleſiæ*, i. e. 'The Offices of his own Church.' 3. *Epiſtolæ ad Amicos*, i. e. 'Letters to his Friends.' 4. *Pro illuſtrandis ſcripturis ad Bedam*, i. e. 'For explaining the Scriptures, addreſſed to Bede (*d*).' He died in 740 [*F*], having governed the church of Hexam twenty-four years, under Egbert King of the Northumbrians (*e*). Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St. Acca [*G*].

(*d*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. I. c. 90.

(*e*) Rog. Hoved. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601. p. 403.

This Maban, it ſeems, had been taught to ſing by the ſucceſſors of the diſciples of St. Gregory the Pope in Kent. *Cantatorem quoque egregium, vocabulo Maban, qui à ſucceſſoribus diſcipulorum beati Papæ Gregorii in Cantia fuerat cantandi ſonos edoctus, ad ſe ſuoſque inſtituendos accerſiit, ac per annos duodecim tenuit: quatenus & quæ illi non noverant, carmina eccleſiaſtica doceret; & ea quæ quondam cognita longo uſu vel negligentia inveterare cæperunt, hujus doctrina priſcum renovaret in ſtatum* (6).

(6) Beda, ubi ſupra, c. 20.

[Acca not only revived and improved church-muſic by the aſſiſtance of Maban, but introduced the uſe of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England (7). 'If we may believe William of Malmeſbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the Conqueſt. He ſays, that Archbiſhop Dunſtan, in King Edgar's reign, gave an organ to the Abbey-church of Malmeſbury; which he deſcribes to have been like thoſe in uſe at preſent. "Organa, ubi per æreas fiſtulas "muſicis menſuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas "follis vomit anxius auras." William, who was a Monk of this Abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunſtan was inſcribed in a Latin diſtich, which he quotes on the organ pipes (8).']

(7) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, ſecond Diſſertation, p. 95.

(8) *Ibid.* Note. With the Authors there quoted.

[*F*] *He died in* 740.] His body was buried with great ſolemnity in the church of Haguſtald; and two ſtone croſſes of exquiſite workmanſhip were placed, the one at his head and the other at his feet. Three hundred years after, his ſepulchre being opened, the burial-cloaths, in which his body was wrapt, were found entire, and not in the leaſt decayed; an argument (ſays an hiſtorian) of his great ſanctity, and a proof of his never-fading glory. *In argumentum magnæ ſanctitatis, & teſtimonium incommutabilis gloriæ ejus* (9). There was found upon his breaſt, a ſmall wooden tablet in the form of an altar, made of two pieces of wood joined together with ſilver nails; on which was this inſcription: *Alme Trinitati. agie. ſophie. Sanctæ Mariæ* (10).

(9) Ricardus Prior Haguſtald. ubi ſupra, c. 15.

(10) Simeon Dunelm. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. *ad an.* 740.

[*G*] *Simeon of Durham relates ſeveral miracles performed by the relics of St. Acca.*] For the reader's amuſement I ſhall ſelect one or two. A certain brother in the church of Haguſtald, whoſe name was Aldred, reſolved one day to ſeparate the bones of St. Acca, which had hitherto lain mixed with his aſhes, and depoſit them in a cheſt prepared for that purpoſe. Accordingly having brought out the relics, and laid them on St. Michael's altar, he picked out the bones, and wrapping them in a linen napkin placed them in the cheſt. This done, he took up the cheſt, and went with it into the choir, where he intended it ſhould ſtand, leaving a brother of his to watch the relics. This brother, being left alone, and having a ſtrong deſire to get into his poſſeſſion a relic of ſo great a ſaint, reſolved to ſearch amidſt the aſhes, in hopes ſome little bone might inadvertently have been left behind. But firſt, that he might not proceed irreverently, he kneeled down, and repeated the ſeven penitential pſalms; then approaching the altar, he began to ſtir the aſhes; when ſuddenly a flame burſting forth, as from the mouth of an oven, drove him back, and obliged him to deſiſt from his attempt; convincing him at the ſame time, that it was not the will of God, that he ſhould take away the minuteſt particle of ſuch precious relics (11). Another miracle is as follows: One Edric, a preſbyter, coming to the church of Haguſtald, perceived a heap of earth lying near one of the altars; into which beginning to dig, he diſcovered a wooden box, and in it a leaden caſket, with an inſcription, importing that ſome of the relics of St. Acca were contained therein. The prieſt, having broke open the caſket, found in it a little parcel of duſt reſembling aſhes, and intermixed with a few bones; which he took away with him. It happened at that time he was acquainted with a pious but poor old woman of the town, who had been a long time blind; and it came into his thoughts to try the virtue of his relics in effecting her cure. Accordingly he ſteeped one of the Saint's bones in a little holy water; and having waſhed her eyes therewith, in about two hours time, *through the merits and interceſſion of St. Acca*, ſhe was reſtored to ſight (12).

(11) Simeon Dunelm. ibid.

(12) *Id. ibid.*

B. and K.

ADAMS (Thomas) citizen and Lord-Mayor of London: a man of great eminence in his time, for his prudence and piety, his loyalty and ſufferings, and his acts of munificence both in town and country. He was born at Wem in Shropſhire, anno 1586, educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, and bred a Draper in London (*a*). [In the year 1639, he was choſen Sheriff of that city (*b*); and was of ſo public a ſpirit, that when his ſon-in law brought him the firſt news of the ſaid election, he immediately diſmiſſed his particular buſineſs, and never afterwards perſonally followed his trade, but gave himſelf up to the city concerns (*c*). He made himſelf ſuch a maſter of the cuſtoms and uſages, the rights and privileges of the city; and, at the ſame time, was found to be a man of ſuch wiſdom and integrity in the exertion of his knowledge, that there was no honour in the city whereof he was capable, to which he was not preferred (*d*). He was choſen Maſter of the Draper's Company, Alderman of a Ward, and Preſident of St. Thomas's Hoſpital, which would probably have been ruined, had it not been for his ſagacity and induſtry in diſcovering the frauds of an unjuſt ſteward (*e*). He was often returned a burgeſs in parliament, though the iniquity of the times would not permit him to ſit there: and in the year 1645, he was elected Lord-Mayor of London (*f*); in which office he was ſo far from ſeeking his own benefit, that he would not accept of thoſe advantages which are uſually made, by ſelling the vacant places (*g*). On account of his incorruptible loyalty to King Charles the Firſt, his houſe, while he was Lord-Mayor, was ſearched by the party then getting into power, in expectation of finding the King there. This party finding that Mr. Adams was a man who would not be moulded into their forms, or make ſhipwreck of his conſcience, to ſerve their intereſt, he was, the year after, caſt into the Tower, and detained a priſoner for ſome time: and, for ſeveral years, he was excluded from all public offices and employments (*h*). His conſtancy to the royal cauſe brought upon him, beſides theſe troubles, the ſcoffs and detractions of his adverſaries, which others have

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Shropſhire, p. 10. And the Engliſh Baronets, Vol. ii. 8vo. 1727, p. 21.

(*b*) Delaune's Angliæ Metropolis: or Preſent State of London, 8vo. 1690, p. 237.

(*c*) Dr. Nath. Hardy's Royal Commonwealths Man; or David's Picture: repreſented in a Sermon at the Funeral of Sir THO. ADAMS, &c. 4to. 1668, p. 36.

(*d*) *Idem*, p. 32.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 37.

(*f*) Delaune, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Hardy, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(*h*) Dr. Hardy, &c. p. 35, 36.

cleared

cleared him of [*A*]; and many writers, in verſe as well as proſe, have applauded his adminiſtration, when in office.] At length he became, and ſo continued for ſome years, the firſt among the twenty-ſix, the eldeſt Alderman upon the bench, that had ſerved in the office of Lord-Mayor, to whom is given that honourable title, of *FATHER of the CITY* (*i*). [His Prince, alſo, deſervedly conferred upon him the greateſt honours of which his ſtation was capable. Such was his generous loyalty and affection to Charles II. that, in the perilous times of his exile, he had remitted to him ten thouſand pounds (*k*). When therefore, at his Majeſty's joyful return to theſe realms, Mr. Adams was deputed by the city, to go, though in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, as their commiſſioner, to Breda in Holland with General Monk (*l*), to congratulate the King, and attend him home, he was, in conſideration of his ſignal ſervices, knighted at the Hague by the ſaid King, and, a few days after the Reſtoration, advanced to the dignity of a Baronet of England, on the 13th of June 1660 (*m*). His merit is ſtill more extenſive in the character of a benefactor to the Public. At Wem, he gave the houſe of his nativity for a free-ſchool, and liberally endowed it (*n*). He likewiſe founded an Arabic profeſſorſhip at Cambridge, on condition that it were frequented by a competent number of auditors (*o*); and it thrived ſo well, that the ſalary of forty pounds *per annum* (*p*), was ſettled upon Mr. Abraham Wheelock, Fellow of Clare-Hall, a man of great learning and induſtry, whoſe longer life would probably have much improved the Polyglott Bible. Theſe munificent endowments, both of which were perpetual, took place, the firſt of them twenty years, and the ſecond above thirty years, before Sir Thomas Adams's death (*q*). At the deſire of Mr. Wheelock, he was at the expence of printing the Perſian Goſpels, and of tranſmitting them into the Eaſtern parts of the world. Thus he endeavoured to promote the Chriſtian religion, *by throwing*, as he himſelf uſed to expreſs it, *a ſtone at the forehead of Mahomet* (*r*). He was alſo a conſpicuous example in private as well as public charities. His hands were open in his life-time, upon all occaſions, to objects of want and deſert; and, though he had ſuffered many great damages in his eſtate, he gave conſiderable legacies to the poor of ſeveral pariſhes, to hoſpitals, and miniſters widows. His fine and graceful preſence [*B*] was exceeded by the virtues of his mind, among which he was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his Chriſtian patience and fortitude under a variety of heavy afflictions; ſuch, as himſelf acknowledged, *he could not have borne, were it not from the ſtrength he received from thoſe divine examples, wherewith he had been ſo converſant.* In his latter years he was much afflicted with the ſtone in his bladder. This, by a fall as he was ſtepping out of a coach (*s*), haſtened his death, which happened on the (*t*) 24th of February 1667, when he was eighty-one years of age. That ſtone was of ſuch extraordinary magnitude, that it was found, when taken from him, to exceed twenty-five ounces in weight (*u*): and it is, therefore, preſerved in the laboratory at Cambridge (*x*). The worldly affairs in which he had been ſo much engaged, left in him no reluctance at the thoughts of his diſſolution. He was always prepared for death; and it was his frequent language, *Solum mihi ſupereſt ſepulchrum. All my buſineſs now, is to fit me for the grave.* His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Hardy, on the 10th of March following, in St. Catherine Cree Church, before a numerous audience; among whom were, not only Sir Thomas's children [*C*], and his many relations, but

(*i*) Dr. Hardy, p. 32.

(*k*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) *Ibid.* and Dr. Hardy, p 36.

(*m*) Engliſh Baronets, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Fuller, in Shropſhire.

(*o*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Camb. ſince the conqueſt, fol. 1655, p. 166. *ſub ann.* 1631-2.

(*p*) Dr. Hardy, p. 37.

(*q*) *Idem.*

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 38.

(*s*) Engliſh Baronets.

(*t*) J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. iii.

(*u*) Dr. Hardy, p. 39.

(*x*) Engliſh Baronets.

[*A*] *Scoffs and detractions, &c. which yet others have cleared him of.*] One calls him *the prerogative Lord Mayor* (1); others of the Independants and Sectaries, are for reſembling him to wicked *Ahaz*, for breaking his promiſe (2); 'whereas, ſays Mr. Thomas Edwards, he performed it moſt punctually and conſcientiouſly; conſidering himſelf as a Chriſtian and a Magiſtrate in ſuch an eminent place (3).

(1) John Lilburn, in his London's Liberties, &c. 4to. 1646.

(2) The Lord Mayor's Farewel from his office, &c. 4to. 1646.

(3) See his *Gangræna*, 4to. 1646. Part iii. p. 179. 228.

[*B*] *His fine and graceful preſence.*] Dr. Hardy, who was acquainted with him above twenty years, tells us, 'His very outward aſpect was amiable, nay venerable; his preſence, as the appearance of ſome benign ſtar, having a pleaſing influence upon all that looked upon him: but could you have viewed his inſide, behold that virtuous ſoul which inhabited his comely body, how would it have raviſhed you! and yet though we could not directly we might reflexively, and that both from his words and works.' And a little further, 'Such was his tongue! frequently tipped with ſilver, nay golden ſayings; which he brought forth out of the treaſure of his memory: ſuch were his lips! with which (as well, nay better, than with his bountiful table) he fed not only his children and ſervants, but all who converſed with him; among whom I can truly ſay, *I never went to him, but I did or might come away from him bettered by his gracious and prudent diſcourſe.* Nor was he only, as I doubt too many are, a man of words; his goodneſs was not only at his tongue's but his finger's ends. So that he was not only in reſpect of his words, a ſweet and pleaſing voice; but of his works, a burning and ſhining light (4).

(4) His funeral ſermon, p. 30, 31.

[*C*] *Sir Thomas's children.*] Whereof he had nine, though four only ſurvived him; three daughters, and one ſon, named William, who ſucceeded in dignity and eſtate. This Sir William Adams, Bart. married Anne, ſiſter to Sir James Ruſhout of Northwick, in Worceſterſhire, Bart. by whom he had nine ſons and one daughter; but by his ſecond wife, the widow of Alderman Allington, he had no iſſue: he died *anno* 1687, and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas his eldeſt ſurviving ſon; who died unmarried in 1690. Whereupon Sir Charles Adams, Bart. late of Sprowſton-hall in Norfolk, the ſixth ſon of Sir William, became ſucceſſor. He married Frances, one of the ſix daughters of Sir Francis Rolle, ſon of Lord Chief Juſtice Rolle; but dying without iſſue, in Auguſt 1726, was buried at Ealing in Middleſex, and ſucceeded by his only brother living, Sir Robert Adams; who married the daughter and one of the coheireſſes of Piercy Wiſeman, Eſq; a branch of the ancient family of Wiſeman in Eſſex. [This lady dying without iſſue in February 1725-6, Sir Robert afterwards married a Northamptonſhire gentlewoman, by whom he had two ſons, Thomas and William. Sir Thomas Adams, his eldeſt ſon, is the preſent Baronet. Having been brought up to the ſea, he was appointed, on the 17th of Auguſt 1760, a Captain of his Majeſty's navy, and commanded ſeveral different ſhips in the laſt war, with bravery and conduct. *He beareth*, Ermine, *three Cats, paſſant, in pale, Azure. Creſt: On a Wreath, a Wolf's Head, eraſed, Ermine* (5).] O. and K.

(5) Kimber's Baronetage, Vol. ii. p. 16.

the principal magiſtrates of the city; to all of whom the Dr. concludes with excellent advice. The characteriſtical part of the diſcourſe has been reprinted (*y*), in which it appears, that the death of Sir THOMAS ADAMS was accounted a general loſs: for, not to mention private loſers, the King loſt in him a loyal ſubject; the church, a faithful ſon; the city, a prudent ſenator; and the public, a common father. He was buried at Sprowſton church in Norfolk, and has a handſome monument over him, with a long Latin inſcription upon it, written by W. Faldo of Gray's-Inn, Eſq; which has been printed elſewhere (*z*).]

(*y*) Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy perſons, fol. 1739. No. iii. p. 86.

(*z*) In Monum. Anglic. prædict. ab an. 1667.

ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. He was born March 15, 1563, in the town of Perth, deſcended of mean, but very honeſt and indulgent parents (*a*), who willingly afforded him all the learning they were able. As a proof of this, they ſent him to the grammar-ſchool in the place where they dwelt; and thence he went to the univerſity of St. Andrew's, where he paſſed through a courſe of philoſophy, and attained the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). Their circumſtances not allowing them to maintain him any longer there, he was conſtrained to return home, and think of ſome way of getting his bread. In order to this, he removed to a little village in Fife, where he taught ſchool, and in a ſhort time gained ſuch a reputation, that many gentlemen in the neighbourhood ſent their ſons to be educated under him (*c*). In this condition he continued about four years, till Mr. James M'Gill, of Rankellor, one of the ſenators of the College of Juſtice, intending to ſend his eldeſt ſon into France to ſtudy the Civil Law, made choice of Mr. Adamſon, to be his tutor or preceptor (*d*). With this young gentleman he ſet out for Paris in the year 1566, which is the firſt date we meet with in the memoirs of his life. In the month of June, in the ſame year, Mr. Adamſon's loyalty involved him in a very unlucky difficulty [*A*]. Neither had he eſcaped ſo eaſily as he did, had not Queen Mary, Dowager of France, and Sovereign of Scotland, with ſome of the principal nobility in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves in his behalf (*e*). As ſoon as he recovered his liberty, he retired with his pupil to Bourges, where he and young Mr. M'Gill both entered ſtudents of Law. He was in that city during the maſſacre at Paris, and the ſame humour prevailing there, he narrowly eſcaped ſuffering martyrdom for the Proteſtant religion, living concealed no leſs than ſeven months in a certain public houſe, the maſter of which, for his charity to hereticks, was thrown from the top of it, and beat to pieces, though upwards of ſeventy years old (*f*). While Mr. Adamſon lay thus in his ſepulchre, as he juſtly called it, he wrote two excellent pieces in Latin verſe, which are ſtill extant [*B*]. In the year 1573, he returned into Scotland, where he married a lawyer's daughter, probably with an intent to have furthered his progreſs in that ſcience; but finding no encouragement, and ſtanding in need of a preſent proviſion, he entered into holy orders, and became miniſter of Paiſley (*g*). In the year 1575, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to confer on ſettling the juriſdiction and policy of the Church, by the General Aſſembly (*h*). In a General Aſſembly held the ſucceeding year at Edinburgh, he, together with Mr. David Lindſay, was appointed to report their proceedings to the Earl of Morton, then Regent (*i*). The ſame year, that great nobleman appointed him one of his chaplains; and on the death of Biſhop Douglas, raiſed him to the Archbiſhoprick of St. Andrews (*k*), a dignity which brought him nothing but trouble and uneaſineſs.

(*a*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon, à Thoma Voluſeno conſcript.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholic Church, fol. Hague, 1662, Part iii. p. 392.

(*e*) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

(*f*) Præfat. in Job.

(*g*) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, fol. 1680, p. 55, but more largely in the MS. Hiſt. ſtill preſerved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

(*b*) Petrie ad ann. Calderwood, ad ann.

(*i*) Calderwood and Petrie.

(*k*) Calderwood, p. 74. and Petrie, p. 387. Vit. Pat. Adamſon, Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, *ann.* 1575.

On

[*A*] *Mr. Adamſon's loyalty involved him in a very unlucky difficulty.*] The occaſion was this, Mary Queen of Scots, being delivered on the 19th of June, 1566, of a Prince, afterwards James VI. of Scotland, and Firſt of England (1); Mr. Adamſon, to ſhew his loyalty, and it may be alſo to ſhew his genius for Latin poetry, wrote a very fine copy of verſes, which he procured to be immediately printed and publiſhed. The title of this poem ran thus: *Sereniſſimi & Nobiliſſimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illuſtriſſimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ ampliſſimæ Filii Genethliacum* (2). i. e. *A Poem on the Birth of the moſt ſerene and moſt noble Prince of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Son of the moſt illuſtrious Hero Henry Stuart, and of the moſt potent Queen Mary.* This poem was publiſhed on the 25th of June, but ſix days after the birth of the Prince, who was the ſubject of it; and therefore we may be ſure, that it was both written and printed in ſome hurry; however, the giving the titles of France, and England, to his own Prince, ſo much alarmed the French court, that they inſtantly cauſed him to be arreſted, and might perhaps have proceeded to greater ſeverities, if immediate applications and all poſſible excuſes had not been made to the miniſtry (3); which, however, did not hinder Mr. Adamſon's being cloſely confined for ſix months. The Engliſh court alſo were not leſs angry; but at length, with much ado, the matter was made up. Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed at being put in mind, that this was a ſort of prophecy, which afterwards was verified; ſince he whom he then ſtiled Prince, was actually acknowledged as King by that very ſtile, though our author never lived to ſee it.

(1) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. *ad fin.* lib. xvii.

(2) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon.

(3) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

[*B*] *In Latin verſe which are ſtill extant.*] Dr. Mackenzie calls the French univerſity, at which Mr. Adamſon ſtudied, Bruges (4), I cannot tell why, ſince the Latin writer of the Archbiſhop's life, from whom he had his materials, tells us expreſsly that it was Bourges, which is indeed a French univerſity, and capital of the dutchy of Berry. The poems mentioned in the text, were, a Poetical Verſion of the Book of Job, and the Tragedy of Herod, who was ſmitten by an Angel. Of both theſe he immediately ſent copies to Lyons and Paris, to be printed. That which he ſent to Lyons was directed to Bouillius, and that which he ſent to Paris was addreſſed to Lambinus; but the civil wars which quickly enſued hindered their being committed to the preſs; and it was not till long after, that the author recovered one of the copies, and that by the greateſt accident that could be. For on the death of Lambinus, his papers falling into the hands of Dr. Henry Blackwood, he diſcovered amongſt them both theſe pieces, and immediately tranſmitted them to our author, who committed them to the preſs in 1572, and they were received with univerſal applauſe (5).

(4) Lives of Scotch Writers, Vol. iii. p. 364.

(5) Vit. Pat. Adamſon.

[*C*]

On October 24, 1576, the General Assembly sat at Edinburgh, and, in their seventh session, required Mr. Adamson to submit himself to the trial and examination of the Assembly, and to receive the office of a Bishop with such limitations as they thought fit, which he refused to do, whereupon they forbad the Chapter of St. Andrews to proceed to any election. However, after the Assembly rose, the Chapter met, and elected Mr. Patrick Adamson Archbishop. The next year, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to summon the Archbishop before them, to examine into the validity of his election, and to take cognizance of various charges brought against him (*l*). The clamour of the Presbyterian party ran very high against him, and now they first began to vent those stories, which afterwards their authors inserted in their histories; and which are, not only contrary to truth and justice, but even to probability, and inconsistent with each other [*C*]. The unfortunate prelate vainly imagining, that by displaying his zeal for Religion, his great skill in the Scriptures, and his excellent vein in Latin Poesy, he should be able to sooth the passions of these angry men; composed a Catechism in Latin verse (*m*). This they saw and approved, but went on persecuting him for all that [*D*]. In 1578, he submitted himself to the General Assembly, which procured him a little quiet, and but a little; for in 1579, a new commission was issued out to enquire into fresh charges against him, whereupon the Archbishop retired to St. Andrews, and for some years they continued disputing, the Archbishop being constantly treated as an enemy to the Church, and preserved from destruction only by the power of the court (*n*). In 1582, the Archbishop was seized with a grievous disease, and kept himself in the castle of St. Andrews, which the author of the true History of the Church of Scotland calls decently, *living like a fox in a hole* (*o*). The physicians were at a loss what to call his distemper, and could afford him little or no relief. In his distress he took some simple medicine from an old woman, whose name was Alison Pearsone, which did him good (*p*). One would have thought such a circumstance as this, could scarcely have been rendered worthy the ears of posterity; yet such was the malice of the Archbishop's enemies, that they charged the old woman with witchcraft, and the poor Prelate with seeking to the devil to save his life. On this strange charge, the woman was committed to prison, but by the Archbishop's means, as they gave out, made her escape. However, four years afterwards, she was met with again at Edinburgh, and, at the instance of the Presbyterian ministers, was fairly burnt for saving

(*l*) Calderwood, Petrie, and Spotswood, *ad ann.* 1577.

(*m*) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(*n*) Spotswood, *ad ann.* 1578. Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(*o*) Calderwood, p. 140. and much more at large in the MS. History.

(*p*) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

[*C*] *Inconsistent with each other.*] We have a good deal on this subject in Dr. Mackenzie's account of our author; but the Doctor does not take any great pains to show, that the scandalous things said of the Archbishop are inconsistent, and therefore cannot be true, neither is he at all particular in citing authorities. To readers well acquainted with Scottish history, this might not be necessary, but to other persons it makes his account very obscure. The gross of what was alledged against him, when he became Archbishop was what follows: 'That his 'father's name was Constance, a baker in Perth, and 'under the name of Constance he assisted as a minister 'in the first General Assembly of the Kirk of Scot-'land, in the year 1560. After this, having de-'serted his ministry, he went over to France to 'study the laws; but upon his return, he betook 'himself again to the ministry, and being baulked 'of the Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, in the 'month of February, 1572, he preached at St. 'Andrew's; and in his sermon told the people, 'that there were *Three sorts of Bishops, my Lord 'Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. 'My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery. My 'Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord getteth the fat 'of the benefice, and the Bishop seweth for a portion 'out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right sure; 'and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the 'gospel* (6).' For these particulars we are referred to Petrie and Calderwood, but very probably Dr. Mackenzie never consulted those authors, since Petrie expressly cites (7) another writer, for what he says of the Archbishop, who ought therefore to be reputed the author of the first part of the story at least (8). That the Archbishop's name was really Constance, is not a suggestion of late date, for we find in the continuation of Hollinshed's Chronicle (9), that he is stiled Patrick Adamson, alias Constance, in his life-time, for that book was printed in 1587. But that he became a minister before he went to France, is expressly contrary to the Archbishop's own testimony in his prefaces, and it can scarcely be believed, that he would dare to affirm a falsehood in the face of the whole church. The story of his preaching is likewise inconsistent with his own account of his return into Scotland, which he places in 1573, nay, which is worse, it is not to be reconciled to their own account of the matter; for if what one of their writers says be true, that out of mere pity to his necessity, Mr. Andrew Haye procured him the church of Paisley; it is impossible that he should immediately after pretend to the highest ecclesiastical preferment in the kingdom, and this too, against such a person as Mr. John Douglas, Rector of the university, and a man of extraordinary interest. But to put this matter out of dispute, it must be observed, that Mr. Douglas was nominated to the Archbishoprick in 1571 (10), when, without all question, Mr. Adamson was out of the kingdom, so that he could not be piqued at missing the Archbishoprick. How such stories came to be broached, is no hard matter to discover, since we find Calderwood telling us expressly, and with triumph, that when he opposed the Kirk, certain writers set him forth in his colours, which is neither better nor worse, than countenancing men of great spleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invectives. The English histories at the same time, discover this to have been too much practised here, as the reader may find by consulting the article of AILMER, or of ARTHINGTON.

(6) Calderwood, P. 55.

(7) Part iii. p. 392.

(8) Vindiciæ Philadelph. p. 53.

(9) Vol. ii. p. 455.

(10) Calderwood, p. 48.

[*D*] *Went on persecuting him for all that.*] The title of this work was, *Catechismus Latino Carmine redditus, & in Libros quatuor digestus* 1577 (11), i. e. *The Catechism rendered into Latin Verse, and digested into four Books.* This was written for the use of the young King, and was received with such universal applause, that Mr. Robert Pont, who was both a minister and a judge, and Mr. James Lawson, both warm in the prosecution of our author, could not forbear publishing two very fine Latin poems in praise of that performance (12). It was also much admired in England, in France, and in the Low-Countries, where the author was already well known by his Latin translation of the Confession of Faith, which he procured to be printed, while he resided in France, at the hazard of his life.

(11) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamson.

(12) Mackenzie, Vol. iii. p. 367.

the

the Archbiſhop's life (q) [E]. In 1583, King James VI. coming to St. Andrews, our Prelate, who was now pretty well recovered, preached before him, and maintained the dignity of his order with great ſpirit and eloquence, and alſo diſputed with Mr. Andrew Melvin before the King, with great reputation (r). This drew upon him new calumnies, and freſh perſecutions [F]. The King, however, was ſo well ſatisfied of the Archbiſhop's wiſdom and loyalty, that he ſent him his Ambaſſador to Queen Elizabeth, in which quality he reſided for ſome years at London. As to his conduct there, nothing can be more different, than the reports thereof by ſeveral authors. Thus much however is certain, that by his eloquent preaching, he drew after him ſuch a concourſe of people, and raiſed in their minds ſuch a high idea of the young King his maſter, that Queen Elizabeth forbad him to enter the pulpit, during his ſtay in her dominions (s). But ſtill the Biſhops, and ſuch Noblemen as were zealous for the intereſt of the Church, received our Biſhop kindly, and treated him very reſpectfully, doing all that lay in their power to make the difficulties he laboured under, which were not a few, ſome way tolerable to him (t). There ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that the two things he principally laboured, were the recommending the King his maſter to the nobility and gentry of England, and the procuring ſome ſupport for himſelf, and the Epiſcopal party in Scotland, which was then in a very low ſtate. In each of theſe deſigns, he had as much ſucceſs as the ſituation of things at that time, and his own unlucky circumſtances, would allow: for his revenues were far from being large, and his ſkill in managing them was very indifferent. His enemies took occaſion from thence, to repreſent him as an extravagant man, and a great dilapidator; his friends, with more humanity and truth, ſaid, that he had ſpent too much time about other ſciences, to be well ſkilled in œconomy. As to his intriguing with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, or having any concern in that which was called Throgmorton's conſpiracy, though they are charged upon him with great confidence (u) by ſome writers, yet it ſeems to be without any foundation; ſince it can ſcarcely be imagined that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, Mendoſa, who was himſelf a zealot, or any of the violent Papiſts, who were dipped in thoſe dark deſigns, ſhould have any confidence in a Proteſtant Prelate, who had written with great force and freedom againſt their religion, and who was withal a perſon needy in circumſtances, and of a timorous diſpoſition [G]. Soon after the execution of the firſt Earl of Gowrie, *viz.* in the year 1584, the Archbiſhop was recalled, and ſat in the Parliament, which

(q) Calderwood, *ad ann.* 1583, and Petrie, p. 441.

(r) Spotſwood, *ad ann.* 1583, Calderwood and Petrie, ubi ſupra.

(s) Vit. Pat. Adamſon. Vid. etiam Dedicat. Oper. P. A. A. S. A. ad Jacob. I. per T. Wilſon.

(t) Calderwood and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1584.

(u) Calderwood, p. 161, and more at large in the MS. Hiſtory. 141.

[E] *Fairly burnt for ſaving the Archbiſhop's life.*] Petrie mentions this ſtory of the witch twice (13), once from the books of the General Aſſembly, and a ſecond time, from a piece called the Hiſtorical Narration; but Calderwood tells us the ſtory more plainly (14). 'Mr. Patrick Adamſon, called commonly Biſhop of St. Andrews, had keeped his caſtle like a fox in a hole, a long time diſeaſed of a great Feditie, as he himſelf called his diſeaſe. He ſought cure of women ſuſpected of witchcraft, namely of one who was apprehended, tried by the Preſbytery, and committed to the caſtle to be kept to farther trial, but ſuffered by him to eſcape: yet was ſhe apprehended within three or four years after, and was executed in Edinburgh. He keeped his caſtle ſince the Aſſembly holden in April 1582.' This is but one, out of many paſſages, wherein this heavy charge of applying to a witch, is over and over repeated, though the reader may pleaſe to obſerve, that it was then very cuſtomary, nor is it yet uncommon for women in that part of the world, to pretend to great ſkill in curing chronic diſtempers, ſuch as this of the Archbiſhop's ſeems to have been, ſince he was afterwards adviſed to go to the Spaw for cure.

(13) Part iii. p. 441.

(14) True Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 140.

[F] *New calumnies and freſh perſecutions.*] Let the reader take it in Mr. Calderwood's own words. 'When the King cometh to St. Andrews, he becometh a whole man, occupied the pulpit incontinent, declaimed before the King againſt the miniſtry and the lords, and their proceeding. He profeſſed before, that he had not the gift of application, now he applieth, but inſpired with another ſpirit than faithful miniſters uſe to be. In his ſermon he affirmed for certain, that the Duke of Lennox died a Proteſtant, having in his hand a ſcroll, which he called the Duke's Teſtament. A merchant woman ſitting before the pulpit, and ſpying narrowly, affirmed that the ſcroll was account of four or five years old debt, which a few days before ſhe had ſent to him. It is true, the Duke refuſed to take the ſacrament out of a prieſt's hand, when he was dying, but had received it before, as was reported, out of the Biſhop of Glaſgow's hand (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* p. 141.

[G] *Of a timorous diſpoſition.*] Calderwood having reported the order made by Queen Elizabeth, for the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's quitting her kingdom, proceeds thus: 'Let the Reader then judge what could move Mr. Patrick Adamſon to quake and tremble, when Francis Throgmorton was apprehended. What Buſineſs could he have with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador? And upon what ground did he maintain, that liberty of conſcience was expedient? Was it not becauſe he was in working, and he was privy to it? And ſeeing the Duke of Guiſe was to be chief ring-leader of the invaſion above mentioned, Who will believe that the Duke of Lennox was not privy to it? If he had ſtayed, by all appearance, this plot had been very far advanced (16).' Father Parſons, in one of his books, gives us ſome light into this embaſſy. For having firſt introduced a diſcourſe concerning the exceſſive pride of the Preſbyterian miniſters in Scotland, he then makes the perſon into whoſe mouth he put it, proceed thus: 'And ſo, ſaid I of late, to their moſt reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in London, whither he was come by his King's appointment (as he ſaid) to treat certain affairs with our Queen and council. And talking with him of this diſorder of his miniſtry, he confeſſed the ſame with much grief of mind, and told me, that he had preached thereof before the King himſelf, deteſting and accuſing diverſe heads thereof, for which cauſe he was become very odious to them, and other of their faction, both in Scotland and England. But he ſaid, that as he had given the reaſons of his doings unto our Queen, ſo meaneth he ſhortly to do the ſame unto Mr. Beza, and to the whole Church of Geneva, by ſending thither the articles of his and their doings; proteſting unto me, that the proceedings and attempts of thoſe factious and corrupt men, was moſt ſcandalous, ſeditious, and perilous, both to the King's perſon and to the Realm; being ſufficient indeed to alienate wholly the young Prince from all affection to our religion, when he ſhall ſee the chief profeſſors thereof, to behave themſelves ſo undutifully towards him (17).

(16) *Ibid.* p. 161.

(17) Leyceſter's Commonwealth, *ann. dom.* 1641, 4to. p. 145, 146.

was

was held about the end of Auguſt at Edinburgh. In that Parliament, ſeveral acts were made for ſettling the peace of the kingdom, and for eſtabliſhing the King's authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs (*w*). Yet this produced little effect; the miniſters refuſed abſolutely to pay obedience, and becauſe the Archbiſhop preached often before the King, perſons were encouraged to beat at the Church doors in order to diſturb him; and moſt outrageous libels were every where ſcattered againſt him, in order to ruin his reputation, and make him odious to the people. To abate, if poſſible, this temper in the people, and to ſet things in a true light, the King cauſed a declaration to be made by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, of the reaſons which induced thoſe laws, and obliged his majeſty and his council to ſee them put in execution. This declaration was publiſhed in the month of January 1585, and was ſo well received by all wiſe and diſcreet men, that in the month of February, it was reprinted at London with great applauſe, contributing highly to the Archbiſhop's reputation, who ſeemed now to be in a fair way of overcoming all his difficulties, as he certainly would have done, if the court had been more ſteady; this declaration having procured King James many friends in England (*x*) [*H*]. But things did not remain in this ſituation, for the Kirk faction being obſtinate, and indefatigable, ſoon gained ground again, drawing in ſeveral great men to countenance them, and at laſt making uſe of open force, which ſo intimidated the King, that by a new declaration he diſavowed that formerly mentioned (*y*). In the month of April 1586, a provincial Synod was held at St. Andrews, wherein the Archbiſhop was preſent; but he was ſoon accuſed, and, notwithſtanding his defence, excommunicated; whereupon, a day or two after, he excommunicated Mr. James Melvin, who was moderator at the Synod; and, in reſpect to his own excommunication, appealed to the King, and the States of the kingdom: however, this did him little good, for the mob being let looſe upon him, he durſt ſcarcely appear in public, in the city of St. Andrews (*z*). At the next General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh in the ſame year, a paper containing the Archbiſhop's ſubmiſſion, dated May 20, 1586, was produced, whereupon the Aſſembly abſolved him from the excommunication, and the King and Council directed that he ſhould read a divinity lecture in St. Servator's College at St. Andrews (*a*). In 1587, complaint was made to the General Aſſembly, that the Biſhop had ſuffered himſelf to be denounced rebel, and put to the Horn, that is, in plain Engliſh, outlawed, becauſe he could not pay his debts; but upon the motion of the King's commiſſioners, all proceedings were ſtayed (*b*). In 1588, the Archbiſhop was again cited before the General Aſſembly, for marrying the Earl of Huntley to his Counteſs, without obliging the Earl to ſubſcribe a confeſſion of his faith, and he not appearing, a commiſſion was granted to try him for that and other crimes objected to him (*c*) [*I*]. In the beginning of 1590, our Prelate publiſhed the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, in Latin verſe, which he dedicated to the King, complaining of the hard uſage he had met with. In the latter end of the ſame year, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the Apocalypſe, in Latin verſe, which he alſo dedicated to the King (*d*), yet neither theſe, nor a moving copy of Latin verſes, written to his Majeſty in

(*w*) Spotſwood, Calderwood, Petri, ubi ſupra.

(*x*) Thinn's Continuation of Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 438.

(*y*) Calderwood, p. 193.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 199.

(*a*) Calderwood, p. 213. Thinn's Continuation of Hollinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 456.

(*b*) Calderwood, and Petrie, *ad ann.* 1587.

(*c*) Calderwood, p. 226.

(*d*) Vid. Oper. Pat. Adamſon, Lond. apud Joann. Billium, 1619, 4*to*.

[*H*] *This declaration procured King James many friends in England.*] This declaration is ſtill preſerved at length, in Thinn's continuation of Hollinſhed's hiſtory of Scotland (18); wherein the reader may peruſe it, and therein find the true ground of that inveterate hatred, which was borne to our prelate by the Preſbyterian clergy; ſince, to ſay the truth, it is by far the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt picture that was ever drawn, of their haughty behaviour towards their Prince, and towards his people. We need not therefore wonder, at the following account of the matter by Calderwood, which ſhews the ſpirit both of the man and his party. 'The 'acts of parliament holden the laſt May, were ſo 'toſſed among the ſubjects, and miſliked by good 'men, that the court was forced to ſet Mr. Patrick 'Adamſon, that chief deviſor, on work, to make a 'declaration of the meaning, and that in the King's 'name. This declaration came to light in January, 'and was after ſo greedily embraced by the Engliſh 'Biſhops, that after the printing of it here, it was 'reprinted with an odious preface of alledged treaſons 'prefixed unto it, and to preſerve the memory of it, 'inſerted in the Chronicle of England, compiled 'by Hollinſhed, and continued by Francis Thinne. 'Our Kirk was ever careful, and eſpecially at the 'ſame time, to entertain the amity between the two 'nations, and deſerved no ſuch indignity at their 'hands. But let ſuch a lying libel lie there, as a 'blur to blot their chronicles (19).

(18) Vol. ii. p. 438.

(19) Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 172.

[*I*] *A commiſſion was granted to try him for that and other crimes objected to him.*] [The not permitting a man to marry, without his having firſt ſubſcribed a confeſſion of faith, is one of the completeſt inſtances of eccleſiaſtical folly and bigotry recorded in hiſtory; and ſhews to what abſurdities the human mind may be carried, by a falſe zeal for religion. Eſtabliſhed churches have, in general, thought it neceſſary to ſecure the purity of the faith, by inſiſting on a ſubſcription to ſome formula. But the ſubſcription has uſually been confined to thoſe who engage in the miniſtry, to ſtudents in univerſities, and to perſons who take certain degrees. This would not ſatisfy the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland. A man was not thought fit to diſcharge the civil offices of life, to become a huſband and a father, unleſs he exhibited proper proofs of his othodoxy. It muſt be acknowledged, that the aſſembly by this method provided, as much as lay in their power, that no one ſhould be born, who was not likely to be educated in the genuine doctrines of the Scottiſh eſtabliſhment. The populouſneſs of the nation might indeed be injured, if none were allowed to produce children, except thoſe who were found in their belief of the articles of religion. But the *temporal* welfare of ſociety was, we may ſuppoſe, too trifling an object to be taken into any conſideration.

If, however, it was neceſſary that no man ſhould be permitted to marry till he had ſigned the confeſſion of faith, it might have been expected, that the confeſſion itſelf would contain nothing but the plaineſt and moſt indubitable points of doctrine. But this was not the caſe. Whoever reads it (as given in Calderwood, p. 14—24.), will find it very long and tedious; and that it advances a great number of propoſitions, the right ſolution of which might puzzle a more acute and learned theologian than the Earl of Huntley could probably have been.

Theſe obſervations are only intended to expoſe the particular tranſaction referred to, and to mark the character of the times. The author is fully apprized of the more liberal and manly ſpirit which now prevails in the ſame country.]

his deep distress, procured him any favour (*e*). On the contrary, the King finding the Archbishop no longer of use to him, granted the revenue of his see to the Duke of Lenox, whereby the unfortunate Prelate, with his family, came, in a literal sense, to want bread (*f*). At this very time the Assembly intercepted Letters from Dr. Bancroft, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to our Archbishop Adamson, certifying him of the great respect the English clergy had for him, and blaming him for not taking sanctuary amongst his friends in that country (*g*). These letters never came to his hands; but the brethren taking advantage of the poor Prelate's miserable circumstances, and great weakness both in body and mind, procured his subscription to a most abject form of submission, and that, by giving him a poor collection for the immediate relief of his family's necessities (*b*). Thus he lingered out, till the latter end of the year 1591, his uncomfortable life, dying with very different characters from his countrymen, as the reader will see in the notes [*K*]. But as to what his enemies charitably asserted, of his being senseless in his last moments, it is so flagrant a falsehood, that we have preserved an instance of his having almost in the article of death, the noblest and most pious sentiments [*L*]. This, joined with the consideration of the many admirable works he pub-

(*e*) Vit. Pat. Adamson.

(*f*) Calderwood, p. 259.

(*g*) Calderwood, ibid. ubi supra.

(*b*) Calderwood, p. 260. Spotswood, p. 387.

[*K*] *As the reader will see in the notes.*] In order to support what we have said in the text, we shall here set down three characters of him; the first by Calderwood, who tells us, that in the month of April 1591, he subscribed a long recantation, which he inserts in his history, and desired assistance for the support of his family. Afterwards he tells us, he sent to the Presbytery at St. Andrews, and desired to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. 'The brethren doubting whether his desire 'proceeded from trouble of mind, or if it was a 'shift only to get some support, directed Mr. James 'Melvill, and Mr. Andrew Moncrief, to try him. 'As soon as he saw Mr. James, he pulled off his 'cap, and cried, Forgive me! forgive me! for 'God's sake Mr. James, for I have many ways of-'fended you! Mr. James forgave him, and ex-'horted him to unfeigned repentance. When he 'was asked, if he acknowledged the validity of the 'sentence of excommunication pronounced against 'him; he interrupted Mr. James, and cried piti-'fully and often, Loose me for Christ's sake! At 'their report, the brethren with prayer and thanks-'giving absolved him (20).' Archbishop Spotswood gives somewhat a different account of this transaction, and a better character of our author. His words are these (21). 'In this Assembly cer-'tain articles were presented, subscribed by the 'Archbishop of St. Andrews, allowing the Presby-'terial discipline, and condemning the govern-'ment episcopal; which were afterwards imprinted, 'under the title of Mr. Patrick Adamson's recan-'tation. The Bishop lay bedfast at the time, and 'was fallen into great necessity by his own misgo-'vernment; whereof his adversaries taking ad-'vantage, it was devised, that he should be visited 'by some of the brethren, and desired to leave a 'testimony under his hand, of his opinion of matters 'of discipline. This being moved unto him, he 'said, that he did not trouble himself with such 'thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of 'any other Bishop in the church, but St. Paul's 'Bishop, which he would willingly set his hand to. 'Upon this his answer, were these articles drawn 'up, and subscribed by him; whether he knew 'what was contained in them, or that he was in-'duced thereto, by a poor collection that they gave 'him in the time (for so the report went), or 'otherwise, it is uncertain: but when it was told 'him that such a recantation was published in his 'name, he complained heavily of the wrong that 'was done him; and committing his cause to God, 'ended his days in the year 1591. A man he was 'of great learning, and a most perswasive preacher, 'but an ill administrator of the church patrimony, 'which brought him to the misery that is pitiful to 'think of. Diverse works he left; of which some 'are extant, which shew his learning: but his Pre-'lections upon the Epistle to Timothy, which were 'most desired, falling into the hands of his ad-'versaries, were suppressed.' Mr. Wilson, who published our Prelate's works, talks of him in much stronger terms (22): 'He was, says he, a Prelate 'endowed with such excellent qualifications, both 'as to mind and body, that he was a miracle of 'nature; and rather seemed to be the immediate 'production of God Almighty, than born of a 'woman; being a profound Theologue, an incom-'parable Poet, an eloquent Orator, well seen in 'the Greek and Latin languages: a Prelate of 'great prudence, experience, and wisdom, in the 'management of affairs; skilful in the civil and 'canon law; and of so happy a memory, that he 'did not know what it was to forget any thing, 'that he had either heard or read: so that the 'death of such a person, who was the glory of his 'country, and of the republic of letters, can never 'be too much lamented.'

(20) *Ibid.* p. 259—265.

(21) Book vi. p. 378.

(22) In præfat. Job. ap. oper. Pat. Adamson.

[*L*] *The noblest and most pious sentiments.*] We are told by the charitable Mr. Calderwood, that Mr. David Black, a man mighty in doctrine, and of singular fidelity and diligence in the calling of the ministry, came to Mr. Patrick (so he calls the Archbishop) in February, the year following (1591), when he was drawing near his end, and found him, as he lived, senseless (23). The following Latin verses, written a very little while before he breathed his last, will shew what frame of mind he was in, and what reasons Mr. David Black had for departing, as Mr. Calderwood says he did, with a heavy heart.

(23) History of the Church of Scotland, p. 265.

O Anima! assiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæsa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, & mundi invisas contemnere sordes.
Quippe parens rerum, cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, & verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
Pandit iter, patrioque beatam limine sistet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cælestis origo
Invitat, fælix perge, æternumque quiesce.
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem
Angelicam expectent, sonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, & totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, & radiantes sanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capesses
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives?
Alme Deus, Deus alme, & non effabile numen,
Ad te unum & trinum, moribundo pectore anhelo (24).

(24) Mackenzie, Vol. iii. p. 376.

O Soul! long toss'd in waves of endless strife,
Worn with thy exile in this painful life,
Prepare to quit thy plagues, contemn the cares
Of this low world, and speed thee from its snares.
Lo! the great God, who every good bestows,
Bids thee forsake thy body, and thy woes:
While the kind author of our happier state,
His suffering Son, expands the heavenly gate.
O haste thee! haste thee! to thy native sky,
Leave here thy pains, to endless quiet fly.
This breathless trunk, this putrid fleshly case
Tho' worms invade, and kindred clay embrace,
Shall hear th' angelic trump; again arise,
And thou resuming, bear it to the skies.
See the bless'd day, see how the Lamb appears!
Hard by his cross! O how his bleeding chears!
On these depending, speed thee in thy flight,
In thy new friends how much wilt thou delight?
Dear God, in thee, in thee, O God most dear,
Whose name be mention'd still with holy fear,
My faith firm fix'd for ever shall abide,
Living I trust, and dying I confide.

lished,

liſhed, ought to perſuade us that he was one of the moſt learned, and moſt polite Prelates of the age in which he lived [*M*].

[*M*] *One of the moſt learned and polite Prelates of the age in which he lived.*] Beſides the ſeveral pieces publiſhed together in a quarto volume by Mr. Wilſon, our author wrote alſo many things which were never publiſhed: ſuch as ſix books on the Hebrew Republic, various tranſlations of the Prophets into Latin verſe, Prelections on St. Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy, various apologetical and funeral orations; and what deſerves moſt to be regretted, a very candid hiſtory of his own times. Alſo many other pieces, the titles of which have not been preſerved to poſterity (25). C.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 378, 379.

ADDISON (Lancelot), the ſon of another Lancelot Addiſon, a Clergyman, was born at Mauldiſmeaburne, in the pariſh of Croſby Ravenſworth, in Weſtmorland (*a*), in the year 1632 (*b*), but the day is not certain. He received the firſt tincture of letters in the grammar-ſchool of Appleby, in the ſame county. Thence, in the year 1650, he was ſent by his relations to Queen's College in Oxford, where he became firſt a poor child on the foundation (*c*); but quickly diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his lively parts, and ſtrict application to learning, he, on the twenty-fifth of January 1654, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). Continuing ſtill in the univerſity, on the fourth of July 1657, he became Maſter of Arts, and being then much taken notice of for his ſprightly wit, was made choice of to be one of the *Terræ Filii*, for the Act which was celebrated in 1658. But his loyalty getting the better of his prudence, he bore ſo hard in his oration, on the pride, hypocriſy, ignorance, and avarice, of thoſe then in power, that he was compelled to make a recantation, and to aſk pardon for the offence given, on his knees. Shortly after he retired from the univerſity, out of diſguſt, in all probability, for the uſage he had received (*e*). He choſe for his retreat a village in the neighbourhood of Petworth, and ſpent his time in viſiting ſuch loyal gentlemen, as had ſeats in the county of Suſſex, where with great zeal and ſteadineſs he promoted amongſt their youth (when it was moſt dangerous) principles of loyalty, and the tenets of the church of England. On the Reſtoration of King Charles II. the gentlemen of that county recommended him to Dr. King, Biſhop of Chicheſter, as a man of a ſound head and honeſt heart, one who had ſuffered much, and run the hazard of ſuffering much more, for his attachment to the conſtitution in Church and State. The Biſhop received him kindly, and, in all probability, would have provided for him, if Mr. Addiſon had not accepted the poſt of chaplain to the garriſon of Dunkirk, contrary to his Lordſhip's inclination (*f*). In 1662, when that place was delivered up to the French, Mr. Addiſon returned to England, where he did not remain long, an offer being made him, of going chaplain to the garriſon ſettled at Tangier, with which he cloſed, and went thither the next year. He continued there about ſeven years, during which ſpace he improved, with the utmoſt care and diligence, the great abilities he received from nature, and that large ſtock of acquired knowledge, which he carried from the univerſity. He was in great favour with the famous Earl of Tiviot, who was Governor, and Colonel Norwood, Deputy Governor, of that garriſon, and employed by them in matters of great importance (*g*). In the beginning of the year 1670, having ſettled all things relating to his office in a regular and eaſy ſtate, and taken all imaginable precaution for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion in that garriſon, he thought he might without offence make a voyage into England, in order to look after his private affairs, which he accordingly did, and was well received here by perſons of the firſt diſtinction. He was made chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty Charles II. ſoon after his coming over (*h*); yet his office of chaplain at Tangier, though he had no intention of quitting it, was conferred upon another, whereby Mr. Addiſon was not a little ſtreightened for a ſubſiſtence. In this ſituation of affairs, Mr. Wood tells us, that a worthy Knight in the county of Wilts, took him under his protection, and beſtowed on him the rectory of Milſton near Ameſbury in Wilts (*i*), which is ſaid to have been worth about one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He alſo obtained the prebend of minor pars Altaris, in the cathedral church of Sarum, and on the ſixth of July 1675 took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*k*). His ſpiritual preferments, though they were not very conſiderable, enabled him to live decently and hoſpitably in the country. He diſcharged his duty in his pariſh with a conſcientious diligence, and employed his ſpare time in ſtudying and in writing for the ſupport of true religion, and of the Church of England, of which he was a moſt dutiful ſon. He lived likewiſe in terms of the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the moſt eminent perſons of his neighbourhood, who were equally edified by the innocence of his life, and charmed with his pleaſing and inſtructive converſation. In 1683, the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, on account of his ſervices at Tangier, and to make good his great loſſes by fire at Milſton, beſtowed upon him the deanery of Litchfield (*l*), in which he was inſtalled the third of July in the ſame year (*m*). Mr. Wood ſuppoſes that he was then Archdeacon of Coventry (*n*); but in that he was miſtaken, for Dr. Addiſon was collated to that archdeaconry on the eighth of December 1684 (*o*), and held it with his deanery *in commendam*. In the Convocation which met on the fourth of December 1689, Dean Addiſon was preſent, and was one of the committee appointed by the lower houſe, to acquaint the lords, that they had conſented to a conference on the ſubject of an addreſs to the King (*p*). It is ſaid that he might have

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 970.

(*b*) See his Epitaph in Note [*B*].

(*c*) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 105.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 115.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 970.

(*g*) Weſt Barbary; or a Narrative of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, &c. p. 110.

(*h*) As appears by the title page of Weſt Barbary, &c. wherein he is ſo ſtiled, in 1671.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 198.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) A Survey of the cathedrals of York, Durham, Carliſle, &c. by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. i. p. 402.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 417.

(*p*) *Vox Cleri*: or, the ſenſe of the Clergy, &c. to which is added, an hiſtorical account of the whole proceedings of the preſent Convocation. London, R. Taylor, 1690, 4to. p. 61. 72.

have been made a biſhop after the Revolution, if he had not in this Convocation, and elſewhere, manifeſted ſuch a zeal for the Church, as gave a handle for miſrepreſenting him to thoſe in power. He enjoyed however a juſt and general reputation, grounded on the uprightneſs of his life, and on the many learned and uſeful treatiſes he had publiſhed, a diſtinct account of which the reader will find in a note [*A*]. He departed this life on the twentieth of April 1703, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He was twice married; firſt to Jane, daughter of Nathaniel Gulſton, Eſq; and ſiſter to Dr. William Gulſton, Biſhop of Briſtol, by whom he had three ſons, and as many daughters. His ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter to John Danvers of Shackerſton, in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq; who ſurvived him, and by whom he had no iſſue. As to his offspring by his firſt wife, they were born in the following order. Jane, on the twenty-third of April 1671, who died in her infancy. Joſeph, on the firſt of May 1672, of whom in the next article. Gulſton, in April 1673, who died Governor of Fort St. George, in the Eaſt-Indies. Dorothy, in May 1674, who married firſt Dr. Sartre, formerly

[*A*] *A diſtinct account of which the reader will find in a note.*] I. *Weſt Barbary: or, a ſhort narrative of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, with an account of the preſent cuſtoms, ſacred, civil, and domeſtic, by* Lancelot Addiſon, *Chaplain to his majeſty in ordinary.* Printed at the theatre in Oxford, and are to be ſold by John Wilmot, 1671, in octavo; containing in the whole 226 pages, of which the revolutions in the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco take up ſeventy-one, and the deſcription of Weſt Barbary the reſt. This book is dedicated *To the moſt worthy and truly honourable Joſeph Williamſon, Eſq*; who, from this and other dedications, appears to have been the author's great patron. The hiſtory is written with great plainneſs and perſpicuity, but in a ſtyle viſibly leſs pure than his ſubſequent productions; which, in all probability, might be owing to his long abſence from his native country. Beſides a curious detail of the revolutions in *Barbary*, and a very accurate account both of the country and of the inhabitants, there is in this little piece, a multitude of curious particulars, related by the author on his own knowledge, which fully ſupports what he ſays in the preface, that his book was not compoſed from the accounts given him by others, but was the fruit of diligent obſervations, and many years enquiries (1).

(1) In this treatiſe, wherever our author relates a fact of his own knowledge, he adds ſuch circumſtances of time and place, as ſhew he truſted nothing to memory, which renders his obſervations much more valuable, than thoſe of other travellers in thoſe parts, who write avowedly from hearſay, or at beſt from recollection.

II. *The preſent ſtate of the* Jews *(more particularly relating to thoſe in* Barbary), *wherein is contained an exact account of their cuſtoms, ſecular and religious; to which is annexed, a ſummary diſcourſe of the Miſna, Talmud, and Gemara, by* L. Addiſon, *one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the late revolutions and preſent cuſtoms of the kingdoms of* Fez *and* Morocco. London, printed by J. C. for William Crooke at the Green Dragon, without Temple-Bar; and to be ſold by John Courtney, bookſeller in Sarum, 1675, in octavo, containing 249 pages. This book is alſo dedicated to his former patron, under the title of, the Right Honourable Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Principal Secretary of State, *&c.* It is dated from *Milſton* near *Ambros-Bury*, in *Wilts*, January 28, 1674-5. This treatiſe contains twenty-ſix chapters, excluſive of ſome conſiderations on the obſtructions which at preſent hinder the converſion of the Jews, and the ſummary diſcourſe mentioned in the title. The author himſelf acknowledges, that he compoſed this as well as the former piece, while he was abroad; but without queſtion he reviſed it in England; ſince the diſpoſition of it is perfectly regular, the ſtile natural and eaſy; and the whole interſperſed with many learned remarks and moral reflections. It is really ſtrange, that this judicious and excellent treatiſe is ſo little known, for it is certainly one of the beſt that was ever compoſed on this ſubject; and though many have been written ſince, yet the merit of this is far from being effaced. For according to our author's motto, *Alius alio plura invenire poteſt, nemo omnia.*

III. *The primitive inſtitution, or a ſeaſonable diſcourſe of catechizing; wherein is ſhewn, the antiquity, benefits, and neceſſity thereof; together with its ſuitableneſs to heal the preſent diſtempers of the church of England, by* L. Addiſon, *one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in ordinary, and the author of the Preſent State of the Jews* (2).

(2) See the advertiſement in the page fronting the beginning of the preſent ſtate of the Jews, &c. and Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 971.

IV. *A modeſt Plea for the Clergy; wherein is briefly conſidered, the original, antiquity, and neceſſity of that calling; together with the ſpurious and genuine occaſions of their preſent contempt.* London, 1677, *octavo.* In another edition the title ſuffered ſome little alteration, for we find it run thus; *A modeſt Plea for the Clergy; wherein is conſidered, the reaſons why the Clergy are ſo contemned and neglected, by* L. A. *D. D. and Dean of Litchfield.* The celebrated Dr. *Hickes*, having met with the firſt edition of this book, reprinted it, together with Dr. *Heylyn*'s diſcourſe on *tythes*; and a ſermon on the Sacerdotal benediction, by one *Samuel Gibſon*, as proper antidotes to the *Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, by *Tindal.* This piece came out in octavo, in the year 1709; and Dr. *Hickes*, in his preface, declares, that he did not know whether the author of the firſt diſcourſe, was a clergyman or a layman, but was inclined to think him a layman; which ſhews, how eaſily the moſt learned men may be deceived.

V. *The firſt State of Mahometiſm, or an account of the author and doctrine of that impoſture. London,* 1678, *octavo.* This book was printed the next year, under the title of *The Life and Death of Mahomet, the author of the Turkiſh religion, &c.* containing a hundred and thirty-ſix pages. The book is divided into twenty-four chapters; and the author's deſign therein, as he himſelf acquaints us, was to give a faithful account of the life and doctrine of *Mahomet*, ſtript of fable and prejudice. In 1687, the bookſeller, *William Crooke*, ſent it forth with a new and much more copious title; but as to the work itſelf, it was without alteration or addition.

VI. *An Introduction to the Sacrament; or a ſhort, ſafe, and plain way to the communion table; collected for, and rendered familiar to every particular communicant, by* L. Addiſon, *D. D.* 1681.

There was a *ſecond* edition of the beforementioned book, in 1686, to which there was then added, *The Communicant's Aſſiſtant; being a collection of devotions to that purpoſe, in* 12*mo*, containing 153 pages.

VII. *A Diſcourſe of Tangier, under the government of the Earl of Tiviot.* London, 4*to.* 1685, ſecond edition.

VIII. *The Catechumen; or an account given by the young perſon to the miniſter of his knowledge in religion, upon his firſt admiſſion to the Lord's table. Recommended to the preſs by two eminent divines of the Church of England.* London, William Crooke, 1690, 12*mo*; containing one hundred pages. One of theſe eminent divines appears to have been Dean Addiſon himſelf, and the other was Dr. Scot; and therefore it hath been preſumed, that this book was not his, though it is aſcribed to him in ſeveral catalogues (3).

(3) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ubi ſupra. And the catalogue at the end of the Chriſtian Sacrifice.

IX. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΘΕΟΣ; *or, an hiſtorical account of the hereſy, denying the Godhead of Chriſt.* London; for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1696, 12*mo*; containing 107 pages. This is a moſt excellent book, comprehending in a very narrow compaſs, the hiſtory of various hereſies, clearly and fairly ſtated from original authors, for the uſe probably of ſuch as were unable to read thoſe authors in Greek or Latin.

X. *The Chriſtian's daily Sacrifice duly performed, or a practical diſcourſe, teaching the right performance of prayer; by L. Addiſon, Dean of Litchfield.* Printed for Robert Clavel, 1698, 12*mo.*

XI. *An Account of the Millennium, the genuine uſe of the two ſacraments,* viz. *Baptiſm and the Lord's-ſupper, with the Chriſtian's obligation frequently to receive the latter.*

miniſter

miniſter at Montpellier, afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter [*B*]; ſome time after whoſe deceaſe, ſhe became the wife of Daniel Combes, Eſq; Anne, in April 1676, who died young. Lancelot, in 1680, who was Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and much admired in the univerſity, for his great ſkill in the claſſicks (*q*). Dean Addiſon was buried in the church-yard of the cathedral of Litchfield, at the entrance of the weſt door. His epitaph, and an inſcription ſacred to his memory, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [*C*].

(*q*) See the Note [*C*].

[*B*] *Afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter.*] [Dr. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, ſpeaking of his dining together with Mr. Addiſon, Steel, and Mrs. Sartre, ſays, 'Addiſon's ſiſter is a ſort of wit, 'very like him. I am not fond of her.' Whoever conſiders the peculiar temper of Dr. Swift, will not, from this account, draw any concluſion to the diſadvantage of the lady, or be induced to ſuppoſe that ſhe might not be a very amiable woman (4).]

(4) Swift's Works, Vol. xii. p. 60. 24to. edition, 1775.

[*C*] *The reader will find at the bottom of the page.*] The following epitaph is on his tomb-ſtone in the church-yard:

Hic jacet Lancelotus Addiſon, S. T. P. *hujus eccleſiæ Decanus, nec non Archidiaconus Coventriæ, qui obiit* 20 *die Aprilis, ann. Dom.* 1703. *Ætatis ſuæ* 71.

Many years after his death, there was ſet up within ſide the cathedral, a marble copartment, bearing this inſcription to his memory.

P. M. Lanceloti Addiſon, S. T. P. *Agro* Weſtmoreland *oriundi, in Coll.* Regin. Oxon. *bonarum Litterarum profecti, diutinis per* Europam Africamque *peregrinationibus rerum peritia ſpectabilis; hujus tandem Eccl. Decani &* Coventrienſis *Archidiaconi; in primis nuptiis duxit* Janam Nathan. Gulſton *Armig. Filiam &* Gulielmi Gulſton *Epiſcopi* Briſtolienſis *Sororem; in ſecundis* Dorothæam, Johan. Danvers *de* Shakerſton *in Agro* Leiceſterienſ. *Arm. Filiam; Funere Mariti de ſe optime meriti nuper plorantem: Ex* Jana *tres Filios totidemque Filias ſuſcepit;* Joſephum, Gulſtonum *arcti Sancti* Georgii *Gubernatorem;* Lancelotum *Coll. Magd. Oxon. Socium;* Janam & Annam, *prima juventute defunctas;* & Dorotheam *unicam ex tot liberis ſuperſtitem, Obiit A. D.* 1703 *Ætatis* 71.

Ab eo eximias Naturæ dotes, Morum Innocentiam, Benevolentiam erga Homines; in Deum Pietatem luculentum (ei quod aliud Patrimonium) Filius natu maximus Joſephus *Sæculi ſui Decus, qui in optimi parentis conſortium dum hoc ipſi Marmor adornaret præpropera Morte adſcitus eſt. A. D.* 1719 (5). C.

(5) A ſurvey of the cathedrals of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. i. p. 402.

ADDISON (Joseph) the ſon of Dean Addiſon, ſpoken of in the laſt article. He was born at Milſton near Ambros-Bury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then Rector, on the firſt of May 1672; and being not thought likely to live, was baptiſed on the ſame day, as appears from the church regiſter [*A*]. When he grew up to an age fit for going to ſchool, he was firſt put under the care of the Reverend Mr. Naiſh, at Ambros-Bury. He was afterwards removed to a ſchool at Saliſbury, taught by the Reverend Mr. Taylor, and thence to the Charter-Houſe, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which laſted as long as Mr. Addiſon lived (*a*). He was not above fifteen when he went to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had ſtudied (*b*). He addicted himſelf at this time with ſuch diligence to claſſical learning, that he acquired an elegant Latin ſtyle, before he arrived at that age in which lads uſually begin to write good Engliſh. A paper of his verſes in that tongue, fell by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr. Lancaſter, then Fellow, and afterwards Provoſt of Queen's College, who was ſo far pleaſed with them, as to procure their author's being elected a Demy of Magdalen College, probably in July 1689 (*c*); where he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts. His Latin poetry, in the courſe of a few years, was exceedingly admired in both the univerſities, and juſtly gained him the reputation of a great poet [*B*], before his name was ſo much as known in town (*d*). He was twenty-two years of age before he publiſhed any thing in our language, and then came abroad a ſhort copy

(*a*) Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Vol. xxxi. p. 69.

(*b*) Mr. Tickell's preface to Mr. Addiſon's works, printed for J. Tonſon, 1721, four Vols. 4to. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 1023.

(*c*) Tickell's preface. Wood, ubi ſupra. MS. Information from Oxford. It ſhould ſeem that theſe verſes were nothing extraordinary, and that Addiſon's claſſic taſte was chiefly acquired at Oxford.

(*d*) Tickell's preface.

[*A*] *From the church regiſter.*] One may juſtly wonder, that in the account given of Mr. Addiſon in Wood's hiſtory of the Oxford writers, his true age ſhould be ſet down (1), and yet that it ſhould eſcape Mr. Tickell (2). This is of ſome importance, becauſe it changes the whole chronology of the life, and that too in favour of the author. He became a Demy of Magdalen College in Oxford by merit, at the age of ſeventeen (3). Is not the bare relation of this the higheſt panegyric on Mr. Addiſon? It was here he became acquainted with Mr. Sacheverell, who was exactly of his own age, and of a very promiſing genius too, ſince we find a tranſlation of part of the firſt Georgick of Virgil, inſerted in the Examen Poeticum, for the year 1693 (4), the ſame volume in which Mr. Addiſon's firſt Engliſh verſes appeared; and as Mr. Addiſon's verſes were addreſſed to Mr. Dryden, ſo Mr. Sacheverell's tranſlation was dedicated to him. Thoſe who remember Mr. Addiſon at college, affirm, that his temper was the ſame it appeared ever afterwards, that is to ſay, his abilities were exceeded by nothing but his modeſty.

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 1023.
(2) Preface to Addiſon's works.
(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.
(4) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. iii. p. 145. Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *The reputation of a great poet.*] It is not very certain at what age our author wrote ſome of the Latin poems which have been publiſhed; however, they were certainly written very early, and they ſtill retain that high eſteem which was firſt conceived of them. They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of *Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, ſeu Poemata quædam melioris notæ, ſeu hactenus inedita, ſeu ſparſim edita* (5). They were eight in all, but very probably they are not placed in the order of time in which they were written. 1. *Pax Gulielmi Auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697. i. e. Peace under the auſpice of William reſtored to Europe. 2. *Barometri Deſcriptio*, i. e. A Deſcription of the Barometer. 3. ΠΥΓΜΑΙΟΓΕΡΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑ, *ſive Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commiſſum*, i. e. A Battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes. 4. *Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* i. e. A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a deſcription of the painting over the altar in Magdalen College at Oxford. 5. *Sphæriſterium*, i. e. the Bowling-Green. 6. *Ad D. D. Hannes inſigniſſimum Medicum & Poetam*, i. e. To Dr. Hannes, an excellent Phyſician and Poet, an ode. 7. *Machinæ geſticulantes, Anglice*, A Puppet Show. 8. *Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ telluris authorem*, i. e. To the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, author of the Theory of the Earth, an ode (6). Theſe poems have been tranſlated into Engliſh, by Dr. George Sewell, of Peterhouſe, Cambridge. Mr. Newcomb, and Nicholas Amhurſt, Eſq; both of Oxford (7).

(5) Printed in two Vols. 8vo.
(6) They are inſerted with the dedication to the Lord Halifax, in the firſt volume of Mr. Tickell's edition.
(7) See theſe poems collected and publiſhed together in 12mo.

of verſes addreſſed to Mr. Dryden, which procured him immediately, and that very deſervedly, from the beſt judges in that nice age, a great reputation, being as correct and perfect as any thing which even himſelf afterwards produced (*e*). Some little ſpace intervening, he ſent into the world a tranſlation of the fourth Georgick of Virgil, (omitting the ſtory of Ariſtæus) exceedingly commended by Mr. Dryden (*f*). He wrote alſo that diſcourſe on the Georgicks, which is prefixed to them by way of preface in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation, and is allowed to be one of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm [*C*] in our own or in any other language (*g*). The next year he wrote ſeveral poems of different kinds; amongſt the reſt, one dated the third of April 1694, directed to Mr. H. S. [*D*], that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards ſo famous (*h*). The following year he began to have higher views, which diſcovered themſelves in a poem to King William, on one of his campaigns, addreſſed to the Lord Keeper (Sir John Somers). That judicious ſtateſman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great humanity, took Mr. Addiſon thenceforward into the number of his friends, and gave him, upon all occaſions, ſignal proofs of a ſincere eſteem (*i*). He had been very preſſingly ſolicited, while at the univerſity, to enter into Holy Orders [*E*], which he ſeemed once reſolved on, probably in reſpect to his father; but his great modeſty inclining him to doubt of his own abilities, he receded from this

(*e*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. iii. p. 245, edit. 12mo. 1716. Tickell's preface.

(*f*) Dryden's Virgil, printed for J. Tonſon, 1709, 8vo. Vol. iii. p. 822.

(*g*) Tickell's preface.

(*h*) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. iv. p. 317.

(*i*) Tickell's preface.

[*C*] *One of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm.*] It would be equally tedious and impertinent, to dwell in theſe notes on every little piece publiſhed by our author. It is a kind of charity to illuſtrate the beauties of an obſcure author; but to us it appears a ſort of detraction, to ſuppoſe that the worth of any of Mr. Addiſon's poems ſhould be unknown to our readers. We will therefore confine ourſelves to ſuch parts of his works as have any circumſtances relating to them which ought to be preſerved, as a kind of hiſtorical commentary, for the uſe rather of poſterity than of the preſent times. Mr. Tickell, in his preface to the works of Mr. Addiſon, expreſſes a kind of ſurprize, that Mr. Dryden, who ſo readily owned the verſion of the fourth Georgick ſent him by Mr. Addiſon, ſhould not take notice of his having communicated the Eſſay on the Georgicks, ſince it came from the ſame hand. Sir Richard Steele took occaſion to vindicate Mr. Dryden (8), by ſhewing, firſt, that the Eſſay upon the Georgicks, is the ſame with the preface prefixed to thoſe poems, in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation of Virgil's works; which, (9) ſecondly, is owned to have come from a friend, whoſe name is not mentioned becauſe he deſired to have it concealed (10). If any one ſhould inquire, why Mr. Addiſon was content the world ſhould know he tranſlated one of Virgil's Georgicks, and at the ſame time deſired to conceal his writing, what Mr. Dryden placed as a preface to his tranſlation of the Georgicks, it will be no difficult thing to ſatisfy him. The verſion was what many people had done, and any body might do; but the eſſay was an untried ſtrain of criticiſm, which bore a little hard on the old profeſſors of that art, and therefore was not ſo fit for a young man to take upon himſelf. In this light Mr. Dryden's juſtice, and Mr. Addiſon's prudence, are alike conſpicuous. The former was above aſſuming unjuſtly the praiſe of other people's writings, and the latter was remarkable for keeping ſo ſtrict a rein upon his wit, that it never got the ſtart of his wiſdom.

(8) Dedication of the Drummer.

(9) Dryden's Virgil, Vol. iii. p. 822.

(10) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *Directed to Mr. H. S.*] Among all our author's poems, there is not one which is more properly an original, than this account of the greateſt Engliſh poets, to Mr. Henry Sacheverell, nor will a judicious reader find more pleaſure in reading any of his works than in peruſing this. The judgment of a great poet on the writings of his predeceſſors, written in the dawn of his days, when, without doubt, he ſpoke more freely than he would have afterwards done, muſt always be conſidered as a curioſity. I ſhould not however have ſtopt at this poem, had it not been to quote ſome lines from it, which, if carefully conſidered, ſeem to carry in them ſome memoirs of our author's life. Towards the concluſion of the poem he ſays (11),

(11) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 36.

Congreve, whoſe fancy's unexhauſted ſtore
Has given already much, and promis'd more,
Congreve ſhall ſtill preſerve thy fame alive,
And Dryden's muſe ſhall in his friend ſurvive.

I'm tir'd with rhyming, and would fain give o'er,
But juſtice ſtill demands one labour more:
The noble Montague remains unnam'd,
For wit, for humour, and for judgment fam'd.
To Dorſet he directs his artful muſe
In numbers, ſuch, as Dorſet's ſelf might uſe.
How negligently graceful he unreins
His verſe, and writes in looſe familiar ſtrains.
How Naſſau's godlike acts adorn his lines,
And all the hero in full glory ſhines.
We ſee his armies ſet in juſt array,
And Boyne's dy'd waves run purple to the ſea.
Nor Simois choak'd with men, and arms, and blood,
Nor rapid Xanthus' celebrated flood,
Shall longer be the poet's higheſt themes,
Tho' gods and heroes fought promiſcuous in their ſtreams.
But now to Naſſau's ſecret councils rais'd,
He aids the hero whom before he prais'd.

Two remarks may be made on theſe lines: the firſt, that Mr. Congreve, about this time, had introduced Mr. Addiſon to the acquaintance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Sir Richard Steele informs us (12); the other, that Mr. Sacheverell had not as yet any qualms about the Revolution; otherwiſe his friend would not have written to him in theſe terms. This is very honourable for our author, ſince it makes it clear, that when he differed afterwards with this gentleman (13), he did not differ from himſelf, but adhered to thoſe principles which Sacheverell had deſerted.

(12) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(13) Addiſon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 346.

[*E*] *To enter into Holy Orders.*] This conduct of Mr. Addiſon with reſpect to the prieſthood, hath occaſioned ſome diſpute. Let us firſt ſupport what is advanced in the text, *viz.* that he had once made a kind of reſolution to go into orders. His own words will beſt prove this. He concludes the poem to Mr. Sacheverell thus:

I've done at length, and now, dear friend, receive
The laſt poor preſent, that my Muſe can give.
I leave the arts of poetry and verſe
To them that practice them with more ſucceſs.
Of greater truths I'll now prepare to tell,
And ſo at once, dear Friend, and Muſe, farewel (14).

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 41.

Mr. Tickell, ſpeaking of theſe lines, adds, after telling us that he founded this reſolution on the importunities of his father, the following account of his abandoning that deſign. 'His remarkable ſeriouſneſs and modeſty, which might have been 'urged as powerful reaſons for his chuſing that life, 'proved the chief obſtacles to it. Theſe qualities 'by which the prieſthood is ſo much adorned, repreſented the duties of it as too weighty for him, 'and rendered him ſtill more worthy of that honour, 'which they made him decline (15).' Sir Richard Steele, ſpeaking to Mr. Congreve of this paſſage, ſays, 'Theſe, you know very well, were not the 'reaſons which made Mr. Addiſon turn his thoughts 'to the civil world; and as you were the inducement of his becoming acquainted with my Lord 'Halifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm 'inſtances that noble lord made to the head of the 'college, not to inſiſt upon Mr. Addiſon's going 'into orders. His arguments were founded upon

(15) Preface to Addiſon's Works.

this choice (*k*); and having ſhewn an inclination to travel, his before-mentioned patron, out of zeal for his country, as well as reſpect to Mr. Addiſon, procured him, from the Crown, an annual penſion of three hundred pounds, which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, the latter end of 1699 (*l*). His Latin poems dedicated to Mr. Montagu, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, were printed before his departure in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, and were as much admired abroad, as they could poſſibly be at home, particularly by the great Boileau [*F*], who ſpoke of them in very obliging terms, and who was known to be both an able judge, and one incapable of partiality (*m*). In 1701, Mr. Addiſon wrote from Italy an epiſtolary poem (*n*) to (Montagu) Lord Halifax, which was very juſtly admired as a moſt finiſhed piece in its kind; and, indeed, ſome have pronounced it the very beſt of Mr. Addiſon's performances (*o*) [*G*]. On his return he publiſhed an account of his travels, which he dedicated to his firſt patron, the Lord Somers [*H*]. He would have returned earlier than he did into England, had he not been thought of as a proper perſon to attend Prince Eugene, who then commanded for the Emperor in Italy, which employment he would have been well pleaſed with; but the death of King William intervening,

(*k*) Tickell's preface. Steel's epiſtle to Congreve, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Drummer, in 1722, 4*to*. p. 12.

(*l*) Tickell's preface.

(*m*) See note [*C*].

(*n*) Addiſon's works, Vol. i. p. 43.

(*o*) See the note [*G*].

'the general pravity and corruption of men of buſineſs, who wanted liberal education; and I remember, as if I had read the letter yeſterday, that my lord ended with a compliment, that however he might be repreſented as no friend to the Church, he would never do it any other injury than keeping Mr. Addiſon out of it. The contention for this man in his early years, among the people of the greateſt power, Mr. Secretary Tickell, the executor for his fame, is pleaſed to aſcribe to a ſerious viſage, and modeſty of behaviour (16).' This laſt remark is equally ill-natured and ill-founded. Sir Richard introduces Mr. Addiſon's viſage; but the ſeriouſneſs Mr. Tickell ſpoke of, was the quality of his mind. The gentleman accounts for Mr. Addiſon's quitting his reſolution; the knight talks of the pains other people took to prevent his following it (17). Both the accounts might be true, but there was no neceſſity for inſerting either in the text of the life, though it would have been wrong, not to have acquainted the reader with ſo remarkable a paſſage.

(16) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 12.

(17) The reader will eaſily diſcern the truth of this obſervation, by comparing theſe paſſages,

Where the ſoft ſeaſon, and inviting clime,
Conſpire to trouble your repoſe with rhyme (20).

(20) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 43.

Lord Halifax had that year been impeached by the Commons in Parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own uſe; and farther charged, with cutting down and waſting the timber in his majeſty's foreſts, and with holding ſeveral offices in the Exchequer, that were inconſiſtent, and deſigned as checks upon each other. The Commons had likewiſe addreſſed the King, to remove him from his counſels and preſence for ever (21). Theſe were the cauſes of his retiring; and Mr. Addiſon's addreſs at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as the manner of it will be a laſting monument of his good ſenſe. In four lines he has handled a topic, the niceſt that could be, and in four more makes a tranſition to his ſubject naturally, and without precipitation.

(21) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 818.

[*H*] *His firſt patron, Lord Somers.*] In our author's dedication of his travels, to the Right Honourable John, Lord Somers, he takes an opportunity of paying his Lordſhip one of the fineſt and beſt turned compliments that ever entered a dedication, inaſmuch as, in a ſingle paragraph, the patron, the ſubject, and the client, are all connected with the greateſt propriety in point of thought, and the greateſt beauty in regard to ſtile. 'I had, ſays he, 'a very early ambition to recommend myſelf to 'your Lordſhip's patronage, which yet increaſed 'in me, as I travelled through the countries, of 'which I here give your Lordſhip ſome account: 'for whatever great impreſſions an Engliſhman 'muſt have of your Lordſhip, they who have been 'converſant abroad, will find them ſtill improved. 'It cannot but be obvious to them, that though 'they ſee your Lordſhip's admirers every where, 'they meet with very few of your well-wiſhers at 'Paris or at Rome. And I could not but obſerve, 'when I paſſed through moſt of the Proteſtant governments in Europe, that their hopes, or fears, 'for the common cauſe, roſe or fell with your 'Lordſhip's intereſt and authority in England '(22).' In his preface, Mr. Addiſon gave his reader plainly to underſtand what he was to meet with in the following pages. For having obſerved, that Burnet had, in his travels, maſterly and uncommon obſervations on the religion and governments of Italy; that Laſſells might be uſeful in giving the names of ſuch writers as had treated of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed; that Mr. Ray had publiſhed many valuable remarks in reſpect to Natural Hiſtory; and that Mr. Miſſon particularly excelled in the plan of the country, he goes on thus: 'For my own part, as I have taken notice of ſeveral 'places and antiquities, that nobody elſe has ſpoken 'of, ſo I think I have mentioned but few things in 'common with others, that are not either ſet in a 'new light, or accompanied with different reflections. I have taken care particularly, to conſider 'the ſeveral paſſages of the ancient poets, which 'have any relation to the places and curioſities that 'I met with; for before I entered upon my voyage, 'I took care to refreſh my memory among the Claſſic 'authors, and to make ſuch collections out of them 'as I might afterwards have occaſion for. I muſt 'confeſs, it was not one of the leaſt entertainments 'that I met with in travelling, to examine theſe 'ſeveral

(22) Addiſon's Works, Vol. ii.

(18) Tickell's preface.

[*G*] *The very beſt of Mr. Addiſon's performances.*] This poem was tranſlated by the Abbot Antonio Maria Salvini, Greek profeſſor at Florence, into Italian verſe; which tranſlation is printed with the original, in Mr. Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addiſon's works (19). It is not to be wondered at, that this poem is in the higheſt eſteem in Italy, ſince there are in it the beſt turned compliments on that country, that are perhaps to be found in any language. Add to this, that the Italians muſt naturally apprehend their force, as well or better than ourſelves, on account of their familiarity with the objects therein deſcribed. It may likewiſe be obſerved, that the opening of this poem is peculiarly graceful and alike honourable for the writer and the patron.

(19) Vol. i. p. 43.

While you, my Lord, the rural ſhades admire,
And from Britannia's public poſts retire;
Nor longer her ungrateful ſons to pleaſe,
For their advantage, ſacrifice your eaſe;
Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,
Through nations fruitful of immortal lays;

tervening, cauſed a ceſſation of his penſion, and his hopes (*p*). He remained at home a very conſiderable ſpace of time (his friends being then out of the miniſtry) before any occaſion offered, either of his farther diſplaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any ſuitable reward, for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both. In the year 1704, the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, happened to complain to the Lord Halifax, that the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had not been celebrated in verſe in the manner it deſerved; intimating that he would take it kindly, if his Lordſhip, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon ſo elevated a ſubject. Lord Halifax replied with ſome quickneſs, that he was well acquainted with ſuch a perſon, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long ſeen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury, at the expence of the Public, while perſons of too much modeſty, with great abilities, languiſhed in obſcurity. The Treaſurer ſaid very coolly, that he was ſorry his Lordſhip had occaſion to make ſuch an obſervation, and that for the future he would take care to render it leſs juſt than it might be at preſent; but that in the mean time he would pawn his honour, whoever his Lordſhip ſhould name, might venture upon this theme without fear of loſing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon named Mr. Addiſon, but inſiſted that the Treaſurer himſelf ſhould ſend to him, which he promiſed. Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle (afterwards Lord Carlton) then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to go in his name, to Mr. Addiſon, and communicate to him the buſineſs, which he accordingly did in ſo obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the taſk (*q*). The Lord Treaſurer Godolphin ſaw the poem before it was finiſhed, when the author had written no farther than the famous ſimile of the Angel, and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he immediately made him a Commiſſioner of Appeals (*r*). His poem intitled *The Campaign* (*s*), was received with loud and general applauſe: however, it may be doubted, what real benefit the Duke of Marlborough reaped from it, ſince, if, on the one hand, it ſet his conduct in the faireſt light, it introduced, on the other, a rival in fame; for, in all probability, the poem will be admired [*I*], as long as the victory is remembered. In 1705, our author attended the Lord Halifax to Hanover (*t*); and in the ſucceeding year, he was made choice of for Under-Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges, then appointed Secretary of State. In the month of December in the ſame year, the Earl of Sunderland ſucceeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr. Addiſon in the poſt of Under Secretary (*u*). Operas being at this time much in vogue, many people of diſtinction and true taſte importuned Mr. Addiſon to make a trial, whether ſenſe and ſound were really ſo incompatible as ſome admirers of the Italian pieces would repreſent them. He was at laſt prevailed upon to comply with their requeſts, and compoſed his inimitable *Roſamond* (*w*). This piece was inſcribed to the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, and though it did not ſucceed on the ſtage, it has been, and everlaſtingly will be, applauded in the cloſet. The many looked upon it as not properly an Opera, and the few joined with them in their opinion; for having conſidered what a number of miſerable things had borne that title, they were ſcarcely ſatisfied that ſo excellent a piece ſhould appear by the ſame. About the ſame time our author aſſiſted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele, in his play called *The Tender Huſband* (*x*), to which our author wrote a humorous Prologue (*y*). Sir Richard, whoſe gratitude was full as warm as his wit, ſurprized him with a dedication, which may be conſidered as one of the few monuments of praiſe, not unworthy of him to whoſe honour it was erected. In 1709, the Marquis of Wharton being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr. Addiſon into that kingdom, in the quality of his ſecretary. Her Majeſty alſo was pleaſed, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the ſalary annexed to the place of Keeper of the Records in that kingdom, and to beſtow it upon him (2). While he was in Ireland, his friend Mr. Steele publiſhed the

(*p*) Tickell's preface.

(*q*) Budgell's Memoirs of the Family of Boyle, p. 140.

(*r*) Tickell's preface. Budgell as above.

(*s*) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 65.

(*t*) Niceron Memoirs des Hommes illuſtres, Vol. xxxi. p. 71.

(*u*) Tickell's preface.

(*w*) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 89.

(*x*) Sir Richard acknowledges this, Spectator, No. 555.

(*y*) Addiſon's Works, Vol. i. p. 140.

(*z*) Tickell's preface.

'ſeveral deſcriptions as it were upon the ſpot, and 'to compare the natural face of the country with 'the landſkips the poets had given us of it (23).' Notwithſtanding this introduction, this piece was not at firſt underſtood, and conſequently could not ſucceed: but by degrees, as the curious entered deeper and deeper into the book, their judgment of it changed, and the demand for it became ſo great, that the price roſe at laſt to five times its original value, before there was a ſecond edition printed (24). It has ever ſince maintained its reputation, moſt of the virtuoſi who have travelled through Italy ſince, having given it high commendations (25); and which is perhaps a ſincere proof of their approbation, have choſen to tread in the ſame track. It hath been tranſlated into French, and makes uſually the fourth volume of Miſſon's travels in that language. The two great points laboured in theſe travels, are the recommending the Claſſic writers, and promoting the doctrine of liberty. Theſe points had been before purſued in the Epiſtle to Lord Halifax; and therefore Mr. Tickell has very juſtly and judiciouſly obſerved, that this poem may be conſidered as the text upon which the book of travels is a large comment (26).

[*I*] *The poem will be admired.*] The Campaign is addreſſed to the duke of Marlborough, and contains a ſhort view of the military tranſactions in the year 1704, with a very particular as well as poetical deſcription of the two great actions at Schellemberg, and Blenheim. Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the ſame ſubject; particularly Mr. J. Philips, and Mr. Euſden, who was afterwards Poet Laureat. However, Mr. Addiſon's was by far the moſt admired (27), and ſome of his warmeſt friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the reſt of his works. Perhaps this is a partiality to the ſubject, rather than to the piece itſelf, which, however fine, could not be the moſt excellent of Mr. Addiſon's performances, becauſe of its natural irregularity. All things conſidered, without queſtion, the Campaign is truly excellent, but excellent only with regard to its ſubject. For though the world allowed Mr. Addiſon to exceed others therein, yet no true judge of poetry will admit that he excelled himſelf.

(23) Mr. Addiſon's preface, ubi ſupra.

(24) Tickell's preface.

(25) See Breval, in his preface to his Travels, printed in two Volumes, folio, 1726; and Mr. Wright's preface to Obſervations made in travelling thro' France, Italy, &c. 4to. 1730.

(26) In his preface.

(27) See an excellent Criticiſm thereon, in the Tatlers, No. 45.

Tatler,

Tatler [*K*], which appeared for the first time, on the 12th of April 1709; Mr. Addison discovered the author by an observation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This discovery led him to afford farther assistances, insomuch that, as the author of the Tatlers well expressed it, he fared by this means like a distrest prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid (*a*); that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the superiority of Mr. Addison's genius, and so true a taste the town then had of correct and fine writing. Upon the change of the ministry, our author being more at leisure engaged oftener in that work, until its conclusion on the second of January 1711 (*b*). Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the *Spectator*, the plan of which he concerted with Mr. Addison. The first paper appeared on the first of March 1711, and in the course of that celebrated work, Mr. Addison furnished the greater part of those papers which were most admired. It was finished on the 6th of September 1712; and Mr. Addison, to prevent any disputes, or mistakes, which might have otherwise happened, took care to distinguish his papers throughout the whole, by some letter in the name of the Muse CLIO [*L*]. When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared, which, though written by men of wit and genius, did not succeed, and they had the good sense not to push the attempt too far. Without question, the original Spectator will be always esteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times in which it was received with so much applause. Posterity must have a high idea of the manners and good sense of the British nation, when they are informed that twenty thousand of these papers were sometimes sold in a day (*c*). The *Guardian*, a paper in the same taste, and which is saying much more, in the same spirit, entertained the town in the years 1713 and 1714. Mr. Addison had a large share therein, and his papers were particularly relished (*d*): and he also wrote once or twice in the *Lover* (*e*). It was necessary to speak of these performances together, which has carried us somewhat out of our ordinary road. Let us return, therefore, to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous Cato. He took up the design of writing a tragedy on that subject, when he was very young; he actually wrote it while he was on his travels: however, he retouched it while he was in England, without any formed design of bringing it on the stage (*f*). But some friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cause of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the stage, which he accordingly did, by adding the greatest part of the last act. When it appeared, it was gazed on as a wonder; all parties applauded it; it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the best judges declared in its favour when they had read it, with the same passion the pit had done when it was first seen (*g*). Mr. Pope wrote the Prologue, which is sublime. Dr. Garth the Epilogue, which is humorous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verses prefixed to it, among which, the sincerity

(*a*) Preface to the Fourth Volume of the Tatlers.

(*b*) Tickell's preface.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) His Papers are in the Fourth Volume of his Works.

(*e*) No. 10, and No. 39.

(*f*) Tickell's preface.

(*g*) Steele's Dedication of the Drummer, p. 15. Guardians, No. 33, 43. 64. Lover 49. Pope's Works, 12*mo*. Vol. v. Letters to Sir W. T. p. 7.

[*K*] *Mr. Steele published the Tatler.*] It would be very improper to enter farther into the history of the Tatler, than as it concerns Mr. Addison. Mr. Tickell observes, and Sir Richard Steele confesses, that the paper was set on foot and dropt without Mr. Addison's knowledge (28): of course the history of the Tatler belongs properly to another article. The papers written by Mr. Addison, were not distinguished in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the request of Mr. Tickell, pointed them out to him (29), and not only so, but shewed him such as they were jointly concerned in; and these, as well as those, are printed in the second volume of Mr. Addison's works. It must be allowed, that many of these little essays are not only exquisite, but incomparable. It is impossible to be serious, while we read such of them as are humorous; or not to be grave on the perusal of such as are of an opposite cast. The images are so striking, the language so graceful, the turn so natural, the raillery so lively, and at the same time so innocent, that not to be charmed with these pieces, and to be absolutely without taste, must be for ever synonymous terms.

(28) Tickell's preface.

(29) *Ibid.*

[*L*] *Name of the Muse CLIO.*] The affinity between the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and *Guardians*, makes it unnecessary to enter minutely into the merit of such papers as Mr. Addison contributed, in the carrying on the two last undertakings (30). In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverly was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr. Addison's affairs, that he was so tender of this character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publishing a Spectator, wherein he had made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple Cloisters (31), and would not part with his friend, until he had promised to meddle with the old Knight's character no more. However, Mr. Addison to make sure, and to prevent any absurdities, which the authors of subsequent Spectators might fall into, resolved to remove that character out of the way; or, as he pleasantly expressed it to an intimate friend, killed Sir Roger, that nobody else might murder him (32). As to the marking of the Spectators, it was our author's own act and deed: but Mr. Tickell, in his preface to his works, having expressed this in very strong terms, saying, that Mr. Addison had hereby removed the least possibility of mistake in the most undiscerning reader (33): Sir Richard Steele, who was extremely offended with that preface, remarked severely on this passage, and speaking thereof to Mr. Congreve, uses these words. 'I have observed, that 'the editor will not let me, or any one else, obey 'Mr. Addison's commands, in hiding any thing he 'desired should be concealed. I cannot but take 'further notice, that the circumstance of marking 'his Spectators, which I did not know until I had 'done with the work, I made my own act, because 'I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend; 'and thought since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me, than the author himself; 'the real state of which, this zealot rashly and injudiciously exposes. I ask the reader whether any 'thing but an earnestness to disparage me, could 'provoke the editor, in behalf of Mr. Addison, to 'say that he marked it out of caution against me, 'when I had taken upon me to say, it was I that did 'it out of tenderness to him (34).' It must be allowed, that Sir Richard, in the concluding paper of the Spectator (35), had said all that could be expected, if not more, with respect not only to the distinction, but also in regard to Mr. Addison's character particularly: there did not therefore seem to be the least occasion for these precautions, with respect to a man who was really as warm a friend as could be wished, and a much warmer than these cautious people seem to have any idea of.

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) See Spectator, No. 410, in the Sixth Volume.

(32) The Bee, No. 1. p. 26, 27, by Eu. Budgell.

(33) In his preface.

(34) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 11.

(35) No. 555.

of Mr. Steele, and the genius of Mr. Euſden, deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed. Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own; and indeed, it is one of thoſe few performances which cannot receive more honour than it deſerves [*M*]. It was tranſlated more than once into French, obtained two Italian verſions, and has been either tranſlated or imitated in the German language (*h*). But the greateſt honour that was ever done thereto, was the putting the ſoliloquy of Cato, which is perhaps the nobleſt thing in our language, into a Latin dreſs, which might have been read with admiration, even by the criticks in the court of Auguſtus. Fame has attributed this to the late Biſhop Atterbury (*i*); and as it was ſuperlatively fine, the world thought fame in the right, and ſo it proved. This excellent tragedy did not eſcape the minor criticks, as the reader will find in the notes. Her Majeſty Queen Anne was not the laſt in doing juſtice to our author, and his performance. She was pleaſed to ſignify an inclination of having it dedicated to her: but the author publiſhed it without a dedication, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had propoſed to dedicate it elſewhere, and by this method, he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour (*k*). If in the ſubſequent part of his life his leiſure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intitled, *The Death of Socrates* (*l*). But the honours due to what he had already performed, deprived poſterity of this promiſed labour. Upon the death of the Queen, the Lords Juſtices appointed Mr. Addiſon their Secretary, which took him off from a deſign he had formed, of compoſing an Engliſh dictionary, on the plan of a famous Italian one (*m*). There was ſome thoughts of making him Secretary of State at that time, but he was at pains to decline it (*n*), and accepted a ſecond time, under the Earl of Sunderland, the poſt of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He held it however but a very little time; for on the Earl's being removed, he was made one of the Lords of Trade (*o*). In 1716, he married the

(*h*) Tickell's preface.

(*i*) Spectator, Vol. iii. No. 628.

(*k*) Tickell's preface.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) E. Budgell in his letter to Cleomenes, King of Sparta.

(*o*) Tickell's preface.

[*M*] *Cannot receive more honour than it deſerves.*] As to the tragedy of Cato, we ſhall here preſent the reader with ſome circumſtances relating to its firſt appearance. They are contained in a letter from Alexander Pope, Eſq; to Sir William Trumbull, dated April 30, 1713. 'As to poetical affairs, I 'am content at preſent to be a bare looker on; and 'from a practitioner, turn an admirer, which is (as 'the world goes) not very uſual. Cato was not 'ſo much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he 'is of Britain in ours: and though all the fooliſh 'induſtry poſſible has been uſed to make it thought 'a party play, yet what the author once ſaid of an-'other, may the moſt properly in the world be ap-'plied to him on this occaſion.

Envy itſelf is dumb, in wonder loſt,
And factions ſtrive who ſhall applaud him moſt.

'The numerous and violent claps of the Whig-'party on the one ſide of the theatre, were ecchoed 'back by the Tories on the other; while the author 'ſweated behind the ſcenes with concern, to find 'their applauſe proceeding more from the hand than 'the head. This was the caſe too of the Prologue 'writer, who was clapped into a ſtanch Whig, at 'almoſt every two lines. I believe you have heard, 'that after all the applauſes of the oppoſite faction, 'my Lord Bolingbroke ſent for Booth, who played Ca-'to, into the box, between one of the acts, and preſent-'ed him with fifty guineas, in acknowledgment (as 'he expreſſed it) for defending the cauſe of liberty ſo 'well againſt a Perpetual Dictator. The Whigs 'are unwilling to be diſtanced this way, and there-'fore deſign a preſent to the ſame Cato, very 'ſpeedily; in the mean time they are getting ready 'as good a ſentence as the former, on their ſide: 'ſo betwixt them it is probable, that Cato (as Dr. 'Garth expreſt it) may have ſomething to live upon 'after he dies (36).' Immediately after the publication of this tragedy, there came abroad a pamphlet, intitled, *Obſervations upon Cato*. This was written by Dr. Sewell, a very ingenious gentleman, and a good poet. The deſign of this piece was to ſhew, that the applauſe this tragedy had met with, was founded in merit. It is a very accurate and entertaining criticiſm, and contributed not a little to the ſecuring our poet the hearts of his readers, as well as of his audience (37). We are not however to ſuppoſe that our author had no enemies, or that there were not enow, who either did not like that tragedy, or pretended not to like it. Amongſt theſe, the formidable Mr. Dennis had the courage to attack it. Firſt in a pamphlet (38), and again in a ſubſequent work, wherein he employed no leſs than ſeven letters in pulling the tragedy to pieces; and ſaying whatever an ill-natured man, with a tolerable ſhare of wit, might be able to ſay, againſt the beſt written piece in the world (39). Another gentleman, who called himſelf a ſcholar of Oxford, conſidered the play in quite a different light, that is, he conſidered it as a political piece, and endeavoured to ſerve his party, by turning the cannon upon the enemy. The title of his pamphlet was, *Mr. Addiſon turned Tory* (40); and it is written with great ſpirit and vivacity. Dr. Fiddes alſo took ſome exception at the following lines,

In ſpite of all the virtues we can boaſt,
A woman that deliberates is loſt.

The doctor thinks theſe reflect on the fair ſex (41); but this ſeems a very forced conſtruction; the ſentiment is juſt and natural, and all ſtrokes of this ſort ought to be conſidered not as cenſures, but as cautions. The beſt judges, however, declared unanimouſly on the ſide of Mr. Addiſon; and, as occaſion offered, vindicated the merit of this tragedy, againſt all opponents. Mr. Boyer tranſlated it into French, the ſame year it was publiſhed; but very indifferently. Abbé du Bos made an excellent verſion, of which, however, only the three firſt ſcenes were printed (42). Abbot Salvini tranſlated it into Italian; his tranſlation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applauſe, and he afterwards publiſhed it at Florence (43). It is not known whether Signior Valetta's tranſlation was ever printed; he was a young Neopolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amuſement (44). The Jeſuits at St. Omer tranſlated it into Latin, and cauſed it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewiſe ſent Mr. Addiſon a copy of their tranſlation (45). In France, a poet named Des Champs having ſeen this tragedy, wrote another with the ſame title, and dedicated it to the Duke of Orleans. This was firſt exceſſively cried up in France, then tranſlated into Engliſh blank verſe, and publiſhed with a parallel of that piece and the Cato of Mr. Addiſon, wherein the preference was given to the French performance. However, this was all the effect of pique, and the character of the French Cato could never be eſtabliſhed (46). Mr. Voltaire has commended and condemned Mr. Addiſon by turns; and in reſpect to the Cato, he admires and cenſures it extravagantly. The principal character he allows ſuperiour to any before brought upon the ſtage; but for all the love ſcenes he will have them abſolutely inſipid; which may be allowed him when he ſhall prove another of his aſſertions, *viz.* that Cato was the firſt regular tragedy that ever appeared on the Engliſh ſtage (47).

(36) Pope's Letters in the Fifth Volume of his Works, printed in 12*mo.* for J. Roberts, 1737, p. 8. in the Letters to Sir W. Trumbull.

(37) Obſervations on the Tragedy of Cato, by Mr. Addiſon. In a Letter to * * * printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane, 1713. 4*to.*

(38) Printed for B. Lintot, 1713, 8*vo.*

(39) Original Letters, familiar, moral, and critical, by Mr. Dennis, Vol. ii. printed for W. Mears, 1721, 8*vo.* p. 303.

(40) In 1713, 4*to.*

(41) Prefatory Epiſtle to ſome Remarks to be publiſhed on Homer's Iliad, addreſſed to Dr. Swift, London, 1714, 12*mo.* p. 101.

(42) Nouvelles Litteraires, October 17, 1716.

(43) In 4*to.* 1716.

(44) Tickell's preface.

(45) Memoirs des hommes illuſtres, Tom. xxxi. p. 81.

(46) Parallel between the French Cato and Mr. Addiſon's, Lond. 1716, 12*mo.*

(47) Theſe remarks are in his diſcourſe on tragedy addreſſed to Lord Bolingbroke. His Dedication of Zayre, to Mr. Falkener; and his eighteenth letter on the Engliſh nation.

Counteſs of Warwick (*p*); and on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, he publiſhed the Freeholder, which is a kind of political Spectator [*N*]. There were juſt fifty-five papers in all; the firſt was publiſhed on the twenty-third of September 1715, and the laſt on the twenty-ninth of June, 1716. Theſe pieces were exceedingly admired, and which was more the author's aim, were of great uſe at the time they were written (*q*). He publiſhed alſo about this time, ſome little pieces of poetry, ſuch as verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the King's picture, and another copy to the Princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717 (*r*), his Majeſty King George I. was pleaſed to appoint our author one of his Principal Secretaries of State. His health, which had been before impaired by an aſthmatick diſorder, ſuffered exceedingly by an advancement ſo much to his honour, but attended notwithſtanding with very great fatigue. He bore it however with great patience, till finding, or rather ſuſpecting, that it might be prejudicial to the public buſineſs, he reſigned his office (*s*). Having thus procured for himſelf a vacancy from buſineſs, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed. In theſe leiſure moments he applied himſelf ſteadily to a religious work, which he had begun long before, the firſt part whereof, ſcarcely finiſhed, is preſerved and printed in his works (*t*). He likewiſe intended to have paraphraſed ſome of the Pſalms of David (*u*); but a long and painful relapſe broke all his deſigns, and deprived the world of this excellent perſon, on the ſeventeenth of June 1719, when he was entering the fifty-fourth year of his age. He died at Holland houſe near Kenſington, and left behind him an only daughter, by the Counteſs of Warwick (*w*). After his deceaſe, Mr. Tickell, who had the author's commands and inſtructions, collected and publiſhed his works in four volumes in quarto. In this edition there are ſeveral pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak. The firſt in order of time is the *Diſſertation upon Medals*, which, though publiſhed after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digeſt them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702 (*x*). Theſe dialogues are every way worthy of Mr. Addiſon; the deſign is juſt and uſeful, the manner correct, beautiful, and in the true taſte of antiquity. All the elegance of Plato, all the good ſenſe and maſculine gravity of Tully, with a becoming air of humour, in which our author was truly an original, are diſcoverable in this little work. The editor took a great deal of pains in tranſlating the Latin quotations, and the verſes prefixed to it by Mr. Pope are as perfect in poetry, as the piece itſelf is in proſe. In November 1707, there came abroad a pamphlet under the title of, *The preſent State of the War, and the neceſſity of an augmentation conſidered.* It is now printed among Mr. Addiſon's works (*y*), and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The ſpirit in which it is written, the weighty obſervations contained therein, on the ſtrength and intereſt of foreign nations, and the comprehenſive knowledge ſhewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand. The *Whig Examiner*, came out on the fourteenth of September 1710, for the firſt time (*z*). There were five papers in all attributed to Mr. Addiſon. Theſe are by much the ſevereſt things he ever wrote. Dr. Sacheverell (*a*), Mr. Prior (*b*), and many other perſons are in them very harſhly treated. The Examiner had done the ſame thing on the part of the Tories, and the avowed deſign of this paper was to make repriſals. In 1713, there was publiſhed a little pamphlet, intitled, *The late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff* (*c*). It was intended to expoſe the Tory miniſtry, on the head of the French Commerce Bill; and is likewiſe a very ſevere piece. Theſe are all that are included in Mr. Tickell's edition, which were publiſhed in the life-time of Mr. Addiſon, without his name; as alſo was the Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe, a Comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but publiſhed afterwards as Mr. Addiſon's, by Sir

(*p*) Tickell's preface.

(*q*) Addiſon's works, Vol. iv. p. 357—557.

(*r*) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 385—388.

(*s*) Tickell's preface.

(*t*) Of the Chriſtian religion, Vol. iv. p. 561.

(*u*) Tickell's preface.

(*w*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) Tickell's preface.

(*y*) Vol. iv. p. 299.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 331.

(*a*) Whig Examiner, No. iv.

(*b*) *Ibid.* No. i.

(*c*) Vol. iv. p. 343.

[*N*] *A kind of political Spectator.*] The Freeholder is particularly mentioned in the text, becauſe it was a work written by Mr. Addiſon entirely, and upon his own plan (48). Some indeed have ſuppoſed, that he was aſſiſted in this work by Mr. Philips (49); but there ſeems to have been no foundation for this report, ſince neither Mr. Tickell ſays any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themſelves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the moſt uniform; and, the greateſt part of them, the moſt out of every man's way of writing but Mr. Addiſon's, that can be imagined. There is one thing to be ſaid in reſpect to the Freeholder, which, as it will certainly be ſaid by poſterity, I can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be ſaid here: the Freeholder is, without queſtion, the moſt indubitable proof of the uſe a man of true wit, and reaſonable application, may be of to any adminiſtration. The numerous pieces of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange were all calculated either to make the people laugh, or to put them in a paſſion. Dr. Welwood's periodical papers were all politics, and, conſequently, too dry for the generality of readers. During the reign of the Queen, polemic writings were not only ſharp, but bitter, and their authors ſtudied rather to make their adverſaries feel the quickneſs of their reproaches, than to perſuade them by ſound arguments, much leſs to invite them, by moderate and gentle applications, to their different humours and ways of thinking. The Freeholder hath avoided all theſe faults, and, with an inexhauſtible fund of humour, mingles ſometimes the graveſt reaſonings, and at others the kindeſt expoſtulations. Beautiful deſcriptions, exquiſite allegories, viſions almoſt more than human; and, in fine, whatever might pleaſe, whatever could move, whatever ſeemed fitted to attract, is to be found in thoſe inimitable eſſays; and one may ſpeak it without fear of being contradicted by any man who reads them, that they are the beſt turned papers, with a view for the purpoſe for which they were written, that were ever penned. Mr. Addiſon, without queſtion, wrote them in conſequence of his principles, out of a deſire of removing prejudices, and from a ſtrong inclination to ſettle the government, and make his country happy. The making him Secretary of State, therefore, was but doing him juſtice for ſo extraordinary and well-timed a ſervice, which more than balanced that deficiency, which he objected againſt his own preferment, his being no ſpeaker in the Houſe of Commons.

(48) Tickell's preface.

(49) Memoires des hommes illuſtres, Vol. xxxi. p. 80.

Richard

Richard Steele [O]. Since his death, and the coming out of that edition, the following pieces have been aſcribed to our author: *Diſſertatio de inſignioribus Romanorum Poetis*, i. e. A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman Poets (*d*). This is ſuppoſed to have been written about 1692, is allowed to contain many uſeful obſervations, yet nobody has hitherto ventured to decide, whether it is, or is not, Mr. Addiſon's. *A Diſcourſe on ancient and modern Learning* (*e*); the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts of the Lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, being publickly ſold, this little piece came to be printed in 1739, and was as well received as it deſerved. To theſe we muſt add, *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and 2 [P], pamphlets written in defence of the Peerage Bill, 1719. It is not eaſy to account for the not inſerting of theſe papers amongſt

(*d*) Printed in Latin and Eng. in 12*mo*.

(*e*) Printed in 8*vo*. for T. Oſborne, 1739.

[O] *As Mr. Addiſon's, by Sir Richard Steele.*] The Drummer was firſt publiſhed without any author's name, but with a preface prefixed by Sir Richard Steele, wherein he tells us, that it had been ſome years in the hands of the author, and falling under his peruſal, he thought ſo well of it, that he perſuaded him to make ſome additions and alterations and let it appear on the ſtage. He owns that it was not well received, or at leaſt, not ſo well received as it deſerved, which he accounts for, by obſerving that the ſtrokes therein are too delicate for every taſte, in a popular aſſembly; and he adds, that his brother-ſharers were of opinion, that it was like a picture, in which the ſtrokes were not ſtrong enough to appear at a diſtance (50). Mr. Tickell publiſhing Mr. Addiſon's works in 1721, omitted this comedy, which Sir Richard Steele ſo much reſented, that he quickly after publiſhed a ſecond edition of it, with an epiſtle to Mr. Congreve thereto prefixed. In this epiſtle he aſſerts, that he recommended the play to the ſtage, and carried it to the preſs; he likewiſe tells us the price it was ſold at, *viz.* fifty guineas. He refers himſelf to his former preface, for a proof of his zeal on that occaſion, which he obſerves could flow from nothing elſe than his affection for the author. For as to the ſhare that any one elſe had in it, he is poſitive it very little exceeded that of an amanuenſis. 'But indeed, continues he, had I not 'known it at the time of the tranſaction concern-'ing the acting on the ſtage and ſale of the copy, I 'ſhould I think have ſeen Mr. Addiſon in every 'page of it; for he was above all men in that talent 'called Humour, and enjoyed it in ſuch perfection, 'that I have often reflected, after a night ſpent 'with him apart from all the world, that I had had 'the pleaſure of converſing with an intimate ac-'quaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all 'their wit and nature, heightened with humour 'more exquiſite and delightful than any other man 'ever poſſeſſed. They who ſhall read this play, 'after being let into the ſecret that it was written 'by Mr. Addiſon, or under his direction, will 'probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies, which 'they before overlooked, and wonder they did 'not till now obſerve, that there is not an expreſ-'ſion in the whole piece, which has not in it the 'moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the character 'which utters it; there is that ſmiling mirth, that 'delicate ſatire and genteel raillery which appeared 'in Mr. Addiſon when he was free among intimates; 'I ſay when he was free from his remarkable baſh-'fulneſs, which is a cloak that hides and muffles 'merit, and his abilities were covered only by mo-'deſty, which doubles the beauties which are ſeen, 'and gives credit and eſteem to all that are con-'cealed. The Drummer made no great figure on 'the ſtage, though exquiſitely well acted; but when 'I obſerve this, I ſay a much harder thing of the 'ſtage than of the comedy. When I ſay the ſtage 'in this place, I am underſtood to mean in general 'the preſent taſte of theatrical repreſentations; 'where nothing that is not violent, and as I may 'ſay groſsly delightful, can come on without ha-'zard of being condemned or ſlighted.' Nothing can be more juſt than Sir Richard's ſentiments on this matter (51). The Drummer may be perhaps eſtabliſhed as a teſt of true taſte: he who likes it, has it; he who diſapproves this piece, hath it not. Experience juſtified Sir Richard's conjecture. This play which failed when inimitably acted at Drury-Lane, was, when much worſe performed, loudly applauded at Mr. Rich's houſe, merely becauſe it was then known to be Mr. Addiſon's. How honourable this for our author! how diſhonourable to the audience! how happy was he to have his former writings read by better judges! The time in which he lived was worthy of Mr. Addiſon: but if his writings ſhould ever reach an age, ſo ſtupid or ſo barbarous as not to reliſh them, that will not alter their nature; they will ſtill remain as excellent as before, though not in the eyes of thoſe Goths and Vandals. But we deviate too far from our purpoſe; and yet to what purpoſe do we write, if it be not to defend the world from a decay of taſte, and to preſerve, from the inclemency of ſavage times, thoſe wreaths which men of merit have deſerved.

(50) The firſt edition of the Drummer, was printed for J. Tonſon.

(51) Epiſtle to Mr. Congreve, prefixed to the Drummer, the ſecond edition in 4*to*. 1722. p. 4.

[P] *The Old Whig*, No. 1. and No. 2.] In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of the year 1719, the Peerage Bill began firſt to be talked of, and the ſcope of that bill was this: That inſtead of the ſixteen Peers ſitting in Parliament as Repreſentatives of the Peerage of Scotland, there were for the future to be twenty-five hereditary Peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then ſixteen ſitting Peers: That ſix Engliſh Peers ſhould be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the Crown being reſtrained from making any new Lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary ſcheme, is what we have no buſineſs here to inquire into. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers with great ſpirit were written againſt it; amongſt the reſt, one called the *Plebeian*, ſaid to fall from the pen of a member of the Houſe of Commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele (52). To this ſeveral anſwers were publiſhed, and abundance of pieces written in ſupport of this project, none of which, however, were very favourably received. At length came forth the *Old Whig*, No. 1. on the ſtate of the Peerage, with remarks on the Plebeian. A 4*to* pamphlet (53), written with great perſpicuity, in a nervous ſtyle, not without ſome ſevere reflections on the Plebeian. The author of that paper did not ſuffer it to remain long unanſwered. In his ſecond number he replied to all the arguments therein made uſe of, treating the author with a good deal of aſperity, alledging amongſt other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, ſeeming ſo old as to have forgot his principles (54). There does not appear, however, any thing in the firſt Old Whig which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the ſecond Plebeian, which intimates the writer's having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Old Whig was Mr. Addiſon's. Though there was at the latter end of the laſt-mentioned paper, an intimation of its author's ſuperior dignity, and more thorough acquaintance with the ſecret of this affair. For the Old Whig firſt declared that his Majeſty had given his conſent, which he ſtyles an act of unparallelled goodneſs (55); of which fact the Plebeian doubted, or at leaſt affected to doubt (56). The ſecond Old Whig was written in ſupport of the firſt, and in anſwer to the ſecond Plebeian. It is a very judicious, and at the ſame time a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at leaſt was reſolved to conſider Sir Richard, as the writer of the Plebeian (57). He ſtyles him a perfect maſter in the vocation of pamphlet writing in one place, calls him *little Dicky* in another, tells him, he has made the moſt of a bad cauſe in a third, and adviſes him as a friend in the cloſe, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy

(52) Theſe Papers were collected into an 8*vo* Pamphlet, printed for S. Popping at the Raven in Paternoſter-Row, London, 1719, price 1*s*.

(53) Sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane, price 6*d*. No. 2. the ſame.

(54) Plebeian, p. 23.

(55) Old Whig, No. 1. p. 5.

(56) Plebeian, p. 43.

(57) Old Whig, No. 2. p. 1. 4. 15.

amongſt his works, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the publication of them following immediately the diſappointment of that deſign, made it improper to diſcover how much our author had it at heart. It would lead us into too long a digreſſion, ſhould we conſider here the occaſion of thoſe papers, which, however, ſhall be done in the Notes. Thus we have run through the hiſtory of this great man's life and writings, who, as he was ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries in other things, ſo he particularly excelled them in this; that his performances are equally perfect [Q]; nothing puerile in the moſt early, nothing below his genius in the laſt; conſtant to his principles, and to his friendſhips, he died as he lived, eſteemed and revered by the great [R], without raiſing any enemies, except ſuch as were ſo on account of party; and even theſe expreſſed their enmity with reluctance [S], ſuch was their admiration of his virtues.

[A few

happy in the choice of his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer. The fourth Plebeian contains an anſwer to the ſecond Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the reſt of the papers; his concluſion is very remarkable. Authors, ſays he, in theſe caſes are named upon ſuſpicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cauſe by compariſon of this performance with his other writings; and I ſhall ſay no more of what is writ in ſupport of vaſſalage, but end this paper by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the tragedian (58),

(58) Plebeian, p. 67.

Remember, O! my friends, &c.
Mr. ADDISON's Cato.

This is ſufficient to ſhew Sir Richard's belief, nor hath any body queſtioned the truth of his conjecture. The Peerage Bill went off notwithſtanding for that ſeſſions, and Mr. Addiſon died before it came on again, in the latter end of the ſame year. It may not however be amiſs to obſerve, that December 7, 1719, on a motion in the Houſe of Commons, for committing the Peerage Bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, againſt 177 (59).

(59) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 391.

[Q] *His performances are equally perfect.*] In the text itſelf, we have endeavoured to do ſome juſtice to our author's character, and eſpecially to that diſtinguiſhing part thereof, the eaſe and readineſs with which he wrote, notwithſtanding the accuracy and correctneſs of all his writings. This, it may be, will be thought beſt ſupported by proof, which therefore we ſhall give in this note. The following Epigram (which is not inſerted in his works) was written when he was a member of the *Kit-Cat Club*, extempore, and yet it has not only wit, but correctneſs to recommend it.

On the Lady MANCHESTER.

When haughty Gallia's dames that ſpread
O'er their pale cheeks an artful red;
Beheld this beauteous ſtranger there,
In native charms, divinely fair;
Confuſion in their looks they ſhew'd,
And with unborrow'd bluſhes glow'd (60).

(60) Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. v. p. 91.

A farther proof of the extraordinary facility, with which he produced even the moſt perfect of his performances, may be taken from what Sir Richard Steele ſays of his Cato; he tells us, that the laſt act was written in leſs than a week's time. 'For this, 'continues he, was particular in this writer, that 'when he had taken his reſolution, or made his plan 'for what he deſigned to write, he would walk about 'a room and dictate it into language, with as much 'freedom and eaſe as any one could write it down; 'and attend to the coherence and grammar of what 'he dictated (61).'

(61) Dedication of the Drummer, p. 16.

[R] *Eſteemed and revered by the great.*] To attempt the reckoning up the friends of Mr. Addiſon, would be an endleſs labour; and yet, to ſay nothing of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed Mr. Addiſon, at the ſame time that they were themſelves perſons of the firſt diſtinction, would be an unpardonable omiſſion. We have already taken notice of Lord Somers, whoſe friendſhip to our author continued without interruption as long as he lived. We have likewiſe mentioned Mr. Addiſon's gratitude towards him in the dedication of his travels, after that Nobleman had been impeached in the reign of King William; and was actually, when he dedicated to him, in diſgrace with Queen Anne. We are yet to remark, that as Mr. Addiſon out-lived him, ſo in one of his Freeholders he paid ſuch a tribute to his memory, as muſt endear his own to every man of honour (62). The celebrated Earl of Halifax maintained alſo an inviolable friendſhip throughout his whole life for our author; to whoſe reputation we can add nothing, except it be naming the illuſtrious foreigners who ſubſcribed for his works, which not only does honour to him, but to our nation. They were the Queen of Sweden, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Orleans Regent of France, the Great Duke of Tuſcany, the Great Prince of Tuſcany, the Duke of Modena, the Duke of Parma, the Prince of Modena, the Prince of Parma, the Doge of Genoa, the Duke of Guaſtalla, Prince Eugene, Cardinal del Giudice, Cardinal du Bois, and Marſhal d'Eſtrees (63). To mention the great names of our own nation, would be to tranſcribe the liſts of our nobility; and therefore we ſhall reſt this point here, preſuming that in few other lives it will be carried farther.

(62) No. 39.

(63) See the ſhining Liſt of Subſcribers, at the End of the fourth Volume, of the *4to* Edition, printed for J Tonſon, 1721.

[S] *Expreſſed their enmity with reluctance.*] The author of a celebrated poem, intitled *Faction Diſplayed*, who died but lately, and was juſtly celebrated for giving an ingenious turn to his ill-nature, began an early war upon our author. In that poem, he makes his patron Mountague, there characterized by the name of Bathillo, deſcribe him thus:

On Addiſon we ſafely may depend,
A penſion never fails to gain a friend;
Through Alpine Hills, he ſhall my name reſound,
And make his patron known in claſſick ground (64).

(64) A quarto Poem printed at London in 1704, without the name of Author or Printer. The former, however, is ſuppoſed to be Mr. Shippen.

Mrs. Manley, in her ſequel to the Atlantis, gives our author's character at large, under the name of Maro; what ſhe ſays of him, is every way to his advantage, were it not for this ill-natured Apoſtrophe, on ſeeing him in Sergius's gallery. 'O pity, that poli-'ticks and ſordid intereſt ſhould have carried him 'out of the road of Helicon, ſnatched him from the 'embraces of the Muſes, to throw him into an old 'withered ſtateſman's arms, &c. (65).' This withered ſtateſman, whom ſhe had before called Sergius, is the ſame Lord Halifax, mentioned by the foregoing writer. But the ſevereſt attack that ever Mr. Addiſon felt, was from the following verſes, bright and piercing as lightning, and as fatally blaſting:

(65) Memoirs of Europe, towards the cloſe of the VIIIth Century. Vol. ii. p. 153.

Peace to all ſuch! but were there one whoſe fires,
True genius kindles, and fair fame inſpires:
Bleſt with each talent, and each art to pleaſe,
And born to write, converſe, and live with eaſe:
Shou'd ſuch a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
View him with ſcornful, yet with jealous eyes,
And hate for arts, that caus'd himſelf to riſe;
Damn with faint praiſe, aſſent with civil leer,
And without ſneering teach the reſt to ſneer:
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to ſtrike,
Juſt hint a fault, and heſitate diſlike;
Alike reſerv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a ſuſpicious friend;
Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers beſieg'd,
And ſo obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd:
Like Cato, gives his little ſenate laws,
And ſits attentive to his own applauſe:
While wits and templars ev'ry ſentence raiſe,
And wonder with a fooliſh face of praiſe.
Who but muſt laugh, if ſuch a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he (66).

(66) Theſe Lines have been often printed, but we tranſcribe them from Pope's Works, in 12mo. Vol ii. p. 86. in an Epiſtle to Dr Arbuthnot.

An author, in Miſt's Journal, gives the following account of this tranſaction. 'Mr. Addiſon raiſed this

[A few miſtakes in the original article concerning Mr. Addiſon have now been corrected (*f*); and we ſhall here add what farther particulars have occurred to us, concerning this valuable man, and juſtly celebrated writer. Mr. Whiſton confirms the truth of his having been intended for Holy Orders; and aſſerts that he was diverted from that purpoſe by Lord Halifax and Lord Somers. It hath even been ſaid, that the Saturday's papers in the Spectator, which were commonly upon religious ſubjects, were deſigned originally for ſermons. Mr. Addiſon was a great friend to Mr. Whiſton; and, in conjunction with Sir Richard Steele, by procuring a number of benefactors to the aſtronomical lectures of that very learned and worthy perſon, contributed to the comfortable ſupport of him and his family, when he had been baniſhed from the univerſity of Cambridge, for attacking the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity (*g*). In the project which Mr. Addiſon had formed, of compoſing an Engliſh Dictionary, he conſidered Archbiſhop Tillotſon's writings as the chief ſtandard of our language; and, accordingly, marked, as the groundwork of his deſign, the particular phraſes in the ſermons publiſhed during his Grace's lifetime (*h*). This ſhews how much he admired that eminent Prelate's ſtyle, and renders it probable, that he might, in part, be indebted to him for the perſpicuity and eaſe which appear in his own works. He is reported to have been ſo extremely nice in his proſe compoſitions, that, when almoſt a whole impreſſion of a Spectator was worked off, he would ſtop the preſs, to inſert a new prepoſition or conjunction (*i*). When the Guardian was dropped, he was ſolicited by Mr. John Hughes, to unite with him in writing another periodical paper, under the title of the Regiſter; but he declined the propoſal, though with great marks of regard to Mr. Hughes, of whoſe abilities and character he had a high and juſt eſteem. Mr. Addiſon alledged, that he had been ſo employed in thoughts of that nature for two or three years paſt, that he muſt take ſome time to reſt himſelf, and lay in fewel for a future work (*k*). Indeed, conſidering the variety of his beautiful eſſays and ſpeculations, in the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian, it is not ſurpriſing that his ſtock of matter ſhould be ſomewhat exhauſted. Dr. Swift, who uſually ſpeaks of him in the moſt honourable terms, aſſerts, that he kept him in his employment under Lord Oxford's miniſtry, and that he recommended him to that nobleman. The Earl of Oxford would, no doubt, have rejoiced in ſuch an acquiſition; but this muſt have been rendered impoſſible, by Mr. Addiſon's attachment both to his principles and his friends. A remarkable teſtimony of his general popularity is afforded by Dr. Swift, in a letter to Stella, of October the 12th, 1710: "Mr. Addiſon's election, ſays he, "has paſſed eaſy and undiſputed; and, I believe, if he had a mind to be choſen King, "he would hardly be refuſed." A cordial friendſhip appears to have ſubſiſted between him and Dr. Swift; with the interruption, however, for a ſhort time, of ſome little reſerve, on account of their different political engagements. Mr. Addiſon's laſt letter to the Dean of St. Patrick's, ſtrongly diſplays the liberality and candour of his temper, and the ſincerity of his regard to the Dean in particular (*l*) [*T*]. A very late writer informs us,

(*f*) In this we have been obligingly aſſiſted by a letter from Oxford, and by Mr. Reed of Staple's Inn.

(*g*) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 257, 258.

(*h*) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 338, 339.

(*i*) Warton's Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 153.

(*k*) Letters by ſeveral eminent Perſons deceaſed, publiſhed by the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, Vol. i. p. 116—122. Second Edition.

(*l*) Swift's Works, 24*to*. Vol. xiv. p. 54. Vol. xv. p. 39. Vol. xxii. p. 42. Vol. xii. p. 105—109. Vol. xv. p. 24. Vol. xxii. p. 59. 176. Vol. xx. p. 152.

'this author, *i. e.* Pope, from obſcurity, obtained 'him the acquaintance and friendſhip of the 'whole body of our nobility, and transferred his 'powerful intereſt with thoſe great men to this 'riſing bard, who frequently levied by that means 'unuſual contributions on the Public.——— No 'ſooner was his body lifeleſs, but this author, re-'viving his reſentment, libelled the memory of his 'departed friend; and, what was ſtill more hei-'nous, made the ſcandal public (67).' In anſwer to this, it is ſaid, that the whole is falſe; that Mr. Addiſon never introduced Mr. Pope to any nobleman, or procured him the ſubſcription of one gentleman. As to the libel, perſons of integrity are appealed to, who ſaw and approved the foregoing verſes, in no wiſe a libel, but a friendly rebuke, ſent in the author's own hand to Mr. Addiſon himſelf, and never made public by him, until printed by Curl and others (68). There is indeed, a letter of the Biſhop of Rocheſter's extant, wherein theſe verſes are highly commended, but this is ſeven years after Mr. Addiſon's death (69); and there is another letter of Mr. Pope's to Mr. Craggs, written near four years before Mr. Addiſon's death, wherein moſt of the ſame thoughts appear in proſe (70.) C.

(67) June 8, 1728.

(68) Pope's Works, Vol. iv. p. 51.

(69) *Ibid.* p. 197.

(70) *Ibid.* p. 84.

[*T*] *The ſincerity of his regard to the Dean in particular.*] This letter, as it places Mr. Addiſon's temper in a very agreeable point of view, we ſhall inſert. 'Briſtol, October 1, 1718. Dear Sir, I 'have received the honour of your letter at *Briſtol*, 'where I have juſt finiſhed a courſe of water-drinking, which I hope has pretty well recovered me 'from the leavings of my laſt winter's ſickneſs. 'As for the ſubject of your letter, though you know 'an affair of that nature cannot well nor ſafely be 'truſted in writing, I deſired a friend of mine to 'acquaint Sir *Ralph Gore*, that I was under a pre-'engagement, and not at my own choice to act in 'it; and have ſince troubled my Lady *Aſhe* with a 'letter to the ſame effect, which I hope has not 'miſcarried. However, upon my return to London, I will farther inquire into that matter, and 'ſee if there is any room left me to negociate as 'you propoſe.

'I ſtill live in hopes of ſeeing you in England; 'and if you would take my houſe at Bilton in your 'way (it lies upon the road within a mile of '*Rugby*), I would ſtrive hard to meet you there, 'provided you would make me happy in your 'company for ſome days. The greateſt pleaſure I 'have met with for ſome months, is in the converſation of my old friend Dr. Smalridge, who, 'ſince the death of the excellent man you mention (71), is to me the moſt candid and agreeable 'of all Biſhops; I would ſay Clergymen, were not 'Deans comprehended under that title. We have 'often talked of you; and when I aſſure you he has 'an exquiſite taſte of writing, I need not tell you 'how he talks on ſuch a ſubject. I look upon 'it as my good fortune, that I can expreſs my 'eſteem of you, even to thoſe who are not of the 'Biſhop's party, without giving offence. When a 'man has ſo much compaſs in his character, he 'affords his friends topics enough to enlarge upon, 'that all ſides admire. I am ſure a zealous friendly 'behaviour diſtinguiſhes you as much as your many 'more ſhining talents; and as I have received particular inſtances of it, you muſt have a very bad 'opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love 'and reſpect you; and that I am ever, dear Sir, 'your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

J. ADDISON (72).'

(71) Dr. St. George Aſhe, Biſhop of Derry.

(72) Swift's Works, Vol. xx. p. 152.

us, that when Lord Guernſey, during the debates on the Bill for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, moved for a clauſe to be added to the Bill, to oblige every perſon who took the abjuration oath to acknowledge the divine inſpiration of the Bible, and the doctrine of the Trinity, he was ſupported in his motion by Mr. Addiſon; but upon what authority this aſſertion is grounded doth not appear (*m*) [*U*]. Dr. Young hath related a beautiful circumſtance concerning Mr. Addiſon's behaviour at the approach of death; and the fact is ſo remarkable, that we ſhall give it in the author's own words. "After a long and manly, but vain ſtruggle with his diſtemper, he diſmiſſed his phy- "ſicians, and with them all hopes of life. But with his hopes of life he diſmiſſed not "his concern for the living, but ſent for a youth nearly related, and finely accompliſhed, "but not above being the better for good impreſſions from a dying friend. He came; "but life now glimmering in the ſocket, the dying friend was ſilent: after a decent "and proper pauſe, the youth ſaid, "Dear Sir! you ſent for me: I believe and hope "that you have ſome commands; I ſhall hold them moſt ſacred." May diſtant ages "not only hear, but feel, the reply! Forcibly graſping the youth's hand, he ſoftly "ſaid, "See in what peace a Chriſtian can die." He ſpoke with difficulty, and ſoon "expired (*n*)."

(*m*) Maty's Memoirs of Lord Cheſterfield, p. 28. 276, 277.

(*n*) Young's Conjectures on original Compoſition, Vol. v. of his Works, p. 136, 12*mo* Edition. Monthly Review, Vol. xx. p. 506, 507.

Though there are not many new particulars to be met with, in relation to the general tranſactions of Mr. Addiſon's life, yet much hath been ſaid concerning him ſince the preceding article was written; and there hath appeared, of late, a tendency to depreciate his merit. His perſonal character has, in ſome degree, been attacked; and eſpecially with regard to his conduct to Mr. Pope [*W*]. His eminence as a poet

[*X*]

[*U*] *Upon what authority this aſſertion is grounded doth not appear.*] On the 13th of December 1718, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, by Earl Stanhope, intitled, "An Act for ſtrengthen- "ing the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe kingdoms;" the deſign of which was to repeal the occaſional Conformity and Schiſm Bills; the firſt of which had been enacted in the 10th, and the other in the 12th year of Queen Anne's reign. After warm debates, it paſſed the Houſe of Lords, on the 23d of December, and was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons (73). When it came to be conſidered in that Houſe, on the 7th of January 1718-19, it was there as warmly debated; and on the 9th of January, when the Houſe went into a Committee on the Bill, Lord Guernſey moved, "That it be an inſtruction "to the ſaid Committee, that they have power to "receive a Clauſe, that any perſon when he comes "to take the oath of Abjuration, and other oaths, "ſubſequent to his receiving the Sacrament in "order to his qualification, ſhall acknowledge that "the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſta- "ment were given by Divine Inſpiration, and ſhall "acknowledge his firm faith and belief in the ever "bleſſed Trinity." The previous queſtion being put on this motion, it paſſed in the negative, by a majority of ninety voices; ſeveral members, who oppoſed the Bill in general, having diſapproved of Lord Guernſey's amendment (74). Mr. Addiſon was one of the members who divided for the Bill, on the 7th of January; and his not voting againſt Lord Guernſey's motion might ariſe from his abſence. This will be eſteemed the more probable, when we reflect upon the ſtate of his health. His attendance in the firſt day's debate, on which the ſucceſs of the cauſe depended, was, in all likelihood, as much as his ſtrength could bear. Beſides, as Lord Guernſey's motion was evidently deſigned to obſtruct and ruin the Bill, Mr. Addiſon, in joining with his Lordſhip, muſt have endeavoured to prevent the paſſing of an Act, which he himſelf, but two days before, had approved of, and ſupported. He muſt, at the ſame time, have acted contrary to the liberal principles which he had always maintained, contrary to his political connections, contrary to all thoſe friends of his, in both Houſes, with whom he had ever, in ſentiments and affection, been firmly united. Unleſs, therefore, better evidence be produced, for the fact aſſerted by Dr. Maty, than hath yet appeared to us, we can by no means admit of its truth. The Doctor probably was led into an error, by too ſuperficial an examination of the liſt of members who voted for and againſt the Bill, which is inſerted in the Appendix to the eighth volume of the Commons Debates, publiſhed by Chandler.

(73) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. iii. p. 99—110. Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. iv. p. 55—64.

(74) Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. vi. p. 191—193. Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. xliv. p. 66—68.

[*W*] *His perſonal character, &c. has been attacked, and eſpecially with regard to his conduct to Mr. Pope.*] Mr. Ruffhead has treated Mr. Addiſon's memory with great ſeverity as a party writer. 'His mode- 'ration in party, ſays this author, appears to have 'been all affected; though he uſed to talk much of 'it, and often recommended it to *Mr. Pope*, add- 'ing, that he ought not to be contented with the 'applauſe of half a nation. He uſed to blame 'Steele greatly for being too much a party-man; 'and yet, when he found himſelf that he was likely 'to promote his intereſt by party-attachments, he 'entered into them with a zeal which does his 'memory no credit: for this man of moderate prin- 'ciples became the champion of a faction, and did 'not ſcruple to pen the Freeholder (75).' The folly of this charge would only excite contempt, if the malignity of it did not demand indignation. Mr. Addiſon was, from principle, always warmly attached to the free conſtitution of his country, as ſettled by the Revolution, and ſecured by the Hanover ſucceſſion. When he took up his pen in this cauſe, he appears to have written from the heart, and not from a view to perſonal intereſt. At the time in which he began the Freeholder, there was a rebellion in the nation, that threatened the deſtruction of the government, and with it the deſtruction of our civil and religious liberties. By exerting himſelf, therefore, in their defence, he ſhewed himſelf not to be the champion of a party, but the champion of the Public. He ſupported that ſyſtem by which the Engliſh poſſeſs their moſt valuable rights, and by which the preſent King holds his crown.

(75) Ruffhead's Life of Pope, p. 142, Note.

Sir John Hawkins, in his Hiſtory of Muſic, hath, likewiſe, thought proper to treat Mr. Addiſon with no ſmall degree of contempt. The Knight informs us that, 'In conſequence of an opinion that men 'poſſeſſed of a talent for poetry, were beſt qualified 'for public employments, Mr. Addiſon was made 'Secretary of State; Prior was Secretary to the 'Engliſh Plenipotentiaries at the Hague, after that 'Under-Secretary of State, and, laſtly, a Lord of 'Trade; and Congreve, Stepney, Steele, and 'others, had ſeats at ſome of the Public Boards. 'The error of this opinion was evinced in the caſe 'of Mr. Addiſon, who, with all thoſe talents for 'which he is juſtly celebrated, not only made a 'very mean figure in the office of Secretary of 'State, but ſhewed himſelf to be as little fit for 'active life, as an exceſs of timidity, even to 'ſheepiſhneſs, could render a man. Though a 'Miniſter, he attempted to ſpeak in the Houſe of 'Commons, but was not able to do it, and was 'very deſervedly removed to make way for one that 'could. Dr. Mandeville, the author of the Fable 'of the Bees, who, though of very bad principles, 'was a man of underſtanding, and that knew the 'world, was very frequently with the Lord Chief 'Juſtice Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, 'whom Mr. Addiſon viſited, and expreſſed to the 'Chief Juſtice a deſire to meet him. His Lordſhip 'brought

[X] and a critic [Y], hath been diminiſhed, and many occaſional ſtrictures have been made upon his works [Z]. But, notwithſtanding the ſeveral things which have been advanced,

‘ brought them together, and, after an evening's ‘ converſation, aſked the Doctor what was his ‘ opinion of Mr. Addiſon, " I think," anſwered ‘ the Doctor, " He is a Parſon in a tye-wig (76)." As to the poets, in general, here mentioned, we ſhall content ourſelves, at preſent, with aſking Sir John Hawkins, whether he thinks that his having applied himſelf, for more than thirty years, to the preparing and writing of his Hiſtory of Muſic, hath rendered him unfit for public buſineſs? With regard to Mr. Addiſon, the account given is extremely unjuſt; for he was gradually trained up to a qualification for the ſeveral employments in which he was engaged. It appears that Lord Somers and Lord Halifax intended him for the ſervice of the ſtate, when they ſent him out to travel; nor would his travelling be an unſuitable preparation for that ſervice. In Queen Anne's reign, he was Commiſſioner of Appeals, attended lord Halifax to Hanover, was Under-Secretary to Sir Charles Hedges and the Earl of Sunderland, Secretaries of State, and Principal Secretary to the Marquis of Wharton, when that nobleman was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. After the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, Mr. Addiſon was ſucceſſively appointed Secretary to the Lords Juſtices, Secretary to the Earl of Sunderland as Lieutenant of Ireland, and one of the Lords of Trade. All theſe ſeveral employments ſhew, that he was regularly formed to public buſineſs; and no charge hath been produced againſt him, of a want of ſufficiency in any of the departments we have mentioned. Lord Sunderland, who muſt have well known what were Mr. Addiſon's talents for active life, wiſhed him to have been Secretary of State immediately upon King George the Firſt's coming to the crown; but he modeſtly declined that office, on account of his deficiency as a parliamentary ſpeaker. When he came to be Secretary of State, not to inſiſt upon the experience he had acquired in his many employments, he muſt, by his knowledge of the modern languages, and his readineſs and elegance of compoſition, have been admirably qualified for one moſt important part of his duty, the writing of diſpatches. There is no authority for ſaying, as Sir John Hawkins hath done, that he made a very mean figure in his office; and that he was unfitted for active life, by an exceſs of timidity, even to ſheepiſhneſs. The aſſertion appears to be equally groundleſs, that he was removed to make room for a perſon who could ſpeak in the Houſe of Commons. The real cauſe of his removal was his declining ſtate of health, which rendered him incapable of going through the fatigues of his employment. Mr. Tickell aſſures us, that on this account, Mr. Addiſon begged his Majeſty's leave to reſign. And that he was not turned out, or gave up his place in diſguſt, will be apparent, if we conſider the circumſtances attending his reſignation. This event happened in March 1717-18, when the Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Viſcount Stanhope exchanged their departments in Government; the former becoming firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and the other Secretary of State. Now with both theſe noblemen, and eſpecially with Lord Sunderland, Mr. Addiſon had always been very particularly connected. Mr. Craggs alſo, to whom he reſigned his office, was his moſt intimate friend. It was not likely, therefore, that theſe three eminent perſons ſhould concur to put an affront upon a man, for whom they entertained the higheſt regard. That his reſignation was perfectly voluntary, is evident, from his afterwards zealouſly ſupporting, in the Houſe of Commons, the Miniſtry which then took place; and, above all, from the dying dedication of his works to Mr. Craggs, in which he expreſſes a ſincerity and ardour of affection which could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted, if he had been treated in the manner repreſented by Sir John Hawkins. It was, no doubt, a diſadvantage, that Mr. Addiſon had not a courage and readineſs for ſpeaking in Parliament. But that defect might have been ſupplied, as it had heretofore been, by Mr. Craggs and other Members, if the bad ſtate of his health had not obliged him to retire.

(76) Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. v p. 315, 316. Note.

As to the ſtory related by Sir John Hawkins, concerning Dr. Mandeville's interview with Mr. Addiſon, it were to be wiſhed that our muſical Knight had given us his authority for it. If the ſtory be true, it is, ſurely, no great reflection upon Mr. Addiſon, that he had a certain degree of reſerve and diffidence in his temper. Where he was free and open, we learn from an unexceptionable witneſs (Sir Richard Steele), that he was a moſt delightful companion. Had he been leſs modeſt and baſhful to ſtrangers than we have reaſon to think he was, he might not, perhaps, have choſen to be very cordial with Dr. Mandeville, whoſe principles and character he muſt have diſliked. The Doctor's reply to Lord Macclesfield, if a fact, indicates the ſarcaſtic turn of mind for which he was diſtinguiſhed, and it may paſs well enough as a ſmart ſaying; but ſeriouſly to relate it to the diſadvantage of Mr. Addiſon, does no credit to Sir John Hawkins. A writer, who can throw out ſuch indigeſted aſſertions to the diſparagement of exalted characters, cannot himſelf expect to be exempted from ſevere reprehenſion. It is not meant, however, to caſt a cenſure on Sir John Hawkins's work in general; which doubtleſs contains much uſeful information with regard to the Hiſtory of Muſic, and ſome biographical matter, from whence we ſhall derive advantage in the courſe of our undertaking.

But the grand charge which hath been produced againſt Mr. Addiſon, is his conduct to Mr. Pope; with regard to whom he is repreſented as having exerciſed a great deal of jealouſy, envy, and malevolence. Dr. Warton, two or three times, expreſſes the ill opinion which he entertained of him in this view (77). Cibber, in his lives of the poets, has related the quarrel between Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Pope, highly to the prejudice of the former (78). But the perſon who hath brought the moſt direct, full, and circumſtantial accuſation againſt him, is Mr. Ruffhead; whoſe charge, if true, would convict him of having been guilty of the greateſt baſeneſs and malignity (79). Mr. Addiſon's general character was ſo amiable, that we have always been hurt at the unfavourable accounts given of him, and have been willing to hope that they were carried to an exceſs. And we are now happy in having the difference between him and Mr. Pope very fully diſcuſſed by a gentleman of conſiderable rank, to whom the Public is obliged for works of much higher importance; but who, at a leiſure hour, hath favoured us with the following excellent paper.

(77) Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 29, 30. 100. 159, 160. Third Edition.
(78) Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. p. 229—235.
(79) Ruffhead's Life of Pope, p. 184—193.

‘ The quarrel between Mr. Addiſon and Mr. ‘ Pope, like others of the ſame kind, would de- ‘ ſervedly have fallen into oblivion, had it not been ‘ perpetuated by Mr. Pope's ſatyric muſe. And the ‘ true grounds of it will probably never be cleared ‘ up to the entire ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive Pub- ‘ lic, as one of the parties had been dead many ‘ years before any of the particulars were divulged, ‘ and thoſe which are now given us come only from ‘ Mr. Pope himſelf. For neither the Biſhop of ‘ Gloceſter himſelf, nor the digeſter of his materials, ‘ Mr. Ruffhead, could have any perſonal knowledge ‘ of the circumſtances of that tranſaction.

‘ The firſt notice we find of it in print is in that ‘ bitter but elegant character of Atticus, which was ‘ written (we are told) in Mr. Addiſon's lifetime, ‘ and ſent privately to him in manuſcript in the year ‘ 1715; but was certainly not made public till two ‘ years after his death; was afterwards printed in ‘ Mr. Pope's Miſcellanies; and finally ingrafted in- ‘ to his epiſtle to Dr. Arbuthnot in 1733. The ‘ cauſe is obſcurely glanced at in letters, and ſcraps ‘ of letters, publiſhed by Mr. Pope in his corre- ‘ ſpondence; was more openly avowed in Mr. War- ‘ burton's notes on the epiſtle to Arbuthnot, verſe ‘ 193, which were publiſhed in 1752; and the ‘ whole was drawn up into a regular charge, by Mr. ‘ Ruffhead in his life of Mr. Pope, printed 1769 ‘ (80).

(80) Pages 184—193, 8vo.

‘ The

vanced, in order to leſſen him in the public opinion, he will always be held in the higheſt eſtimation, as an amiable and excellent man in private life; as one of the brighteſt

' The account given is ſhortly this: " That Mr. " Addiſon's and Mr. Pope's friendſhip commenced " in 1713, and continued for ſome time with re- " ciprocal eſteem and affection; that during this " period the tranſlation of the Iliad was ſet on foot, " and the ſubſcription promoted by Mr. Addiſon; " and on the other hand Mr. Pope defended his " friend againſt the brutal attack of Dennis. " At length Addiſon became jealous of Pope's ge- " nius, and encouraged Philips to aſperſe his cha- " racter with reſpect to his political connections; " and *ſoon after* his jealouſy diſcovered itſelf by a " very peculiar circumſtance. For upon Pope's " adviſing with Mr. Addiſon about altering the " Rape of the Lock by inſerting the machinery, he " diſſuaded him from ſo noble an improvement. " That this circumſtance firſt opened Mr. Pope's " eyes with regard to the real character of his " friend; and his ſuſpicions were *ſoon after* con- " firmed by the publication of Mr. Tickell's tranſ- " lation of the firſt Book of Homer, in oppoſition " to Mr. Pope's, which he was fully convinced, " from many odd concurring circumſtances, was " indeed Mr. Addiſon's own performance. That " *this* occaſioned an open breach between Mr. Ad- " diſon and Mr. Pope, which Mr. Jervas and other " common friends endeavoured to reconcile; but " that Mr. Addiſon's unbecoming behaviour and " cool contempt, at an interview between them, " attended by Sir Richard Steele and Mr. Gay, " rendered a reconciliation impracticable. That " Mr. Pope, while yet warm with this provocation, " wrote the character above mentioned of Mr. " Addiſon. That, *about this time*, the Earl of War- " wick, Mr. Addiſon's ſon-in-law, told Mr. Pope, " that it was in vain to think of being well with his " father; who was naturally a jealous man, and " was hurt by Mr. Pope's ſuperior talents in poetry " to ſuch a degree, that he had ſecretly encouraged " Gildon to write ſomething about Wycherley, in " which he had taken occaſion to abuſe Mr. Pope, " and his family, in a virulent manner, and that " Mr. Addiſon paid him ten guineas as the wages " of his ſcurrility. That the next morning, after " he had received this information, he wrote Mr. " Addiſon an expoſtulatory letter, in which he in- " cloſed the verſes containing his character; which " had ſo good an effect upon him, that, from that " period to the time of his death, he always treated " Mr. Pope with civility, and (as he believed) with " juſtice."

' If this account, and eſpecially the latter part of ' it, be founded in truth, Mr. Addiſon very juſtly ' deſerved that ſeverity with which his memory has ' been treated by Mr. Pope and his profeſſed pane- ' gyriſts. But in juſtice to a character ſo amiable as ' that of Mr. Addiſon, now unable to vindicate ' himſelf, we may be allowed to ſuſpend our belief ' of it, till the accuſation is better proved; eſpe- ' cially as it is evident from dates and facts, chiefly ' extant in Mr. Pope's own works, (but which his ' Biographer has ſtrangely miſplaced and confound- ' ed) that the account given by Mr. Ruffhead can- ' not poſſibly be altogether true, and is hardly ac- ' curate in a ſingle particular.

' It may be doubted whether the acquaintance ' between Addiſon and Pope did not commence as ' early as 1712. For Steele promiſed to bring them ' acquainted in February 1711-12 (81). And we ' find Mr. Addiſon, in October 1712 (82), warmly ' recommending Mr. Pope to the world as a riſing ' genius; and in the ſucceeding month adviſing his ' publication of the Temple of Fame (83). This ' acquaintance was probably improved into friend- ' ſhip by Mr. Pope's writing the prologue to Cato, ' in April 1713. And as in the ſame year 1713, ' the improved edition of the Rape of the Lock was ' publiſhed (84), Mr. Addiſon's ſuppoſed advice, ' diſcouraging the propoſed alterations, muſt therefore ' have been given in the very infancy and not at the ' cloſe of their friendſhip. If he gave ſuch advice, it ' was probably his real opinion. He might think it ' dangerous to tamper with ſo beautiful a poem as ' the original, and had perhaps no conception of ' the art and ingenuity with which Mr. Pope was ' able to interweave the machinery, without break- ' ing the unity of deſign. It is not ſuggeſted that ' Mr. Addiſon diſliked the improvement when made, ' or diſſuaded him from publiſhing the poem in ſuch ' its improved ſtate; which might have been a rea- ' ſonable ground of ſuſpicion. But ſo trifling a ' circumſtance as the difference of opinion upon the ' propriety of the hint when firſt ſtarted, could ne- ' ver be of itſelf ſufficient to open Mr. Pope's eyes, ' and mark Mr. Addiſon's character as a compound ' of meanneſs and jealouſy.

' Indeed, it is plain that Mr. Pope at the time ' thought otherwiſe, or elſe was himſelf inſincere. ' He drew his pen in defence of Cato in 1713, by ' writing a narration of John Dennis's Frenzy, con- ' trary to the wiſh of Mr. Addiſon (who diſapproved ' ſo illiberal an attack), and publiſhed it, though ' againſt his conſent (85). And his letters to Mr. ' Addiſon in October, November, December, and ' January following (which muſt have been written ' after his eyes are thus ſaid to have been opened), ' are full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of friendſhip ' and confidence. He then intruſted to this man ' (whoſe jealouſy he perceived had been raiſed by ' the very mention of the ſylphs and the gnomes) ' his original deſign of tranſlating and commenting ' upon Homer. Mr. Addiſon (who it ſeems did not ' think Achilles half ſo formidable as Ariel in the ' hands of his poetical rival) received this de- ' ſign with great warmth of encouragement, and he ' was the firſt whoſe advice determined Mr. Pope to ' undertake that taſk (86). He alſo preſſed him to ' turn it to the beſt pecuniary advantage, and for ' that purpoſe to avoid engaging in any party diſ- ' putes; into which he feared he might be drawn ' by his intimacy with Dr. Swift, and the atten- ' tion paid him by many of the Tory Miniſtry. ' The ſuſpicions, if any, which Mr. Pope enter- ' tained of Mr. Addiſon's ſincerity, from his advice ' about the Rape of the Lock, had ſurely by this ' time ſubſided; as indeed they might well do, if ' nothing happened to *confirm* them till the publica- ' tion of Mr. Tickell's Homer; which, inſtead of ' being *ſoon*, was not till about *two* years after.

' In the mean time, a quarrel broke out between ' Mr. Pope and Ambroſe Philips; which involved ' Mr. Addiſon in its conſequences, and put a period to ' the cordiality of their friendſhip. Stung with the ' reputation which Philips had acquired as a writer ' of paſtorals, Pope wrote an ironical paper in the ' Guardian, April 27th, 1713, in ridicule of Phi- ' lips. Mr. Addiſon immediately perceived the ' drift of it, and joined with Mr. Pope in the ' laugh; but Steele underſtood and publiſhed it as ' a ſerious panegyric upon his friend. When the ' jeſt was diſcovered, Philips ſeems to have been ' outrageouſly angry, and to have harboured a deep ' reſentment. For in the ſpring of 1714, he took ' occaſion to abuſe Mr. Pope at Button's Coffee- ' houſe as a Tory, and one united with Dr. Swift to ' write againſt the Whig intereſt, and undermine ' the reputation of himſelf, Steele, and Addiſon. ' Addiſon upon this came to Pope, and aſſured him ' of his diſbelief of this idle ſtory, and hoped their ' friendſhip would ſtill continue (87). Yet he ſeems ' to have been ſomewhat ſtaggered in reſpect to Mr. ' Pope's party attachments, againſt which he had ' cautioned him more than once in the preceding ' year (88); and a coolneſs certainly enſued, which ' continued for ſeveral months. During this eſtrange- ' ment, the interview mentioned by Mr. Ruffhead ' (89), is more likely to have happened than at the ' period in which he places it, the latter end of the ' year 1715; when in reality there was no rupture ' between them. Mr. Pope, it is confeſſed by his ' Biographer, conducted himſelf at this interview ' with great impetuoſity and warmth; and Mr. Ad- ' diſon, who was of a colder conſtitution, and much ' Mr. Pope's ſuperior both in age and ſtation, might ' poſſibly behave with too much *hauteur* and reſerve. ' But that he harboured no malice againſt him, ap- ' pears from his ſubſequent conduct.

' For the ſudden revolution in politics that hap- ' pened at the death of Queen Anne, and brought ' Mr. Addiſon and his friends into power and office, ' moſt

(81) Additions to Pope's Works, Vol. ii. p. 112.
(82) Spectator, No. 523.
(83) Letters to Steele, 16 Nov. 1712.
(84) Notes on the Lock, ver. 1. Trumbull's Letter, 6th March, 1713. Dean Berkeley's, 1ſt of May, 1714.
(85) Pope to Addiſon, 30th July, 1713. Steele to Lintot, 4th Aug. 1713. Additions, Vol. ii. p. 104.
(86) Preface to Pope's Iliad.
(87) Letter to the Hon. ——, 8th June, 1714.
(88) Letter, Nov. 2d, 1713.
(89) Page 191.

brighteſt ornaments of, perhaps, the fineſt age of Engliſh literature; as one who greatly contributed to the ſpreading of good ſenſe and good taſte in the nation; as one of

moſt certainly gave him an opportunity of mortifying, if not cruſhing, his competitor, in caſe he had been mean enough to wiſh it. On the contrary, from that inſtant, he was inclined to forget all animoſities, and offered his ſervices, nay his intereſt at court to Mr. Pope (90); to which he returned a very waſpiſh and diſdainful anſwer (91): but however, in a few weeks afterwards, Pope ſoftened his tone, and wrote a more complaiſant letter to Mr. Addiſon himſelf, yet mixed with ſome diſtruſt and reſentment (92). Civilities upon this were again renewed between them; inſomuch that, in April 1715, we find Mr. Pope going to Mr. Jervas's, on purpoſe to meet Mr. Addiſon (93); and in the ſame year he wrote his panegyrical epiſtle in verſe, to be prefixed to Mr. Addiſon's Dialogues on Medals.

(90) Letter from Jervas, 20th Aug. 1714.

(91) 27th Aug. 1714.

(92) 10th Oct. 1714.

(93) Gay to Congreve, 7th April, 1715.

At length the great and inexpiable offence was given by Mr. Addiſon to Mr. Pope, by permitting Mr. Tickell, his dependant, and afterwards his under-ſecretary, to publiſh a tranſlation of the firſt Book of the Iliad in the beginning of June 1715, juſt at the time when the firſt volume of Mr. Pope's work was delivered to his ſubſcribers. Whether this book was tranſlated by Mr. Addiſon himſelf in his younger days, or whether he only reviſed and corrected Mr. Tickell's performance, cannot be pronounced with certainty; unleſs the Public were in poſſeſſion of thoſe *odd concurring circumſtances* which convinced Mr. Pope himſelf, that it was Mr. Addiſon's own tranſlation; though he certainly thought otherwiſe, when he penned the character of Atticus (94). To apologize for its publication at ſo critical a juncture, the following advertiſement was prefixed by Mr. Tickell, though that circumſtance was induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed in all Mr. Pope's publications on the ſubject: "I "muſt inform the Reader, that when I began this "firſt book, I had ſome thoughts of tranſlating the "whole Iliad; but I had the pleaſure of being di"verted from that deſign, by finding the work was "fallen into a much abler hand. I would not "therefore be thought to have any other view in "publiſhing this ſmall ſpecimen of Homer's Iliad, "than to beſpeak (if poſſible) the favour of the Pub"lic to a tranſlation of Homer's Odyſeis, wherein "I have already made ſome progreſs."

(94) "Who when two Wits on rival themes conteſt,
"Approves of both, but likes the worſt the beſt."

Whether, on the ſuppoſition that the ſpecimen was Mr. Addiſon's own (and it is not unworthy of him), he choſe to indulge the vanity of an author, by ſhewing how well he could have performed the whole; or whether (ſuppoſing it Mr. Tickell's, whom he loved and patronized with all the affection of a father) he really meant to have conferred on him a pecuniary obligation by promoting a ſubſcription for his Odyſſey, as he had before done (95) for Mr. Pope's Iliad; it muſt be acknowledged, that in either caſe the publication was indiſcreet and ill-timed. It is true, that Mr. Pope's finances could not now be materially affected, had the Public decided in favour of Tickell's tranſlation; for his ſubſcription was full, and his contract with Lintot was complete. But it certainly bore too much the appearance of rivalſhip and competition; and was, in either light, a weakneſs below Mr. Addiſon's ſtation and character. It is not to be wondered at therefore, that a man of ſo irritable a diſpoſition as Mr. Pope is acknowledged to have been, was hurt beyond meaſure by this tranſaction; and it is probable, that the character of Atticus was written in the heat of his reſentment on this occaſion; as he expreſſed the very ſame ſentiments to Mr. Craggs in his letter of 15th July 1715. But it does not appear (as Mr. Ruffhead aſſerts) that there was any open breach between Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Pope upon *this* occaſion; and Pope expreſsly tells Craggs theſe was none. Had any ſuch happened; and had Mr. Addiſon then ſhewn the temper aſcribed to him by Mr. Pope's Biographer, he would hardly, in the Freeholder of May 7, 1716, have beſtowed ſuch encomiums on Mr. Pope's tranſlation of the Iliad.

(95) Ruffhead, p. 185.

Upon the whole, however Mr. Pope may be excuſable for penning ſuch a character of his friend in the firſt tranſports of poetical indignation, it reflects no great honour on his feelings to have kept it in petto for ſix years, till after the death of Mr. Addiſon, and then to permit its publication (whether by recital or copy makes no material difference) (96); and at length, at the diſtance of 18 years, hand it down to poſterity ingrafted into one of his capital productions. Nothing ſurely could juſtify ſo long and ſo deep a reſentment, unleſs the ſtory be true of the commerce between Addiſon and Gildon; which will require to be very fully proved, before it can be believed of a gentleman who was ſo amiable in his moral character, and who (in his own caſe) had two years before expreſsly diſapproved of a perſonal abuſe upon Mr. Dennis. The perſon indeed from whom Mr. Pope is ſaid to have received this anecdote, about the time of his writing the character (viz. about July 1715), was no other than the Earl of Warwick, ſon-in-law to Mr. Addiſon himſelf. And the Something about Wycherley, (in which the ſtory ſuppoſes that Addiſon hired Gildon to abuſe Pope and his family) is explained by a note on the Dunciad, I. 296, to mean a pamphlet containing Mr. Wycherley's Life. Now it happens that, in July 1715, the Earl of Warwick (who died at the age of twenty-three in Auguſt 1721) was only a boy of ſeventeen, and not likely to be entruſted with ſuch a ſecret by a ſtateſman between forty and fifty, with whom it does not appear he was anyway connected or acquainted. For Mr. Addiſon was not married to his mother the Counteſs of Warwick till the following year 1716. Nor could Gildon have been employed in July 1715 to write Mr. Wycherley's Life, who lived till the December following. As therefore ſo many inconſiſtencies are evident in the ſtory itſelf, which never found its way into print till near ſixty years after it is ſaid to have happened, it will be no breach of charity to ſuppoſe that the whole of it was founded on ſome miſapprehenſion in either Mr. Pope or the Earl; and unleſs better proof can be given, we ſhall readily acquit Mr. Addiſon of this the moſt odious part of the charge.'

(96) Biſhop Atterbury's Letter, 26 Feb. 1721-2.

[*X*] *As a poet.*] For a time he was highly extolled in this reſpect; but of late his reputation hath been much upon the decline. The ingenious Dr. Warton, however, places him in the ſecond claſs of our poetical authors; Spenſer, Shakeſpear, and Milton conſtituting the firſt; and joins him with Dryden, Prior, Cowley, Waller, Garth, Fenton, Gay, Denham, and Parnell (97). But other writers ſeem diſpoſed to aſſign a much lower rank to Mr. Addiſon. The late Mr. Gilbert Cooper, in his Letters concerning Taſte, hath aſſerted, that he was a very indifferent critic, and a worſe poet. He allows that Mr. Addiſon 'tranſlated the poetical deſcriptions of Ovid very elegantly and faithfully into his own language;' but then he adds, that 'he fell infinitely ſhort of them in his original compoſitions, for want of that *unconſtrained* fire of imagination, which conſtitutes a true Poet. Hence, he ſays, we may be enabled to account for the peculiar fatality which attends Mr. Addiſon's poetical writings, that his tranſlations ſeem originals, while his own compoſitions have the confined air of tranſlations (98).' In vindication of theſe remarks, Mr. Cooper afterwards analyſes two of Mr. Addiſon's ſimiles, that of the Angel in the Campaign, and another at the concluſion of the firſt act of Cato. With regard to theſe ſimiles, he obſerves, 'that both betray a great poverty of imagination, by an inſipid repetition of one thought in different expreſſions. To begin then with the celebrated ſimile of the *Campaign*, which, for half a century, has been undiſtinguiſhingly admired.

(97) Warton on the Genius and Writings of Pope, Dedication, p. 11, 12.

(98) Letters concerning Taſte, p. 28, 29. Fourth Edition.

'So when an Angel by divine command,
'*With riſing tempeſts ſhakes a guilty land*,
'Such as of late o'er pale Britannia paſt,
'Calm and ſerene he guides the furious blaſt;
'And, pleas'd th' ALMIGHTY's orders to perform,
'Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the ſtorm.

of our moſt eaſy, elegant, and graceful writers; as having been ſingularly beautiful in his allegorical papers, and admirable for the vein of humour which runs through many of his compoſitions [*AA*].]

ADRIAN

'Now take the ſecond line of each couplet, and 'examine whether the thought is varied. Is not 'ſhaking a guilty land with *the riſing tempeſt*, and '*directing* the ſtorm, and *guiding the furious blaſt*, 'the ſame action? Is not acting by divine com-'mand, in the firſt verſe, and performing the Al-'mighty's orders in the fifth, the ſame thought 'likewiſe? Marcia's ſimile in *Cato* abounds ſtill 'more with this tireſome tautology:

'So the pure limpid ſtream, when foul with ſtains,
'Of ruſhing torrents, and deſcending rains,
'Works itſelf clear, and as it runs refines.

'*Of ruſhing torrents, and deſcending rains, works* (99) *Ibid.* p. 32. 34. '*itſelf clear, and as it runs refines* (99)!'

Not to enter minutely into this criticiſm, we ſhall content ourſelves with remarking, that the repetitions complained of, do not deſtroy the general merit of the compariſons. Both of the ſimiles are beautiful; and that of the Angel is ſublime in the conception, whatever inaccuracy there may be in the expreſſion. It muſt be allowed, that Mr. Addiſon is ſometimes tautological in his language; and Dr. Campbell hath juſtly pointed out another inſtance of it, in the two firſt lines of the tragedy of Cato (100). But to conclude, as Mr. Cooper hath done, that Mr. Addiſon had no right to a pretenſion of being a good poet (101), is carrying the matter farther than good ſenſe and ſound criticiſm will warrant.

(100) Campbell's Philoſophy of Rhetoric, Vol. ii. p. 273.
(101) Cooper, ubi ſupra, p. 34.

It muſt not be concealed, that Mr. Addiſon's poetical reputation hath been lowered by a writer far ſuperior to Mr. Cooper, in taſte, literature, and critical ſagacity. Dr. Hurd, in diſcuſſing the queſtion, 'whether the uſual forms of learning be 'not rather injurious to the true poet, than really 'aſſiſting to him;' anſwers, 'that it ſhould ſeem to 'be ſo for *a natural reaſon*. For the faculty of 'invention, as all our other powers, is much im-'proved and ſtrengthened by exerciſe. And great 'reading prevents this, by demanding a perpetual 'exerciſe of the memory. Thus the mind becomes 'not only indiſpoſed, but, for want of uſe, really 'unqualified to turn itſelf to other views, than 'ſuch as habitual recollection eaſily preſents to it. 'And this, I am perſuaded, hath been the caſe 'with many a fine genius, and eſpecially with *one* 'of our own country (102); who, as appears from 'ſome original efforts in the ſublime allegorical 'way, had no want of natural talents for the 'greater poetry; which yet were ſo reſtrained and 'diſabled by his conſtant and ſuperſtitious ſtudy of 'the old claſſics, that he was, in fact, but a very 'ordinary poet (103).' The reaſon aſſigned for Mr. Addiſon's deficiency in the power of invention, is ingenious and candid; and it muſt be acknowledged, that there is much truth in the repreſentation of the influence which his claſſical literature had upon him. He did not uſually diſplay, in his poetry, a highly vigorous imagination. Nevertheleſs, we find it difficult to unite with the Biſhop of Litchfield, in calling him 'a very ordinary poet.' Without pretending to any great critical acuteneſs, we ſhall briefly deſcribe the ſentiments which roſe in our minds, upon a curſory reperuſal of Mr. Addiſon's poems. The verſes addreſſed to Mr. Dryden, and to his Majeſty King William, have nothing in them peculiarly ſtriking. The tranſlation of Virgil's Georgic is remarkably defective in the accuracy of the rhymes. The ſong of St. Cecilia's Day, is undoubtedly far inferior to Dryden's noble ode. As it is modeſtly called a ſong, and might be written haſtily for a particular purpoſe, it was probably never intended to rival Dryden. In the account of the greateſt Engliſh poets, Mr. Addiſon hath ſhewn that he had not a juſt ſenſe of the excellencies of Chaucer and Spenſer; though, perhaps, there may be ſome truth in what hath been ſaid concerning the tediouſneſs of Spenſer's allegories. Milton is finely celebrated. The applauſe given to Congreve was ſcarcely merited; and ſtill leſs that which is beſtowed upon Montague. The Letter from Italy is truly beautiful. A pleaſing enthuſiaſm runs through it; the verſification is correct and harmonious; and if Mr. Addiſon had never written any thing beſides, this production alone would be ſufficient to reſcue him from the character of having been 'a very ordinary poet.' Though the *Campaign* hath many admirable paſſages in it, we cannot help thinking with Dr. Warton, that it is too much a Gazette in rhyme (104). The Opera of Roſamond is beautiful upon the whole; but we agree with the ſame Gentleman, that it is debaſed and degraded by the character of Sir Truſty (105); and, it may be added, by the character of Grindeline. The ſucceſs of this Opera upon the ſtage, was hindered by its being badly ſet to muſic (106). Mr. Addiſon's tranſlations from Horace and Ovid are fine; and, in this reſpect, particular juſtice hath been done to him by Mr. Cooper (107). With regard to the tragedy of Cato, the love parts may be excuſed (ſo far as the excuſe will bear), from the univerſal taſte of the age; and the ſame may be ſaid for the concluſion of the acts in rhyme, and with ſimiles. Though the love parts in general are heavy, yet the ſcene between Portius and Lucia, when ſhe makes her vow, is intereſting; and ſo likewiſe is that, in which Marcia diſcovers her affection to Juba. The characters of Marcus, Syphax, and Sempronius are natural; and diſtinctly, though not ſtrongly, marked. If Marcia's be thought too ſtoical for a woman, it ſhould be remembered, that ſhe was Cato's daughter. And beſides, ſhe diſplays the tenderneſs of her ſex, in the ſcene wherein Juba is ſuppoſed by her to be dead. But the great character of this play is that of Cato himſelf. As it is not ſufficiently agitated with paſſion, it is not, on that account, well adapted for the ſtage. But taking it as it was, and as it ought to be repreſented, if admitted at all in the theatre, it is admirably drawn and ſupported. The verſification is beautiful, and there are many excellent paſſages in the tragedy; though it muſt be confeſſed, that being defective in vehemence and pathos, it doth not powerfully call forth the emotions of terror or of pity. As it was extravagantly extolled at its firſt appearance, it hath, of late years, been unduly degraded. Dr. Hurd hath directly expreſſed the ſame ſentiment; and, notwithſtanding the faults which he diſcerns in *Cato*, has given it the appellation of a fine tragedy (108). It is not generally known that Mr. Addiſon borrowed ſeveral hints of the celebrated ſoliloquy, at the beginning of the fifth act, from May's Supplement to Lucan. The copy of verſes to the Princeſs of Wales, which is truly elegant, is written with an affection which ſhews that the author was in his element when appearing in the cauſe of Whiggiſm, and of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The ſame cauſe inſpired him in the poem to Sir Godfrey Kneller, which concludes with ſome of the moſt beautiful allegorical lines that are to be met with in poetry. The Comedy of the Drummer is well characteriſed by Sir Richard Steele in the Epiſtle to Mr. Congreve, prefixed to the ſecond edition (109). The play, though ſcarcely buſy and buſtling enough to pleaſe the generality of hearers on the ſtage, abounds with that native, unaffected, genuine humour which will ever delight us in the cloſet. The characters, which are truly comic, are finely varied and ſuſtained. It may be queſtioned, whether the plot be not ſomewhat unnatural. Had the comedy firſt appeared in the preſent age, it would probably on this account have been attacked with unrelenting ſeverity by our newspaper writers and occaſional critics. The fierce aſſaults which, from all quarters, are now inſtantly made upon every new theatrical production, are extremely unfavourable to the efforts of dramatic genius. Mr. Addiſon's Latin poetry diſplays the elegance of his claſſical taſte. There is a beautiful paſſage concerning the Duke of Gloceſter, in the poem upon the peace of Ryſwick in 1697. The War between the Pygmies and the Cranes is replete with animated deſcription, and the concluſion is fine. The Puppet-ſhow is deſcribed with much humour; and the Ode to Dr. Thomas Burnet is in the true ſpirit of Horace. The cloſe is excellent. In the preceding

(102) Mr. Addiſon.
(103) Hurd's Critical Commentary and Diſſertations, Vol. iii. p. 122, 123.
(104) Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 30.
(105) *Ibid.* p. 56.
(106) Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. v. p. 137.
(107) Letters concerning Taſte, p. 34—38.
(108) Hurd's Critical, &c. Vol. i. p. 82.
(109) See Note [*O*].

ceding obſervations, we have been obliged to differ, in ſeveral reſpects, from Dr. Warton; whoſe remarks upon the Tragedy of Cato, and upon Mr. Addiſon's other poems, though ſometimes unduly ſevere, are too ingenious, and, in many inſtances, too juſt, to be here omitted.

'The tragedy of Cato itſelf, is a glaring inſtance 'of the force of party; ſo ſententious and declamatory a drama would never have met with ſuch 'rapid and amazing ſucceſs, if every line and ſentiment had not been particularly tortured, and applied to recent events, and the reigning diſputes 'of the times. The purity and energy of the diction, and the loftineſs of the ſentiments, copied 'in a great meaſure from Lucan, Tacitus, and Seneca the philoſopher, merit approbation. But I 'have always thought, that thoſe pompous Roman 'ſentiments are not ſo difficult to be produced, as is 'vulgarly imagined; and which, indeed, dazzle 'only the vulgar. A ſtroke of nature is, in my 'opinion, worth a hundred ſuch thoughts; as,

'When vice prevails, and impious man bears ſway,
'The poſt of honour is a private ſtation.

'Cato is a fine dialogue on liberty, and the love 'of one's country; but conſidered as a dramatic 'performance; nay, as a model of a juſt tragedy, as 'ſome have affectedly repreſented it, it muſt be 'owned to want *action* and *pathos*; the two hinges 'I preſume, on which a juſt tragedy ought neceſſarily to turn, and without which it cannot ſubſiſt. 'It wants alſo *character*, although that be not ſo 'eſſentially neceſſary to a tragedy as *action*. Syphax, indeed, in his interview with Juba, bears 'ſome marks of a rough African; the ſpeeches of 'the reſt may be transferred to any of the perſonages concerned. The ſimile drawn from mount 'Atlas, and the deſcription of the Numidian traveller ſmothered in the deſert, are, indeed, in character, but ſufficiently obvious. How Addiſon 'could fall into the falſe and unnatural cuſtom of 'ending his three firſt acts with ſimiles, is amazing 'in ſo chaſte and correct a writer. The loves of 'Juba and Marcia, of Portius and Lucia, are vicious 'and inſipid epiſodes; debaſe the dignity, and deſtroy the unity, of the fable.'——'It is pity that 'the tragedy of Cato, in which all the rules of the 'drama, as far as the mechaniſm of writing teaches, 'are obſerved, is not exact with reſpect to the unity 'of time. There was no occaſion to extend the 'time of the fable longer than the mere repreſentation takes up; all might have paſſed in the compaſs of three hours from the morning, with a deſcription of which the play opens? if the poet, in 'the fourth ſcene of the fifth act, had not talked of 'the *ſetting* ſun playing on the armour of the ſoldiers.——

'Having been imperceptibly led into this little 'criticiſm on the tragedy of Cato, I beg leave to 'ſpeak a few words on ſome other of Addiſon's 'pieces. The firſt of his poems, addreſſed to Dryden, Sir John Somers, and King William, are 'languid, proſaic, and void of any poetical imagery or ſpirit. The letter from Italy is by no 'means equal to a ſubject fruitful of genuine 'poetry, and which might have warmed the moſt 'cold and correct imagination. One would have 'expected, a young traveller, in the height of his 'genius and judgment, would have broke out 'into ſome ſtrokes of enthuſiaſm. With what flatneſs and unfeelingneſs has he ſpoken of ſtatuary 'and painting! Raphäel never received a more 'phlegmatic eulogy. The ſlavery and ſuperſtition 'of the preſent Romans are well touched upon towards the concluſion; but I will venture to name 'a little piece on a parallel ſubject, that excels 'this celebrated letter; and in which is much lively 'and original imagery, ſtrong painting, and manly 'ſentiments of freedom. It is a copy of verſes written at Virgil's tomb, and printed in Dodſley's 'Miſcellanies.

'That there are many well-wrought deſcriptions, 'and even pathetic ſtrokes, in the Campaign, it 'would be ſtupidity and malignity to deny. But 'ſurely the regular march, which the poet has obſerved from one town to another, as if he had 'been a commiſſary of the army, cannot well be 'excuſed. There is a paſſage in Boileau, ſo remarkably oppoſite to this fault of Addiſon, that 'one would almoſt be tempted to think he had the 'Campaign in his eye when he wrote it, if the time 'would admit it:

'Loin ces rimeurs craintifs, dont l'eſprit phlegmatique
'Garde dans ſes fureurs un ordre didactique;
'Qui chantant d'un heros les progrés éclatans
'*Maigres hiſtoriens, ſuivront l'ordre des temps*;
'Ils n'oſent un moment prendre un ſujet de vüe,
'Pour prendre dole, il faut que Lille ſoit rendüe;
'Et que leur vers exact, ainſi que Mezerai,
'Ait fait déja toucher—les remparts de Coutrai.

'The moſt ſpirited verſes Addiſon has written, 'are an imitation of the third ode of the third book 'of Horace, which is indeed performed with energy and vigour; and his compliment to Kneller 'on the picture of King George the Firſt. The 'occaſion of this laſt poem is peculiarly happy; for 'among the works of Phidias which he enumerates, 'he ſelects ſuch ſtatues as exactly mark and characteriſe the laſt ſix Britiſh Kings and Queens *:

"Great Pan who wont to chaſe the fair,
"And lov'd the ſpreading *oak*, was there;
"Old Saturn too, with upcaſt eyes,
"Beheld his *abdicated* ſkies;
"And mighty Mars for war renown'd,
"In adamantine armour frown'd:
"By him the childleſs goddeſs roſe,
"Minerva ſtudious to compoſe
"Her twiſted threads; the web ſhe ſtrung,
"And o'er a loom of marble hung;
"Thetis, the troubled ocean's queen,
"Match'd with a *mortal*, next was ſeen,
"Reclining on a funeral urn,
"Her ſhort-liv'd darling ſon to mourn.
"The laſt was *He*, whoſe thunder ſlew
"The Titan race, a rebel crew,
"That from a *hundred hills* ally'd,
"In impious league their King defy'd."

* "*Charles* II. famous for his lewdneſs; the alluſion to his being concealed in the Oak is artful. *James* II. *William* III. Queen *Mary*, who had no heirs, and was a great workwoman. Queen *Anne*, married to the Prince of *Denmark*, who loſt the Duke of Glouceſter in his youth. *George* I. who conquered the Highland Rebels at Preſton, 1715."

'There is ſcarcely, I believe, any inſtance where 'mythology has been applied with more delicacy 'and dexterity, and has been contrived to anſwer 'in its application, ſo minutely, exactly, and in ſo 'many correſponding circumſtances (110).'

Mr. Walpole hath done the ſame juſtice to the concluding lines of the verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller, which he calls the moſt beautiful of Addiſon's poetic works (111). Upon the whole, we by no means agree with Mr. Cooper, in his attempts to reduce Mr. Addiſon below the ſecond claſs of our Engliſh poets. In our opinion, there are great excellencies in ſeveral of his poems; though Dr. Hurd's remark is undoubtedly juſt, that he is defective in characteriſtic imagery (112).

[*Y*] *And a critic.*] The reaſon which Mr. Cooper aſſigns for calling Mr. Addiſon a very indifferent critic is, that he wanted that deep philoſophical ſpirit which is requiſite in works of criticiſm (113). This deep philoſophical ſpirit Mr. Cooper himſelf does not appear to have eminently poſſeſſed; and, therefore, on his own account, he had little claim to arraign Mr. Addiſon. However, the true queſtion is, whether the charge be juſt; and it muſt be acknowledged that the ſame charge is produced and ſupported with no ſmall appearance of reaſon, by a diſtinguiſhed critic, mentioned in the preceding note, from whom the Writer of the Letters concerning Taſte might perhaps borrow his aſſertion. Dr. Hurd, in his notes on Horace's Epiſtle to Auguſtus, having ſhewn the merit of inventing and applying general rules in poetical criticiſm, proceeds as follows:

'And, thus much being premiſed, we ſhall now 'be able to form a proper judgment of the *method* 'which ſome of the moſt admired of the ancients, as 'well as moderns, have taken in this *work of criticiſing*. The moſt eminent, at leaſt the moſt 'popular are, perhaps, Longinus, of the Greeks; 'P. Bouhours, of the French; and Mr. Addiſon, 'with us in England. 1. *All* the beautiful paſſages 'which Longinus cites are referred by him to *five* 'general claſſes. And 2dly, theſe general claſſes 'belong all to the *common* principles of *ſublimity*. 'He does not ſay this paſſage is *excellent*, but 'aſſigns the *kind* of excellence, viz. *ſublimity*. 'Neither does he content himſelf with the general

'notion

(110) Warton on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 268—270. p. 273—277.

(111) Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. iii. p. 123.

(112) Hurd, ubi ſupra, Vol. i. p. 80.

(113) Letters concerning Taſte, p. 28.

'notion of *ſublimity*, but names the *ſpecies*, viz. '*Grandeur* of *ſentiment*, power of moving the *paſ-* 'ſions, &c. His work therefore enables us to *claſs* 'our perceptions of excellence, and conſequently 'is formed on the *true plan* of criticiſm. 2. The 'ſame may be obſerved of P. Bouhours. The paſ-'ſages cited by him are never mentioned *in general* 'terms as *good* or *bad*; but are inſtances of good or 'bad *ſentiment*. This is the *genus* in which *all* his in-'ſtances are comprehended: but of this genus he 'marks alſo the diſtinct *ſpecies*. He does not ſay, 'this ſentiment is *good*; but it is *ſublime*, or *natural*, 'or *beautiful*, or *delicate*: or that another ſentiment 'is *bad*; but that it is *mean*, or *falſe*, or *deformed*, or '*affected*. To theſe ſeveral claſſes he refers his par-'ticular inſtances; and theſe claſſes themſelves are 'referred to the more comprehenſive principles of 'the excellence or fault of *ſingle ſentiment*, as op-'poſed to the various *other* excellencies and faults 'which are obſerved in compoſition. 3. Mr. Ad-'diſon, in his *criticiſm* on *Milton*, proceeded in like 'manner. For, firſt, *theſe* remarks are evidently 'applicable to the general obſervations on the 'poem; in which every thing is referred to the com-'mon heads of *fable*, *morals*, *ſentiments*, and *lan-'guage*; and even the *ſpecific* excellencies and faults 'conſidered under each head diſtinctly marked out. '*Secondly*, the ſame is true concerning *many* of the 'obſervations on particular paſſages. The reader is 'not only told, that a paſſage *has* merit; but is 'informed what *ſort* of merit belongs to it. Neither 'are the remaining obſervations wholly without uſe. 'For ſuch particular beauties and blemiſhes, as are 'barely *collected*, may yet ſerve as a foundation to 'future enquirers for making further diſcoveries. 'They may be conſidered as ſo many *ſingle* facts, 'an *attention* to which is excited by the authority of 'the critic; and when theſe are conſidered jointly 'with ſuch as *others* may have obſerved, thoſe ge-'neral principles of *ſimilitude* may at length be 'found, which ſhall enable us to conſtitute *new* 'claſſes of poetical merit or blame.

'Thus far the candid reader may go in apolo-'gizing for the *merits* of theſe writers. But, as in 'ſound criticiſm, candour muſt not be indulged at 'the expence of *juſtice*, I think myſelf obliged to 'add an obſervation concerning their *defects*; and '*that* on what I muſt think the juſt principles 'here delivered. Though the method taken by 'theſe writers be *ſcientifical*, the real ſervice they 'have done to criticiſm is not very conſiderable. 'And the reaſon is, they dwell too much in generals: 'that is, not only the *genus* to which they refer their '*ſpecies* is too large, but thoſe very ſubordinate 'ſpecies themſelves are too comprehenſive. Of the '*three* critics under conſideration, the moſt *in-'ſtructive* is, unqueſtionably, Longinus. The *ge-'nus* itſelf, under which he ranks his ſeveral *claſſes*, 'is as *particular* as the ſpecies of the other two. 'Yet even *his* claſſes are much too general to con-'vey any very diſtinct and uſeful information. It 'had been ſtill better, if this fine critic had deſcended 'to lower and more minute *particularities*, as ſub-'ordinate to *each claſs*. For to obſerve of any *ſen-'timent*, that it is *grand*, or *pathetic*, and ſo of the 'other *ſpecies* of ſublime, is ſaying very little. 'Few readers want to be informed of this. It 'had been ſufficient, if any notice was to be taken 'at all of ſo *general* beauties, to have done it in the 'way which ſome of the beſt critics have taken, of 'merely pointing to them. But could he have diſ-'covered and produced to obſervation thoſe *peculiar* 'qualities in *ſentiment*, which occaſion the impreſ-'ſion of *grandeur*, *pathos*, &c. this had been ad-'vancing the ſcience of criticiſm very much, as 'tending to lay open the more ſecret and hidden 'ſprings of that *pleaſure*, which reſults from poeti-'cal compoſition. P. *Bouhours*, as I obſerved, is ſtill 'more faulty. His very *ſpecies* are ſo large, as 'make his criticiſm almoſt wholly uſeleſs and in-'ſignificant.

'It gives one pain to refuſe to ſuch a writer as Mr. '*Addiſon*, any *kind* of merit, which he appears to 'have valued himſelf upon, and which the genera-'lity of his readers have ſeemed willing to allow 'him. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that *criti-'ciſm* was by no means his talent. His taſte was 'truly elegant; but he had neither that vigour of 'underſtanding, nor chaſtiſed philoſophical ſpirit, 'which are ſo eſſential to this character, and which 'we find in hardly any of the ancients, beſides 'Ariſtotle, and but in a very few of the moderns. 'For what concerns his *criticiſm on Milton* in parti-'cular, there was this accidental benefit ariſing 'from it, that it occaſioned an admirable poet to be 'read, and his excellencies to be obſerved. But 'for the merit of the work itſelf, if there be any 'thing juſt in the *plan*, it was, becauſe Ariſtotle 'and Boſſu had taken the ſame route before him. 'And as to his *own* proper obſervations, they are, 'for the moſt part, ſo general and indeterminate, as 'to afford but little inſtruction to the reader, and 'are, not unfrequently, altogether frivolous. They 'are of a kind with thoſe, in which the French 'critics (for I had rather inſtance in the defects 'of *foreign* writers than of our *own*) ſo much 'abound; and which good judges agree to rank in 'the worſt ſort of criticiſm (114).'

(114) Hurd's Critical Works, Vol. ii. p. 110—114.

Theſe obſervations are in general ſo juſt, as well as ingenious, that, we are afraid Mr. Addiſon muſt, in ſome degree, fall under the charge. Nevertheleſs, we are willing to make a few remarks in his favour; if it be but to reſtrain the petulance of ordinary writers, who may be encouraged, by ſuch an authority, to throw out their cenſures without diſcernment and without candour. Let it then be obſerved, that thoſe who the moſt call in queſtion his philoſophical ſagacity as a critic, do juſtice to his exquiſite taſte. Mr. Cooper allows, that he was bleſſed with a taſte truly delicate and refined; which 'rendered him capable of diſtinguiſhing *what were* 'beauties in the works of others, though he could 'not account ſo well why *they were ſo* (115).' Dr. Hurd we ſee likewiſe aſſerts that 'his taſte was 'truly elegant.' It is a farther conſolation to the profeſſed admirers of Mr. Addiſon, that the excellence he is ſaid to have wanted, was found in hardly any of the ancients, beſides Ariſtotle, and but in a very few of the moderns. To be placed in the ſame rank with Longinus, is no ſmall degree of merit. Longinus hath contributed, in a high degree, to preſerve the principles of ſound taſte in the world; and the like praiſe is due to Mr. Addiſon. On this account our own country is much indebted to him, however defective he may be thought in the philoſophy of his criticiſms. If he determined only from his feelings, thoſe feelings were juſt ones. It is ſpoken of by Dr. Hurd, to the commendation of Horace, and ſaid with a philoſophical exactneſs, that he made his own *feeling* the teſt of poetical merit (116). Mr. Addiſon, by doing ſo, hath been the means, more perhaps than any other man, of ſpreading a good taſte in the Engliſh nation. In his Eſſay on the Georgics, he diſplayed a right ſenſe of the excellencies of that divine poem. His papers concerning true and falſe wit, the outlines of which may be ſeen in his notes upon Ovid, long baniſhed from among us the inclination to puns, rebuſes, anagrams, and other abſurd kinds of compoſition. His criticiſm upon Milton firſt brought the Paradiſe Loſt into general attention and admiration. All theſe things (and other inſtances might be added) are much to his honour, though it ſhould be allowed that there is no great depth of ſagacity in his obſervations. However, if his works were to be minutely analyzed, there would, we are perſuaded, be a ſpirit of diſcernment found in many of his remarks. In the Eſſay on the Georgics, he hath judiciouſly diſcriminated the ſpecies of poetry which there prevails from that of the paſtoral kind. He hath availed himſelf in his papers upon wit, of Mr. Locke's philoſophical explanation of the ſubject; which, ſo far as it goes, is juſt, though it may not include the whole of the matter. It is true, that Mr. Addiſon, in his criticiſm upon Milton, hath taken his principles from Ariſtotle and Boſſu; but from whom elſe could he take them? If theſe writers drew the laws of epic poetry from nature and from Homer; if no other laws could be laid down conſiſtently with ſound philoſophy; was Mr. Addiſon to invent new rules, which were capricious or falſe? In following theſe illuſtrious guides, he certainly acted with wiſdom. It has been objected to him, that the fine paſſages produced from the Paradiſe Loſt are obvious and well known. Not to ſay that they are better known now, than at the time when the Spectator was written, would it have been proper to have omitted the beſt paſſages, becauſe they would naturally have

(115) Ubi ſupra.

(116) Hurd, ubi ſupra, Vol. ii. p. 107.

occurred to other persons of taste and discernment? We have sometimes been ready to imagine, that the severity exercised against Mr. Addison, hath arisen, in part, from his quarrel with Mr. Pope: and to trace the progress and consequences of the dislike which hath hence been formed against him, might be a curious speculation. His fault was, in fact, the fault of the age in which he lived. Philosophical criticism had not then been cultivated. The few hints of that kind which occur in the great Lord Bacon, were little known or attended to; and as to the rambling but agreeable prefaces of Dryden, they had no pretensions to the character. The truth of the case is, that Mr. Addison was, in this respect, far superior to his cotemporaries. We appeal to his essay on the pleasures of the imagination; which hath been strangely overlooked by the impugners of his critical sagacity. His admirable papers upon that subject display several sources of genuine criticism; and, as he himself observed, suggest to the reader what it is that gives a beauty to many passages of the finest writers both in prose and verse (117). Nothing so philosophical, with regard to the objects of taste and the internal senses, had hitherto appeared in this country. Mr. Cooper's peculiar favourite, Dr. Akenside, in his poem on the pleasures of imagination, hath made great use of Mr. Addison's essay; and the same hath been done by various authors. It ought not to lessen his reputation, or detract from his excellence, that since the time in which he lived, considerable advances have been made in the knowledge of the human mind, and the principles of what is beautiful in composition. None can be greater admirers than we are of philosophical criticism, or more sincerely rejoice in the good effects it hath produced. But surely, we may do justice to a Burke, a Hurd, a Lowth, a Harris, a Lord Kaims, a Gerard, a Campbell, a Beattie, and a Priestley, without casting a shade upon Mr. Addison's merit. Perhaps the spirit of refinement in some modern speculations hath not always been accompanied with the spirit of truth. But it is not our intention to censure. What we would contend for is, that a high tribute of applause ought to be paid to a man who contributed, in so eminent a degree, as Mr. Addison did, to diffuse good taste in the nation, and to promote the cause of polite literature.

(117) Spectator, No. 409.

[Z] *Occasional strictures have been made upon his works.*] We shall here add a few instances to those which have already been produced. Mr. Walpole censures Mr. Addison's character of Lord Somers, in the Freeholder (118), as diffuse and feeble; and says, that in truth he was sometimes as weak a writer, when he wrote seriously, as he was admirable in touching the delicacies of natural humour (119). But a few passages, which may be thought exceptionable, can by no means justify so severe a charge. His serious writings will, by competent judges, be pronounced to have great beauty and merit. Sir John Hawkins asserts, that when, in his singularly humorous papers, intended to ridicule the Italian Opera, Mr. Addison is necessitated to speak of music, he does it in such terms as plainly indicate, that he had no judgment of his own to direct him; that the goodness of his ear, as well as his knowledge of the subject, may be questioned; and that, in his general sentiments of music and musicians, he is ever wrong (120). If these remarks be just, they are not confined to Mr. Addison: for Sir William Temple, Mr. Dryden, and other respectable names have a like censure passed upon them. Whatever might be his skill and taste in music, it should seem that his ridicule of the Italian Opera contributed to the reformation of that species of entertainment; and we are told, that the humour of the ridicule is so strong and pointed, that the Pope is said, on reading his papers, to have laughed till his sides shook (121). Captain Edward Thompson, in the late splendid edition of Mr. Andrew Marvell's works, ascribes to Marvell, the two fine hymns in No. 453 and 465 of the Spectator, which hitherto have universally, and, we doubt not, justly been ascribed to Mr. Addison (122). Captain Thompson's general charge, as it respects not Mr. Addison only, but Mr. Mallet and Dr. Watts (not Tickell), will be considered in another place (123). Here we shall content ourselves with observing, that any man who can suppose that the ease, elegance, and harmony of the versification of the Ode which begins, 'The spacious firmament on high, &c.' could flow from Marvell's pen, must be very deficient in taste and judgment. The eminent and excellent Bishop Lowth, in his introduction to English Grammar, hath pointed out a few inaccuracies of expression which Mr. Addison hath fallen into, in common with Dryden, Pope, Swift, and others of our finest writers. The ingenious Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, in his Lectures on Oratory (a manuscript copy of which we have seen), hath analyzed some of Mr. Addison's prose compositions; and, while he gives due applause to their excellencies, mentions, with judgment and candour, the places wherein the arrangement might be altered for the better.

(118) Freeholder, No. 39, May 4, 1716.

(119) Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 107—110.

(120) Hawkins's History of Music, Vol. i. Preliminary Discourse, p. 6—16. Vol. v. p. 148, Note.

(121) *Ibid.* Vol. v. p. 147. Ditto, Note.

(122) Marvel's Works, 4to. 1776, Vol. i. Preface, p. 14—16. p. 19, 20.

(123) Under the article Marvell.

[AA] *Many of his compositions.*] It is an act of justice to those who have been, in some respects, the censurers of Mr. Addison, to recite their testimonies in his favour. Mr. Cooper celebrates him as a great and good man; who was inimitable as a prose writer, for those moral and humorous Essays; but more particularly those delightful allegories his muse Clio has left us (124). Dr. Hurd, besides occasional terms of commendation, dispersed in different places, represents him, in the passage before quoted, as a fine genius; who, as appears from some original efforts in the sublime allegorical way, had no want of natural talents for the greater poetry (125). Dr. Warton concludes his strictures on Mr. Addison's poetical character, with the following just encomium: 'Whatever censures we have here, too 'boldly perhaps, ventured to deliver on the pro- 'fessed poetry of Mr. Addison; yet must we can- 'didly own, that in various parts of his prose 'Essays are to be found many strokes of genuine 'and sublime poetry; many marks of a vigorous 'and exuberant imagination. Particularly, in the 'noble allegory of Pain and Pleasure, the vision 'of Mirza, the story of Maraton and Yaratilda, 'of Constantia and Theodosius, and the beautiful 'Eastern tale of Abdallah and Balsora; and many 'others: together with several strokes in the Essay 'on the Pleasures of Imagination. It has been the 'lot of many great names, not to have been able 'to express themselves with beauty and propriety 'in the fetters of verse, in their respective lan- 'guages, who have yet manifested the force, fer- 'tility, and creative power of a most poetic genius, 'in prose. This was the case of Plato, of Lucian, of 'Fenelon, of Sir Philip Sidney, and Dr. T. Burnet, 'who, in his Theory of the Earth, has displayed an 'imagination very nearly equal to that of Milton:

'——————Mœnia mundi
'Discedunt! totum video per inane geri res!

'After all, the chief and characteristical excellency 'of Mr. Addison, was his *humour*; for in humour 'no mortal has excelled him, except Moliere. 'Witness the character of Sir Roger de Coverley, 'so original, so natural, and so inviolably preserv- 'ed; particularly in the month which the Spec- 'tator spends at his hall in the country. Witness 'also the Drummer, that excellent and neglected 'Comedy; that just picture of life and real man- 'ners; where the poet never speaks in his own 'person, or totally drops or forgets a character, for 'the sake of introducing a brilliant simile, or acute 'remark: where no train is laid for wit, no *Jere- 'mys* or *Bens* are suffered to appear (126).'

(124) Letters concerning Taste, p. 32.

(125) Hurd, ubi supra, Vol. iii. p. 122, 123.

(126) Warton, ubi supra, p. 277—279.

Dr. Young, in his conjectures on original composition, draws Mr. Addison's character as a writer at large, to great advantage. He makes, indeed, some strictures upon his Cato, similar in sentiment to those already given; and relates a circumstance concerning that Tragedy, which has not before been mentioned. 'When Addison was a stu- 'dent at Oxford, he sent up this play to his friend 'Dryden, as a proper person to recommend it to 'the Theatre, if it deserved it; who returned it with 'very great commendation; but with his opinion, 'that on the stage it would not meet with its de- 'served success. But though the performance was 'denied the Theatre, it brought its author on the 'public stage of life. For persons in power in- 'quiring soon after of the Head of his College for 'a youth of parts, Addison was recommended, and 'readily received, by means of the great reputa- 'tion which Dryden had just then spread of him 'above.'

'above.' In the concluſion of the character, Dr. Young carries his praiſes of Mr. Addiſon very high. 'He has, ſays the Doctor, a more refined, 'decent, judicious, and extenſive genius, than 'Pope or Swift. To diſtinguiſh this triumvirate from 'each other, and, like Newton, to diſcover the 'different colours in theſe genuine and meridian 'rays of literary light, Swift is a ſingular wit, 'Pope a correct poet, Addiſon a great author. 'Swift looked on wit as the *jus divinum* to domi-'nion and ſway in the world; and conſidered as 'uſurpation, all power that was lodged in perſons 'of leſs ſparkling underſtandings. This inclined 'him to tyranny in wit. Pope was ſomewhat of 'his opinion, but was for ſoftening tyranny into 'lawful monarchy; yet were there ſome acts of 'ſeverity in his reign. Addiſon's crown was elec-'tive, he reigned by the public voice:

'——————— volentes
'Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.
VIRG.

'But as good books are the medicine of the 'mind, if we ſhould dethrone theſe authors, and 'conſider them, not in their royal, but their me-'dicinal capacity, might it not then be ſaid, that 'Addiſon preſcribed a wholeſome and pleaſant re-'gimen, which was univerſally reliſhed, and did 'much good; that Pope preferred a purgative of 'ſatire, which, though wholeſome, was too pain-'ful in its operation; and that Swift inſiſted on a 'large doſe of ipecacuanha, which, though rea-'dily ſwallowed from the fame of the phyſician, 'yet, if the patient had any delicacy of taſte, he 'threw up the remedy, inſtead of the diſeaſe?

'Addiſon wrote little in verſe, much in ſweet, 'elegant, Virgilian proſe; ſo let me call it, ſince 'Longinus calls Herodotus moſt Homeric; and 'Thucydides is ſaid to have formed his ſtyle on 'Pindar. Addiſon's compoſitions are built with 'the fineſt materials, in the taſte of the ancients; 'and (to ſpeak his own language) on truly claſſic 'ground: and though they are the delight of the 'preſent age, yet I am perſuaded that they will 'receive more juſtice from poſterity. I never read 'him, but I am ſtruck with ſuch a diſheartening 'idea of perfection, that I drop my pen. And, 'indeed, far ſuperior writers ſhould forget his 'compoſitions, if they would be greatly pleaſed 'with their own.

'And yet (perhaps you have not obſerved it), 'what is the common language of the world, and 'even of his admirers, concerning him? They 'call him an elegant Writer. That elegance which 'ſhines on the ſurface of his compoſitions, ſeems 'to dazzle their underſtanding, and renders it a 'little blind to the depth of ſentiment, which lies 'beneath: thus (hard fate!) he loſes reputation 'with them, by doubling his title to it. On ſub-'jects the moſt intereſting and important, no Au-'thor of his age has written with greater, I had 'almoſt ſaid, with equal weight: and they who 'commend him for his elegance, pay him ſuch 'a ſort of compliment, as they would pay to 'Lucretia, if they ſhould commend her only for 'her beauty (127).'

We are particularly pleaſed with the juſtice here done to Mr. Addiſon, as having a merit ſuperior to that of a merely elegant writer. His works have been ſingularly uſeful in ridiculing folly, and expoſing vice; in promoting good ſenſe, propriety of manners, and virtuous conduct. Few Authors can be mentioned, in our language, who have done, in theſe reſpects, ſuch eminent ſervices to their country. We ſhall cloſe the encomiums upon Mr. Addiſon, with two paſſages from Mr. Melmoth, in his Fitzoſborne's Letters. This ingenious and polite Writer, treating on metaphors, obſerves; 'Were I to point out the beauty and efficacy of 'metaphorical language, by particular inſtances, 'I ſhould rather draw my examples from the mo-'derns than the ancients; the latter being ſcarcely, 'I think, ſo exact and delicate in this article of 'compoſition as the former. The great improve-'ments, indeed, in natural knowledge, which have 'been made in theſe later ages, have opened a 'vein of metaphor entirely unknown to the an-'cients, and inriched the fancy of modern wits 'with a new ſtock of the moſt pleaſing ideas. A 'circumſtance which muſt give them a very conſi-'derable advantage over the Greeks and Romans. 'I am ſure at leaſt, of all the writings with which 'I have been converſant, the works of Mr. Addi-'ſon will afford the moſt abundant ſupply of this 'kind, in all its variety and perfection. Truth 'and beauty of imagery is, indeed, his character-'iſtical diſtinction; and the principal point of 'eminence which raiſes his ſtyle above that of every 'Author in any language that has fallen within my 'notice. He is every where highly figurative; 'yet, at the ſame time, he is the moſt eaſy and 'perſpicuous Writer I have ever peruſed. The 'reaſon is, his images are always taken from the 'moſt natural and familiar appearances; as they 'are choſen with the utmoſt delicacy and judgment. 'Suffer me only to mention one out of a thouſand I 'could name, as it appears to me the fineſt and moſt 'expreſſive that ever language conveyed. It is in 'one of his inimitable papers upon Paradiſe Loſt, 'where he is taking notice of thoſe changes in 'nature, which the Author of that truly divine 'poem deſcribes as immediately ſucceeding the 'Fall. Among other prodigies, Milton repreſents 'the Sun in an eclipſe; and at the ſame time, a 'bright cloud in the weſtern regions of the Hea-'vens, deſcending with a band of Angels. Mr. 'Addiſon, in order to ſhew his Author's art and 'judgment in the conduct and diſpoſition of this 'ſublime ſcenery, obſerves, 'The whole *Theatre* 'of nature is *darkened*, that this glorious *machine* 'may appear in all its luſtre and magnificence." 'I know not, Orontes, whether you will agree in 'ſentiment with me, but I muſt confeſs I am at a 'loſs which to admire moſt on this occaſion, the 'Poet or the Critic (128).'

The ſame Gentleman, in a letter upon *grace* in writing, concludes in the following terms: 'I 'know not whether Sir William Temple may not 'be conſidered as the firſt of our proſe authors, 'who introduced a graceful *manner* into our lan-'guage; at leaſt that quality does not ſeem to have 'appeared early, or ſpread far amongſt us. But 'whereſoever we may look for its origin, it is cer-'tain to be found in its higheſt perfection in the 'eſſays of a gentleman, whoſe writings will be 'diſtinguiſhed ſo long as politeneſs and good ſenſe 'have any admirers. That becoming air which 'Tully eſteemed the criterion of fine compoſition; 'and which every reader, he ſays, imagines ſo eaſy 'to be imitated, yet will find ſo difficult to attain; 'is the prevailing characteriſtic of all that excellent 'Author's moſt elegant performances. In a word, 'one may juſtly apply to him what Plato, in his 'allegorical language, ſays of Ariſtophanes, that 'the *Graces* having ſearched all the world for a 'temple wherein they might for ever dwell, ſettled 'at laſt in the breaſt of Mr. Addiſon (129).'

There are none of his works in which his merit, as a graceful writer, more diſtinguiſhingly appears, than in his humorous pieces. His humour is ſo natural, ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, that we never grow weary of it; and we ſhall find, upon a diligent examination of his papers of this kind, that it is prodigiouſly various and extenſive. He ſcarcely ever deſcends to perſonal ſatire; and his ridicule of certain characters in life, while it is remarkably ſtriking, is ſo gentle, that perſons who anſwer to the characters muſt read him with pleaſure. A Wit which was ſo copious and inexhauſtible, without treſpaſſing againſt good-nature, or offending againſt decency, is entitled to the higheſt admiration and applauſe. K.

(127) Young's Works, Vol. v. p. 130. 133—135.

(128) Fitzoſborne's Letters, Let. xxiv. p. 112-114, ſeventh Edition.

(129) *Ibid.* Let. xxix. p. 137.

ADRIAN IV. *(Pope)* was an Engliſhman, and the only one that ever had the honour of ſitting in St. Peter's Chair (*a*). His name was NICOLAS BREKESPERE (*b*), or BREKSPERE (*c*), or BREAKSPEAR (*d*), in Latin *Haſtifragus*. He was the ſon of one *Robert de Camera* (*e*), a man of learning but poor (*f*); and was born at Langley near

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britann. Vol. i. p. 220.
(*d*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1159.
(*e*) M. Paris, *ib.*
(*f*) Guliel. Neubrigenſ. de Reb. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

(*b*) Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640, Vol. i. p. 66.
(*c*) Leland, *ibid.* & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Centur. II. n 90.

(g) near St. Alban's in Hertfordshire. His father having left his family, and taken the habit in the monastery of St. Alban's, young Nicolas was reduced to the necessity of frequenting that house, and submitting to the lowest offices, for his daily support. After some time he desired to take the habit in that monastery; but being rejected by the Abbot Richard [A], he resolved to try his fortune in another country (b). Accordingly he left England, and went to Paris; where, though poor and destitute, he applied himself with great diligence to his studies, and laid in a wonderful stock of learning (i). But having still a strong propensity to a religious life, he quitted Paris, and went into Provence, where he became a regular Clerc in the monastery of St. Rufus [B]. Here he made such a progress in literature, and distinguished himself so remarkably for his piety, and strict observance of the monastic discipline, that, upon the death of the Abbot, he was unanimously chosen superior of that house (k); and we are told (l), that he repaired, or rather rebuilt, that convent. He did not long enjoy this abbacy: for the Monks, growing weary of the government of a foreigner, accused him of certain pretended crimes before Pope Eugenius III.; who, having examined the matter of their complaint, and heard Nicolas's prudent and modest defence of himself, declared him innocent. However, his Holiness, being sensible of our Abbot's great merit, and thinking he might be more serviceable to the Church in a higher station, gave the monks leave to choose another Head [C], and created Nicolas Cardinal-Bishop of Alba, in 1146 (m). In the year 1148, Pope Eugenius sent him into Denmark and Norway, in quality of Apostolical Legate; where, by his diligent preaching and instructions, he converted those barbarous nations to the Christian faith (n). It is said, he erected the church of Upsal into an Archiepiscopal See (o). The time of his legation being expired, he returned to Rome, and was received with great marks of honour by the Pope and Cardinals. And not many days after his return, Pope Anastasius, who succeeded Eugenius, being dead (p), our Bishop of Alba was unanimously advanced to the Papal Chair in November 1154, and took the name of ADRIAN (q). The news of this promotion reaching England, King Henry II. sent Robert Abbot of St. Alban's, and three Bishops, to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election [D]; upon which occasion Adrian granted very considerable privileges

(g) *The ancient seat of the family was in Middlesex upon the river Cole.* Camden's Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, last edit. Vol. i. p. 365.

(i) Leland, ubi supra.

(l) Leland, *ibid.*

(m) G. Neubr. *ib.* & Histoire Generale des Cardinaux par Aubery. Vol. i. p. 168.

(p) *Anastasius sat but one year, 4 four months, and 24 days.* Platina, ubi supra.

(q) G. Neubrig. ubi supra.

(b) G. Neubrig. ubi supra.

(k) G. Neubrig. *ibid.*

(n) Platina, de Vit. Pontif. in Hadriano IV.

(o) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. Waldense, *an.* 1154.

[A] *He was rejected by the Abbot Richard.*] Matthew Paris informs us, that young Breakspear was refused admission into the monastery of St. Alban's for insufficiency, or want of learning. 'Qui cum 'examinatus & insufficiens inveniretur, dixit ei 'Abbas satis civiliter; *Expecta, fili, & adhuc scho-* 'lam exerce, ut aptior habearis (1). —— *Who be-* 'ing examined, and found insufficient, the Abbot, 'civilly enough, said to him,* Wait, my son, and go 'to school a little longer, till you are better qua-'lified.' Gulielmus Neubrigensis tells quite another story. 'Ille vero *(says that author)* adolescen-'tiam ingressus, cum propter inopiam scholis vacare 'non posset, idem monasterium quotidianæ stipis 'gratia frequentabat. Unde pater erubuit, verbis-'que mordacibus socordiam ejus increpitans, omni 'solatio destitutum cum gravi indignatione abegit '(2). —— *Being now a youth, and unable, through* 'poverty, *to frequent the schools, he went daily to the* 'monastery *for his support. His father grew ashamed* 'of this idle course of life; *and perpetually chiding his* 'son, *in the severest terms, for his want of industry,* 'obliged him to quit the monastery, *destitute of all assist-*'ance.' Leland has adopted the narrative of Matthew Paris (3): But Bale will have it, that he was rejected because he was a bastard (4). Pits assigns no reason for this repulse; but if the character he gives of young Breakspear be a true one, Abbot Richard deserves blame for rejecting a person, who would have done great honour to his house. 'Erat 'adolescens corpore pulcher, facie venustus, incessu 'compositus, ingenio acutus, lingua promptus, 'eloquio facundus, sermone cautus, judicio jam 'pene maturus, in actionibus prudens & dexter, 'moribus urbanus, comptus, elegans, zelo divinæ 'gloriæ, idque secundum quandam scientiam, plenus, 'omnibus denique tum corporis tum animi melioribus dotibus ita prædictus, ut in eo dona Dei naturam, pietas educationem, judicii maturitas & aliæ 'perfectiones superarent ætatem (5). —— *He was a* 'beautiful and graceful young man; witty and elo-'quent; circumspect in all his words and actions; 'courteous, neat, and elegant; full of zeal for the 'glory of God, and that according to some degree of 'knowledge; so possessed of the best endowments both of 'mind and body, that in him the gifts of heaven ex-'ceeded nature; his piety, his education; and the 'soundness of his judgment, and his other qualifications, 'the tenderness of his years.'

(1) Matth. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. edit. 1640. Vol. i. p. 66.

(2) Gulielmus Neubrigensis, de Rebus Anglicis, l. 2. c. 6.

(3) Comment. de Script. Brit. Vol. i. p. 220.

(4) De Script. Brit. Centur. ii. n. 90.

(5) Pits, de illustr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1159.

[B] *He became a Regular Clerk in the monastery of St. Rufus.*] He was not presently admitted to take the habit, but passed some time in recommending himself to the Monks by a diligent observance of all their commands. This obsequious behaviour, joined with the beauty of his person, and his prudent conversation, rendered him so acceptable to those religious, that after some time they intreated him to take the habit of the Canonical Order. *Est autem in illa regione Monasterium nobile Clericorum Regularium quod dicitur S. Rufi. Ad quem locum ille veniens, & subsistendi occasionem ibidem inveniens, quibus potuit obsequiis iisdem fratribus se commendare curavit. Et quoniam erat corpore elegans, vultu jucundus, prudens in verbis, ad injuncta impiger, placuit omnibus, rogatusque Canonici Ordinis suscipere habitum, annis plurimis ibidem resedit* (6).

[C] *The Pope gave the Monks leave to choose another Abbot.*] 'Utrique ergo parti *(says* Gulielmus 'Neubrigensis) pie & prudenter prospiciens; Scio, 'inquit, fratres, ubi sedes sit Satanæ; scio quid in 'vobis suscitet procellam istam. Ite, eligite vobis 'patrem, cum quo pacem habere possitis, vel potius 'velitis: iste enim non erit vobis ulterius oneri (7). '—— *The Pope, piously and prudently consulting the* 'good of both parties, *said, I know, brethren, where* 'the devil makes his abode: *I know what has raised* 'this storm among you. *Go, choose a superior with* 'whom you may, *or rather* will, *live in peace: as for* 'this man, *he shall be no longer a burthen to you.*'

[D] *The King sent an embassy to Rome, to congratulate the new Pope on his election.*] The Ambassadors, according to Matthew Paris, were exposed to perils both by sea and land: for in their voyage they met with a violent storm, from which they narrowly escaped by invoking the assistance of St. Margaret; and after they were come ashore, they were several times in danger of robbers, before they arrived at Beneventum, where the Pope then was. His Holiness received them with great marks of respect; and when they had executed their commission, the three Bishops returned home, leaving Abbot Robert behind them (8). King Henry sent the Pope a letter by those Ambassadors, the purport of which is as follows: After some compliments upon his advancement, the King proceeded to express his good wishes, and how desirous he was, 'that this prelate might 'answer the expectations of his station.' And here, in terms of great deference and respect, he chalked out

(6) Gul. Neubrig. ubi supra.

(7) *Id. ib.*

(8) Matth. Paris, ubi supra, p. 71.

vileges to the monaſtery of St. Alban's [*E*]. The next year, King Henry having ſolicited the Pope's conſent that he might undertake the conqueſt of Ireland, Adrian readily complied, and ſent him a Bull for that purpoſe [*F*]. His indulgence to that Prince

out a ſort of plan, together with ſome general directions for his Holineſs's conduct. He ſuggeſted to him, 'that ſince Providence had tranſplanted him, 'as it were, into paradiſe, it was expected he ſhould 'improve in proportion to the richneſs of the ſoil; 'and that, being raiſed to ſo high a ſtation, it was 'his duty to act vigorouſly for the intereſt of Chriſt-'endom, and ſo to govern the Churches of God, 'that all ſucceeding generations might eſteem him 'an honour to the country which gave him birth.' He proceeded to expreſs his hopes, 'that that tem-'peſtuous ſpirit which diſturbs the air, and often 'beats ſtrongeſt upon places of the higheſt ſituation, 'might never ſhake his Holineſs, or make the emi-'nence of his ſtation an occaſion of his greater 'ruin.' And 'ſince the ſuperintendency of the 'univerſal Church belonged to him,' he entreated him 'to proceed immediately to the promotion of 'ſuch Cardinals as were both able and willing to 'ſhare the burthen with him, and aſſiſt him in the 'government.' And here his Highneſs recommended to him 'to avoid being biaſſed by any ſecular 'regards in his choice; not to be ſwayed by the 'motives of relation, quality, or wealth; but to 'pitch upon ſuch men as feared God, and hated co-'vetouſneſs; ſuch as were remarkable for their in-'tegrity, and moſt zealous for the ſalvation of mens 'ſouls.' And, 'ſince the unworthineſs of the 'clergy is the greateſt diſſervice to the church,' he beſought his Holineſs, 'to be very careful in the 'diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, that the pa-'trimony of our bleſſed Saviour might not be in-'vaded and miſapplied by any unqualified perſon.' From hence the King proceeded to mention the calamitous condition of the Holy Land, and how miſerably it was haraſſed by the incurſions of the Infidels; and deſired 'his Holineſs would apply his 'thoughts to find out ſome ſerviceable expedient 'for that part of Chriſtendom.' He put him in mind likewiſe of the declenſion of the Greek Empire, and expreſſed his hopes, 'that the univerſal 'Paſtor would extend his care in proportion to his 'juriſdiction, and that every part of the Chriſtian 'Church would ſhare the bleſſings of his govern-'ment; that ſince God had raiſed him to the top of 'ſpiritual grandeur, he would take care to ſhine 'forth in an exemplary conduct; that his govern-'ment would be ſo commendable and juſt, as to be-'come not only a general bleſſing in his lifetime, 'but that future ages might be the better for his 'memory, and his native country might congratu-'late her own happineſs in producing ſo glorious a 'prelate.' The King concluded his letter with deſiring his Holineſs's prayers for himſelf, his court, and his kingdom (9).

(9) Baron. Annal. T. 12. an. 1154.

[*E*] *Pope Adrian granted very conſiderable privileges to the monaſtery of St. Alban's.*] It was obſerved in the laſt remark, that, after the diſcharge of the embaſſy, the three biſhops returned home, and abbot Robert ſtaid behind at Beneventum. It ſeems he thought this a favourable opportunity of recovering ſome dignities and privileges belonging to his abbey, which had been invaded by the Biſhop of Lincoln; and to this end he had brought with him ſeveral valuable preſents for his Holineſs; and among the reſt three rich mitres, and ſome ſandals, the workmanſhip of Chriſtina Prioreſs of Markgate. In a conference he had with the pope, his Holineſs would only accept of the mitres and ſandals on account of their excellent workmanſhip, but refuſed the other preſents, ſaying in a jeſting way; *I will not accept your gifts, becauſe, when I deſired to take the habit in your monaſtery, you rejected me. Sir*, ſaid the Abbot, *we could by no means receive you, it being repugnant to the will of God, whoſe Providence reſerved you for greater things.* The Pope replied, *I thank you for this polite and obliging anſwer*; and added, *Deareſt Abbot, aſk boldly whatever you deſire; I ſhall always be ready to ſerve St. Alban, who am myſelf his diſciple* (*). 'Devotionem et urbanitatem 'ipſius commendavit, et jocoſe ait, *Abnuo recipere 'munera tua, quia me aliquando ad alas religionis 'domus tuæ confugientem, et habitum monaſticum cha-'ritative poſtulantem, recipere renuiſti.* Cui Abbas; '*Domine, vos nequaquam potuimus recipere, voluntas 'enim Domini repugnavit, cujus prudentia vitam 'veſtram direxit ad altiora.* Et reſpondit Dominus 'Papa; *Eleganter et civiliter reſpondiſti*, et com-'placuit ei reſponſionis verbum; et addidit, *Abbas 'chariſſime, audacter pete quod vis, non poterit beato 'Albano deeſſe ſuus Albanenſis* (10).' The Abbot hereupon diſtributed the reſt of his preſents among the Cardinals and the Pope's domeſtics, 'knowing '(ſays my author) the inſatiable avarice of the Ro-'mans.' *Sciens ipſos Romanos eſſe inſatiabiles ſanguiſſugæ filios, pecuniæ ſitibundos.* One day, as he was in private converſation with the Pope, he let fall ſome hints concerning the various oppreſſions of the Biſhop of Lincoln, mingling his complaints with tears and ſighs; which ſo moved his Holineſs, that he granted to the church of St. Alban's the noble and ſingular privilege of being exempt from all epiſcopal juriſdiction, excepting that of the ſee of Rome; with many other valuable liberties and immunities (11). Soon after abbot Robert's return, he diſpatched two meſſengers to Rome with a pair of golden candleſticks, which he had promiſed the Pope when he was at Beneventum. Adrian received them very graciouſly, and depoſited them in St. Peter's church, in perpetual memory of the Engliſh Protomartyr St. Alban. And in return for this preſent, his Holineſs ſent by the ſame meſſengers to the church of St. Alban's the relics of the Thebæan Legion, a fine pall given him by the Emperor, ſome ſandals, a ring, and other donations to a conſiderable value (12).

(10) Matth. Paris, ubi ſupra.

(11) *Ibid.* & p. 71.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 73.

[*F*] *He ſent King Henry a bull for the conqueſt of Ireland.*] That inſtrument is extant in Matthew Paris (13), Giraldus Cambrenſis (14), Radulphus de Diceto (15), and in Rymer's *Fœdera* (16). To ſatisfy the curioſity of the mere Engliſh reader, I ſhall here give a tranſlation of it: *Adrian, Biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his moſt dear ſon in Chriſt, the illuſtrious King of England, ſends greeting and apoſtolical benediction. Your Magnificence is very careful to ſpread your glorious name in the world, and to merit an immortal crown in heaven, whilſt, as a good catholic Prince, you form a deſign of extending the bounds of the Church, of inſtructing ignorant and barbarous people in the Chriſtian Faith, and of reforming the licentious and immoral; and, the more effectually to put this deſign in execution, you deſire the advice and aſſiſtance of the holy ſee. We are confident that, by the bleſſing of God, the ſucceſs will anſwer the wiſdom and diſcretion of the undertaking. You have adverti ſed us, dear Son, of your intended expedition into Ireland, to reduce that people to the obedience of the Chriſtian Faith; and that you are willing to pay for every houſe a yearly acknowledgment of one penny to St. Peter, promiſing to maintain the rights of thoſe churches in the fulleſt manner. We therefore, being willing to aſſiſt you in this pious and laudable deſign, and conſenting to your petition, do grant you full liberty to make a deſcent upon that iſland, in order to enlarge the borders of the Church, to check the progreſs of immorality, and to promote the ſpiritual happineſs of the natives. And we command the people of that country to receive and acknowledge you as their ſovereign lord; provided the rights of the churches be inviolably preſerved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. For indeed it is certain (and your Highneſs acknowledges it) that all the iſlands, which are enlightened by Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs, and have embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, are unqueſtionably St. Peter's right, and belong to the juriſdiction of the holy Roman Church. If therefore you reſolve to put your deſigns in execution, be careful to reform the manners of that people, and commit the government of the churches to able and virtuous perſons: that the Chriſtian Religion may grow and flouriſh, and the honour of God and the ſalvation of ſouls be effectually promoted: ſo ſhall you deſerve an everlaſting reward in heaven, and leave a glorious name to all poſterity.* We may obſerve from the contents of this Bull, how far the Popes of that age ſtretched their pretenſions with reſpect to the dominions of princes. For here we ſee Adrian very freely preſenting King Henry with

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 95. V. I. edit. 1640.
(14) Hibern. Expugn. lib. 11 c. 6. A. D. 1155.
(15) Ymagin. Hiſtor. apud X Scriptores. p. 529.
(16) Tom. i. p. 15. edit. 1727.

(*) *The quibble in the original* (ſuus Albanenſis) *ariſing from the reſemblance between the names* Alban *and* Alba, *could not be preſerved in the tranſlation.*

Prince was so great, that he even consented to absolve him from the oath he had taken not to set aside any part of his father's will [G]. This Pontiff was soon made sensible of the cares and disquietudes attending so high a station; and he made warm complaints thereof to his countryman Johannes Sarisburiensis [H]. The rest of his life and actions, having no connexion with the civil or ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, shall be briefly thrown together in a note [I]. He died [K], September 1, 1159, in the fourth year and tenth month of his Pontificate, and was buried in St. Peter's church, near the tomb of his predecessor Eugenius (r). The learned Editor of Camden's Britannia tells us (s), Adrian had been Rector of Tydd in Lincolnshire; and Dr. Cave informs us (t), that he left his mother to be maintained by the alms of the church of Canterbury. There are extant several letters written by Pope Adrian (u), and some homilies (w). [L].

(r) Platina, ubi supra.
(s) Vol. i. col. 550.
(t) Ubi supra.
(w) Leland, ubi supra.
(u) Concil. T. x. p. 1143, 1853. Baluz. Miscell. T. ii. p. 223.

with the crowns of the Irish Kings, and commanding their subjects to transfer their allegiance from their lawful sovereigns to a foreign invader. However King Henry, though encouraged by the Pope's Bull, postponed the Irish expedition, and made no attempts upon that island till about fourteen years after.

[G] *He absolved King Henry from the oath he had taken not to set aside any part of his father's will.*] The case was this: Geoffrey Plantagenet, late earl of Anjou, had issue, by the empress Maud, three sons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William. This prince, being sensible that his own dominions would of course descend to his eldest son Henry, and that the kingdom of England, and the dutchy of Normandy, would likewise fall to him in right of his mother, thought fit to devise the earldom of Anjou to his second son Geoffrey. And, to make this settlement the more firm, he took an oath of the bishops and nobility, not to suffer his corpse to be buried till his son Henry had sworn to fulfil every part of his will. The Earl being dead, Henry came to attend his father's funeral. But when the oath was tendered to him, he refused for some time to swear to a writing, the contents of which he was not pre-acquainted with. However, being pressed with the scandal of letting his father lie unburied, he took the oath, though with great reluctance. After the funeral, the will was broken open and read; and though the contents displeased Henry, he concealed his resentments for the present. But after his accession to the throne, upon his complaint to Pope Adrian that the oath was forced upon him, he received a dispensation from his Holiness, absolving him from the obligation he had laid himself under (17). The author, cited in the margin, would fain justify the King and the Pope in this affair, upon that loose maxim, that oaths extorted are not obligatory. *Et quoniam extorta sacramenta vel vota non obligant, nisi forte ex subsequenti consensu convalescant, facile (ut dicitur) ab illo sacramento absolutionem impetravit* (18). But if King Henry's oath was void of course, as this writer supposes, what occasion was there for the Pope's dispensation? And if it remained in full force, it is hard to imagine which way the Pope could release it. Had the matter of the oath been unlawful, there would have been some sense in the absolution from it. But, in promising not to alter the disposition of his father's will, Henry only run the risque of suffering in his right, and swore to nothing but what was in his power to make good. This instance alone is sufficient to shew that Adrian was none of the safest guides in matters of conscience. It may be proper to tell the reader, that, in consequence of this dispensation, Henry dispossessed his brother Geoffrey of the dominions of Anjou, allowing him only a yearly pension for his maintenance.

(17) Guliel. Neubr. De Reb. Angl. l. ii. c. 7.
(18) *Id. ibid.*

[H] *He made warm complaints to Johannes Sarisburiensis.*] Baronius informs us (19), that, in the very first year of Adrian's reign, his countryman, and old friend, Johannes Sarisburiensis, or John of Salisbury, afterwards bishop of Chartres, paid him a visit; and that his Holiness complained to him in the strongest terms of the uneasiness of his station. He assured him, 'That all the former hardships of 'his life were mere amusement to the misfortunes of 'the popedom; that he looked upon St. Peter's chair 'to be the most uneasy seat in the world, and that his 'crown seemed to be clapped burning on his head.'

(19) Annal. T. xii. an. 1154.

[I] *The rest of his life and actions shall be briefly thrown together.*] In the beginning of his pontificate, he boldly withstood the attempts of the Roman people to recover their ancient liberty under the consuls, and obliged those magistrates to abdicate their authority, and leave the government of the city to the Pope. In 1155, he drove the heretic Arnold of Bresse, and his followers, out of Rome. The same year, he excommunicated William King of Sicily, who ravaged the territories of the church, and absolved that prince's subjects from their allegiance. About the same time, Frederick King of the Romans having entered Italy with a powerful army, Adrian met him near Sutrium, and concluded a peace with him. At this interview, Frederick condescended to hold the Pope's stirrup whilst he mounted on horseback: After which his Holiness conducted that Prince to Rome, and in St. Peter's church placed the imperial crown on his head, to the great mortification of the Roman people, who assembled in a tumultuous manner, and killed several of the Imperialists. The next year, a reconciliation was brought about between the Pope and the Sicilian King, that Prince taking an oath to do nothing farther to the prejudice of the Church, and Adrian granting him the title of *King of the Two Sicilies*. This Pope built and fortified several castles, and left the papal dominions in a more powerful and flourishing condition than he found them (20). [Vertot, in his history of Malta, gives an account of some disputes between the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Knights Hospitallers, which were laid before Adrian.]

(20) *Vide* Platina, de vit. Pontif. *in* Hadriano IV.

[K] *His death.*] Gulielmus Neubrigensis says nothing of the manner of Pope Adrian's death; but Matthew Paris tells us (21), he was poisoned out of spite by the Romans, because he had refused to consecrate a citizen's son a bishop, who was unworthy of that station. *Post hos autem paucos dies, idem Papa Adrianus, quia cujusdam potentis civis Romani filium indignum, in episcopum, timore repressus divino, creare & consecrare noluit, preventus insidiis, potionatus, veneno infectus, & interfectus est.* We have another account of his death in Bale, who tells us, upon the authority of Joannes Funcius, that Pope Adrian being one day walking with his attendants, a fly got into his throat; and the surgeons not being able to extract it, he was suffocated (22). Fuller tells the same story with a small variation. 'As he was 'drinking (says that author) he was choaked with a 'fly, which, in the large territory of St. Peter, 'had no place but his throat to get into; but 'since a fly stopped his breath, fear shall stop my 'mouth, not to make uncharitable conclusions from 'such casualties (23).' It is remarkable, that Platina is silent as to the manner of Pope Adrian's death; which surely he would not have been, had it really been attended with such extraordinary circumstances. And what shall we say to the silence of the learned Antiquarian Leland in this matter, but that he gave no credit to the reports concerning the manner of our Pontiff's death?

(21) Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 74.
(22) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. II. n. 64. *in appendice.*
(23) Fuller's Worthies of England, Hertfordshire, p. 20.

[L] *And some homilies.*] [There is a very good account of the transactions and policy of Pope Adrian and of Henry the Second, with regard to the Bull for the Conquest of Ireland, in Dr. Leland's history of that country (24.) The same may be said of Lord Lyttelton's relation of the same event; who after reciting the Pope's Bull, makes the following judicious reflections:

(24) Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 4—10.

'When Henry acknowledged *that Ireland and all 'other islands, which had received the doctrines of the 'Christian faith, belonged of right to the jurisdiction 'of St. Peter, and the most holy Roman church*, he 'certainly meant a spiritual jurisdiction; for other-'wise this concession would have given to the Pope

'the

'the temporal ſovereignty of England, as well as 'of Ireland. But yet the purport of the Bull, by 'which his Holineſs in effect diſpoſed of that iſland, 'ſeemed to imply that the property, or ſupreme 'dominion, was in him: and it appears from the 'words of John of Saliſbury himſelf, whom Henry 'employed in this buſineſs, that this pretenſion was 'founded on the forged donation of Conſtantine to 'Pope Sylveſter the Second. Moreover Giraldus 'Cambrenſis, in reckoning up the claims which 'Henry had to Ireland, mentions this grant of 'Adrian, and the confirmation of it by the autho-'rity of Pope Alexander the Second, as ſufficient to 'anſwer all objections, or cavils, againſt the pre-'tenſions of that prince; *the ſupreme pontiffs* (as he 'ſays) *aſſerting to themſelves the ſovereignty of all 'iſlands, by a ſpecial right*. He means by the do-'nation of Conſtantine above mentioned. So ex-'travagant were the ideas of the clergy in that age 'concerning the rights of the Roman pontificate! 'and this ought to have made the temporal powers 'more careful in their tranſactions with Rome, to 'do nothing which might countenance thoſe mon-'ſtrous claims. It plainly appears by this bull, 'that Pope Adrian conſidered the payment of a 'penny from every houſe in Ireland, which had 'been offered by Henry as a moſt indiſpenſable 'condition of the ſanction he gave to this unjuſt 'undertaking, which was really ſelling the inde-'pendence and liberty of the Iriſh for ſo much pro-'fit to himſelf and the apoſtolical ſee. But he had 'a further view in ſo ſtrongly inſiſting thereupon. 'For, though peter-pence, in its firſt inſtitution by 'King Offa, was only eleemoſynary, for the ſuſ-'tenance of poor Engliſh ſtudents at Rome; yet 'the Popes had long deſired, that it ſhould be un-'derſtood as *a tribute*, by which their ſovereignty 'was acknowledged. And the granting it from 'Ireland, where no ancient uſage had eſtabliſhed 'ſuch a gift, looked like a confeſſion of that pre-'tended right on the part of King Henry. The 'ring alſo which that prince received from Adrian, 'as a mark of inveſtiture, gave an appearance of 'his holding the dominion of Ireland from and un-'der the Pope; though it is certain he owned no 'ſuch dependence.

'Upon the whole, therefore, this bull, like 'many before and many ſince, was the mere effect 'of a league between the papal and regal powers, 'to abet and to aſſiſt each other's uſurpations: nor 'is it eaſy to ſay whether more diſturbance to the 'world and more iniquity have ariſen from their 'acting conjointly, or from the oppoſition which 'the former has made to the latter! In this in-'ſtance the beſt, or indeed the ſole excuſe, for the 'proceedings of either, was the ſavage ſtate of the 'Iriſh, to whom it might prove beneficial to be 'conquered, and broken thereby to the ſalutary 'diſcipline of civil order and good laws (25)."

His Lordſhip's *ſole excuſe* might well have been ſpared; ſince, were any ſuch excuſe ever to be admitted, it would furniſh a pretence for endleſs injuſtice and oppreſſion.

(25) Lord Lyttelton's Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry the Second, Vol. v. p. 59—61, 8vo edition.

The writers of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory have given from John Aventinus, part of a letter written by Adrian to the Emperor Frederic, about the year 1157, which diſplays, in a moſt ſtriking light, the inſolence of this Pope, with reſpect to the pretended papal juriſdiction over princes. 'The Roman Em-'pire was tranſlated from the Greeks to the Ger-'mans; but the King of the Teutones was not call-'ed Emperor, before he was crowned by the 'Apoſtolic Power. Before his conſecration he was 'King, after it he became Emperor. Of whom 'then, but us, does he hold the empire? From the 'election of his own princes he enjoys the name of 'King; from our conſecration he derives the ap-'pellation of Emperor Auguſtus and Cæſar; there-'fore through us he governs. Recollect what hath 'happened of old. Zacharias promoted Charles to 'the Imperial dignity, and gave him the name of 'Great; and decreed, that the King of the Ger-'mans ſhould thenceforward and for ever be Em-'peror, and Champion of the Apoſtolic Chair; 'that he might reduce Apulia to the dominion of 'the Biſhop of Rome, to whom (as well as the 'city itſelf) it formerly belonged; whereas the 'Emperor's is at Aix, in the foreſt of Ardenne. 'Whatever he hath as Emperor, he hath from us; 'for, as Zacharias transferred the Empire from the 'Greeks to the Germans, ſo can we transfer it from 'the Germans to the Greeks. It is in our power to 'beſtow it upon whom we will. Beſides, we are 'appointed by God to rule over kingdoms, and 'nations, that we may deſtroy, pluck up, build, 'plant,' &c. (26).] B.

(26) Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. xxix. p. 120.

ADRIAN (DE CASTELLO), Biſhop of Bath and Wells in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was deſcended from a mean and obſcure family called by the name of the Caſtelli, and born at Cornetto (*a*), a ſmall town in Tuſcany (*b*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his parts and learning, he obtained ſeveral employments at the court of Rome. In 1488, he was ſent by Pope Innocent VIII. in quality of his Nuncio extraordinary, to appeaſe the troubles in Scotland: but, upon his arrival in England, being informed that his preſence was no longer neceſſary in that kingdom, where the commotions had been ended by a deciſive battle, he ſet himſelf to execute ſome other commiſſions, with which he was charged, particularly that of collecting the Pope's tribute or Peter-pence, his Holineſs having appointed him his Quæſtor or Treaſurer for that purpoſe. He ſtayed ſome months in England, and, during that time, had the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of Morton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who recommended him ſo effectually to the King, that his Majeſty thought fit to employ him as his agent for the Engliſh affairs at the court of Rome; and, as a recompence of his faithful ſervices, promoted him firſt to the Biſhopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells (*c*). The Pope's bull, in virtue of which he was collated to the ſee of Hereford, is dated Auguſt the ſecond, 1504. He received the temporalities of Bath and Wells at Rome, in conſequence of the King's letters, dated October the thirteenth, the ſame year: on the twentieth, he received the ſpiritualities from the Archbiſhop by his Proctors; and the ſame day was enthroned at Wells by his proxy, who was the celebrated hiſtorian Polydore Vergil, at that time the Pope's ſub-collector in England, and afterwards appointed, by Adrian, Archdeacon of Wells. Our Prelate let out his biſhopric to Farmers, and afterwards to Cardinal Wolſey, himſelf reſiding at Rome (*d*); where he built a magnificent palace, on the frontiſpiece of which he cauſed to be inſcribed the name of his benefactor Henry VII. leaving it, after his deceaſe, to that Prince, and to the Kings of England his ſucceſſors. In the mean time, Alexander VI. who ſucceeded Innocent VIII. had appointed our Adrian his principal Secretary, and Vicar-General in ſpirituals and temporals; and, as a farther mark of eſteem and confidence, created him a Cardinal-Prieſt, with the title of St. Chryſogonus, the thirty firſt of May 1503 (*e*). Two or three

(*a*) Called by the ancients *Caſtrum novum*.

(*b*) Aubery, Hiſtoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, *4to*. Tom. iii. p. 76.

(*c*) Polyd Vergil. Hiſt. Angl. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, l. xxvi. p. 736, 737. & Aubery, ubi ſupra, p. 76, 77.

(*d*) Continuat. Hiſt. de Epiſc. Bathon. & Wellenſ. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. I. p. 576.

(*e*) Aubery, *ibid.* p. 77.

months after his creation, he narrowly escaped losing his life by poison [*A*], at a feast, to which he was invited, with some other Cardinals, by the Pope and his son Cæsar Borgia (*f*). Under the pontificate of Julius II. who succeeded Alexander, Cardinal Adrian, having taken some disgust, or because he distrusted that Pope, who was a declared enemy of his predecessor, voluntarily banished himself from Rome [*B*], and did not return till the holding of a conclave for the election of a new Pope; into which, though it was already shut, he was admitted, by consent of the sacred college, and probably gave his voice for the election of Leo X (*g*). Soon after, he was unhappily privy to a conspiracy against that Pontiff [*C*], into which he was the more easily led, by too fondly crediting the prediction of a Cunning-woman, or Fortune-teller, who had assured him, 'That Leo would be cut off by an unnatural death, and that he would be succeeded 'by an elderly man named Adrian, of obscure birth, but famous for his learning, and 'whose virtue and merit alone had raised him to the highest honours of the Church.' This prophecy, which our Cardinal foolishly and rashly applied to himself, was exactly verified in the election of Adrian VI. who succeeded Leo X. The conspiracy being discovered [*D*], Cardinal Adrian was condemned to pay twelve thousand five hundred ducats, and to give a solemn promise that he would not stir out of Rome. But, whether he was unable to discharge so heavy a fine, or apprehended farther severities, he withdrew privately from that city: whereupon, in a consistory held the sixth of July 1518, he was declared excommunicated, and deprived, not only of the cardinalate and all his benefices, but even of his ecclesiastical orders (*b*). Near four years before this time, he had been removed from his office of the Pope's Collector in England, at the request of King Henry VIII. and through the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey [*E*]. The chief

(*f*) Aubery, p. 75.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.* p. 78, 79.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 80. There is extant in Rymer's Fœdera, &c. (Vol. XIII. p. 607.) a Letter from the Cardinal de Medicis, acquainting King Henry VIII. with Cardinal Adrian's degradation.

[*A*] *He narrowly escaped losing his life by poison.*] Pope Alexander having invited some of the most distinguished members of the sacred college to a sumptuous entertainment; his son Cæsar Borgia resolved to take this opportunity to remove out of the way such of the guests, whose grandeur and riches he chiefly envied; and to this purpose he prepared some poisoned wine: but the Cup-bearer, providentially mistaking one flaggon for another, administered the poisoned liquor to the wicked contriver of this black design, who drank it off without suspecting the mistake (1). For the particulars and consequences of this horrid attempt, which cost the Pope himself his life, the reader is referred to the historians who have written the lives of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia. As to what concerns Cardinal Adrian, who was present at this fatal banquet, and one of the destined victims of Borgia's inhuman malice, M. Aubery informs us (2), that having inadvertently tasted the poisoned wine, he was seized with most excruciating pains in his bowels, which brought on frequent convulsions, and afterwards a kind of lethargy; that he was obliged, for some ease and refreshment, to roll himself quite naked in cold water poured on the floor of his chamber; that he escaped indeed with life, but not without *casting his skin*, which, through the violence of the poison, peeled off from all parts of his body.

(1) Aubery, Histoire Generale des Cardinaux, Paris, 1645, 4to. T. iii. p. 78.

(2) *Ibid.*

[*B*] *He voluntarily banished himself from Rome.*] This circumstance of the Cardinal's life, M. Aubery tells us (3), is not agreeable to the opinion of Raphael de Volaterra, who (4) extols his great skill and address, in constantly supporting the credit and reputation he had acquired at the court of Rome, and in always finding the means happily to extricate himself from the most dangerous conjunctures, and such as had proved fatal to others. But the express testimony of Paris de Grassi, master of the ceremonies, and what Guichardin remarks (5) of the King of France, who ordered Cardinal Adrian's name to be inserted, as having been one of those who had convened the synod of Pisa, prove plainly enough, that he met with no better treatment under the pontificate of Julius II. than the other favourites of Alexander VI. and that he had some occasions given him of discontent, or at least that he did not think himself safe under the power of the new Pope. My author says farther, that his Holiness, not knowing to what he should ascribe the Cardinal's extreme fear and voluntary exile, began to imagine, that it might be owing to remorse of conscience for having made some attempt upon his authority or his life.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Anthrop. l. xxii. p. 236.

(5) l. x. p. 538.

[*C*] *He was unhappily privy to a conspiracy against Pope Leo* X.] I call it a Conspiracy, after M. Aubery, who informs us, that Cardinal Petrucci was the chief of the conspirators, and Adrian one of those to whom he imparted the secret of his wicked designs, and whose indiscrete or malicious silence rendered them accomplices of his guilt (6). But, according to Polydore Vergil, this conspiracy was nothing more than the intemperate rage of an angry Cardinal, who was a perfect master of the *Roman freedom of speech* (7). The affair, as that historian relates it (8), was briefly this: The Pope had taken under his protection the inhabitants of Sienna, and deprived Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, and his family, of the principality they had long enjoyed there, in order, as his Holiness declared, entirely to root out the seeds of faction with which that city was disturbed. This proceeding highly incensed the Cardinal against the Pope, whom he charged with ingratitude, in thus repaying the assistance he had lent him, in bringing about his election: he complained openly of the injury done him, publickly expressed his detestation of that Pontiff, and imprecated a thousand deaths on him. He happened once to vent his rage in the hearing of the Cardinals, Adrian, and Francis Volaterran, who reproved him severely, but did not think they had sufficient grounds for an information against him. However Petrucci, in the heat of his passion, went away from Rome, and soon after, upon an assurance of indemnity, returned; but still continued his resentment, and abusive language against the Pope; who was so exasperated thereby, that he ordered him to be apprehended, and thrown into prison, where soon after he died.

(6) Aubery, *Ibid.* p. 79.

(7) Romana loquendi licentia eruditus.

(8) Hist. Angl. l. xxvii. p. 45, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 8vo.

[*D*] *The conspiracy being discovered.*] Let us hear M. Aubery. His Holiness, he tells us (9), having caused the three principal conspirators to be arrested, learned from their depositions, that the Cardinals Soderini (10) and de Castello were their accomplices, having been present at very secret conferences with them. A consistory was thereupon held, in which those two Cardinals, after much reluctancy, especially on the part of the latter, were induced to make a public confession of their fault, and Adrian owned, he had heard Petrucci say, that he would kill the Pope, but that he paid no regard to what he said on account of his youth.

(9) Ubi supra.

(10) The same, whom Polydore Vergil (*see the preceding remark*) calls Franciscus Volateranus: for Cardinal Soderini was Bishop of Volatera.

[*E*] *He was removed from his office of the Pope's Collector at the request of King Henry* VIII. *and through the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey.*] Wolsey, aiming at the dignity of a Cardinal, employed Adrian as his Solicitor at the court of Rome; but finding that he betrayed him, and did him ill offices, he made use of his interest with the King, to get him turned out of his post. There is extant in Mr. Rymer's *Fœdera, &c.* (11) a letter from Leo X. dated at Rome, October the thirty-first, 1514, in answer to one from King Henry to his Holiness. The Pope therein tells him, 'That he had condescended to 'remove the Cardinal from the office of Collector, 'for no other reason, but because the King had de- 'sired it; and that he would do even more for him, 'if it was not plain that he acted only at the instiga- 'tion of another, and not of his own accord.'

(11) Vol. xiii. p 467.

heads of his accuſation, drawn up at Rome, were; 'That he had abſented himſelf from 'that city in the time of Julius II. without the Pope's leave; that he had never reſided 'as he ought to have done, at the church of St. Chryſogonus, from which he had his 'title; that he had again withdrawn from Rome, and had not appeared to a legal 'citation; and that he had engaged in the conſpiracy of Cardinal Petrucci, and had 'ſigned the league of Francis Maria, Duke of Urbino, againſt the Pope (*i*).' He was at Venice when he received the diſagreeable news of his condemnation (*k*); but what became of him afterwards, or when and where he died, we know not, though it is pretended he took refuge ſomewhere in Aſia among the Turks (*l*). Cardinal Wolſey ſecured to himſelf the vacant See of Bath and Wells, which he had farmed of Adrian (*m*). There is to be ſeen, we are told (*n*), at Riva, a village in the dioceſe of Trent, a Latin inſcription on one Polydorus Caſamicus [*F*], the Pope's Janitor, written by Cardinal Adrian; at the end of which he deplores his own wretched condition, and exalts the happineſs of his friend, whoſe death had put an end to his miſeries. Polydore Vergil and M. Aubery give us a very advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate [*G*].

(*i*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*k*) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, l. xxvii. p. 45.

(*l*) Aubery, *ib.* p. 81.

(*m*) Polyd. Verg. *ibid.*

(*n*) Aubery, *ib.*

[*F*] *A Latin inſcription on Polydorus Caſamicus.*] It is as follows (10):

(10) Aubery, *ib.* p. 81.

POLYDORO. CASAMICO. ROMANO.
SUMMI. PONTIFICIS. OSTIARIO.
VIXIT. ANN. XXIV.
HADRIANUS. CARDINALIS. S. CHRYSOGONI.
FAMILIARI. CARIS. POS.

Exulat HADRIANUS: *tu jam,* POLYDORE, *quieſcis, Æternumque vales; nobis dira omnia reſtant.*

[*G*] *An advantageous idea of the manners and learning of this Prelate.*] Polydore Vergil highly extols him for his various and uncommon learning, his exquiſite judgment in the choice of the propereſt words, and the truly claſſical ſtyle of his writings, in which he was the firſt, ſince the age of Cicero, who revived the purity of the Latin language, and taught men to draw their knowledge from the ſources of the beſt and learnedeſt authors. *Erant in eo plurimæ literæ, non vulgares, ſed reconditæ, ac ſummum bonorum verborum delectu judicium; qui memoria noſtra primus omnium, poſt illud diſertiſſimum Ciceronis ſeculum, ſuis ſcriptis mortales excitavit ad perfectas literas de doctiſſimorum autorum fontibus hauriendas, dotuitque modum purè, nitidè, ac luculenter loquendi, ſic ut, eo doctore, in præſentia ubique gentium Latinitas ab integro renaſcatur* (11). He was of a gay and chearful diſpoſition; and, as if he would imitate Cicero in this point, as well as in purity of ſtyle, he took great pleaſure in rallying or bantering, of which we have the following inſtance. Diſputing one day about precedency with Cardinal Caruajal, who maintained, that, ſince he had been reſtored by the Pope to the Cardinalate, he ought to hold the ſame rank as if he had never been degraded from it; Adrian reſolved at laſt to give him place, but not without one ſtroke of raillery upon his antagoniſt, to whom he ſaid, making a low bow, *Your moſt reverend lordſhip may go before me, if you pleaſe, ſince biſcuit* (*) *has always been preferred to common bread,* reproaching him thereby with his former rebellion, and the diſgrace he was forced to undergo, before he could be promoted a ſecond time to the dignity of a Cardinal (12).

B.

(11) Polyd. Verg. ubi ſupra, lib. xxvi. p. 737.

(*) Bread twice baked.

(12) Aubery, *ibid.*

ÆLFRED, ALFRIDE, ALDFRID, or ELDFRID, was the illegitimate ſon of Oſwi, King of Northumberland. He was educated as became the ſon of a King, and, as Beda tells us, ſtudied amongſt the Scots, and acquired a great knowledge in the ſcriptures, and in all ſolid and uſeful learning (*a*). On his return into his father's kingdom, he behaved himſelf with great wiſdom and prudence, and it is particularly related of him, that he perſuaded his brother-in-law, Peada, the ſon of Penda, King of the Mercians, to renounce Heatheniſm, and to embrace the Chriſtian Religion. On the death of his father Oſwi, Egfrid, his brother, who ſucceeded in the throne, perſecuted him with implacable malice, merely becauſe he was a Prince of great parts, and there had been ſome talk of raiſing him to the throne. To avoid his fury, Ælfred retired into Ireland, though ſome ſay into Scotland, where, converſing only with the learned, he led a philoſophic kind of life; being diſtinguiſhed from other private men only by the virtues of the mind (*b*). Yet even here, his brother could not let him reſt, but moſt injuriouſly making war on thoſe who had given him refuge, was ſlain in battle (*c*). Hereupon the nobility of the kingdom of Northumberland unanimouſly invited Ælfred to take poſſeſſion of the vacant throne, which he accordingly did, in the year 686 [*A*]. He found the kingdom in great confuſion, and by his wiſdom and piety ſoon brought it into order; eaſed the people of the oppreſſive taxes his brother had laid upon them, and, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered them perfectly eaſy and happy. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning as much after he became King, as he had done before; for which reaſon, not only ſcholars flocked to his court, but even the learned in other countries paid tribute to his abilities, by dedicating their books to him; as did the famous Scottiſh Abbot Adamanus, and Adelmus, Biſhop of Sherburn (*d*). It is however admitted, that as he was no martial Prince, ſo his dominions were more

(*a*) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 24. 27. lib. v. c. 12. Henr. Hunt. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*b*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra, Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. lib. iv.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon, p. 45.

(*d*) Bed. H. E. ubi ſupra, Bal. Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. fol. 43, 44, 45.

[*A*] *Which he did in the year* 686.] The life of this Prince certainly merits a place in this work, as well on account of his being a King of great fame, a man learned himſelf, and commended as an encourager of learning by venerable Bede, but chiefly, becauſe he is taken notice of by foreign writers. There is an article of him in a late edition of Moreri (1); and ſhall it be ſaid there are any more careful of the fame and credit of Engliſhmen, than we ourſelves are? It is true, this Prince was no King of England, he was King only of a very ſmall part of it. He did honour, however, to the whole, nay, and to Scotland and Ireland too; in the former country he was educated, in the latter he long reſided, and for his eminent virtues was admired and beloved in both. Some epiſtles to the learned men in both countries he left behind him, but it is not known whether they are ſtill preſerved or not. This however we know, that his learning, wiſdom, and piety, is celebrated by many of our ancient authors, as the margin will ſhew (2).

(1) See this Article in the firſt Volume of the Edition, printed at Baſil, 1731.

(2) Leland, Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 88. Balæus Illuſt. Major. Brit. Script. Centur. prima, fol 45. Pitſeus de illuſtr. Angl Scriptor. p. 116.

ſtraitened than they had been in the days of his anceſtors. He is cenſured for perſecuting Biſhop Wilfrid [*B*], in whoſe room he cauſed John, of Beverly, a man famous for piety and learning, to be conſecrated Biſhop of Hexham, in Northumberland, whom he afterwards exalted to the Archbiſhoprick of York. He governed with great reputation the kingdom of Northumberland nineteen years, and dying on the 24th of December, in the year 705 (*e*), was buried at Drifeld. He married Cyniburg, or, as ſome call her, Kenburg, the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, by whom he had Oſrede, his ſon and ſucceſſor; but in nothing like his father, the remembrance of whoſe virtues induced the people to make this ſon of his King, though he was at that time a child of eight years old (*f*).

(*e*) Chron. Saxon. p. 50.
(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. p. 91. Bromton. Chron. Regn. Northumb. p. 794.

[*B*] *Perſecuting Biſhop Wilfrid.*] Moſt of our hiſtorians mention the differences between this Prince and Wilfridus, Archbiſhop of York, very conciſely; and thoſe who have written the life of this King, do it ſtill more obſcurely. The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, to whom it properly belongs, treat it, however, very copiouſly, and from them we ſhall give the reader a ſuccinct account of it. This Wilfridus, at the time of Alfred's acceſſion to the throne, was beyond the ſeas, expelled from his archiepiſcopal ſee of York, by the King's brother and predeceſſor. In the ſecond year of this Prince, which was 687, Wilfridus returned with mandatory letters from the Pope, for his reſtoration. With theſe the King in part complied, for he promoted John, of Beverly, who was then Biſhop of Hexham, to the Archbiſhoprick of York, and offered Wilfridus his Biſhoprick, which he accepted. There he ſat quietly five years; but, in 692, he was again expelled, not ſo much by the King's will, as on account of diſputes among the clergy. Upon this he went abroad again, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the Pope, and after thirteen years attendance, obtained a ſentence in his favour; whereupon he returned into England, after Alfred had been dead ſome years (3).

(3) Bed. H. E. lib. iv. c. 12. lib. v. c. 20. Chronic. Sanct. Crucis Edinburgh, ad ann. 687, 705. Gul. Malmſb. de Pontific. lib. iii. See alſo the Article WILFRIDUS.

ÆLFRED, or ALFRED *(the Great)*, by ſome alſo called Elfred, and by others Alured, was the youngeſt ſon of Æthelwolf, King of the Weſt Saxons: he was born at Wannating, or Wanading, which ſome take to be Wantage in Berkſhire, then a royal ſeat, A. D. 849 (*a*). His father, who was a very wiſe and religious Prince, believing that he ſaw in him a brighter and more promiſing genius than in his other children, ſent him, while yet an infant, that is, in the fifth year of his age, to Rome, where Pope Leo IV. adopted him, and anointed him (*b*), which ſome aſſert to have been a regal unction, though others think he was only confirmed (*c*) [*A*]. His father, in the decline of his life, going to viſit the Holy See, took this favourite ſon of his along with him, whereby he had an opportunity of ſeeing and hearing many things, which made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions on him, as were not to be worn out during his whole life (*d*). On his return to England, his parents were no leſs tender of him than before; yet this tenderneſs was not of much ſervice to Ælfred (*e*), ſince it eſtranged him from learning, and conſiſted too much in the indulging of idleneſs, and a purſuit of youthful pleaſures. On his father's death he had an appenage bequeathed to him by will; but his brothers, who ſucceeded in the throne, put him off with fair words, ſo that his poſſeſſions remained narrow enough. However, as he had a very grave phi-

(*a*) Annales rerum geſtarum. Ælfredi Magni, Auctore Aſſerio Menevenſi. Oxon. 8vo. p. 3. Roger. Hoved. Annal. apud Rerum Anglicarum Script. poſt Bedam. Francf. 1661, p. 414. Aiſford. Annal. Tom. iii. p. 66. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 849.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 7. Chron. Saxon. Oxon. 1692. 4to. p. 75. Simeon. Dunelm. ap. X. Script. p. 139. Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 854.
(*c*) Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra. Leland de Script. p. 145.
(*d*) Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 8.
(*e*) *Idem*. p. 12, 15.

[*A*] *Though others think he was only confirmed.*] There are many reaſons why the anointing Ælfred to be King, is ſcrupled (1). 1. He was his father's younger ſon; and had three, at leaſt, if not four, brethren between him and the crown. 2. He was but five years old, and therefore it is not likely that his father ſhould intend him for a Vice-King. 3. Such an unction could have no other conſequence, than that of making him obnoxious to his brethren. But notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, it ſeems pretty clear, that he was really anointed in order to inveſt him with a royal character. Many reaſons have been offered in ſupport of this opinion; but, for the ſake of cutting things as ſhort as poſſible, we will ſhew that the foregoing objections are not very cogent; and that there is indubitable authority on the other ſide. As to his diſtance from the throne, that is no objection at all, if the cuſtom of the times and his father's will be conſidered (2). From both which it appears, that great Princes made all their ſons Kings; and that this was what Æthelwolf both deſigned, and in part effected. With reſpect to the ſecond point, it is evident that a great part of Wales was conquered that year (3); and it is therefore very probable, his father intended, when he was of an age fit to govern, to make Ælfred King of Demetia, or South Wales (4), as he had before inveſted two of his other ſons with royal titles. The laſt objection really anſwers itſelf, for the fact fell out ſo. The brethren of Ælfred grew jealous of him, and defeated him not only of the kingdom which his father intended him, but likewiſe of the ſmall portion that Prince left him, after he had altered his former purpoſe (5). A multitude of authors ſpeak of Ælfred's journey to Rome, and of his unction; yet there are two whoſe teſtimonies in many reſpects ſeem preferable to the reſt. The firſt of theſe is Aſſer, Biſhop of Sherburn, who was intimate with King Ælfred; and who, in the memoirs he wrote of that Prince, and dedicated to himſelf, hath under the year 853, theſe words (6): *The ſame year King Æthelwolf ſent his ſon Ælfred to Rome, attended by many of the nobility and perſons of lower rank. Leo IV. then poſſeſſed the Apoſtolic See, who anointed the ſaid infant Ælfred as a King, confirmed him, and adopted him as his own ſon.* This author, therefore, plainly affirms he was both crowned and adopted. The other writer is Æthelred, a Monk of the royal family, who lived very near theſe times, who ſays, that after Leo had conſecrated him King, he, from that act, ſtiled him his ſon, as Biſhops, at the time of confirmation, are wont to call thoſe little ones their children (7). Robert, of Glouceſter (8), ſays expreſsly, that he was crowned King; and that he was the firſt of our Princes who was anointed, which is alſo aſſerted by Thomas Rudborne (9). In this, however, they ſeem to be miſtaken; for not only the Monk of Malmſbury (10), who was well acquainted with theſe things, aſſerts, that in 790, Offa, King of Mercia, cauſed his ſon Egfert to be anointed King in his life-time; but alſo Gildas (11), the moſt ancient of our hiſtorians, ſpeaks of unction as a thing common in his time amongſt the Britiſh Princes. Hence it is clear, that he was not the firſt of our Kings, nor even the firſt of our Saxon Kings conſecrated by unction. Sir Henry Spelman (12), after mentioning ſome of theſe authorities, concludes juſtly, that he was anointed King. But Alford (13), the Jeſuit, ſeems to be more in the right, who alledges, he was both anointed King, and confirmed by Pope Leo; and that, in reſpect to this ſecond ceremony, the Pope was his godfather.

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 145.

(2) See Note [*B*].

(3) Chron. Saxon. p. 75.

(4) Enderbie's Hiſtory of Wales, lib. i. p. 216.

(5) Vid. Teſtament. Ælfred.

(6) De Reb. Geſt. Ælfred, p. 7.

(7) Ubi ſupra.
(8) In his Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne, p. 264.
(9) Hiſt. Maj. Winton, in tit. cap. vi. p. 206.
(10) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. i. c. iv. p. 33.
(11) De Excid. Britan. cap. xix.
(12) In Conciliis, p. 378. See alſo Sir John Spelman, in his life of Alfred, p. 20.
(13) Annal. Tom. iii. p. 66.

loſophic

loſophic ſpirit, and began now to think of recovering the time he had loſt in his non-age, he readily admitted theſe excuſes, and would willingly have been content with his books and his eaſe (*f*). But it was not long he enjoyed even theſe ſmall comforts. The Danes invading the kingdom, he was conſtrained to abandon a contemplative for an active life, ſerving his brethren both with his counſels and in perſon; till at length, they being all dead [*B*], he, in the two and twentieth year of his age, *anno dom.* 871, became King in his own right (*g*); which dignity, however, he aſſumed with much reluctancy, not only on account of his love to a retired life, but alſo becauſe he knew that a crown was a very heavy burthen, and that though it was adorned with jewels, yet it was at the ſame time lined with cares (*h*). He had ſcarcely leiſure to attend his brother's funeral, when he was forced to fight for the crown he had ſo unwillingly accepted. At Wilton he engaged the Daniſh army, and in the beginning of the battle had the advantage, but, in the purſuit, the Danes diſcovering his weakneſs, rallied, and drove him out of the field (*i*). We need not wonder at this, ſince, beſides their deficiency in numbers, the Saxons muſt have been exceſſively haraſſed, as there had been eight or nine battles that year (*k*). Soon after the engagement at Wilton, there followed a treaty. This, however, they obſerved but indifferently, roaming up and down, and pillaging wherever they came. At laſt they put an end to the kingdom of Mercia, and forced its monarch not only to leave his dominions, but the iſland (*l*). The next year after this, they acted in ſuch a manner as gave Ælfred to underſtand, that he had nothing to truſt to but arms: for this reaſon he took pains to fit out a fleet, which was to guard the coaſts, and keep theſe rovers from landing. Some effect this deſign of his produced, for a ſquadron of five Daniſh ſhips coming on the coaſt, one of them was taken (*m*). However, a great army of Danes, commanded by ſeveral of their Kings, marched as far as Grant-bridge, and quartered thereabouts the beſt part of the year, and the next ſummer they advanced to Werham: there King Ælfred met them with all the forces he could raiſe; but not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to fight them, he concluded a peace, not without the interpoſition of money, if ſome of our hiſtorians deſerve credit (*n*). However it was, a peace he made, and the Danes ſwore never to invade his dominions; but, according to their wonted cuſtom, broke their faith in a few months [*C*]. The next year, being 876, the barbarous Danes committed new and great hoſtilities, which compelled the King to march againſt them, with what forces

(*f*) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 141. Ethelred. Reival. de Gen. Reg. Angl. ap. X. Scriptor. p. 352. Aſſer. Meneven. p. 16.

(*g*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 24. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 144. Joan. Bromton. p. 809. MS. Chron. Godſtov. p. 72.

(*h*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra, Ælfred. Magn. in Teſtam.

(*i*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 25. Chron. Saxon. p. 82. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 145.

(*k*) Chron. Saxon. p. 82.

(*l*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 26. Joan. Bromt. p. 809.

(*m*) Aſſer. Meneven. ubi ſupra, Chron. Saxon. p. 83.

(*n*) Aſſer. Meneven. p. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Joan. Bromton. p. 811.

[*B*] *Till at length, they being all dead.*] It would have taken up too much room in the text, to have entered into the tranſactions of Ælfred in his non-age. However, as the knowledge of them is, in ſome meaſure, requiſite to the thorough underſtanding of ſeveral circumſtances of this article, we ſhall ſay as much as is neceſſary of them in this note. His father Æthelwolf, according to the beſt accounts we have, had five ſons and a daughter (14). Of theſe Æthelſtan the eldeſt, was King of Kent, in his father's life-time, and died before him. Æthelbald, the ſecond ſon, raiſed a rebellion againſt his father, when he came back from Rome; and that good-natured Prince, to avoid any effuſion of blood, conſented to divide with him his dominions (15). He did not long ſurvive this; but, before his death, he, by a full and diſtinct teſtament, endeavoured to ſettle all the claims of his children in ſuch a manner, as might prevent their diſturbing the public peace. By this will, Æthelbald and Æthelbert had his kingdoms divided between them: his private eſtate, he left to his younger ſons Æthelred and Ælfred, together with what money was found in his coffers (16). As for his daughter, ſhe married Burthred, King of Mercia, and being with her huſband expelled her country by the Danes, went into Italy; and, after his death, lived a nun at Padua. Æthelwolf deceaſed in 858, when Ælfred was but ten years old (17). Æthelbald ſucceeded him, and governed two years and a half. On his demiſe, Æthelbert ſeized the crown, which he held for five years, during which ſpace he was continually vexed by the Danes, againſt whom he fought with undaunted courage, though with unequal ſucceſs. He died in 866 (18), and was ſucceeded by his brother Æthelred, who having reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the King his brother's conduct, while he was a private man, ſolemnly promiſed his younger brother Ælfred, he would do him that juſtice which had been denied by the two former Kings, in giving him what his father had by will bequeathed him. On his acceſſion, Ælfred demanded a performance of his promiſe, when the King excuſed himſelf on account of the troubleſome times; but aſſured him, that if he kept every thing to himſelf at preſent, yet at his death he would leave him all (19). With this Ælfred was ſatisfied; for being inclined to follow his ſports, fond of domeſtic pleaſures, and extremely addicted to literature, he inclined rather to have led a retired life. But having given ſome proofs of his courage in the former King's reign, Æthelred would never part with him, but made uſe of him as his Firſt Miniſter, and General in chief of his armies. In this capacity it was, that he, raſhly engaging the Daniſh army, which was very numerous, and then lay near Reading, was in great danger of being totally defeated, had not the King come in to his aſſiſtance with a freſh body of men, which changed the fortune of the day; inſomuch that the Danes loſt the field, and therein one King, nine of their Chiefs, whom the Saxons called Earls, and a prodigious number of common ſoldiers (20). This, however, did not hinder the Danes from attacking and defeating the two brothers a fortnight after; followed very ſuddenly by another ſuch diſaſter, wherein King Æthelred (21) received his mortal wound.

(14) Aſſer. Meneν. p 12. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(15) Aſſer. Meneveſ. p. 8, 9.

(16) Teſtament. Ælfred. Aſſer. Menev. p. 12.

(17) Aſſer. Menev. p. 13. Chron. Saxon. p. 77.

(18) Chron. Saxon. p. 78.

(19) Teſtament. Alfredi.

(20) Aſſer. Menev. p 22, 23. Chron Saxon. p. 81, 82. Alured Beverl. p. 51.

[*C*] *Broke their faith in a few months.*] All our ancient hiſtorians, and eſpecially thoſe who lived in their times, unanimouſly agree in charging the Danes with moſt horrid acts of perfidy (22). Conſidering, however, the pains taken by theſe authors, to juſtify their countrymen in all things, and their evident partiality in ſuch points as regard the ancient Britons, we might well enough doubt their ſincerity in this reſpect, if it was not confirmed by facts, and by the authority of foreign writers. To ſay the truth, the perfidy of the Danes was the reſult of their barbariſm. From making it their conſtant practice to burn and deſtroy whatever they could not carry away, they were quickly ſtraitned in their quarters; and thus being obliged to ſhift them often, they ſoon found themſelves in ſuch a ſituation as to have no means of ſubſiſtance, without obtaining it by force, from thoſe with whom they had lately made peace. To theſe wrong ſteps of theirs, was owing the wretched condition in which this whole iſland then was; all its beſt towns, many of its fineſt monaſteries, and the far greater part of its villages, being but ſo many heaps of ruins. The want of cultivation alſo produced dreadful famines; and theſe, as uſual, were followed with

(21) Aſſer. Menev. p. 24. Chron Saxon. p 81. Alured. Beverl. p 51. Thom. Sprotti. Chron. p. 69. col. 1. Hiſtor. Mai. Wint. p. 206.

(22) Aſſer Meneν. Chron. Petrib. Hiſtor. Eliens Chron Mailroſs, &c.

forces he could get together. He found them in Exeter, where, for ſome time, he held them beſieged (*o*). While things were in this ſituation, his fleet ſucceſsfully engaged part of the enemy's, though it conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſail, ſunk many, and diſperſed the reſt, which, attempting to gain ſome of the Engliſh ports, by a ſtorm were driven on the coaſts, and all miſerably periſhed (*p*). This ſo terrified the Barbarians, that they once more made peace and gave hoſtages. However, in 877, having obtained new aids, they came in ſuch numbers into Wiltſhire, that the Saxons, quite tired out, could not be perſuaded to make head againſt them. Many to avoid them fled out of the kingdom; not a few ſubmitted themſelves; and the reſt ſuffering fear to ſuperſede their duty, fled every man to the place wherein he might beſt be concealed. In this diſtreſs, Ælfred conceiving himſelf no longer a King, laid aſide all ſigns of royalty, and, to ſecure his perſon, took ſhelter in the houſe of one who kept his cattle (*q*). While he remained in this retreat, a little adventure happened, of which ſeveral of our hiſtories take notice. The good woman of the houſe having one day made ſome cakes, put them before the fire to toaſt, and ſeeing Ælfred ſitting by, trimming his bow and arrows, ſhe thought he would of courſe take care of the bread; but he, it ſeems, intent on what he was about, let the cakes burn; which ſo provoked the woman, that ſhe rated him roundly, telling him he would be glad to eat them, and ought therefore to have looked after their toaſting (*r*). The King, however, did not continue long in this wretched ſituation; for obſerving that a part of Somerſetſhire was ſo encloſed by the waters of the Perrot and the Thone, as to form a moraſs, which it was almoſt impracticable to force; he, in the centre thereof, where there was about two acres of firm ground, built a fort, for the ſecurity of himſelf, his family, and the few faithful ſervants that repaired thither to him (*s*). This place he named Æthelingey, or rather Æthelinga-igge, that is, the *Iſle of Nobles*, now called Athelney (*t*) [*D*]. There he continued ſome months, ſallying frequently out upon the Danes (eſpecially when they thought themſelves ſecure and lay careleſsly) with incredible ſecrecy and ſucceſs. After almoſt a year ſpent in this manner, underſtanding that ſome of his ſubjects had routed a great army of the Danes, killed their Chiefs or Kings, and taken their magical ſtandard (*u*) [*E*], he iſſued his letters to acquaint them with the place where

(*o*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 29. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 175.

(*p*) Aſſer. ibid.

(*q*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30. Chron. Saxon. p. 84. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 146. Ethelred Rieval, p. 353. Joan. Bromton, p. 811.

(*r*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 30.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. p. 84. A. 878. Chron. Petriburg. ap. Hiſt. Angl. Scrip. var. Lond. 1723, p. 22.

(*t*) Camden. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4to. p. 160.

(*u*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 32. Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Ethelred Rieval, p. 355. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Alured. Beverl. p. 42.

with conſuming plagues, as we read in Aſſerius, and other ancient writers (23). We need not wonder, therefore, that Ælfred was deſirous of getting ſome time to breathe; or that being juſt ſeated on the throne, he ſhould be willing to obtain a thorough knowledge of the ſtate both of his dominions and his people. Inſtead, therefore, of attributing this treaty of his with the Danes, to indolence, or want of ſpirit, we ought to conclude it the effect of his foreſight and great prudence, which inclined him to ſeek ſome means for reſtoring and ſtrengthening his decayed ſtate, before he engaged in freſh wars, with a fierce and barbarous people, who, by continual acceſſions of new comers, throve by fighting, and gained ground even by defeats.

(23) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Sax. &c.

[*D*] *Now called Athelney.*] The diſtreſs the King was in when he took ſhelter in this iſland, is very ſtrongly painted by Aſſerius Menevenſis, who very probably heard what he relates from the King's own mouth. We are told that St. Neolas, his kinſman, predicted to him this misfortune. That wiſe and good man, it ſeems, diſcerning in the two firſt years of Ælfred's reign, a greater inclination to the employments and recreations of a private life, than to attend the affairs of ſtate, and diſcharge the function of a King, took upon him to reprove Ælfred, and in the end, when he found his diſcourſes wrought not much, foretold him, that the time was at hand, when God would ſeverely chaſtize him for his negligence; and when he ſhould have enough of that privacy, which he now ſeemed ſo much to covet (24). Among other ſingular accidents which befel him in this retreat, the following is much inſiſted upon by ſome of our hiſtorians, though not mentioned by Aſſerius. It happened one day in the winter, that the King having ſent all his attendants out to ſearch for fiſh and other things in the iſland, was left alone with his Queen in the fort. This leiſure he employed, as he was wont, in reading; but was quickly diſturbed by the voice of a poor man, who with great earneſtneſs begged for ſomewhat to ſatisfy his hunger. Ælfred thereupon deſired his wife to examine their cupboard, wherein ſhe finding only one ſmall loaf brought it to him, and told him it would ſcarcely ſuffice his ſervants when they came home from fiſhing. The King, however, directed her to give half to the poor man, whoſe name was Nider, truſting, as he ſaid, that God would ſend more. She did as ſhe was directed, and the King returning to his book, read till he was ſleepy, whereupon he went to his couch to ſlumber away his cares. In his ſleep he had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he ſaw St. Cuthbert, the famous Biſhop of Holy Iſland, who told him, that God having puniſhed the ſins of the Saxons by the ſword of the Danes, now pitied their calamities, and looking with an eye of favour on his late act of charity, had determined to reſtore him to his throne; and of the truth of this, the return of his ſervants with a large quantity of fiſh, ſhould ſerve him as a token. The King waking called to the Queen, who was alſo fallen aſleep, and told her his dream, which ſhe no ſooner heard, than ſhe aſſured him ſhe had dreamed the ſame thing. Immediately after his ſervants returned with a vaſt quantity of fiſh, which greatly encouraged the King, and put him upon thoſe great and glorious undertakings, which reſtored the luſtre of the Saxon diadem (25). We have omitted a great many miraculous circumſtances, with which a certain author graces the ſtory we have juſt now recited, and have followed Spelman in calling the lady who was with the King, his Queen, and not his mother, who died long before his father. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the Abbot of Rieval ſays, that the King directed his *ſervant* to beſtow this alms, without mentioning any lady at all (26).

(24) Aſſer. Menev. p. 21, 22.

(25) Simeon. Dunelm. in vit. S. Cuthbert, ap. X Scriptor. p. 72. Joan Bromt. Chron. p. 811. W. Malmſb. l. xi. p. 43.

(26) Ethelred Rieval. col. 353, 354.

[*E*] *Their magical ſtandard.*] It will be proper to make uſe of Sir John Spelman's explication of this dark point. *In this defeat*, ſays he, *there was taken that famous Daniſh ſtandard, called Reaſan, or the Raven, the great confidence of thoſe Pagans. It was a banner, with the image of a raven, magically wrought by the three ſiſters of Hinquar and Hubba, on purpoſe for their expedition, in revenge of their father Lodebroch's murder, made, they ſay, almoſt in an inſtant, being by them at once begun and finiſhed in a noon tide, and believed by the Danes to have carried great fatality with it, for which it was highly eſteemed of them. It is pretended, that being carried in battle; towards good ſucceſs it would always ſeem to clap the wings, and make as if it would fly; but, towards the approach of miſhap, it would hang down, and not move. Whatſoever it was, the impoſtor was now betrayed; for being taken by ſurprize, they had loſt their oracle, before they had time to conſult with it* (27). That this ſtory, however fabulous, is no invention of our writer's, is evident from what we meet

(27) Life of Alfred, p. 61.

where he was, and to invite the nobility to come thither and conſult with him. This they accordingly did, and ſhewed a great alacrity, when the King propoſed taking the field with an army, and no longer acting only by ſtealth, as it were, againſt the enemy (*w*). However, before they came to a final reſolution, Ælfred, that his ſubjects might not hazard too much, expoſed his own perſon in a moſt extraordinary manner. For putting on the habit of a harper, he went into the enemy's camp, where, without ſuſpicion, he was every where admitted, and had even the honour to play before their Princes. This having furniſhed him with an exact knowledge of their ſituation, he returned with like ſecrecy to his nobility, whom he directed to go to their ſeveral homes, there to draw together each man as great a force as he could, with which, at a day prefixed, he was to come to the great wood, now called Selwood, in Wiltſhire (*x*). This they punctually performed, and the Danes, with no ſmall ſurprize, heard that King Ælfred, whom they looked upon as a fugitive, was about to attack them with a royal army. The King, taking advantage of the terror they were in, fell upon them, and totally defeated them at Æthendune, now Eddington (*y*). Thoſe who eſcaped from this battle, poſſeſſed themſelves of a neighbouring caſtle or fort, almoſt ruined, which they fortified immediately, and wherein they were quickly beſieged by the victorious Saxons. After a long and cloſe ſiege, the Danes were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. But Ælfred dealt by them like a merciful Prince, giving up to ſuch of them as ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion the whole kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, on condition that they ſhould oblige the reſt of their countrymen to quit the iſland, and prevent, as far as in them lay, the landing of any more foreigners therein (*z*). For the performance of theſe articles he took hoſtages, and when, in purſuance of the treaty, Guthrum, the Daniſh Captain, or, as ſome called him, King, came with thirty of his chief officers to Ælfred, who lay then encamped at Aalre, now Auler, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, to be baptized, the King anſwered for him at the font, gave him the name of Æthelſtan, and adopted him for his ſon. He then entertained him and his friends twelve days, or, to ſpeak in the ſtyle of our Saxon anceſtors, twelve nights, at his houſe at Wedmore, or Wetmore, after which he diſmiſſed them with royal preſents (*a*). This certain advantage the Saxons got by the Danes turning Chriſtians, that now they kept their oaths, and removing the next year from Chippenham to Cirenceſter, and about a twelvemonth after into the country aſſigned them, there for the preſent they ſat down, and ſettled themſelves very quietly (*b*). The ſame year a new ſwarm of Danes came up the river Thames, and wintered at Fullouham, now Fulham; but Ælfred was ſo well provided, that they thought proper to go off again, and try their fortunes in France (*c*). The Saxon fleet alſo performed great things at ſea, and the King depending much thereon, ſpared neither pains nor coſt to keep it conſtantly in good order (*d*). In 884, the Danes landed in Kent in great numbers, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter, but the inhabitants made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the King came time enough to their relief, forced the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and return once more to France (*e*). A little after, his fleet had the good luck to beat a very conſiderable one of the Danes, deſtroyed thirteen ſhips, and according to the King's orders, gave no quarter to any of the men on board (*f*). Yet within a ſhort ſpace after this, they themſelves were defeated, but that defeat turned to their advantage, ſince it made them extremely vigilant for the future (*g*) [*F*]. Ælfred having now ſome leiſure, reſolved to repair, re-fortify, and re-people the ancient city of London, which he had lately recovered from the Danes, and meant to keep as a frontier. Accordingly he re-edified it, placed a garriſon therein, and eſtabliſhed as the Governor thereof, Æthered, whom he had created Earl of Mercia, and to whom he gave his

(*w*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Simeon. Dunelm, p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811, *c*.

(*x*) Ingulph, ap. Rer. Ang. Scrip. Veter. Oxon. 1684, p. 26. W. Malmſb. p. 43.

(*y*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 34. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 878. Simeon Dunelm. p. 146. Joan. Bromt. p. 811. Chron. Petriburg. p. 22. Ingulph, p. 26. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350. Roger. de Hoved. p. 417, 418. Camd. Brit. p. 179. Alured. Beverl. Annal. l. vii. p. 52.

(*z*) Chron. Saxon. ubi ſupra. Aſſer. Menev. ubi ſupra.

(*a*) Aſſer. Menev. Chron. Saxon. Ingulph, ubi ſupra. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 72.

(*b*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 85. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(*c*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 35. Chron. Saxon. p. 86. Joan. Bromt. p. 813.

(*d*) Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Roger. Hoved. p. 418.

(*e*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 36. Chron. Saxon. p. 87.

(*f*) Aſſer. Men. p. 37. Chron. Saxon. p. 87. Simeon Dunelm p. 150. Joan. Bromt. p. 812. Henr. Huntingd. p. 350.

(*g*) Chron. Sax. p. 87.

meet with in the hiſtory of the northern nations by Olaus Magnus, wherein there are very prolix accounts of the like nature (28). It ſhould ſeem, that either the Danes redeemed this ſtandard, or got another of the ſame ſort wrought, ſince on one of the coins of Anlaff, King of Northumberland, there is a raven, which he bore in his banners (29), and from one of the coins of King Canute, it appears to have given original to a family, one of the Monetarii to that King, being called Refen (30).

(28) Hiſt. de gent. ſeptent. l. iii. c 15, 16. edit. Rom.

(29) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. i. p. 363. Tab. iii. 3.

(30) *Ibid.* Tab. iv. 12.

[*F*] *Extremely vigilant for the future.*] It may ſeem ſtrange, that the King having ſo lately made peace with the Danes, and received them for his ſubjects, ſhould be obliged to take ſo much pains to defend his country againſt them; for there is no doubt at all, that theſe very Danes were part of thoſe who had ſubmitted to King Ælfred. In order to clear this difficulty, we muſt enter minutely into the ſituation of the Danes under King Guthrum. We have ſtill extant two treaties, or articles of capitulation, between King Ælfred, and Guthrum King of the Danes (31). The firſt is very ſhort, and appears to have been the articles agreed on, at the immediate ſurrender of the Danes, when they had not time to be very explicit. The latter is larger, and takes in all that the Danes bound themſelves to, in conſideration of the lands beſtowed upon them by King Ælfred; and from thence it appears, that they had granted them the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, which, however, were ſtill dependent upon Ælfred, who concurred with King Guthrum in his charters (32). But notwithſtanding all theſe engagements, Guthrum was far from being true to the King. On the contrary, he executed what he had promiſed very ſlowly, received many new comers under his protection, and connived at their fitting out ſuch pyratical fleets, as this was, to plunder King Ælfred's dominions; pretending, however, when any complaint was made, that they were a wild lawleſs crew, who for a while indeed had remained under his juriſdiction, but were now revolted; and therefore he was not accountable for their behaviour. This action happened in the dead of the night; ſo that the King's fleet was rather ſurpriſed than beaten; and all the uſe the enemy made of this little advantage, was to procure a new treaty with the King, who, for his own eaſe, was once again pleaſed to grant them peace (33).

(31) Archaion. Joan. Bromt. col. 828.

(32) Spelman's life of Alfred, p. 179.

(33) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

daughter Æthelfleda in marriage (*b*). This Earl was not only an excellent officer, but also a great ſtateſman, and a very worthy man; for which reaſon, not only all the Saxons who had ſubmitted to the Danes, but ſuch alſo of the Danes themſelves as began to learn the Saxon manners, ſubmitted to him and ſettled in London, and the other places under his obedience (*i*) [G]. After ſome years of reſt, Ælfred was called again into the field; for the Danes being heartily beaten in the Weſt of France, came with a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail on the Eaſt coaſt of Kent, and landing fixed themſelves at Appletree. Shortly (*k*) after came another fleet up the Thames, conſiſting of eighty veſſels, and having diſcharged the ſoldiers on board them, they built a fort at Middleton. Ælfred, in this ſituation, drew together a conſiderable army; but before he marched towards the enemy, he forced the Danes, ſettled in Northumberland and Eſſex, to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour (*l*). Then he moved towards the invaders, and very prudently choſe a camp between their armies, thereby preventing their junction. A great body, however, moved into Eſſex, and from thence, croſſing the river, came into Surrey, where at Farnham the King's forces met them, and defeated them (*m*). In the midſt of theſe confuſions, the Danes who were ſettled in Northumberland, in breach of their oaths, and, notwithſtanding the hoſtages they had given to the King, equipped two fleets, the one of a hundred, and the other of forty veſſels, and, after plundering both the northern and ſouthern coaſts, ſailing about, came to Exeter and beſieged it (*n*). The King no ſooner received information of their perfidious behaviour, than he reſolved to march directly to Exeter, leaving behind him a great body of Welſh. Before his arrival the Danes were poſſeſſed of the place, but he ſhut them up therein, and, notwithſtanding they made many deſperate ſallies, kept them effectually blocked up. The body of the Welſh he had left behind him, believing it neither their intereſt nor their duty to be idle, marched to London and joined the citizens. They had not been long at London, before news came that Hæſten, one of the Kings of the Danes, was marched out with the bulk of his forces to forage, and had left his family and his riches at Beamfleet, where he had built a fort; whereupon they reſolved immediately to attack it in his abſence. In this expedition they had all the ſucceſs they could wiſh, not only taking the place, with the wife and children of the Daniſh King, but alſo all the riches they had collected by many years rapine. Hæſten, when he received the news, was ſo much troubled thereat, that he ſent to Ælfred, then before Exeter, to beg a peace, which the good King granted him upon very reaſonable terms, and which he, like a true Dane, broke as ſoon as it was concluded: particularly, he plundered the diſtrict belonging to Earl Æthered, though he had been godfather to one of this Prince's ſons, and, after all, joining the other Daniſh army, he marched with them to Shobury in Eſſex, where they built another caſtle. Thence paſſing the Thames with ſuch as joined them from Northumberland, and the territories of the Eaſt Angles, they marched on to Severn, waſting all in their way. On the banks of this river, *viz.* at the Buttington in Montgomeryſhire, Ælfred's generals gave them a check, and, encamping on the other ſide of the river, hindered them from paſſing for many weeks (*o*). In the mean time, the King had brought thoſe he beſieged in Exeter to ſuch extremities, that, having eaten their horſes, they were ready to devour each other. Deſpair, therefore, rendering them deſperate, they ſallied on the King's forces, but were beaten, though with great loſs on the King's ſide. The remnant of this body of the Danes fled into Eſſex, to the fort they had built there, and to their ſhips (*p*). But, before the King had any leiſure to recruit himſelf, another Daniſh leader, whoſe name was Laf, came with a great army out of Northumberland, and deſtroyed all before him, marching on to the city of Werheal in the Weſt, which ſome take to be Cheſter: there they remained the reſt of that year, the next they invaded North Wales, which they plundered and deſtroyed, and when there was nothing more to be taken, they divided, one body returning into Northumberland, and another into the territories of the Eaſt Angles; whence proceeding into Eſſex, they ſeized upon a ſmall iſland called Mereſig (*q*). Thence, ſome time after, they parted, ſome ſailing up the river Thames, and others up the Lee Road, where drawing up their ſhips, they built a fort about twenty miles from London, which proved a great curb upon the citizens. The Londoners, unable to bear this reſtraint

(*b*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 51. Chron. Saxon. p. 89. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150. Henr. Hunting. p. 350. Joan. Bromt. p. 812.

(*i*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 150.

(*k*) Chron. Saxon. p. 91, 92. Aſſer. Menevenſ. p. 54. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. p. 92.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. p. 93—95. Joan. Bromt. col. 812.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon, ubi ſupra. Chron. Petriburg. p. 23. Ran. Higden. Polychr. p. 259.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon, col. 96. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 151. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351.

[G] *Under his obedience.*] The Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of London, in the time of his father, and had held it till now as a convenient place for them to land at, and fortify themſelves in; neither was it taken from them but by a cloſe ſiege (34). However, when it came into the King's hands it was in a miſerable condition, ſcarcely habitable, and all its fortifications ruined. The King, moved by the importance of the place, and the deſire of ſtrengthening his frontier againſt the Danes, reſtored it to its antient ſplendor. The method he took to fill it with inhabitants was altogether worthy of his conſummate prudence. For obſerving that through the confuſion of the times, many, both Saxons and Danes, lived in a looſe diſorderly manner, without owning any government; he, commiſerating their misfortune, neceſſity having firſt driven them to this way of life, offered them now a comfortable eſtabliſhment, if they would ſubmit and become his ſubjects. This propoſition was even better received than he expected; for multitudes growing weary of a vagabond kind of life, joyfully accepted ſo unmerited an offer. Theſe advantages were greatly improved by his ſon-in-law, the new Earl of Mercia, who ſo perfectly anſwered the King's intentions, and by his wiſdom and mildneſs procured the people ſuch advantages, that numbers of the more civilized Danes, made it their choice to retire into his territories, there to live by their induſtry, and enjoy the benefit of thoſe laws, which Ælfred had made for the good of all his ſubjects (35).

(34) *Ibid.* p. 88.

(35) Roger Hoved. p. 420.

with

with any patience, went in a great body and attacked the fort, but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, which obliged the King, about harveſt-time, to encamp with a body of troops in the neighbourhood of that city, in order to cover the reapers from the excurſions of the Danes. While he was thus employed, Ælfred one day riding by the ſide of the river Lee, began to entertain an opinion, that by cutting certain trenches, the Daniſh ſhips might be laid quite dry: this, therefore, he attempted, and ſucceeded in it ſo well, that the Danes abandoned their fort, and marched away to the banks of the Severn, where having built a fortreſs, at a place called Quatbrig, they ſat down and wintered. Such of the Daniſh ſhips as could be got off, the Londoners carried in triumph into their own road, and the reſt they burnt and deſtroyed (*r*). During theſe three years, the Engliſh were not only vexed with the continual irruptions of this barbarous people [*H*], but ſuffered likewiſe by a dreadful plague, which affected alike, both men and cattle (*s*). The Danes ever unquiet, in a ſhort ſpace, began again to invade the territories of the Weſt Saxons, both by land and ſea, but did more miſchief as pirates, than as robbers; for having learned how to build long and large ſhips, they were in a manner maſters at ſea, and of conſequence depopulated all the coaſt. Ælfred, having long thought of the beſt method how to remedy theſe diſorders, contrived to build ſtill larger and better ſhips than thoſe uſed by the Danes, which having effected, he ſent theſe gallies on the coaſts of the iſle of Wight, and of Devonſhire, which were miſerably infeſted by ſix piratical veſſels. Ælfred's ſquadron performed all that could be expected, driving two of theſe pirate ſhips on ſhore, ſinking three, and ſuffering one only to eſcape. But this was not performed without great loſs on the King's ſide, eſpecially of officers. Such of the Danes as landed when their ſhips ran on ſhore, were taken priſoners, and brought to the King at Wincheſter, where he gave judgment upon them, that they ſhould be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind (*t*). In the ſubſequent part of the King's life, *viz.* in the years 898, and 899, there happened nothing very remarkable [*I*], ſave that the King employed that peace and leiſure which he then had, in effectually eſtabliſhing that government which with much care and pains he had framed, not more for the ſecurity of himſelf and ſucceſſors, than for the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects in general, of which conſtitutions here, as in their proper place, we think neceſſary to give a ſuccinct account.

(*r*) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 896. Simeon Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 351. Ran. Higd. Polychr. p. 259.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. p. 97.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. p. 98, 99. Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151. Joan. Bromt. col. 813. Henr. Huntingd. p. 352. Roger de Hoved. p. 421.

Before the reign of Ælfred, though there were many Kings who took the title, yet was there none who could with propriety be called Monarch of the Engliſh nation. For notwithſtanding there was always, after the time of Egbert, a Prince who held a kind of pre eminence over the reſt; yet had he no direct dominion over their ſubjects, as in the latter part of his reign Ælfred had; for to him all parts of England, not in the poſſeſſion of the Danes, ſubmitted, and ſo did alſo a great part of Wales: neither was this great power attained by the ſword, or through his ambition of ruling, but rather through the fame of his wiſdom and mildneſs (*u*). We have already ſpoken of the laws he made, of which, though there remain but few [*K*], we have any aſſurance are truly his, yet are we well informed, that to his conſtitution we owe many of thoſe advantages,

(*u*) Chron. Saxon. p. 99. Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

[*H*] *Continual irruptions of this barbarous people.*] In order to have a clear idea of theſe diſturbances, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Guthrum, King of the Danes, dying in 890 (36), King Ælfred took all the pains imaginable, to ſecure the obedience of his ſubjects, which they promiſed; and in 894 gave hoſtages (37). But when by the coming of numbers of their countrymen into this iſland; they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to eſcape puniſhment for perjury, they broke without ſcruple their agreement, and were as troubleſome and cruel as any of the new comers. The King's contrivance in draining the river Lee, is thought to have produced that noble meadow lying between Hertford and Bow; for at Hertford, was the Danes fort, and thence we may eaſily conceive, they kept the inhabitants of London in continual terror by frequent excurſions (38). Authors are by no means agreed, as to the method the King purſued in laying dry the Daniſh ſhips. One author (39) tells us, that he did it by ſtraitening the channel, which ſeems very improbable; but Henry of Huntingdon (40), with a greater appearance of truth, alledges, that he cut ſeveral canals, which exhauſted its water. His indefatigable endeavours not only to defend his kingdom againſt all invaders, but alſo to puniſh thoſe perfidious Danes, who had ſubmitted to him, ſucceeded ſo well, that he appointed Guthred (41) a Saxon, though of Daniſh original, King of Northumberland; and took all Eſſex from the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, which had been yielded to the Danes, appointing one Birtheolf (42) to be Earl thereof, who proved a new and great check to his reſtleſs and pilfering neighbours, ſo long as he lived. But he, together with many other of Ælfred's prime nobility, was carried off by the plague, mentioned (43) in the text, and which ſeems to have been chiefly owing to the depopulation made by the Danes.

(36) Chron. Saxon, p. 90. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 891.
(37) *Ibid.* p. 92. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 894.
(38) Dugdale's Hiſtory of Imbanking and Draining, p. 74.
(39) Flor. Wigorn.
(40) Hiſt. lib. v. p 351.
(41) Ingulph. p. 27.
(42) Chron. Sax. p. 97.
(43) Chron. Saxon, A. D. 897.

[*I*] *There happened nothing very remarkable.*] It would be both tedious and troubleſome, to ſet down all that we find in modern writers, concerning Ælfred; and, therefore, we chuſe to confine ourſelves in this latter part of his life, where we have not the aſſiſtance of Aſſerius, to the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient authors. The ſtories which we have relating to miracles and apparitions, ſeem to be the fabric of later times, though ſome of them are diſguiſed under the name of antient authors. It looks like debaſing the great actions of this excellent Prince, to intermix with them the dreams of monkiſh writers, who, taking occaſion from lands granted to a monaſtery, or ſome ſuch circumſtance, frame ſuch ſtrange tales, as nothing but the exceſſive blindneſs of ſucceeding ages could render credible. What leſſer exploits were performed in his time againſt the Danes, as they belong rather to the particular articles of thoſe who performed them, or to the general hiſtory of thoſe times, ſo we pretend not to inſert them here, where the perſonal hiſtory of Ælfred is properly concerned. But whoever would ſee things of this nature in the fulleſt light, may conſult Dr. Walker's verſion of Sir John Spelman's life of Ælfred, where, in the notes and appendix, he will find matter ſufficient to exerciſe his curioſity.

[*K*] *There remain but few.*] There ſeems to be good reaſon to believe, that the complete body of laws formed by King Ælfred, is either loſt, or elſe not diſtinguiſhable at this day, to which opinion we are led

vantages, which render our conſtitution dear to us; for inſtance, trials by juries (x) [L]. If we rely on Sir John Spelman's conjecture, his inſtitutions were the foundation of

(x) Spelman's Poſthumous Works, p. 52.

led by many reaſons. Several laws are mentioned as made by Ælfred, which are not extant among thoſe laws that we have. In the Mirror of Juſtices, a book written in the reign of Edward I. or rather reviſed then by Andrew Horne; there is mention made of a body of his laws, and even of a collection of his judgments then in public uſe, of which we know nothing at this day; though it appears by Harding's chronicle (44), that they were uſed in Weſtminſter-hall, in the reign of Edward IV. Mr. Lambard, who publiſhed the laws we now have, takes notice in his epiſtle to the reader, that other laws of King Ælfred there were, which he was not without hopes of recovering. That all are not loſt is owing in ſome meaſure to the induſtry of John Bromton (45), or whoever penned the chronicle which goes under his name, where we find them with thoſe of other Saxon Kings. They conſiſt of three diſtinct chapters, the firſt of which is entitled, the Laws of King Ælfred; the ſecond is the ſhorter; and the third the longer treaty between him and the Daniſh King of the Eaſt Angles, who is therein called Godrinus. Before thoſe which are ſtiled the laws of Ælfred, and which are in number fifty-one, there is a preface (46), wherein the King recites many things concerning the excellency and uſe of laws, the apoſtolic canons, and the decalogue. In the cloſe the King tells us, that he had collected out of the laws of his anceſtor King Ina, out of thoſe of Offa, King of Mercia, and of Æthelbert, the firſt Chriſtian Saxon King, ſuch as appeared to him moſt juſt and reaſonable; and having communicated them to the learned men of his kingdom, he, with their aſſent, publiſhed them to be the rule of his people's actions. Some think that this is a direct confutation of what Harding and others have written concerning King Ælfred's laws, *viz.* that they were collected from thoſe of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Danes, *&c.* But to this two anſwers may be given, firſt, that theſe are not perhaps the laws to which thoſe writers refer, but rather the completer code, which, as we have remarked, is not extant that we know of. Secondly, it may be inſiſted on, that theſe very laws were ſo collected, becauſe for this there is direct proof. King Ælfred aſſerts, that he collected from the laws of King Ina; and if we will believe King Ina (47) himſelf, his laws were many of them taken from the Britiſh conſtitutions; and thoſe, if we will believe their authors, were excerpts from the Greek and Trojan laws. Without all queſtion, theſe inſtitutions are very wiſe, and well ſuited to the times and purpoſes they were given for. But Sir John Spelman (48) ſeems to be miſtaken, when he aſſerts, that they were milder than the ancient Saxon laws, to which this nation were obedient when in Germany, becauſe the contrary appears by comparing them. What led Sir John into this opinion, was the commutations ſettled by theſe laws for capital offences. For though death was the puniſhment of many crimes, yet in moſt caſes the offender might be redeemed for a certain ſum of money. For the life and limb of every man, from the peaſant to the prince, was valued at a certain rate; ſo that if any killed or maimed him, he was to make recompence according to that valuation. In caſe of ſlaughter this fine was called wiregild; and, when paid, the King had one part, which was called frithbote, for the breach of his peace and the loſs of his ſubject. The Lord had another ſtiled manbote, for the loſs of his man; and the relations of the party ſlain had the other third, called magbote or cengild, for the injury they had ſuſtained. If this fine was not paid, the kindred of the perſon ſlain might puniſh him who ſlew him with death. If the offender fled, then his relations or townſmen paid the wiregild. In caſes of maim, the puniſhment was according to *Lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, unleſs the offender was in a capacity of commuting with money at the ſettled price (49). Amongſt theſe laws there is one only relating to inheritance, and that provides, that if a man left his land to his next relation, under a condition that he ſhould not diſpoſe of it, then he ſhould be incapable of ſelling of it, except to his next relation, even though the limitation was not expreſſed in writing, if proof could be made thereof by a lawful witneſs (50). It is very clear, from this ſyſtem of laws, that things were not yet in a very ſettled condition, ſince there are grievous penalties inflicted on ſuch as fought in the King's houſe, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, in the Alderman's court, or in leſſer judicatures (51). We may alſo diſcern that the manners of the people were very corrupt, from all which, as well as from the ſilence of theſe laws with reſpect to hundreds and tythings, we may well enough conclude, that this collection of ordinances was made pretty early in the King's reign, and before he had brought things to that regularity, which he afterwards did (52). The firſt treaty between King Ælfred and Guthrum, or Godrinus, King of the Eaſt Angles, conſiſts of ſeven articles, all which relate to the peace of both their dominions, and conſiſts of articles for preventing the ſubjects of either Prince, from injuring the ſubjects of the other (53). The ſecond treaty or capitulation, which in Mr. Lambard's edition bears the title of *Fœdus Edwardi & Guthrum*, is, however, Ælfred's without all doubt; for Guthrum, or Godrinus, died ten years before Edward came to the crown. In the Saxon edition it conſiſts but of twelve articles; but Bromton in his Latin tranſlation makes them ſeventeen (54). They relate moſt of them to religious matters, and the whole driſt of them ſeems to be, the reducing all the Danes ſettled in England, to the belief and practice of the Chriſtian religion. Conſidered in this light they are certainly an excellent ſyſtem, and one thing is very remarkable, that the prieſts were puniſhed by theſe laws in the King's courts, beſides ſuffering ſpiritual penance, according to the canon law (55), which is a plain proof, that the power to which the Pope afterwards pretended, of exempting the clergy from all ſecular juriſdiction, was not as yet heard of, or at leaſt admitted. It alſo deſerves notice, that by the eleventh law in the Saxon edition, and the ſixteenth in the Latin, fortune-tellers, *&c.* are puniſhed, and all people are forbidden to entertain them (56), the Danes being eſpecially addicted to ſorcery, as all the northern Pagans were, and ſtill are. Alford (57) the Jeſuit hath publiſhed moſt of Ælfred's laws in his Annals, more methodically as he would have us believe, than elſewhere they are to be met with. But this is ſo far from being true, that the manner in which he has publiſhed them is by no means ſatisfactory. For in the firſt place they are divided into laws eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſo that Ælfred's firſt collection is diſtracted, ſo that no connection appears between the laws as they follow. But beſides this, the Jeſuit interpoſes his own commentary at every turn, in order to refute Spelman; ſo that the reader muſt redreſs the inaccuracy of the author, before he can apprehend any thing of the ſenſe of Ælfred's laws. Alford takes the ſame ſtep in relation to the treaties between Ælfred and Guthrum; and it is for this reaſon, that we did not mention his edition, when we ſpoke of thoſe of Lambard and Bromton.

(44) Fol. 111, b. Dugdal Mon. Tom. i p. 32. ſub An. 872. vid etiam, p. 40.

(45) Joan. Bromt. Chron. col. 819.

(46) This preface differs from that publiſhed by Lambard.

(47) See note [D] in the article I N A.

(48) Life of Alfred, p. 101. This miſtake will be viſible to any one, who compares the laws of this King and thoſe of the ancient Saxons, publiſhed at Francfort, 1613, in folio.

(49) Bromt. col. 827.

(50) L. xlvii. ap. Bromt.

(51) L. viii, xvii, xli. ap. Bromt.

(52) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(53) Bromt. col. 829.

(54) Ubi ſupra.

(55) Fœd. Ælfred, & Godrin.

(56) Bromt. col. 831.

(57) Tom. iii, p. 171.

[L] *Trials by juries.*] This is inferred from a law of Ælfred's, which obliged one of the King's Thanes to purge himſelf by twelve of his Peers, as the purgation of another Thane, was by eleven of his Peers, and one of the King's Thanes. He alſo is ſaid to have deviſed the holding men to good behaviour, by obliging them to put in ſureties; as alſo the calling a voucher to prove a property in goods at the time of ſale, which, in the ſale of horſes, is actually revived by the ſtatute of 31 Eliz. which is ſtill in force (58). It certainly deſerves admiration, that the difficulties which Ælfred had to ſtruggle with, ſhould prove the cauſe of ſo much good to this nation. For it was the mighty diſorders occaſioned by the barbarity of the Danes, and the corruption of the Saxons, that put the King upon making theſe laws, as we ſee plainly from the laws themſelves; and yet they were ſo nicely contrived, and had ſuch a connection with each other, that they were received and admired by poſterity, and are the baſis of the beſt laws which we have even at this time. So that even war and confuſion afford good men opportunities of conferring benefits on their country, to which all the favours of providence cannot invite men of narrow or ambitious ſpirits.

(58) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 106, 107.

what

what is called the Common Law, ſo ſtyled, either on account of its being the common law of all the Saxons, without reſpect to the different kingdoms in which they lived, or becauſe it was common both to the Saxons and the Danes (*y*). It is indeed a diſputed point, whether he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into ſhires; but it ſeems to admit of no diſpute, that he ſettled thoſe boundaries and leſſer diſtinctions which remain at this day (*z*) [*M*]. In conſequence of this, he framed a book, called The Book of Wincheſter, which contained a ſurvey of the kingdom, and of which the Doomes-day-book ſtill preſerved in the Exchequer, is no more than a ſecond edition (*a*). He, likewiſe, made uſe of this diviſion for the proper diſtribution of juſtice ſo happily, that whereas he found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, and the people therein ſo indigent, and ſo given to rapine, that it was equally difficult to acquire wealth, or to keep it when acquired; yet before his death he brought all things into ſuch order, as that never any kingdom was better governed, and ſo effectually tamed the covetous ſpirit that induces one man to take from another, that money or jewels might be left on the public roads, and no paſſenger attempt to touch it (*b*). In the management of affairs of ſtate, he, after the cuſtom of his anceſtors the Kings of the Weſt Saxons, made uſe of the great council of the kingdom, conſiſting of Biſhops, Earls, the King's Aldermen, and his Chief Thanes or Barons. Theſe in the firſt part of his reign he convoked as occaſion ſerved; but when things were better ſettled, he made a law, that twice in the year at leaſt, an Aſſembly or Parliament, if we may be allowed ſo to call it, ſhould be held at London, there to provide for the well governing of the commonwealth; from which ordinance his ſucceſſors varied a little, holding ſuch aſſemblies not in any place certain, but wherever they reſided, at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, or Whitſuntide (*c*). As to extraordinary affairs, and ſuch emergencies as would not admit of calling great councils, the King acted therein by the advice of ſuch Biſhops, Earls, and officers in the army, as happened to be about his perſon (*d*). In reſpect to military concerns, there hath been already ſo much ſaid, as makes it unneceſſary to add much here. Let it however be obſerved, that though this nation could never boaſt of a greater ſoldier than he, ſince he fought fifty-ſix ſet battles by ſea and land, and of theſe eight in one year (*e*); yet was he ſo far from being of a cruel, blood-thirſty, or ambitious temper, that he never willingly made war on any, or refuſed to grant peace whenever it was deſired (*f*). His troops he rendered by degrees invincible, through juſt and regular diſcipline, and appointed ſuch methods of raiſing, recruiting, and diſtributing them in winter-quarters, that his ſubjects and his militia were ſynonymous terms, every man who could bear arms being a ſoldier, and no man ſerving but in his turn, and according to law (*g*). His coaſts he ſecured by guard-ſhips, making his navy his peculiar care (*h*). His frontiers were covered by caſtles well fortified, which, before his time, the Saxons had never raiſed. Add to all this, that his inſtructions and example raiſed numbers of able officers, whoſe abilities the King conſtantly cheriſhed by proportionable rewards (*i*). In reſpect to other affairs, Ælfred was no leſs knowing and induſtrious, as appears by his repairing the cities throughout his dominions demoliſhed by the Danes, erecting new ones, and adorning and embelliſhing ſuch as were in a mean and low condition (*k*). One would think that a more diſtinct account might eaſily be given of this matter: but the truth is, that the writers who lived in and near his time, found it ſo difficult to mention them all, that they contented themſelves with general expreſſions, excepting what they ſay of London and Winchester, the latter of which was the royal ſeat of the Weſt Saxon Kings. However, there is a certain circumſtance preſerved, whereby we may gueſs at the great things he performed in this way; ſince it is affirmed, that one ſixth part of his clear revenues was applied to the payment of his workmens wages, who had beſides meat and drink at the King's coſt (*l*). Lucky accidents, and the painful reſearches of antiquaries, have juſtified this conjecture by various diſcoveries [*N*]. In reſpect to religious foundations, as this Prince was exceedingly remarkable

(*y*) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 107.

(*z*) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. Joan. Bromt. col. 818. Chron. W. Thorn. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1777. W. Malmſb. p. 44.

(*a*) Vid. leg. Edv. in Prefat. & cap. viii.

(*b*) W. Malmſb. p. 44.

(*c*) *Mirror aux Juſtices*, cited by Sir E. Coke, in his preface to his ninth Report.

(*d*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 70.

(*e*) Hardyng's Chronicle, f. 108. b.

(*f*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 44.

(*g*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 5.

(*h*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 897.

(*i*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 69.

(*k*) Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 27.

(*l*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 66.

[*M*] *Remain at this day.*] The curious reader may meet with the principal arguments uſed on both ſides of this controverſy, in Mr. Hearne's collection of diſcourſes on Britiſh antiquities (59). What is aſcribed to Ælfred, is not a bare diviſion of the country, but the ſettling a new form of judicature, which he did thus: he divided his whole dominions into ſhires, ſettling their boundaries very exactly, then he divided each ſhire into three parts, called trythings; which, though now grown out of date, yet are there ſome remains of this ancient diviſion in the ridings of Yorkſhire, the laths of Kent, and the three parts of Lincolnſhire. Each trything was divided into hundreds, or wapen-takes, and theſe again into tythings, or dwellings of ten houſeholders. Each of theſe houſeholders ſtood engaged to the King, as pledge for the good behaviour of his family, and all the ten houſeholders were mutually pledges for each other; ſo that if any one of the tything was ſuſpected of an offence, if the Head-Boroughs, or Chiefs of the tything, would not be ſecurity for him, he was impriſoned, and if he made his eſcape, the tything and hundred were fined to the King. Each ſhire was under the government of an Earl, under whom was the Reive, his Deputy, ſince, from his office, called Shire reive, or Sheriff; and, beſides theſe, there were Wites, or Wiſe-men, who were a kind of Juſtices, who ſat to hear cauſes in the county court, where ſuch things were determined, as came by appeal from the inferior or hundred courts (60). It would draw this note into too great a length, ſhould we inſiſt on the many advantages flowing from theſe regulations; and beſides, if we only conſider, that by this method the King had ſecurity for every one of his ſubjects, for none was accounted a liege-man, or entitled to the protection of the laws, who did not belong to ſome tything or other; we cannot but confeſs, that it is the wiſeſt plan of government, which is perhaps any where extant.

(59) Pag. 29. 44. 47, 48.

(60) Vid. leg. Edward. Reg. in Præf. Selden. Analect. lib. ii. c. 5.

[*N*] *Juſtified this conjecture by various diſcoveries.*] Aſſerius Menevenſis, and Florence of Worceſter

able for his piety, ſo he excelled moſt of his predeceſſors in his care on this head. For, beſides re-edifying and reſtoring almoſt every monaſtery in his dominions, which either the prevailing poverty of the times, or the ſacrilegious fury of the Danes, had brought to ruin, he built many, and improved more, beſides other acts of munificence towards the Church, which were perhaps as uſeful and honourable to the full, though it would take up too much room to inſiſt on them here (*m*) [*O*]. As to his founding the univerſity of Oxford, it is a matter ſo warmly diſputed, and has employed ſo many learned pens, that it by no means becomes us to decide it. Thus much, however, is certainly due on that head to King Ælfred, that he reſtored and ſettled that univerſity, endowed it with revenues, and ſought out and placed there the moſt famous profeſſors in ſeveral ſciences, as will be ſhewn in a note (*n*) [*P*]. A King who was ſo careful of his people, might well allow ſomething to his royal magnificence, eſpecially ſince in all he did of this

(*m*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 4.

(*n*) Aſſer. Men. p. 52. Annal. Winton. A. D. 886. Ingulph. p. 27.

ceſter (61), treating of this ſubject, break out thus: What can be ſaid of the cities he reſtored, and of thoſe built by him, where there were none before! plainly intimating, that it ſeemed to them an infinite work. Time hath diſcovered, that he was the founder of Shafteſbury, in Dorſetſhire; for as William of Malmſbury informs us, there was dug out of the ruins of old walls, a ſtone with this inſcription:

(61) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58. Florent. Wigorn.

Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 880,
Ælfredus Rex fecit hanc urbem, regni ſui 8° (62).

(62) De Geſt. Pont. Angl. p. 251. Camd. Britan. p. 151.

That is, *A. D.* 880. *being the eighth of his reign, King Ælfred founded this city.* The ſame author farther tells us, that it was much decayed in his time. He is alſo ſaid to have been the founder of Middleton and Balford in Kent, as alſo of the Devizes in Wiltſhire, and of Ælfreton in Derbyſhire. Malmſbury alſo being burnt and ruined by the Danes, he reſtored and re-built it (63). There is alſo a coin of his which ſeems to intimate, that he did as much for the city of Norwich. This coin was firſt publiſhed by Speed (64), and has been ſince inſerted in Sir Andrew Fountain's Tables. On one ſide is a head, which Mr. Walker and Sir Andrew ſeem to think belongs to Ælfred, King of Northumberland, though it much reſembles thoſe of Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by Mr. Walker himſelf. On the reverſe is a monogram, which Mr. Edward Thwaits, who wrote notes on thoſe coins, ingenuouſly gueſſed to ſignify *Civitas Northuicum* (65). Now this ſeems plainly to prove, that this cannot belong to Ælfred of Northumberland; for, as Mr. Camden well obſerves, Norwich was not a place of great conſideration in his time (66). It is therefore more probable, that Speed was in the right, and that this piece of money belongs to Ælfred the Great, and refers to his reſtoring that city.

(63) Hearne's Notes on Spelman, p. 164.

(64) Chronicle, p. 384.

(65) Hickes's Theſaur. Vol. i. p. 368. Tab. 1.

(66) Britan. p. 362.

[*O*] *Though it would take up too much room here.*] There never was a Prince more cautious than Ælfred, that no one part of his duty ſhould withdraw his attention from the reſt. When his misfortunes compelled him to take ſhelter in the iſle of Athelney, he built upon the two acres of firm ground which lay in the midſt of the marſhes, a ſtrong fort, and on the other ſide of the narrow path which led to it, he built a redoubt, to prevent the enemy from making themſelves maſters of it. As ſoon as his victories had delivered him from an apprehenſion of retiring thither again, he demoliſhed the caſtle, and with the materials reſtored an ancient monaſtery, which he adorned and beautified, as far as his own and the nation's circumſtances, which ſcarcely afforded either materials or workmen, would permit (67). When he had finiſhed it, he was at a loſs for perſons to reſide in it. This forced him to ſend for an Abbot out of Saxony, to invite ſeveral Monks from France; and, to make up the number he added Engliſh youths, chuſing rather to place there ſuch as might be inſtructed in learning, than old lazy drones, who neither had, nor would acquire any (68). The next religious houſe he founded, was a nunnery in his new city of Shaftſbury, at the Eaſt gate thereof: this houſe he filled with nuns, who were all of them noble by deſcent, and made his daughter Æthelgeof, their Abbeſs (69). In conjunction with his Queen Ælſwith, he founded a nunnery at Wincheſter; and, a little before his death, he deſigned, and laid the foundation of a monaſtery, called the New Monaſtery there (70). This houſe was very unluckily ſituated; for abutting on the cathedral, the King was forced to pay the Biſhop a mark of gold, for every foot of land which he took in for the uſe of his monks; neither did this put an end to theſe difficulties, as will be ſeen in another place (71). He was a benefactor to the biſhoprick of Durham, by confirming the grant made by Guthrum, King of Northumberland, of all the country between the Tine and Tiſe to that church (72). He likewiſe granted much to the abbey of Glaſtenbury (73); and ſent to the cathedral church of Sherburn, ſeveral precious ſtones, which were brought to him from the Indies (74). The abbey of Wilton was a royal foundation before his time, for an abbeſs and twelve nuns; but he increaſed their number to twenty-ſix, on account of a victory he obtained over the Danes, in the neighbourhood of that place (75). There is alſo a charter of his extant, whereby he granted the profits of a wharf in London, to the cathedral church of Worceſter (76). He took care, beſides all this, to ſend his alms conſtantly to Rome, as appears from various paſſages of the Saxon chronicle, wherein we find the names of the perſons by him intruſted on ſuch occaſions (77). Yet it does not appear, that he was ſlaviſhly addicted to that court; but, on the contrary, that he ſupported the dignity of his crown and its ſupremacy; though, according to the reigning opinion of thoſe times, he willingly paid all poſſible marks of reverence and duty to the Biſhops of that ſee, who, on the other hand, were never wanting in their compliments and addreſſes to him.

(71) See Note [*U*].

(72) Vita Ælfredi Magni, p. 30.

(73) Johan. Glaſtonien. Chron. p. 112.

(74) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pont. lib. ii.

(75) Leland. Collect. Vol. ii. p. 195. Monaſt. Angl. Tom. ii. p. 857.

(76) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 170.

(77) A. D. 883, 887, 889.

[*P*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] Whoever deſires to be fully acquainted with this controverſy, may meet with a very ſuccinct account of it in Spelman's Life of Ælfred, and the very learned notes written thereupon by the laborious Mr. Hearne. There are alſo ſome curious things on this ſubject, in a diſcourſe added by Mr. Wiſe, to his edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis. But the author who has inſiſted moſt fully on this, and all other controverſies relating to Oxford, is the celebrated Anthony Wood, to whoſe account of this matter, little can be added. The ſchools erected by Ælfred at Oxford, were the Great Hall, the Leſſer Hall, and the Little Hall. In the Great Hall was taught Divinity only, and on this foundation there were twenty-ſix ſcholars: in the Leſſer Hall they taught Logic, Muſic, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Aſtronomy; on this foundation there were alſo twenty-ſix ſcholars: in the Little Hall there was nothing taught but Grammar; however, there were twenty-ſix ſcholars alſo entertained here, as well as in each of the other foundations. The firſt Divinity profeſſors were St. Neotus, and St. Grimbald. At the requeſt of the former, it is ſaid Ælfred erected theſe ſchools, and the latter he ſent for from abroad, to preſide in them. The firſt reader in Logic, Muſic, and Arithmetic, was John, a Monk of St. David's, as the reader in Geometry, and Aſtronomy, was another Monk of the ſame name, who was companion to St. Grimbald; and Aſſer, the Monk, read in Grammar, and Rhetorick (78). We have ſhewn, in the text, how theſe ſchools were endowed, not by any grant of lands, but by an annual income out of the Exchequer, which, as well out of regard to the utility of theſe foundations, as from a deep reſpect for their firſt founder, was punctually paid by all the Saxon Kings, until, as ſome ſay, Harold (79), or, as others affirm, William the Conqueror, ſtopped and took them away (80). As to the time in which theſe ſchools were founded, it is not eaſily determined.

(67) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. Alured. Beverl. p. 52. W. Malmeſb. p. 44. M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Th. Rudb. H. W. p. 208.

(68) W. Malm. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. ii.

(69) Aſſer. Men. p. 64. W. Malmeſb. ubi ſupra. Tho. Rudborn. Hiſt. Winton. p. 208. R. Higd. Polychr. 257.

(70) W. Malm. ubi ſupra. Annal. Winton. p. 289. Tho. Rudborn. Hiſt. Wint. p. 208.

(78) Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 27. Annal. Wint. A. D. 886.

(79) Leland. Collect. ubi ſupra.

(80) MS. in the Treaſury of Univerſity College, Oxford.

this ſort, he was ever mindful of his ſubjects honour, as well as attentive to their eaſe. He repaired all the royal palaces, which the confuſion of the times before his reign had brought to decay, adorned the houſes of pleaſure in the country, and built many from the ground, in ſuch places as were either tempting by ſituation, or ſtood ſo as that he thought the royal Preſence might be ſometimes neceſſary thereabout (*o*). As he had always a very numerous court, and, above all things, took pleaſure in ſeeing his nobility about him, ſo he ſtruck out a method of doing all this without prejudice to the public; which ought not to be forgotten. He framed three different houſeholds, each under a ſeparate Lord-Chamberlain. Theſe waited in their turns, a month every quarter, ſo that in the year, each of the King's menial ſervants was four months at court, and eight at home (*p*). In all other reſpects, he was extremely careful to keep up both the dignity and the luſtre of his court; but whether he made uſe of an imperial crown enriched with jewels, is a point which may admit of much diſpute. To conclude his character as a King, than which there is not a brighter in the Engliſh, or perhaps in any chronicles, we ſhall take notice of the manner in which he ſettled his revenue, to which he ſtrictly and conſtantly adhered throughout his life. In the firſt place, he divided it equally, aſſigning the firſt to ſacred, the ſecond to civil uſes. The former he divided into four parts, one to be beſtowed in alms upon the poor in general, another he deſtined for the ſupport of the religious houſes of his own foundation, a third was given to the public ſchools, and the fourth employed in rebuilding or in relieving monaſteries, and other public foundations at home and abroad. The other moiety of his revenue was divided into three parts, one for the ſupport of his houſehold, another for the payment of his workmen, and a third for the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers (*q*).

(*o*) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Aſſer. Men. p. 65. Ingulph. p. 28.

(*q*) Aſſer. Men. p. 64.

In his private life he was the moſt worthy, the moſt induſtrious, and the moſt amiable man in his dominions, of ſo equal a temper, that after he had once taken the crown, he never ſuffered either ſadneſs, or unbecoming gaiety, to enter his mind; but appeared always of a calm, yet chearful diſpoſition, familiar to his friends, juſt, even to his enemies, kind and tender to all. And to this account we ſhould add two things, *viz.* A deſcription of that care with which he watched over his time, as alſo the pains he was at in dividing it, which, however, would take up too much room here (*r*) [*Q*]; and the evidences he gave of his great learning, which muſt likewiſe be referred to a note [*R*]. Taking all his qualifications together, remembering the many virtues he had,

(*r*) Aſſer. Men. 67, 68, 69. Ingulph. p. 27. Henr. Huntingd.

termined. Very probably they were not all built at once, but rather by degrees, as the King's finances would allow, according to his eſtabliſhed rule of ſo executing his new projects as not to prejudice his former deſigns. It is not however likely, that theſe ſchools were ſettled before he repaired London, and conſtituted his ſon-in-law Æthered, Earl of Mercia, becauſe Oxford lay within his territories. There have alſo been ſome queſtions ſtirred as to theſe profeſſors, the reſolution of which cannot be expected here; but the inquiſitive reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting their ſeveral articles in this Dictionary. We ſhall cloſe this note by obſerving, that Ælfred is univerſally acknowledged the founder of Univerſity College at Oxford; and there is ſtill a very ancient painting of this Prince in the maſter's lodgings, as there is a very old buſt of him in ſtone over the door of the refectory in Brazen Noſe College, in the ſame univerſity (81).

(81) There are prints of all theſe in the Reverend Mr. Wiſe's edition of Aſſerius Menevenſis.

[*Q*] *Which, however, would take up too much room here.*] We have two accounts of this matter, which at firſt ſight ſeem to differ widely, but when ſeriouſly conſidered, agree well enough. The firſt is, that of Aſſerius, who lived with the King, and wrote what he ſaw (82). He aſſerts, that the King dedicated one half of his time to the ſervice of God. Whereas, William of Malmeſbury (83) aſſerts, that dividing his time into three parts, he devoted the firſt to God, the ſecond to the affairs of his kingdom, and the third to his natural reſt and refreſhment. But as Aſſerius qualifies his account, by telling us, that the King's vow was with many neceſſary reſtrictions, it brings the matter pretty near the other calculation. This diviſion of his time, was, as we have noted, in conſequence of a vow; and that vow was made not in the time of his diſtreſs, but immediately after he had finiſhed his monaſtery at Athelney, when he was in full ſpirits, and in the flower of his age. Aſſerius gives us alſo a very ſingular account of the method he took for dividing his time, and keeping his account of it. He cauſed ſix wax candles to be made, each of twelve inches long, and of as many ounces weight. On theſe candles he cauſed the inches to be regularly marked; and having found that one of them burnt juſt four hours, he committed them to the care of the keepers of his chapel, who, from time to time, gave him notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were waſted by the impreſſion of the air on the flame; he, to remedy this inconveniency, invented lanthorns, there being then no glaſs to be met with in his dominions (84). That part of his time which he dedicated to ſacred uſes, he ſpent in hearing the public offices of the Church, reading the ſcriptures and books of devotion, in meditation, and in writing. As to the public affairs of his kingdom, he aſſiſted regularly at councils, and performed every thing that was incumbent on him to do. At his leiſure hours he conferred with men of learning, and ſuch ſtrangers as reſorted to his court, of whom there were always not a few; or elſe he went to view his buildings; or, as the ſeaſon of the year directed, to partake of thoſe innocent diverſions which were fit to recreate the mind of a man, and were at the ſame time not unworthy of a Prince, ſuch as hunting, hawking, muſic, in all which he was well ſkilled, and delighted much.

(82) Aſſer. Men. p. 68.

(83) De Geſt. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

(84) Aſſer. Men. ubi ſupra.

[*R*] *Muſt likewiſe be referred to a note.*] In order to give a full and perfect account of what Ælfred performed as a learned man, and a lover of learning, there would be at leaſt as much room neceſſary, as we have employed in giving the memoirs of his life. If he had not been illuſtrious as a King, he would have been famous as an author; as, on the other hand, if we had no memorials of his writings, he muſt have been ſufficiently remembered to poſterity, as a protector of the Muſes. In all probability, the firſt riſe of his love for letters, was occaſioned by his journey to Rome; for at home he could ſee little that looked this way. He tells us himſelf, in an epiſtle prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, that in thoſe days there were very few on this ſide Humber, even amongſt the clergy, who underſtood their own ſervice, or could tranſlate out of Latin into Engliſh, ſo much as an epiſtle (85). He was himſelf twelve years old (if there be no miſtake in the MS.) before he could read his mother-tongue, and then he was allured to it by the Queen his

(85) Ap. Aſſer. Men. p. 82.

had, and conſidering that he had few or no vices, we need not wonder, that he died univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, as he lived admired and applauded both by them and

his mother. She had a book of Saxon poems which ſhe often read to her ſons; and perceiving they were mightily pleaſed therewith, ſhe promiſed to beſtow it on him who ſhould firſt get it by heart. This taſk Ælfred undertook and performed, without inſtructor or aſſiſtant, and gave thereby an early and wonderful proof of his zeal and induſtry in acquiring knowledge (86). As his authority increaſed, he made uſe of it to increaſe his ſkill in the ſciences; for he invited to his court not only all the learned men that he could hear of in Wales, Scotland, or Ireland; but alſo ſent into France, and other countries, for perſons famous for their ſkill either in the arts or in languages. With theſe he converſed, argued, heard them interpret authors; and as Aſſerius Menevenſis, who was himſelf one of them, tells us, whenever he had a vacant hour he employed it in reading to others, or in hearing others read (87). He alſo forbad all men to execute the functions of magiſtrates, if they were not well verſed in learning; and that this might not bear hard upon poſterity, he compelled by a law ſuch as had competent fortunes, to give their children proper education (88). For the furtherance of this, he built and endowed ſchools all over the kingdom, inſpecting himſelf into the conduct as well of thoſe who taught, as of ſuch as were bred up in thoſe places. By theſe methods, before the end of his reign (as we learn from himſelf), he furniſhed every pulpit in the kingdom with a good preacher, and had as learned a ſet of Biſhops and ſuperior Clergy, as any of his predeceſſors, who yet were famous in their time for their felicity in this reſpect. We ſhall the leſs wonder at this, when we conſider the great proficiency to which the King himſelf arrived in all ſorts of learning. For he was a good Grammarian, an excellent Rhetorician, an acute Philoſopher, a judicious Hiſtorian, a ſkilful Muſician, underſtood Geometry, was an able Architect, and the Prince of the Saxon Poets (89). Of all this he left ample teſtimony to poſterity, in a multitude of admirable works and elegant tranſlations; ſome of which, and the titles of many more, are yet remaining, of which, as it becomes us, we ſhall here give a conciſe account, leſt we ſhould be thought to have been ſparing in our pains, where the fame of ſo great a man, and ſo good a Prince, was concerned. Bale (90), and Pits (91), have each of them a catalogue of this King's works, neither of which are very exact; however, the deficiencies may be ſupplied from other writers. The firſt book mentioned by Bale, is Breviarum quoddam Collectum ex Legibus Trojanorum, *&c.* lib. i. that is, *A Breviary collected out of the Laws of the Trojans, Greeks, Britons, Saxons, and Danes, in one Book.* This ſeems to be that collection of laws which is now wanting, and perhaps many who know the credit of Bale and Pits, will think this but an indifferent proof, that ever there was ſuch a work. Let us therefore produce a better authority, which is that of Leland (92), who actually ſaw the book now in queſtion, written in the Saxon tongue, at Chriſt's Church in Hampſhire. 2. Viſi-Saxonum Leges, lib. i. that is, *The laws of the Weſt Saxons, in one Book.* Pits cites the firſt line of it, and tells us, that it is in Bennet College library at Cambridge. It is in truth, that little ſyſtem of laws which is now extant, and of which we have already given an account (93). 3. Inſtituta Quædam, lib. i. that is, *Certain Inſtitutes.* This is not taken notice of in the firſt edition of Bale, but it is mentioned by Pits, who cites the beginning of it, whence it ſhould ſeem to be no other than the ſecond capitulation with Guthrum (94). 4. Contra Judices Iniquos, lib. i. that is, *An Invective againſt unjuſt Judges, in one Book.* That King Ælfred was very ſevere againſt ſuch offenders is certain, ſince Andrew Horne mentions the names of four, who with forty more were hanged by him in one year, for iniquitous practices in the execution of their office (95). 5. Acta Magiſtratuum ſuorum, lib. i. that is, *Acts of his Magiſtrates, in one Book.* This perhaps is the book of judgments mentioned by Horne, and was, in all probability, a kind of Reports intended for the uſe of ſucceeding ages. 6. Regum Fortunæ variæ, lib. i. that is, *The various Fortunes of Kings, in one Book.* 7. Dicta Sapientum, lib. i. that is, *The Sayings of wiſe Men, in one Book.* 8. Parabolæ & Sales, lib. i. that is, *Parables and pleaſant Sayings, in one Book.* There ſeems to be ſome doubt, whether this ought to be accounted a work of Ælfred's or not. There are various MSS. extant with this title. Part of one is publiſhed by Spelman in the life of this King (96); another fragment is to be found in a work of Dr. Hickes's (97), among Sir Kenelm Digby's MSS. there is another work of this ſort, intituled, *Ælfred's Proverbs* (98). 9. Collectiones Chronicorum, lib. i. that is, *Collections of Chronicles, in one Book.* 10. Epiſtolæ ad Wulfſigium Epiſcopum, lib. i. that is, *Epiſtles to Biſhop Wulfſig, in one Book.* This book is mentioned by Pits; yet, in all probability, it is no more than the epiſtle to Wulfſig, Biſhop of London, prefixed to the tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, by this King (99). 11. Manualæ Meditationum, lib. i. that is, *A Manual of Meditations.* This was no other than a book of memoranda; and we have in another place given an account how it came into the King's head to collect them. The King called it very ſignificantly in Saxon, Hand-Book, becauſe he had it always in or at hand (100). As to his tranſlations they were theſe, 12. Dialogus D. Gregorii, that is, *A Dialogue of St. Gregory's.* Pits ſays that there is ſuch a book extant in Bennet college library in Cambridge, but that it appears to have been written by Werebert, Biſhop of Cheſter. Yet ſome, from a paſſage in Aſſerius Menevenſis, think it was tranſlated both by the Biſhop and by the King, for which we ſhall account hereafter. 13. Paſtorale ejuſdem Gregorii, lib. ii. that is, *The Paſtoral of Gregory*, which ſome aſcribed to the aforeſaid Biſhop. In the prefatory epiſtle before this work, addreſſed to the Biſhop of London, the King himſelf expreſsly ſays, *That amidſt the various and arduous affairs of his kingdom, he undertook this tranſlation, which may in Engliſh be called The Herdman's Book, rendering it ſometimes word for word; at other times more freely, according as he received the ſenſe from Pledgmond his Archbiſhop, Aſſer his Biſhop, and Grimbald and John, his Maſs Prieſts* (101), for they conſtrued, and the King put their ſenſe into a florid dreſs. This explains the whole affair perfectly, and we need be in no manner of doubt, how far theſe pieces belong to this Prince or to other men. 14. Hormeſtam Pauli Oroſii, lib. i. This tranſlation of Oroſius, is alſo attributed to another perſon (102). 15. Boetius de Conſolatione, lib. v. that is, *Boetius's Conſolations of Philoſophy, in five Books.* This ſome aſcribe to the Biſhop of Worceſter, others to Aſſerius Menevenſis. It was publiſhed from Junius's tranſcript by Chriſtopher Robinſon, Eſq; at Oxford, in 1698, in 8*vo*. Dr. Plot tells us, King Ælfred tranſlated it at Woodſtock, as he found in a MS. in the Cotton Library (103). 16. Aſſerii Sententiæ, lib. i. that is, *The Sayings of Aſſerius, in one Book.* 17. Martianæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Queen Martia, Widow of Guithelinus, in one Book.* 18. Malmutinæ Leges, lib. i. that is, *The Laws of Malmutius, in one Book.* Theſe laws were firſt tranſlated out of the Britiſh tongue, by Gildas, into Latin, and from this Latin tranſlation, King Ælfred made his verſion, as we are told by Ralph Higden (104), who alſo obſerves, that Ælfred wrote another piece on the Saxon laws, as alſo a third of Dane law, and out of theſe three collections of laws, Edward the Confeſſor framed his laws; and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we read in Bromton (105). 19. Geſta Anglorum Bedæ, lib. v. that is, *The Deeds of the Engliſh by Beda, in five Books*, a copy of which is in the public library at Cambridge, with this diſtich thereupon (106).

Hiſtoricus quondam fecit me Beda Latinum,
Ælfred Rex Saxo tranſtulit ille prius.

Me Beda firſt in Roman language wrought;
Me to the Saxons firſt King Ælfred brought.

Mr.

(86) Aſſer. Men. p. 16.

(87) *Ibid.* p. 44.

(88) *Ibid.* p. 70, 71.

(89) M. Weſtm. A. D. 871. Marianus, A. D. 884. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 28. W. Malmeſb. p. 45. Camden. Britan. p. 89.

(90) Edit. Weſal. 1549, 4*to*. fol. 66.

(91) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 170.

(92) Comment. de Scrip. p. 150.

(93) Bromt. Chr. col. 819.

(94) *Ibid.* col. 829.

(95) Mirror aux Juſtices, cap. 20.

(96) Page 127.

(97) Theſaur. Ling. Septent. p. 222.

(98) At Oxford, No. 4, in his collection.

(99) Vid. Appendix. Aſſer. Menev. p. 81.

(100) See the article of ASSERIUS.

(101) Append. Aſſer. Menev. p. 87.

(102) See Somner's preface to his Gloſſary.

(103) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, ch. x. § 118.

(104) Lib. i. c. 50.

(105) Chron. A. D. 1066.

(106) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 211.

and by foreigners (s) [S]. This happened after a glorious reign of upwards of twenty-eight years, on the twenty-eighth of October, A. D. 900, as ſome writers inform us (t): though there is a great deal of variety in that point, even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians [T]. There is likewiſe ſome diſcord about his place of interment, occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto (u) [U]. This King had to wife Ælſwith, or Æthelwith, daughter

(s) Ingulph. p. 27, 28.

(t) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 216.

(u) Ingulph. p. 28. W. Malmſb. Thom. Rudborne Hiſt. Maj. Wint. p. 208.

Mr. Whelock, in 1644, publiſhed this piece in folio. Whence it appears, that it is not ſo properly a tranſlation as a paraphraſe, as all the King's verſions were. 20. Æſopi Fabulæ, that is, *Æſop's Fables*, which it is ſaid he tranſlated from the Greek, both into Latin and Saxon. 21. Pſalterium Davidicum, lib. i. that is, *David's Pſalter, in one Book*. This was the laſt work the King attempted, death ſurpriſing him before he had finiſhed it. It was, however, completed by another hand, and publiſhed at London in 1640, in 4*to*, by Sir John Spelman. Beſides all theſe, Malmſbury mentions his tranſlating many Latin authors (107), and the old hiſtory of Ely aſſerts, that he tranſlated the Old and New Teſtaments (108). Add to this, that John Fox, who had ſeen ſome memorials of Ælfred which are not now extant, ſpeaks of his Commentaries which he compiled under the title of the *Story of Ælfred* (109); and ſomething to the ſame purpoſe we meet with, in the old chronicle called Brute of England.

(107) De Geſt. R. A. p. 45.

(108) Hiſtor. Elienſis, lib. ii.

(109) Acts and Monuments, A. D. 872.

[S] *Admired both by them and by foreigners.*] A bare recapitulation of what our beſt hiſtorians have ſaid, would draw this note into an extravagant length, without exhauſting the praiſes which they have beſtowed upon him. In the margin, however, we have cited a few authors, that our apology may not be altogether deſtitute of proof (110). To this we ſhall add, as the proper buſineſs of this work, ſome facts which prove what we have advanced in the text, that Ælfred in his lifetime was equally admired and applauded by his own ſubjects and foreigners. As to the former, we are to conſider that at Ælfred's acceſſion to the throne, he found them ſo dejected that they had no courage to fight, and ſo exhauſted that they had ſcarcely any thing to fight for. Yet in a few years he ſo revived their hopes, and ſo fixed their affections to his perſon, that they were ready to attend him in all ſervices, and to ſubmit to whatever laws he thought neceſſary for their government. From being a lazy and barbarous, they became an active and polite people; and, in conſequence of theſe improvements, grew a greater and more potent nation than they had ever been (111). We have ſeen in the text many inſtances of this ſort, and there is one which we have hitherto omitted, and which comes in very properly here. This King made a vow that he would ſend alms to the diſciples of St. Thomas, in the Eaſt-Indies, and he performed it (112), to the admiration not only of thoſe who were his contemporaries, and ſaw the precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable effects, brought back by his ſhips from thoſe Eaſtern climates, but alſo ſuch as lived in ſucceeding ages, when both the courage and the conduct neceſſary to the undertaking ſuch expeditions being wanting, the remembrance of it was the more revered. So great was the fame of this monarch for his knowledge in the art of navigation, and for his generous encouragement of all ſuch as were arrived at any proficiency therein, that Octher, a Dane or a Norman, who was excellently ſkilled both in the theory and practice of this noble art, repaired to the court of Ælfred, made him a tender of his ſervices, and was actually employed, together with Wolſtan an Engliſhman, in an attempt to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage. Of this voyage there was formerly an authentic account, in a MS. in Sir Thomas Cotton's library (113), which probably was the original of that ſtill extant in Hackluyt's collection (114). But there is ſtill a better account in being, which was given by the King's own pen, in his verſion of Oroſius into Saxon; which account has been tranſlated into Latin, and is to be ſeen in the appendix to Sir John Spelman's life, publiſhed by Mr. Walker. The voyage of Abel, Patriarch of Jeruſalem, into Britain, as it was wholly owing to, ſo it is a moſt noble teſtimony of, the great virtues and extenſive fame of this Engliſh monarch. Neither are we in any doubt concerning the fact, ſince it is related by Aſſerius, who ſaw and converſed with him, and read his letters credential (115). As for the European

(110) Trithemius in Chron. Hirſaugienſi. Leſleus Hiſt. Scot. lib. c. 74. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. x.

(111) Ingulph. p. 27.

(112) Chron. Saxon. p. 86.

(113) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 152.

(114) Vol. i. p. 235.

(115) Aſſer. Menev. p. 58.

Princes, they had all correſpondence with, and ſhewed a great eſteem for Ælfred, particularly the Popes who lived in his time, as appears from the Saxon Chronicle, Malmſbury's, and other authentic hiſtories.

[T] *Even amongſt our beſt hiſtorians.*] The Saxon Chronicle (116) places his death ſix nights before the feaſt of All Saints, or on the twenty-ſixth of October, A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Peterborough (117), which ſeems remarkably exact, places the death of this King in A. D. 901. The Chronicle of Mailroſs (118), aſſigns the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 961, for the day of the King's death. Simeon of Durham (119) tells us, he died the fifth of the Calends of November 899. Ralph de Diceto (120) ſays nothing of his death, but he places the acceſſion of his ſon Edward to the throne, in the year 900. Bromton (121) who takes the ſame method, ſays that Edward ſucceeded in 901. Ingulphus (122) fixes his death to the year 900. Ralph Higden (123) hath the ſame date. Alured of Beverly (124) ſeems to place his death in 899, or 900; for he ſays, that he aſcended the throne in 871, and that he reigned twenty-eight years and a half. According to William of Malmſbury (125) he died in 901. Roger Hoveden (126) informs us, that the King deceaſed on the fifth of the Calends of November, A. D. 899. Florence of Worceſter (127), and Matthew of Weſtminſter (128), agree on the twenty-eighth of October, 901. Robert of Gloceſter (129) tells us, he reigned eight and twenty years; and as he places the beginning of his reign in 872, he muſt conſequently have died in 900. Mr. Walker, who is very exact, thinks the moſt certain date to be the feaſt of St. Simon and Jude, A. D. 901, in the fifty-third year of his age.

(116) Chron. Saxon. p. 91.

(117) Hiſt. Angl. var. p. 24.

(118) Chron. Mailr. p. 146.

(119) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 151.

(120) Apud X. Script. p. 452.

(121) J. Bromt. col. 831.

(122) Ingulph. p. 28.

(123) Polychron, p. 259.

(124) Alured. Bever. p. 53.

(125) De Geſt. R. A. p. 46.

(126) Annal. p. 421.

(127) Florent. Wigorn. A. D. 901.

(128) Matth. Weſtm. A. D. 901.

(129) Chron. p. 267.

[U] *Occaſioned chiefly by accidents ſubſequent thereto.*] The very hiſtory of the corpſe of Ælfred, is not without great ſingularities. One would have thought ſo great, ſo learned, ſo pious a Prince, might have found reſt in his firſt grave, but it happened otherwiſe. He was firſt buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter; but the Canons of that church having a ſpite to his memory, pretended that they were diſturbed by his ghoſt, whereupon his ſon and ſucceſſor, Edward, cauſed his body to be removed to the new monaſtery, which was left unfiniſhed at his death. This ſtory we have both in Malmſbury's (130), and in the larger hiſtory of Wincheſter (131). Here it reſted till the diſſolution of monaſteries, when the pious Dr. Richard Fox, Biſhop of Wincheſter, cauſed the bones of all our Saxon Kings to be collected, and put into cheſts of lead, with inſcriptions upon each of them, ſhewing whoſe bones it contained, all which cheſts he took care to have placed on the top of a wall of exquiſite workmanſhip, built by him to encloſe the preſbytery of the cathedral (132). Here one would have imagined they ſhould have remained out of the reach of danger, ſo long as the wall ſtood. But it ſeems we have ſince had greater Barbarians than either Danes or Normans, who, for ought we know, never attempted to diſturb the aſhes of the dead, eſpecially of Princes; whereas Sir William Waller, General of the parliament forces, after taking the city of Wincheſter, on the fourteenth of December, 1642, entered the cathedral, broke the glaſs windows, deſtroyed the fine monuments, threw down Biſhop Fox's leaden cheſts, ſcattering moſt of the bones all over the church, and carried ſome of them in triumph to other places. Of theſe as many as could be collected, were brought to Oxford, and lodged in the Repoſitory adjoining to the public library (133). Henry of Huntingdon honoured the memory of this excellent Prince, with a copy of Latin verſes (134), that comprize a juſt and elegant character of his many virtues; which induced the famous Leland to tranſcribe them into his account of Ælfred (135), and for this reaſon we doubt not of the reader's being well pleaſed to find them here.

(130) De Geſt. ubi ſupra.

(131) Thom. Rudb. H. M. W. p. 208.

(132) Speed's Chronicle, p. 945.

(133) Hearne's note on Spelman's Life, p. 217.

(134) Hiſt. p. 352.

(135) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 152.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Ælfrede, dedit; probitaſque laborem;

daughter to Earl Æthelred, by whom he had two ſons and three daughters. Of theſe Edward, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him in the throne, and is by moſt of our hiſtorians called Edward the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from the Confeſſor. His ſecond ſon was Æthelward, the youngeſt of all his children, and bred a ſcholar. His eldeſt daughter Æthelfleda, as Sir John Spelman well obſerves, was a woman of more than feminine ſpirit, and poſſeſſed ſuch a meaſure of her father's virtues, as enabled her to be very uſeful by her advice to her brother King Edward. She married Æthered, Earl of Mercia, and, together with him, had the care of Æthelſtan her nephew. Ælfred's ſecond daughter was called Æthelgeow, or Æthelgora, who was Abbeſs of her father's new foundation at Athelney. His youngeſt daughter, called by ſome Ælfreda, by others Æthelſwith, married Baldwin, Earl of Flanders (*w*). What care King Ælfred took in providing for theſe, and for all his relations, may be ſeen in an extract from his will, which we have placed in the notes (*x*) [*W*]. His fame and fortune conſidered, we need not wonder, that all our hiſtorians have been particularly careful in tranſmitting the memory of his great atchievements to poſterity, or that many conſiderable perſons ſhould compoſe ſpecial memoirs of his life. Amongſt theſe the firſt was Aſſerius Menevenſis, who wrote in the King's life-time, and dedicated his memoirs to Ælfred himſelf, as the reader may ſee in his article. Some would perſuade us that St. Neotus wrote alſo a life of Ælfred, the ground of which miſtake we have ſhewn in the article beforementioned (*y*). In later times Sir John Spelman compoſed, in Engliſh, the life of this great Prince, which he depoſited in MS. in the Bodleian library, where it remained a long time, before it was given to the public in any ſhape. At laſt it came abroad in a Latin tranſlation, by the ingenious Mr. Chriſtopher Wiſe, accompanied with a very ample comment, by the very learned and induſtrious Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College (*z*). This ſerved only to raiſe a deſire of ſeeing Sir John Spelman's life, as he left it, which after much expectation was gratified, by the laborious Mr. Thomas Hearne, who embelliſhed his edition with learned and curious notes (*a*). Beſides theſe there is a life of Ælfred, or rather a parallel between the life of Ælfred, and that of Charles I. written by one Mr. Powell, with great ingenuity and learning (*b*). But after all, it would be doing this nation a very acceptable ſervice, if a perſon equal to the taſk would, from theſe, and other vaſt helps which might eaſily be met with, compoſe a new life of Ælfred, inſerting his laws and other pieces in their proper places, and illuſtrating them, as well as whatever paſſages might require it, with copious diſſertations. This would not only place one of the moſt glorious periods of our hiſtory in a proper light, but would alſo give us a very amiable view of our ancient conſtitution, which, the more it is conſidered and the better it is underſtood, will appear to have been the beſt con-

(*w*) Aſſer. Menev. p. 42.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 73.

(*y*) See the article of ASSERIUS (Menevensis.)

(*z*) In a thin folio, printed at the Theatre in Oxford, A. D. 1678. See alſo WALKER (Obadiah) in this work.

(*a*) Oxford, at the Theatre, 1709, 8vo.

(*b*) London, 1634, 8vo.

Perpetuumque labor nomen; cui mixta dolore
Gaudia ſemper erant, ſemper ſpes mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Si modo victus eras, ad craſtina bella parabas.
Cui veſtes ſudore jugi, cui ſicca cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt:
Non fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi
Cui tot in adverſis vel reſpirare liceret;
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finiſſe labores.
Jam poſt tranſactos vitæ, regnique dolores
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies, ſceptrumque perenne!

Of theſe Latin lines we have a very cloſe, and conſidering the time in which it was written, a harmonious verſion by Sir John Spelman, which, for the ſake of the Engliſh reader, we have thought proper to annex (136).

(136) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 288.

Thy true nobility of mind and blood
(O warlike Ælfred) gave thee to be good.
Goodneſs induſtrious made thee; induſtry
Got thee a name to all poſterity.
'Twixt mixed hopes and fears, 'twixt joy and grief,
Thou ever felt'ſt diſtreſs, and found relief.
Victor this day, next day thou doſt ne'rth'leſs
I' the field diſpute thy former day's ſucceſs.
O'ercome this day, next day for all the blow,
Thou giv'ſt or tak'ſt another overthrow.
Thy brows from ſweat, thy ſword from blood ne'er dry,
What 'twas to reign, ſo to us ſignify.
The world cannot produce ſo much as one
That through the like adverſities has gone,
Yet found'ſt thou not the reſt thou ſought'ſt here,
But with a crown Chriſt gives it thee elſewhere.

[*W*] *Which we have placed in the notes.*] This teſtament was firſt publiſhed by Archbiſhop Parker, and hath been ſince very correctly printed by Mr. Wiſe, at the end of *Aſſerius de Rebus Geſtis Ælfredi* (137). It begins thus: I Ælfred, by the divine favour, by the pains and care of Archbiſhop Æthelred, and by the aſſent and conſent of the nobility of Weſt Saxony, King of the Weſt Saxons, &c. He firſt recites the will of his father Æthelwolf, whereby the crown was entailed on his brothers Æthelbald, Æthelred, and on himſelf. He then proceeds to ſhew the treaties into which he had entered with the laſt poſſeſſor, and how the crown came to be legally his. Then he diſpoſes of his lands, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, to his eldeſt ſon Edward. Afterwards he bequeaths many eſtates therein ſpecified to his younger ſon. He then gives diſtinct eſtates to each of his three daughters. To Athelm, his brother's ſon, he gives certain lands; and the like to Æthelwald, another brother's ſon; and to Offert, his kinſman, ſeveral townſhips. To Alfwith he gives three towns; he bequeaths each of his ſons five hundred pounds; and to Alfwith and his three daughters, four hundred pounds; that is, a hundred pounds a piece. He gives to each of his ſquires a hundred marks. The ſame ſum to each of his three relations beforementioned. To Æthelred, General of his forces, he gives a ſword, and two thouſand marks. To the Archbiſhop he gives a hundred marks. To three Biſhops, of whom one is Aſſer, Biſhop of Shireburn, a hundred marks each, to be diſtributed for himſelf and his father. He gives alſo two hundred pounds to fifty prieſts, fifty ſhillings to every religious perſon in his kingdom, fifty ſhillings to be diſtributed to the poor, and fifty ſhillings to the church where he ſhould be buried. Theſe legacies he ſays would exhauſt, in his opinion, all that he left behind him; but if it did not, he deſires that the remainder might be employed to like uſes. The latter part of his teſtament is ſpent in directing, that none ſhould preſume to hinder his grants from taking place; in entailing the ſeveral eſtates by him bequeathed, firſt to the heirs male of ſuch as he left them to, and in caſe of failure, to his own relations, according to the limitations of his father's will; and in many other things of a like nature, with many pious exhortations which conclude it. C.

(137) Page 73.

trived,

trived, for promoting the glory of the Prince, and the good of the ſubject, that ever the world ſaw, or in all probability ever will ſee, unleſs ſome future Ælfred ſhould ariſe, and reform all the errors that time and accidents have brought into our ſyſtem [*X*].

[*X*] *That time and accidents have brought into our ſyſtem.*] [The truth of the ſtory of Ælfred's going into the camp of the Danes, in the diſguiſe of a common Minſtrel, hath been called in queſtion. 'It is, ſays Mr. Granger, extremely improbable; 'as it is not mentioned by Aſſer, Biſhop of Sher-'borne, who was cotemporary with Ælfred, and 'the moſt authentic writer of his life (138).' Mr. Pegge, in ſupport of the ſame opinion, obſerves, that it 'is a moſt notable ſtory, and Rapin might 'juſtly ſtyle it the boldeſt reſolution that ever enter-'ed into the thoughts of a Prince. But then it is 'of very doubtful authority; for the authors that 'lived in and neareſt the time, appear to know 'nothing of it. Aſſer Menevenſis,—the Saxon 'Chronicle, Fabius Ethelward, and the annals 'Aſſerii, or Chronicon Sancti Neoti, are all to-'tally ſilent about it; and yet they relate the battle 'that followed, and the ſignal victory which Ælfred 'obtained over the Danes at this time. In ſhort, 'I cannot find that any author before the Norman 'Conqueſt ever mentions this particular; not one 'that lived leſs than two hundred years after the 'fact; and, therefore, Mr. Carte is ſo prudent as 'to omit it in his hiſtory, though credulous enough 'in other caſes.' Mr. Pegge farther takes notice, that Aſſer Menevenſis does not ſay a word of Ælfred's ſkill in muſic (139). On the other hand, the credibility of the fact is maintained by two very ingenious, as well as learned Antiquaries, Mr. Thomas Warton and Dr. Percy. Mr. Warton aſſerts, that, notwithſtanding the truth of the anecdote reſpecting Ælfred has been controverted, no ſufficient argument has yet been offered for pronouncing it ſpurious, or even ſuſpicious (140). Dr. Percy has particularly conſidered the objections which have been made to the ſtory, and hath ſhewn, that it is ſupported by good evidence. Mr. Pegge had even diſputed the exiſtence of Minſtrels among the Anglo-Saxons; but his doubts upon that head have been removed by Dr. Percy, to his entire ſatisfaction, as he himſelf hath publickly acknowledged in a letter to the Doctor (141). Whether this acknowledgment includes in it the anecdote concerning Ælfred, doth not appear. The exiſtence, therefore, of Minſtrels among the Anglo-Saxons being admitted, if, at the ſame time, we conſider the reputation in which they were held, and their free acceſs to all places, it will not be deemed improbable that Ælfred ſhould aſſume the diſguiſe of one of them, in order to explore the ſituation of the Daniſh camp. The learned Editor of his Life in Latin, after having examined the ſcene of action in perſon, and weighed all the circumſtances of the event, determines, from the whole collective evidence, that Ælfred could never have gained the victory he did, if he had not with his own eyes previouſly ſeen the diſpoſition of the enemy by ſuch a ſtratagem as is deſcribed (142). A like ſtratagem (under the article Æthelſtan) is related to have been practiſed by Anlaff, a Daniſh Commander; the truth of which hath been attacked by Mr. Pegge, and ſupported by Mr. Warton and Dr. Percy, in the places before mentioned.

The proof which is brought, in the note [L], from Sir John Spelman, of Ælfred's having been the Author of Trials by Juries, is by no means deciſive; and, indeed, very oppoſite ſentiments have been entertained concerning the origin of this excellent inſtitution, and the introduction of it into our own country. Dr. Pettingal, who has found the uſe and practice of it among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and who thinks that from thence the riſe of the Engliſh Jury may probably be deduced, hath ſupported his opinion with much ingenuity and learning (143). The traces of this mode of trial in Germany have been thought to be viſible in the hundred Co-Aſſeſſors, mentioned by Tacitus, as choſen out of the Ingenui, which the lord of a territory had, when he ſat in judgment (144). 'This number, ſays Mr. Carte, prevailed undoubt-'edly among the Saxons, as it did likewiſe among 'all the Northern nations, till ſucceeding times 'gave occaſion to ſome alterations. Thus, among 'the Danes, the number of theſe Aſſeſſors was re-'ſtrained to twelve, in the time of Redner Lode-'brog, and the ſame number is ſtill kept up in 'Sweden. When it was firſt thus reduced in Eng-'land, does not appear from any paſſage in our 'old hiſtorians.' Nevertheleſs, Mr. Carte infers, that this was the eſtabliſhed number in Ælfred's time, from his hanging Cadwine for ſentencing a man to that kind of death without the aſſent of all the twelve Jurors, upon whom he had put himſelf to be tried; and from the laws which he gave to Gothurn. According to the ſame hiſtorian, it is very probable that Ælfred was the firſt author of extending to *civil* cauſes the trial by jury; which had been, perhaps, uſed before in *criminal* caſes (145). Sir William Blackſtone contends, that it is a mode of trial which hath been practiſed time out of mind in this nation; and which ſeems to have been coeval with the firſt civil government thereof. He aſſerts, that juries were certainly in uſe among the earlieſt Saxon colonies; that all the nations which adopted the feodal ſyſtem, as in Germany, France, and Italy, had a tribunal compoſed of twelve good men and true; and that in England we find actual mention of ſuch a tribunal ſo early as the laws of King Ethelred, and that not as a new invention. When Stiernhook aſcribes it to Regner, King of Sweden and Denmark, and *we* to the ſuperior genius of Ælfred, Sir William thinks that we act like the ancient Grecians, who attributed all great exploits to Hercules. 'The truth, he ſays, ſeems to be, 'that this tribunal was univerſally eſtabliſhed 'among all the northern nations; and ſo interwo-'ven in their very conſtitution, that the earlieſt ac-'counts of one, give us alſo ſome traces of the other '(146).' There are not wanting conſiderable names, who refer the introduction of juries into England to a much later period. Dr. Hickes, who finds the original of this inſtitution in Scandinavia, aſſerts, that it was not known to the Saxons, and that it did not take place in our own country till after the Norman Conqueſt. Mr. Barrington, in deference, as it ſhould principally ſeem, to Dr. Hickes's profound knowledge in Saxon learning, gives his ſanction to theſe ſentiments; and Dr. Henry hath advanced the ſame hypotheſis, upon the ſame authority (147). It were to be wiſhed, however, that theſe Gentlemen, inſtead of implicitly relying on the opinion of Dr. Hickes, had examined and refuted the teſtimonies to the contrary, which have been produced ſince Dr. Hickes's time, by Mr. Carte, Sir William Blackſtone, and other writers. Conſidering the ſimilarity of manners and cuſtoms among the ancient northern nations of Europe, it appears in itſelf probable, that the Anglo-Saxons were not wholly unacquainted with trials by juries. And if this method of deciſion had prevailed in Scandinavia from very remote ages, the Danes could ſcarcely be ignorant of it. We cannot, therefore, avoid agreeing with Mr. Warton, that the ſuppoſition of juries not having been introduced into England till after the invaſion of William the Norman, is a later period than is neceſſary (148): but we do not mean to enter minutely into the ſubject.

Non noſtrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

It is aſſerted, in the text of the article of Ælfred, (p. 77) that, though it be a diſputed point, whether he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into ſhires, it ſeems to admit of no diſpute, that he ſettled thoſe boundaries and leſſer diſtinctions, which remain at this day. The fact, however, hath been lately not only diſputed, but abſolutely denied in the following terms, by a very eminent Antiquary, 'The partition of the Saxon kingdom into ty-'things, hundreds, and counties, has been al-'moſt univerſally attributed to the illuſtrious Æl-'fred. Malmeſbury expreſsly aſſerts him to have 'divided his territories into hundreds and tyth-'ings. Ingulphus as expreſsly declares him to have 'modelled them into counties, tythings, and 'hundreds; and nearly the whole body of our 'modern

(138) Granger's Biographical Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 2. 8vo. Edition.

(139) Archæologia, Vol. ii. p. 102, 103.

(140) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Firſt Preliminary Diſcourſe, p. 44, Note.

(141) Reliques of ancient Engliſh Poetry. Eſſay prefixed to the 1ſt Vol. p. 58—61, 3d Edition. Archæologia, Vol. ii. p. 100—106. *Ibid.* Vol. iii. p. 310.

(142) Percy's Reliques, &c. ubi ſupra. Ælfridi Magni Vita. Annot. p. 33. Oxon. 1678, Folio.

(143) Pettingal's Enquiry into the Uſe and Practice of Juries, &c. paſſim.

(144) Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

(145) Carte's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 316.

(146) Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. iii. p. 349, 4to. firſt Edition.

(147) Hickes's Theſaurus, Vol. ii. p. 34, &c. Barrington's Obſervations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 22, fourth Edition. Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. iii. p. 357.

(148) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, ubi ſupra, p. 35. Note.

'modern Hiſtorians and Lawyers have religiouſly 'copied the one, and implicitly followed the other. 'But they are all miſtaken. The tything, hundred, 'and county conſtituted a part of that original 'polity which the Saxons brought with them from 'Germany. And two of them appear exiſting in 'Britain, and all three in France, even ſome ages 'before the time of Ælfred. The tything and 'ſhires are both mentioned in the laws of the Weſt-'Saxons, before the cloſe of the ſeventh century, 'and during the reign of Ina. And the tything, 'the ſhire, and the hundred are noticed among the 'Capitularies of the Franks, before the year 630, and 'the reign of Dagobert. All the three inſtitutions 'would commence originally at one and the ſame 'period, among the kindred nations of the Franks 'and Saxons; and the fact preſents us with a view 'of ſociety, the moſt remarkable that occurs in all 'the varied delineations of hiſtory. It ſhews this 'admirable eſtabliſhment to have been formed 'amid the wilds of Germany. It holds up to us a 'fine police, exiſting among a barbarous people. 'And it exhibits the moſt accurate model of do-'meſtic œconomy, reduced to practice by a military 'nation. The tything makes its appearance in 'France about the beginning, and in England about 'the concluſion of the ſeventh century (149).'

(149) Whitaker's Hiſtory of Manchester, Vol. ii. 4to. p. 113, 114.

When we conſider the general ignorance of the times in which Ælfred lived, how late it was before he learned to read his own mother tongue, the bad ſtate of his health (which is often mentioned by Aſſerius), and, above all, his continual engagements in wars, and in the adminiſtration of the kingdom; nothing appears ſo extraordinary as his literary character, and his being able to compile or tranſlate ſuch a number of books. Were not the facts ſo ſtrongly atteſted, we ſhould be ready to call in queſtion the accounts which have been given of him in this reſpect. What is mentioned in the note [*R*], concerning the *paſtoral of Gregory*, may help, in ſome meaſure, to ſolve the difficulty. With regard to *Gregory's paſtoral*, Ælfred rendered ſome times word for word, and at other times more freely, *according as he received the ſenſe* from Pledgmond his Archbiſhop, Aſſer his Biſhop, and Grimbald and John, his Maſs-prieſts. This might be the whole of what he did with reſpect to other works aſcribed to him, if ſome of them were not the entire production of the learned men who attended his Court. *They* might dictate to the King, and he, as a greater maſter of the elegance of the Anglo-Saxon language, might put what they ſaid into a more agreeable dreſs. Let it be remembered that Aſſer, Grimbald, and John, not being of Engliſh birth, would be leſs capable than Ælfred of expreſſing themſelves with propriety in the Anglo-Saxon tongue (150). It hath, in particular, been doubted, whether this King was the tranſlator of Oroſius. But Mr. Barrington hath vindicated both his claim to the work, and his literary character in general. Mr. Barrington imagines, that ſome of the verſions made by Ælfred might be 'taſks impoſed by his 'preceptors during his youth, who ſeem to have 'made a judicious choice, as Oroſius was the beſt 'ſummary of univerſal hiſtory then known; Bede 'had given an account of the eccleſiaſtical affairs 'of the Engliſh; and Boethius's was, perhaps, the 'beſt treatiſe of moral philoſophy which was then 'read.' 'It is not impoſſible alſo, adds the ſame 'learned author, that his preceptors might have 'corrected ſome of theſe tranſlations, or the King 'himſelf afterwards improved and enlarged them '(151).' If theſe conjectures of Mr. Barrington, which are very doubtful ones, be admitted, the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfſtang, introduced in the firſt book of Oroſius, muſt have been inſerted long after the Verſion was made. By the way, ſome valuable obſervations concerning the Geography of the firſt chapter of the firſt book of Oroſius (including the narrations of Ohthere and Wulfſtang) are given by a great maſter of the ſubject, Dr. Reinhold Forſter, at the end of Mr. Barrington's tranſlation. Ælfred's literary character hath lately been diſplayed to great advantage, by two other writers, Dr. Henry (152) and Mr. Warton. With an extract from Mr. Warton, we ſhall conclude the preſent article. 'Ælfred deſerves particular notice, not only as a 'writer, but as the illuſtrious rival of Charlemagne, 'in protecting and aſſiſting the reſtoration of lite-'rature. He is ſaid to have founded the Univer-'ſity of Oxford; and it is highly probable, that, 'in imitation of Charlemagne's ſimilar inſtitutions, 'he appointed learned perſons to give public and 'gratuitous inſtructions in Theology; but princi-'pally in the faſhionable ſciences of Logic, Aſtro-'nomy, Arithmetic, and Geometry, at that place, 'which was then a conſiderable town, and con-'veniently ſituated in the neighbourhood of thoſe 'royal ſeats at which Ælfred chiefly reſided. He 'ſuffered no Prieſt that was illiterate to be ad-'vanced to any Eccleſiaſtical dignity. He invited 'his Nobility to educate their ſons in learning; 'and requeſted thoſe Lords of his Court who had 'no children, to ſend to ſchool ſuch of their 'younger ſervants as diſcovered a promiſing capa-'city, and to breed them to the clerical profeſſion. 'Ælfred, while a boy, had himſelf experienced the 'inconveniences ariſing from a want of ſcholars, 'and even of common inſtructors in his dominions; 'for he was twelve years of age, before he could 'procure in the weſtern kingdom a maſter properly 'qualified to teach him the alphabet. But, while 'yet unable to read, he could repeat from memory 'a great variety of Saxon ſongs. He was fond 'of cultivating his native tongue: and with a view 'of inviting the people in general to a love of 'reading, and to a knowledge of books which 'they could not otherwiſe have underſtood, he 'tranſlated many Latin authors into Saxon: theſe, 'among others, were; Boethius *of the Conſolation of 'Philoſophy*, a manuſcript of which of Ælfred's 'age ſtill remains; Oroſius's *Hiſtory of the Pagans*; 'Saint Gregory's *Paſtoral Care*; the venerable Bede's '*Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, and the *Soliloquies* of Saint 'Auſtin. Probably Saint Auſtin was ſelected by 'Ælfred, becauſe he was the favourite author of 'Charlemagne (153).'] K.

(150) Aſſer was a native of Wales. Grimbald was a monk of Rheims in France. There were two learned men of the name of John at this period. One of them came from Germany, and was the friend of Grimbald. The other was a monk of St. David's, and probably brought from thence by Aſſer.

(151) Preface to the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington's Edition of Ælfred's Verſion of Oroſius, p. 9—16.

(152) Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 352—357.

(153) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, Second Preliminary Diſſertation, p. 97, 98.

ÆLFREDUS, ALFREDUS, ELFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, ſon to King Æthelred the Unready, by Emma his Queen, daughter to Richard I. Duke of Normandy (*a*). He was half brother to King Edmund, ſirnamed Ironſide, and brother of the whole blood to King Edward the Confeſſor. He muſt have been born in A. D. 1003, and was indubitably elder brother to Edward, though Speed (*b*), and moſt of our hiſtorians, expreſsly ſtyle him the younger ſon of King Æthelred, by Emma. His father's misfortunes falling heavy, it was judged proper to ſend the two young Princes, Ælfred and Edward, into Normandy, there to be bred up, in the court of their uncle Duke Richard. Accordingly, in 1013, thither they were ſent, under the care of Biſhop Ælfhun (*c*). The Norman hiſtorians take notice of this, but they tell us, that King Æthelred himſelf fled into Normandy, from the fury of King Suanus the Dane, and returning with large ſuccours, left behind him his ſons Ælfred and Edward (*d*). After the death of Æthelred, Queen Emma marrying King Canutus, her ſons remained ſtill in the Norman court, and were there carefully educated (*e*) [*A*]. Duke

(*a*) Ethelred Ab. Rieval de geneal. Reg. Angl. int. X. Script. p. 362—366.

(*b*) Speed's Chronicle, edit. 1623, p. 424. Stowe's Chronic. by Howe, 1631, p. 91.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 1003.

(*d*) W. Gemet. de Duc. Nor. apud Camd. Edit. Franc. 1603, p. 635. Chroniques de Normandie, 1435, c. lxvi, lxvii.

(*e*) Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. H. Huntingd. ap. edit. Savil. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Higden in Polychr. ap. edit. Gal. lib. vii. p. 438.

[*A*] *Were there carefully educated.*] There were many prudential reaſons for ſending theſe young Princes into Normandy. Æthelred had by his former Queen, Elgiva, ſix ſons and four daughters; moſt of them grown up and married (1). The Danes were continually haraſſing this iſland by their invaſions; and the King, though he wanted not either courage or conduct, was ſometimes driven to hard ſhifts

(1) Speed's Chron. p. 422.

Duke Robert was as kind to them, as either his father or brother had been, and perceiving that they were now grown up and fit to govern, he made ſuch preparations for invading England, as alarmed the Daniſh Monarch, and induced him to avoid the ſtorm, by giving them a part of the kingdom of England, rather than run the hazard of letting them land with a Norman army, which might have given them all. But there followed ſmall fruit of this agreement; for their generous protector, Duke Robert, going to the Holy Land, the Dane thought no farther of his treaty (*f*) [*B*]. On the death of Canutus, however, Alfred, a brave active Prince, reſolved to venture ſomewhat for the recovery of his right (as he apprehended it) to the Engliſh crown (*g*). Accordingly, he embarked with a conſiderable body of Norman troops, and arriving in England, had bid fair for diſpoſſeſſing Harold, ſirnamed Harefoot, the ſon of Canutus, of the throne, if the baſeſt treachery had not prevented him. Godwin, Earl of Kent, undertook to King Harold, for his deſtruction, and effected it thus. He pretended to join him, and to aſſiſt him in his deſign; but perfidiouſly drew him and his Normans into an ambuſcade, where, after a ſlight reſiſtance, he and they were made priſoners. This was done in the neighbourhood of Guilford, where the poor Normans were decimated, and the remainder decimated again, exceſſive cruelties being uſed in putting them to death. As for Alfred, he was carried priſoner to the iſle of Ely. At Gillingham (*b*), his eyes were put out, by the direction either of Earl Godwin, or of Biſhop Livingus (*i*), then lately promoted from the Abbey of Taviſtock, to the ſee of Kirton or Crediton, in Devonſhire. This cruelty once executed, he was committed to the monks of the monaſtery at Ely, with a ſtrict charge to be watchful over him (*k*). He ſoon delivered himſelf and them, from all farther apprehenſions, by yielding to death, which ſome, however, ſuſpect to have been violent (*l*) [*C*]. Some place this event in 1036, others in 1037. His body was buried in the church of Ely, and his death, in the

(*f*) Thom. Walſingh. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, edit. Francf. 1603. p. 432. W. Gemet. p. 647. Croniques de Norman, c. lxxx. Chron. Saxon. *A. D.* 1031.

(*g*) J. Bromt. ap. X. Script. p. 934. T. Walſing. Ypod. Neuſtriæ, p. 434. Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(*b*) Leland. Collect. Vol. i. p. 241.

(*i*) Godwin de Præſulib. part. i. p. 455. 505.

(*l*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne, p. 327.

(*k*) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. viii. p. 58. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. R. de Diceto, p. 472.

ſhifts (2). Theſe were cauſes ſufficient, to move him to ſecure his youngeſt children, as well from any unkind uſage from his offſpring by his firſt marriage, as from all hazard of their falling into the hands of the Danes. Normandy, again, was the natural retreat of theſe young men, their mother being ſtiled, by way of eulogy, *The flower of Normandy* (3). With the Princes, went Ælfhun, Biſhop of London, and their mother, Queen Emma, as alſo a choice guard of 140 men (4). Godwin in his book *de Præſulibus*, ſplits this Biſhop Ælfhun into two. In his account of the Biſhops of London, he makes Alhunus, the twenty-ninth; and all he ſays of him is, *He educated the children of King Ethelred, and went with them into Normandy*, A. D. 1013 (5). This is the truth, and accurate enough. But in the detail of the Biſhops of Durham, he mentions Aldwinus, and tells us of him, that he bred up the Princes Alfred and Edward, and went over with them into Normandy, in *A. D.* 1017 (6). Here therefore is an error in time, as well as in fact. As for Æthelred, he lay with a ſquadron of ſhips at the Iſle of Wight, till he heard of the kind reception Queen Emma met with from her brother, and then he ſailed alſo into Normandy, and remained ſome time there (7).

(2) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1013. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. R. Higd. Polychr. lib. vi.

(3) Speed, ubi ſupra.

(4) Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1013.

(5) De Præſulibus, p. i. p. 231.

(6) *Ibid.* p. ii. p. 92.

(7) Chron. Saxon. p. 144. W. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 10. M. Weſtmonaſt.

[*B*] *Thought no farther of his treaty.*] The Norman writers aſſure us, that Duke Robert aſſembled a very great army, embarked his forces, and put to ſea with a very gallant fleet; but being toſſed by the fury of the winds and ſeas, and perceiving that it would be impoſſible to land in England, he, with great grief of mind, put into his own ports, and relanded his forces. However, Canutus, who was a wiſe Prince, ſeeing that by this attempt Duke Robert was in earneſt, that his own ſubjects retained ſtill ſuch an affection for the old line of their Kings, as that it would be unſafe for him to bring an army into the field, reſolved to have recourſe to a negotiation, which he began, by ſending two ambaſſadors into Normandy, with the propoſals mentioned in the text. This muſt have happened ſome time before 1030, becauſe then, Duke Robert went to Jeruſalem (8). It was no difficult thing for Canute, to ſet aſide the agreement made with Prince Ælfred, and to aſſign plauſible reaſons for ſo doing. All the children of Edmund Ironſide, and their deſcendants, were before Ælfred in right, and ſo were all the ſons of Æthelred by his firſt wife, and their repreſentatives; and as to the right of conqueſt, which was the beſt title Canutus had, the ſucceſſion founded thereon, was limited by his contract with Emma, to the children of that marriage; and conſequently, belonged to Hardiknute (9). It is not impoſſible, that Queen Emma might influence her ſons after the departure of Duke Robert, and induce them to wait ſome more favourable opportunity. This, however, is conjecture only, hiſtory in this matter affording no farther light.

(8) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. lib. v. cap. 12. p. 647. Croniques, &c. de Normand. cap. lxxx. edit. 1435. Hiſtoire d'Angleterre par Rapin, edit. 1733, Vol. i. p. 414, 415, 4*to*.

(9) Rapin, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *To have been violent.*] The ſtory of Ælfred's expedition, defeat, and death, is one of the moſt perplexed points in the Engliſh hiſtory. Moſt of our hiſtorians take as many circumſtances as they have met with, digeſt them into a clear order, place two or three old chronicles in the margin, and then think they have ſaved themſelves and their readers a great deal of trouble—— only at the expence of a little truth. But as truth is all we aim at, we ſhall remark, I. the variations in point of time. 1. It is placed in 1036, by all the ancient abbey chronicles, and by the celebrated hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (10). Hence, we have ventured ſo to put it in the text. Beſides, the Norman hiſtories concur in this date; and the baniſhment of Emma the next year, in which all writers agree, ſeems a full proof that it really happened in that year, ſoon after the aſſembly at Oxford, when Harold was acknowledged King (11). 2. However, William of Malmſbury ſays, that it was immediately on the death of Harold, before Hardiknute, the ſon of Canutus and Emma, had aſſumed the government, and Bromton mentions the ſame time (12). If this date were to be taken, it would fix the fact to 1039. 3. A third date mentioned is the next year 1040, under the reign of Hardiknute, his brother-in-law (13). 4. Some again, place it after his death, in 1041, when the throne was vacant (14). And this variety, obliged honeſt Robert of Glouceſter, to fix, 5. no date at all; though he tells the ſtory at large. He begins thus,

Vor Alured, hys eldore brother, was erſt aſlawe here
With treaſon in Engelond, ychylle tell in wuch mannere
Atyme, to ſpeak wid hys moder, to Engelonde he com,
An much peple of Normandye myd hym hyder he nome, &c. (15).

(10) Chron. de Mailros. Chron. Godſtov. MS. p. 79, 80. Annal. Mon. Burton. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii. p. 58. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 179. H. Huntingd. lib. vi. p. 365. R. Hoved. p. 438. R. de Diceto, inter X. Script. p. 427.

(11) W. Gemet. de Duc. Norman. p. 647. Croniques de Norm. cap. civ.

(12) W. Malm. lib. ii. p. 57. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(13) R. Higden in Polychr. lib. vi. p. 277.

(14) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 935.

(15) Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. by Hearne, p. 326.

II. There are as great, or greater varieties in the circumſtances. For inſtance, ſome ſay Edward as well as Ælfred, came to viſit their mother, who was at Wincheſter; and that Earl Godwin, under pretence of carrying Ælfred to court, fell upon the Normans who accompanied him, and treated them cruelly (16). Others alledge, that Edward and Ælfred, were invited over by their brother Hardiknute; and that the murder was perpetrated by Godwin and Biſhop Livingus, without the King's

(16) Bromt. int. X. Scrip. p. 934.

the opinion of the people, ſeverely puniſhed by God, in the ſtrange death of Earl Godwin (*m*). As to the abilities of this young Prince, our hiſtorians agree, that they were very great. He had more fire, and much more grandeur of ſoul, than his brother Edward the Confeſſor, which was the true cauſe of his ruin. For Earl Godwin, having propoſed to him his daughter in marriage, he rejected the motion with ſcorn, (which his brother Edward afterwards cloſed with) and ſhewed ſuch a confidence in his Normans, as gave the crafty Earl an opportunity of repreſenting to the Engliſh nobility, that if this Prince became their ſovereign, he would be always ſurrounded by foreigners. This deſtroyed that affection which the nation bore him, and defeated the inquiries afterwards made about his death (*n*). As to which, ſome ſuſpicions fell upon his mother, Queen Emma. In all probability, they were ill-grounded; but it is certain, ſhe was deeply in the Daniſh intereſt; and her ſon, King Edward the Confeſſor, on that account, more readily believed whatever calumnies were raiſed againſt her (*o*). The reaſon why this hiſtory of Ælfred's death is ſo obſcured, and ſo diverſly related, is the partiality of contemporary writers. The Saxon chronicle, otherwiſe the moſt accurate as well as circumſtantial hiſtory of theſe times, is altogether ſilent about the matter. The reaſon is plain, becauſe Earl Godwin was ſo deeply concerned, there being manifeſtly a bias, in other places, where facts are not concealed (*p*). In ſome abbey chronicles, there is but one line, which juſt relates the fact (*q*). In others, tranſcribed probably after the conqueſt, it is ſaid, *That thoſe innocent ſouls*, i. e. *the Norman ſoldiers, who ſuffered in his cauſe, went to receive in heaven the juſt reward of their loyalty* (*r*). But what ſeems moſt extraordinary is, that, in the celebrated *Hiſtoria Elienſis*, or Hiſtory of the Monaſtery of Ely, where one might have expected the fulleſt account, there is not ſo much as a word concerning the matter; doubtleſs, becauſe the facts were no way honourable to the fraternity. Rapin's detail of this affair is pleaſant, and well contrived (*s*). —— But the authorities are (very prudently) omitted.

(*m*) See the articles EDWARD, EMMA, and GODWIN.

(*n*) J. Bromt. Chron. p. 934.

(*o*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*p*) Chron. Saxon, A. D. 1048.

(*q*) Annal. Mon. de Burt. A. D. 1036.

(*r*) Simeon. Dunelm. int. X. Script. p. 179.

(*s*) Hiſt. d'Angleterre, 4*to*, 1733, Vol. i. p. 414.

consent (17). Others affirm, that Emma herſelf had a hand in it; and that ſhe intended alſo to have poiſoned Edward, in order to ſecure all to her ſon Hardiknute (18). In oppoſition to this we are told, from an ancient book called *Encomium Emmæ* (19); that the traitor Godwin, to get the young Princes into his hands, cauſed forged letters to be ſent them, as from their mother, deſiring them to haſten into England, in order to prevent the uſurper Harold, from ſeating and ſettling himſelf on the throne. Our hiſtorians tranſcribe this epiſtle without ſcruple; and Alford or Griffith hath tranſlated it back into Latin, and publiſhed it in his annals (20). Without queſtion, I ought to have tranſcribed it too, had it been genuine; but doubtleſs it is not. Many circumſtances contained therein, prove this; but I ſhall quote only the title, *Emma, Queen only in name, to Edward and Alfred, her ſons, ſendeth motherly greetings* (21). It is apparent, that whoever forged this letter, thought Edward the eldeſt ſon, and of conſequence this trick is of a much later date than it pretends to. All the reſt of the tale, that Edward was gone into Hungary, and ſo Ælfred only came over, is of a piece; intended plainly to ſet a gloſs on the character of Queen Emma, who really deſerved it at the hand of the clergy, having been exceedingly bountiful to the church. The Norman chronicles, which could have no bias, ſtate the fact as we ſtate it in the text (22). They ſay that Edward, with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a conſiderable body of Normans on board, ſailed from Harfleur, landed at Winchelſea, and meeting there with an unexpected reſiſtance, were compelled to reimbark, and return to Normandy. Nay, we are told particularly, that Gifford Count Longueville, and many other men of quality, attended Prince Edward in this expedition, which entirely deſtroys the ſtory in the *Encomium Emmæ*, that Edward was gone into Hungary to ſee his couſins. We have, likewiſe, in the ſame hiſtory, the names of the Norman chiefs, who came with Prince Ælfred, *viz.* Jean de Harcourt, Almeric de Sez, the Count de Dreux, *&c.* Many of theſe made their eſcape, when the wicked Godwin ſeized the innocent Ælfred, and with him made priſoners about 1000, or 1200 men (23). Theſe he decimated, but in a new manner, for inſtead of deſtroying one out of ten, as that term naturally implies, he ſaved but one of ten; and thinking even them too many, he decimated them again (24). Nor was his putting them to death leſs cruel, for ſome he beheaded, others he flead, and of thoſe he ſaved, he ſold ſome for ſlaves; which would ſeem acts of incredible barbarity, did not ſo many authors atteſt them (25). It is far from being clear, from the accounts we have, that Ælfred was ever carried to London; and yet it is reaſonable to believe he was there ſhipped for Ely, by the command of King Harold. The induſtrious Leland, from an ancient chronicle written by a monk of Perſhor, has preſerved an account of the place where this poor Prince had his eyes torn out, *viz.* Gillingham (26). There are in England ſeveral places of this name (27); but the Gillingham here meant, muſt be Gillingham St. Mary, in Clavering Hundred in Norfolk (28). It ſeems thoſe who had Prince Ælfred in cuſtody, landed him at Yarmouth, conveyed him thence to Gillingham, which is nine miles, there put out his eyes, and then carried him to Ely, which is forty miles farther. The paſſage from the chronicle before mentioned, takes notice of the uſage the Prince met there, which is confirmed by a proſe note on Robert of Glouceſter, and other authority; and it was this, They took part of his gut out at his navel, nailed it to a poſt, and by pricking him forced him to run round it, till his whole bowels were extracted (29). If this were ſo, we need not wonder that the *Liber Elienſis* is ſilent. Yet, as his being buried there is owned, his death ought by thoſe monks to have been better accounted for. It is very remarkable, that Queen Emma, Godwin, and Livingus, then Biſhop of Worceſter, united their intereſts to ſet up Edward the Confeſſor, brother to Ælfred, who yet never loved any of them, or forgot the barbarous uſage of his brother, as may be ſeen in all our hiſtories. It is not perhaps ſo entertaining to the reader, to have facts laid before him in this broken and doubtful way, as when they are handſomely digeſted, and all difficulties thrown out. Yet that plainly turns true hiſtory into romance, and though it amuſes can never inſtruct us. Whereas, in this method, beſides the pleaſure of ſeeing truth, and not an author's fiction, we have an opportunity of making many juſt and uſeful reflections. As in the preſent caſe, 1. We may diſcern the impoſſibility of ſtifling ſuch facts as theſe, which appears by the accounts given by later writers of the murder of Ælfred, notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Saxon chronicle. 2. We gain many lights into other parts of our hiſtory, by tracing this point home. We ſee why the Normans were ſo dear to Edward the Confeſſor, why he was ſo much afraid of Earl Godwin, why he was a little ſuſpicious of his mother, *&c.* In ſhort, this laborious method of comparing all our ancient authors, were it thoroughly purſued, would really make moſt things clear; whereas, the utmoſt the other method can do, is to make all things ſeem ſo.

C.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

(18) *Id. ibid.*

(19) Speed's Chron. p. 424.

(20) Vol. iii. p. 512.

(21) Hollingſhed, p. 264. Speed, p. 424.

(22) See the authorities in the text.

(23) Croniques de Norm. c. civ.

(24) R. Higd. Polychron. p. 277.

(25) Alured Beverl. Chron. Godfar. Annal. de Burt. R. de Diceto. W. Malmſb. H. Huntingd. R. Hoved.

(26) Collectan. Vol. i. p 241.

(27) Spelman's Villare Angl.

(28) See Speed's Maps.

(29) Leland's Collect. Vol. i. p. 241. Robert of Glouceſter, p. 328. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, p. 52.

ÆTHELSTAN, ATHELSTAN, or ÆTHESTAN, the ſon of Edward, ſirnamed the Elder, the twenty-fourth King of the Weſt Saxons, and of Edgina, the daughter of a ſhepherd (*a*), who, merely on account of the lowneſs of her birth, is treated, by many ancient, and by moſt modern writers, as a concubine; though the reader will ſee that there are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary [*A*]. As to the year of his birth, it is not certain, but the circumſtances thereof are curious, and well atteſted. His mother Edgina, when a girl, dreamt, that the moon ſhone out of her belly ſo brightly, that it illuminated all England. This dream ſhe innocently related to an old woman, who had nurſed Prince Edward, in the court of his father, Alfred the Great. The old woman, ſtruck with the thing, as well as with the extraordinary beauty of the girl, took her home, and kept her as her own daughter. Prince Edward, coming thither one day to ſee his nurſe, took notice of the beautiful Edgina, fell in love with her, and had by her this ſon, whom, on account of his mother's dream, he named Æthelſtan, *i. e. The moſt noble* (*b*). His grandfather Alfred took extraordinary care of his education, recommending him, in his infancy, to the care of his daughter Ethelfleda; and, when he was grown a boy, to her huſband Ethered, one of the greateſt captains of the age in which he lived. When the young Æthelſtan was grown big enough to be introduced at court, he was brought thither by his tutors; and the wiſe King Alfred was ſo pleaſed with the ſpirit, countenance, and behaviour of the lad, that, to keep my author's words, *He bleſſed him for King, after his ſon Edward, by a kind of prophetic ſpirit* (*c*), and then knighted him, giving him a purple robe, a belt ſet with jewels, and a Saxon ſword, in a golden ſcabbard (*d*). After all this, who can think him a baſtard? It is true, his father married two other wives beſides Edgina, and had children by them both; as by Elfleda the daughter of Earl Ethelin, a ſon called Ethelward, a Prince of great hopes, in temper and countenance extremely like his grandfather Alfred, whom, many think, he would have ſucceeded to the throne, had he ſurvived. But he dying a few days after his father, and the reſt of the ſons of this King Edward the Elder, being in their infancy; Æthelſtan, according to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded *A. D.* 924 [*B*]. He was ſolemnly crowned by Athelum, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, *apud Regiam Villam*, that is, *At Kingſton upon Thames*, which place was before called Moreford, but by reaſon of this, and ſeveral other Princes, making it their place of reſidence, which they did, that they might be nearer at hand to reſiſt the Danes, aſſumed the name of Kingſton, or King's Town (*e*). Æthelſtan was ſcarcely ſeated on his throne, before a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him, by a certain nobleman, called Alfred, whoſe intent was to ſeize the perſon of his ſovereign at Wincheſter, and to put out his eyes: the plot being diſcovered, and its author apprehended, he ſtedfaſtly denied it, and the King, to ſhew his ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſent him to Rome, there to purge himſelf by oath, before the altar of St. Peter. When he came thither, and had by oath proteſted his innocence, he fell down in a miſerable agony, and being carried by his ſervants to the Engliſh ſchool, died there the third day in great torment. Pope John X. denied his body Chriſtian burial, until ſuch time as he had acquainted King Æthelſtan, at whoſe requeſt it was afterwards granted (*f*). To this domeſtick treaſon, ſucceeded a war with Inguald, a Daniſh King, and Sithric, who, after killing his brother Neil, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Davenport, in Cheſhire (*g*). This laſt Prince, who was King of Northumberland, being very powerful, Æthelſtan, on a negotiation, conſented to make an alliance with him, on his renouncing Paganiſm, and to give him his ſiſter Edgitha to wife, which was performed (*b*). In a year's time, however, Sithric died, and was ſucceeded by his ſons, Anlaff and Guthfert.

(*a*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. Chronicon Johannis Bromt. Abbatis Jornalenſis, apud X. Scr'pt. p. 831.

(*b*) Bromt. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſup.

(*d*) Spelman's Life of King Ælfred the Great, publiſhed by T. Hearne, p. 201.

(*e*) Howel's General Hiſtory, P. iv. Sect. 10, p. 216.

(*f*) Gulielm. Malmſb. de geſt. Regum Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6.
(*g*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*b*) Chronicon Saxon. p. 111. Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria ad A. D. 925. Gulielm. Malm. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *There are the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe the contrary.*] Bromton, who tells at large the ſtory of Æthelſtan's birth, though he calls his mother not Edgina, but Edgiva, yet, ſpeaking of the reſt of the children of Edward the Elder, he writes thus: *Et ex alia Uxore ſua genuit Edwinum*, &c. And by another wife he had Edwin (1); which is a direct teſtimony, that the mother of Ethelſtan was his wife. It is true, that there are ſome other very ancient writers, who do not ſtile her ſo, particularly, Simeon of Durham, whoſe words are theſe, 'Ex 'muliere nobiliſſima Egcuninna, filium ſuum pri-'mogenitum Ethelſtanum, ex Regina autem ſua 'Edgiva filios tres, &c. i. e. *By a moſt noble lady 'Egcuninna, he had his eldeſt ſon Ethelſtan, but by 'his Queen Edgiva, he had three ſons* (2).' For this manner of writing it is eaſy to account, the mother of Æthelſtan was dead before his father became King; and therefore, though ſhe was *Uxor*, yet ſhe was not *Regina*, nor could ſhe be *mulier nobiliſſima*, any other way than by *marriage*, ſince her father was a ſhepherd.

(1) Chronicon Johannis Bromt. Abbatis Jornalenſis, p. 831.

(2) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria de geſt's regum Anglor. ad Ann. 899.

[*B*] *According to his grandfather's prediction, quietly ſucceeded.*] All the ancient writers of our hiſtory agree in fixing this date, excepting only the Saxon Chronicle, which places it a year later, *viz.* in 925 (3). However, as there is an apparent confuſion in the MS. in the place where this paſſage occurs, we may well enough ſuppoſe there is a miſtake. In the ſame book, however, we are informed, that Ælfwerdus, the brother of Æthelſtan, died a little after his father, at Oxnaford. It is alſo ſaid, that Æthelſtan was elected King by the Mercians, which is a circumſtance not taken notice of elſewhere: yet it muſt have been true, ſince the ſubſequent conſpiracy was occaſioned by a diſpute at that election, grounded upon his birth, as Malmſbury obſerves (4); at which alſo Rapin hints, though without citing his author (5). However, this election was in conſequence of his father King Edward's laſt Will and Teſtament; and this is another proof of his being his legitimate ſon, ſince it is hard otherwiſe to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould ſpecially call him to the ſucceſſion, in preference to his other children, by his Queens. This circumſtance, however, reconciles all the writers on this ſubject. For thoſe who ſay he ſucceeded his father Edward, have in view this deſignation. The Saxon annals, Malmſbury and others, in ſpeaking of his election, have an eye to his confirmation in the regal dignity, by the choice of the nobles at the aſſembly at Kingſton, which choice plainly preceded his coronation.

(3) Chron. Saxonicum ſeu Annales Rerum in Anglia præcipue geſtarum, &c. operâ & ſtudio E. Gibſon, Oxonii, 1692, 4to. p. iii.

(4) De Geſt. Regum Angl. lib. ii. c. 6.
(5) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, &c. A la Haye, 1733, 4to. Tom. i. p. 332.

Theſe

Theſe young men, being zealots for their old religion, immediately broke with Æthelſtan, who the next year drove them out of their dominions; whereupon, Anlaff fled into Ireland, and Guthfert to Conſtantine, King of Scots (*i*). This affair created him afterwards a great deal of trouble; for though he at firſt carried it with a high hand, and prepared to invade Scotland, to revenge the protection given to the fugitive Prince, yet he ſaw reaſon to accommodate this quarrel, and to make peace with Conſtantine; though a certain author tells us, that he defeated and took priſoners both that King, and Howel, King of Wales, but out of generous compaſſion ſet them at liberty, and reſtored them to their kingdoms, ſaying, there was more honour in making a King, than in being a King (*k*). If it was ſo, he did not get much by his generoſity: for the King of Scots, burning with a deſire of revenge, or elſe dreading the power of ſo formidable a Prince, concerted a league with many of his neighbours; though hiſtorians are not agreed in what they ſay concerning the time when, or the Kings who entered into this alliance [*C*]. One of the moſt noted, was Anlaff whom we mentioned before, who returned out of Ireland, and collected an army in order to reſtore himſelf to the kingdom of Northumberland; though others alledge, that this Anlaff was not the ſon of Sithric before mentioned, but another of the ſame name, King of Ireland, and of the Iſles. Whoever he was, his army conſiſted of Danes, Norwegians, Scots, Picts, *&c.* and he was himſelf a brave man, and a ſkilful officer. With him and Conſtantine, joined Eugenius, King of Cumberland, and ſome other petty Princes; and, after four years preparations, they drew together a great army, and marched therewith to (*) Bruneford, in Northumberland, near which place Æthelſtan had pitched his camp. While both armies lay here, Anlaff being deſirous to ſurprize his enemy in his camp, went thither in the diſguiſe of a harper, and having played from tent to tent, was at laſt, for his ſkill in muſic, brought to play before the King, which he did ſo harmoniouſly, that at his departure he had a conſiderable reward given him, which, ſcorning to take away, after he came out of the royal tent, he cut up a piece of turf with his knife, and hid the money under it, which being ſeen by a ſoldier, he obſerved him more narrowly, and diſcovered who he was. When he was gone, the ſoldier went and acquainted King Æthelſtan, who chid him for not ſpeaking ſooner. But the ſoldier excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that he formerly ſerved in Anlaff's army, and had ſworn fidelity to him; wherefore had he betrayed him, it might have induced a ſuſpicion, that he would have betrayed alſo his preſent maſter. To prevent the bad effects of this, he adviſed the King to remove his tent, there being reaſon to believe that Anlaff would that night make ſome attempt to ſurprize his quarters. This advice was approved and followed, and, as the event ſhewed, with good reaſon; for in the midſt of the night, Anlaff, with a choſen body of forces, broke into the camp, and cut to pieces a Biſhop and his retinue, who had pitched their tents where the King's ſtood. But the confederates did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction reſulting from this ſucceſs. Æthelſtan came down with his forces divided into two bodies, the firſt commanded by himſelf, which charged Anlaff and his troops; the other by Turketul, the King's Chancellor, and near kinſman, who fell upon Conſtantine and Eugenius. The Scotch made a gallant defence until their King was ſlain, and then they were broken, which ſo intimidated Anlaff's army, that they alſo fled, and left their King to retire as well as he could (*l*). This is ſaid to have been one of the bloodieſt battles ever fought in this iſland: but the circumſtances relating to the loſs of the allies are ſo various, that, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into a note [*D*]. To perfect his favourite deſign, of making himſelf Supreme Lord of the iſland,

(*i*) Bromton, p. 838. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Bromton, ubi ſupra. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 272.

(*) New Brumbridge.

(*l*) Chron. Sax. p. 112. G. Malmſb. lib. xi. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495. Huntingd. lib. v. Hoved. p. i. p. 242. Bromton, p. 839. Simeon. Dunelm. p. 155.

[*C*] *The Kings who entered into this alliance.*] As to the wars of King Æthelſtan, eſpecially againſt the Scots, it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of confuſion, in what the ancient writers tell us about them. Simeon of Durham places the reduction of the *Reguli*, or little Kings, in 926, or the third year of this King's reign (6); whereas Bromton places both that and the viſion of St. John of Beverley, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, a year after (7). This is the reaſon that we have expreſſed ourſelves ſo generally in the text. But there ſeems to be greater certainty, with reſpect to the invaſion of Scotland by this Prince in 934, or the eleventh year of his reign. For with regard to this, the Saxon chronicle and the beſt hiſtorians exactly agree (8). In this expedition the King meeting on the road with many pilgrims who had been at the ſhrine of St. John of Beverley, and had there, as they ſaid, been cured of lameneſs, blindneſs, and other diſeaſes, he thereupon ordering the army to march on, went himſelf in pilgrimage to the ſame ſhrine; and having beſought the ſaint to afford him his aſſiſtance in the war which he had undertaken, he left his knife as a pawn for the due performance of the vows he there made. Some time afterwards, St. John appeared to him in a viſion, promiſed his aſſiſtance, and greatly encouraged the King, who, having totally defeated the Scots, and obliged Conſtantine their King to ſubmit to him, thereupon put up another petition to the ſaint, *viz.* That he would ſhew ſome ſign that might convince the Scots their kingdom depended, *jure divino*, on that of England. In conſequence of this prayer, he, with his ſword, cut an ell deep into a rock near to his camp at Dunbar, and left that chaſm as an indubitable mark of his ſovereignty over the country (9). Rapin ſays, that theſe things are unworthy of repetition (10). But however abſurd the ſtory may be, it ought not to be forgotten, ſince the ſtone at Dunbar is gravely inſiſted on by King Edward I. in his letter to Pope Boniface, wherein he ſtates his right over the King and kingdom of Scotland (11). If at this time we ſuppoſe he reſtored, under certain conditions, the crown to Conſtantine, King of Scots, then the reſt of the hiſtory will run ſmoothly enough, ſince the great invaſion made by Conſtantine, in conjunction with Anlaff, King of Ireland, happened exactly four years after this; nor can there be a more probable cauſe aſſigned than this attempt of Ethelſtan, to ſet up a divine right to other people's countries, for ſo many princes entering into a league againſt him.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Chronicon, ad ann. 927.

(8) Chron. Sax. p. 111. Florent. Wigorn. Guliel. Malmſb. Ingulph, *&c.*

(9) Ethelredus Abbas Rievallis, de Genealogia Regum Angl. p. 357. Chron. Johan. Bromt. p. 838.

(10) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. i. p. 338.

(11) Henr. de Knyghton, Canonicus Leyceſtr. de Eventibus Angl. lib. iii. c. 4.

[*D*] *We have thrown them into a note.*] This great battle is the moſt remarkable thing which happened in King Æthelſtan's reign, and indeed it is of the utmoſt conſequence to the clearing of our hiſtory, to ſet this whole war in a proper light. In the firſt

iſland, and to attain the ſole dominion over, not only the Saxon, but all the other nations alſo inhabiting therein; Æthelſtan, with his victorious army, after this glorious victory, prepared to go immediately againſt the Welſh, or rather the ancient Britons. In the mean time, however, the fame of his great exploits, induced Henry ſirnamed the Fowler, then Emperor, to demand one of his ſiſters in marriage for his ſon Otho; Hugo, King of the Franks, alſo deſired another for his ſon; and Lewis, Prince of Aquitain, ſent an embaſſy to deſire a third for himſelf. On this occaſion, greater preſents were ſent into England, than had ever been ſeen before, and the glory of Æthelſtan's court far exceeded that of any of his predeceſſors (*m*). He was no leſs ſucceſsful in his expedition againſt the Welſh; for having beaten them in the field, he cauſed Ludwal, King of Wales, with all his petty Princes, to meet him at Hereford, where they did him homage, and promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute, of twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand beeves, with as many hawks and hounds as he ſhould demand. He likewiſe expelled the Britons, who had hitherto dwelt together with the Engliſh in Exceſter (Exeter), and forced them to retire into Cornwall, making the river Tamara the boundary of his dominions on this ſide, as he had fixed the Vaga on the other (*n*). He governed henceforward in peace and glory, made many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects [*E*], and rendered himſelf the moſt admired Prince of the age in which he lived, on account of his wiſdom, wealth, and the great extent of his dominions, which were much wider than thoſe of Ælfred his grandfather (*o*) [*F*]. The only blemiſh on his reign, is the ſuppoſed murder, or putting wrongfully to death, of his brother Edwin, which is in itſelf ſo improbable, and all things

(*m*) G. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6. Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 495.

(*n*) R. Hoved. Part I. p. 242. Huntingd. lib. v.

(*o*) Malmſb. Huntingd. Ingulph. Simeon Dunelm. Bromton, *&c.*

place then, we will unravel the difficulty about Anlaff, whom ſome make King of Northumberland (12), moſt hiſtorians King of Ireland (13); and Buchanan, without naming him, King of the Danes (14). That he was a great and powerful Prince, may be inferred, not only from the great army he led againſt the Saxons on this occaſion, but alſo from his coins which are ſtill remaining (15), and of which we had a fight whilſt we were writing this note. That he was not King of Denmark we are ſatisfied, by inſpecting the catalogue of their Kings, wherein we find that Harold was at this time Monarch of that country (16). From the Iriſh hiſtorians it is clear, that he was no Prince of theirs (17); yet the authors who ſpeak of him, are not however ſo much miſtaken as at firſt ſight they may ſeem. Sithric, his father, was not only King of Northumberland, but held alſo, by conqueſt, part of Ireland, and many of the iſlands between it and Scotland (18), which dominions came alſo to his ſon, who came now with the forces he had raiſed in Ireland and the Iſles, to aſſert his right to Northumberland, which had been yielded by Alfred the Great, to his anceſtors (19). On the whole therefore, Anlaff was King of the Danes in Ireland, and came from thence with his fleet into the Humber, where he debarked his army, and afterwards joined Conſtantine, King of Scots, the King of Cumberland, and his other allies, with whom he offered Ethelſtan battle (20). Simeon of Durham places this battle in 937 (21), but the Saxon Chronicle (22), Bromton (23), and the beſt hiſtorians in 938 (24). There is a long elaborate deſcription of this fight, in the Chronicle before mentioned, as well as many other ancient authors, all of whom agree that it was fought from morning till night, and that it was one of the moſt bloody that ever happened in England. They alſo agree, that five Kings and ſeven Dukes were here ſlain; but the Saxon Annals admit, that Conſtantine eſcaped, though he loſt his eldeſt ſon (25); and Bromton ſays expreſsly, that both Anlaff and Conſtantine eſcaped (26). Buchanan's account of this battle is equally obſcure and abſurd, for he does not allow that Conſtantine was preſent, and yet admits that diſcontent for his loſs induced him to reſign the crown (27). If we may credit the Monks, another miracle was wrought in this battle in favour of Æthelſtan, who dropping his ſword in the field of battle, another fell from heaven into his ſcabbard, at the prayer of Otho, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which drawing from thence, he fought with the reſt of the day (28).

(12) Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 6.
(13) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 155. Chron. Saxon. p. 112. Bromton, p. 839.
(14) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.
(15) See Speed's Chron. p. 397.
(16) Petav. Ration. Temp. T. iii. p. 201.
(17) O'Fleharty Ogyg. p. 434, 435.
(18) Keating's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 466.
(19) Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 66.
(20) Ingulph. Malmſb. *&c.*
(21) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 155.
(22) Page 112.
(23) Chronicon, p. 839.
(24) Ingulph. Malmſb. *&c.*
(25) Page 113.
(26) Chronicon, p. 839.
(27) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.
(28) Oſbernus de vita Odonis Archiep. Cant. P. ii. p. 80.

[*E*] *Many wiſe laws for the benefit of his ſubjects.*] The great fame of our Æthelſtan aroſe from his laws, of which we have two editions; one by Lambard, amongſt the reſt of the laws made by the Saxon Kings, and the other by Abbot Bromton in Latin (29). It would take up too much room to give even the heads of theſe laws, for they are very many, and very curious. Mr. Selden ſpeaks of them very reſpectfully (30), and indeed the peruſal of them lets us into the knowledge of the Saxon antiquities, and thereby renders the hiſtory not only of thoſe times, but alſo the grounds of our conſtitution as it ſtill ſtands, clear and eaſy. Such as are not very well verſed in the matter, or who find it difficult to underſtand the Latin of Bromton, which is indeed not over claſſical, may have recourſe to Dr. Howel, who in this, as in all other things, hath treated the Engliſh hiſtory with great ſkill and impartiality (31). On account of theſe laws, this King is mentioned by all the authors who have written expreſsly of Engliſh writers; and to ſay the truth, Bale is more exact than uſual, in the account he gives us of his writings. He wrote, ſays he, one book of ancient laws corrected, another of new ones, and a third of conſtitutions for the government of the clergy. He likewiſe mentions his cauſing the Bible to be tranſlated out of the Hebrew into the Saxon tongue, which Bale ſuppoſes to have been done by certain Jews, converted to the Chriſtian faith (32). All the writers of his life, and indeed all the Monks who have written the lives of Biſhops under his reign, commend Æthelſtan not only as a moſt religious, but as a moſt wiſe and learned Prince, favoured by, and a friend to, the muſes. Leland particularly tells us, that he found in the library of the monaſtery at Bath, ſome books which had been given by this Prince to the Monks. One of which, a treatiſe *De ſynodis Pontificiis*, he brought from thence, and placed in the library of King Henry VIII. with this inſcription (33):

(29) Chronicon, p. 839, *& ſeq.*

(30) Analecton Anglo-Britannicon, lib. ii. c. 5.

(31) Inſtitution of General Hiſtory, P. iv. c. 2, p. 304.

(32) Centuria Secunda, fol. 66.

(33) De Scriptor. Britannicis, p. 160.

Ethelſtanus erat noſtræ pars maxima curæ,
Cujus nota mihi bibliotheca fuit.
Illo ſublato, ſexcentos amplius annos,
Pulvere delitui ſqualliduſ atque ſitu:
Donec me pietas magni revocavit ad auras
Henrici, digno reſtituitque loco.

On me, great Ethelſtan was wont to look,
And ſtill his mark, declares me once his book.
More than ſix hundred years in wretched ſtate,
With duſt o'erſpread, I mourn'd my change of fate.
'Till mighty Henry, urg'd his pious claim,
And I once more, a Monarch's book became.

[*F*] *Than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred.*] Buchanan ſpeaking of the dominions of Æthelſtan, ſays, 'Here the Engliſh writers, who are profuſe 'in their own praiſes, do affirm, that Athelſtan was 'the ſole Monarch of all Britain, and that the reſt 'who had the name of Kings in Albion were but 'precariouſly ſo, and his feudatories only, as taking 'an oath of fidelity to him, as the ſupreme Lord.' A little after he ſays, 'Theſe men being gene-'rally unlearned, do not in ſome places ſufficiently 'underſtand their own writers, neither do they take 'notice that Beda, William of Malmſbury, and 'Jeffery of Monmouth, do commonly call that 'part

things conſidered, ſo ſlenderly atteſted, that it does not, as we apprehend, deſerve a place in the text of this life, though for the thorough underſtanding of it, we have placed an ample account thereof below (*p*) [G]. As to his perſon, we are told that he was of the ordinary ſize, of a merry countenance, his hair of a bright yellow, ſtooping a little in the ſhoulders. He was extremely brave, conſtant in his reſolutions, ſecret in

(*p*) See Speed's Chron. p. 396.

'part of Albion, Britain, over which the Britons 'ruled, *viz.* within the wall of Adrian, or when 'they ſtretch their dominions fartheſt, within the 'wall of Severus, ſo that the Scots and Picts are 'treated by them as foreigners, and people out of 'Britain. When therefore the Engliſh hiſtorians 'read in their old writers, that the Engliſh reigned 'over all Britain, they underſtand theſe authors ſo 'as if they included Albion; whereas they, as I 'ſaid before, circumſcribe Britain within narrower 'limits (34).' It muſt be allowed, that this author gives a very graceful colouring to his own opinion, if indeed it was his opinion, after reading what the old Engliſh Hiſtorians ſay, ſince nothing is clearer than that the old authors he mentions, eſpecially Jeffrey of Monmouth (35), expreſsly ſay, that the Scottiſh princes, whom they call Kings of Albania, were ſubject to the Britiſh monarchs. As to King Æthelſtan, all the writers of his reign ſpeak of his ſubduing Scotland as far as Dunbar. But Simeon of Durham tells us, that in the year 934, which is the ſame year wherein he made that expedition with a land army, he, with his fleet, waſted all the coaſts as far as Caithneſs (36); ſo that the Engliſh writers were not ſo wretchedly ignorant of the bounds of Albion, as Buchanan would repreſent them. With reſpect to the ſtile of Æthelſtan, it was this: King of the Engliſh, Scots, Cumberlanders, Danes, and Britons, and if we may give credit to charters (37), as well as to what our ancient hiſtorians ſay, he was not nominally only, but effectually ſo. Beſides, what was it that Conſtantine ſtruggled for, ſo long and ſo obſtinately? Buchanan himſelf admits, that Æthelſtan formed no pretenſions on his dominions. He fought therefore to avoid owning him for his Sovereign, and the true reaſon for his reſigning the kingdom, and retiring amongſt the Culdees, was probably this, that his reſignation might make void his ſubmiſſion to Æthelſtan, which is the more likely, conſidering he did it with the conſent, perhaps from the direction, of the ſtates, who aſſembled for this purpoſe at Abernethy (38). The impartial reader will obſerve, that we do not pretend to determine any thing as to the rights of the Britiſh or Saxon Kings over thoſe of Scotland. We only endeavour to ſet ſuch paſſages of hiſtory as have been wilfully obſcured, in their true and natural light, to illuſtrate what is dark in one author, by what is more plainly ſaid in another, and thereby to diſcover truth with certainty. We have ſaid in the text, that the dominions of Æthelſtan were much wider than thoſe of his grandfather Ælfred. It is neceſſary that we ſhould eſtabliſh this fact. In the firſt place then, the Scots and Welſh, who were but homagers to Ælfred, were tributaries to Æthelſtan. Secondly, he diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh, or Britons, of conſiderable tracts, which they ſtill held in the Weſt. Thirdly, he recovered Northumberland, which had been yielded to the Danes. And fourthly, he was in full and peaceable poſſeſſion of all theſe acquired advantages, at the time of his deceaſe, and tranſmitted not the ſame only, but the poſſeſſion, to his brother and ſucceſſor, Edmund.

(34) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(35) Hiſt. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 6. 9. 18.

(36) Hiſtoria de Geſtis Reg. Angl. p. 154. Chronicon, Sax. p. 111.

(37) G. Malmſb. de vita Aldhelmi Epiſcopis Scireburnenſis, P. ii. p. 32.

(38) Buchan. ubi ſupra.

[G] *We have placed an ample account thereof below.*] The buſineſs of Edwin's death, is a point the moſt obſcure in the ſtory of this King; and, to ſay the truth, not one even of our beſt hiſtorians hath written clearly, or with due attention concerning it. The fact, as commonly received, is this. The King, ſuſpecting his younger brother Edwin, of deſigning to deprive him of his crown, cauſed him, notwithſtanding his proteſtations of innocency, to be put on board a leaky ſhip, with his armour-bearer and page. The young Prince, unable to bear the ſeverity of the weather, and want of food, deſperately drowned himſelf. Some time after, the King's cup-bearer, who had been the chief cauſer of this act of cruelty, happened, as he was ſerving the King at table, to trip with one foot; but recovering himſelf with the other, *See*, ſaid he pleaſantly, *how brothers afford each other help*; which ſtriking the King with the remembrance of what himſelf had done, in taking off Edwin, who might have helped him in his wars, he cauſed that buſineſs to be more thoroughly examined; and finding his brother had been falſely accuſed, cauſed his cup-bearer to be put to a cruel death, endured himſelf ſeven years ſharp penance, and built the two monaſteries of Middleton and Michelneſs, to atone for this baſe and bloody fact (39). Dr. Howel, ſpeaking of this ſtory, treats it as if very indifferently founded; and on that account unworthy of credit (40). Yet it muſt be owned, that all the ancient writers almoſt ſpeak of it as a thing certain. Simeon of Durham writes, that in the year 933, King Ethelſtan commanded, that his brother Edwin ſhould be drowned in the ſea (41). Abbot Bromton tells the ſtory at large (42), and after him moſt of the later writers as uſual; that is, with an addition of various circumſtances, ſo that it cannot be ſaid, this ſtory is without foundation. Buchanan hath improved it very happily. Thus it runs in his writings: 'They, 'that is the Engliſh writers, make this Æthelſtan 'guilty of parricide, in killing his father and 'his two brothers, Edred and Edwin, whoſe 'right it was to ſucceed their father in his king-'dom. Fame increaſes the ſuſpicion, that Ed-'ward was violently put to death, becauſe it attri-'butes to him the title of martyr (43).' Buchanan cites no authority whatſoever for this, becauſe indeed there could be no authority cited. Whatever he did by Edwin, moſt certainly Ethelſtan did not murder Edred, ſince he not only ſurvived, but ſucceeded him in the kingdom. As for the murder of his father, that is the pure effect of Buchanan's ignorance. He miſtook Edward the Elder, who was really the father of Æthelſtan; for Edward the Martyr, who began his reign in 975; that is, five and thirty years after Æthelſtan was in his grave. Such is the accuracy of this writer. In like manner Rapin gives us this ſtory, without the leaſt mark of doubt or heſitation (44); and yet we preſume there are ſome ſtrong reaſons againſt the credit of this whole ſtory, and ſtill ſtronger againſt that part of it, which alledges Edwin to have been unjuſtly put to death. Simeon of Durham, and the Saxon Chronicle, ſay no more, than that Edwin was drowned by his brother's command, in the year 933 (45). Bromton places it in the firſt, or at fartheſt, in the ſecond year of his reign; and he tells us the ſtory of the rotten ſhip, and of his puniſhing the cup-bearer (46). William of Malmſbury, who is very circumſtantial, ſays he only tells us what he has heard (47); but Matthew the Flower-gatherer (48), ſtamps the whole down as an indubitable truth. Yet theſe diſcordant dates are not to be accounted for. If he was drowned in the ſecond, he could not be alive in the tenth year of the King. The firſt is the more probable date, becauſe about that time there certainly was a conſpiracy againſt King Athelſtan, in order to dethrone him, and put out his eyes; yet he did not put the author of it to death: is it likely then that he ſhould order his brother to be thrown into the ſea upon bare ſuſpicion? But the reader muſt remember, that we cite the ſame hiſtorians who have told us this ſtory, to prove that Æthelſtan was unanimouſly acknowledged King, his brethren being too young to govern; one would think then, they could not be old enough to conſpire. If we take the ſecond date, the whole ſtory is deſtroyed. The King could not do ſeven years penance, for he did not live ſo long; and as for the tale of the cup-bearer, and his ſtumbling at the King's table, the ſame ſtory is told of Earl Godwin who murdered the brother of Edward the Confeſſor. Laſtly, nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that Æthelſtan was remarkably kind to his brethren and ſiſters, for whoſe ſakes he lived ſingle, and therefore one would think his brother had leſs temptation to conſpire againſt him.

(39) Speed's Chronicle, Book vii. ch. 38.

(40) General Hiſtory, P. iv. chap. 2. § 10.

(41) Hiſt. de Geſt. R. A. p. 154.

(42) Chronicon, p. 838.

(43) Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. R. 75.

(44) Hiſtoire D'Angleterre, Tom. i. p. 336.

(45) Simeon. Dunelm, p. 154. Chron. Saxon. p. 111.

(46) Chronicon, p. 828.

(47) De Geſt. R. A. lib. ii.

(48) Matth. Florileg.

his

his councils, and courteous to all men, a great encourager of learning, and, if we credit Tindal (*q*), ordered the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon tongue, for the uſe of his ſubjects. It does not appear that he was ever married; and as to the years of his reign, there is ſome diſpute. For on the one hand we are told that he reigned fifteen years and upwards, and that he died at Glouceſter, the twenty-ſeventh of October 940 (*r*); and on the other, that he reigned ſixteen years, and deceaſed in 942 (*s*): though it muſt be allowed, that theſe different accounts may be in ſome meaſure reconciled [*H*]. The fabulous writers of the life of Guy of Warwick, ſpeak of a natural daughter of his, Leonada, who they ſay eſpouſed Reynburne, ſon of the ſaid Guy (*t*).

(*q*) In his Preface to his Treatiſe of Obedience, &c.

(*r*) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Bromton, p. 839.

(*t*) Papulwick, in the Life of Guy of Warwick.

[*H*] *May be in ſome meaſure reconciled.*] As to the death of this King, the Saxon Chronicle tells us, that he died on the twenty ſeventh of October, 941 (49), and that he had then reigned fourteen years and ten weeks, which reckoning muſt neceſſarily place the beginning of his reign, in the month of July 927, which is inconſiſtent with the account given in theſe Annals themſelves, wherein it is placed in 925 (50); wherefore in this caſe their authority is of no weight. Simeon of Durham tells us, that he died on the twenty-ſeventh of October, *anno* 940, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, at Glouceſter, and was buried at Malmſbury (51): with this account agrees that of Florence of Worceſter, and of the beſt hiſtorians (52), yet Abbot Bromton tells us, he reigned eighteen years (53), if there be not a miſtake either in the MS. or printed copy, which ought the rather to be ſuſpected, becauſe this is utterly inconſiſtent with his other dates. For he places the acceſſion of Æthelſtan in 924, the acceſſion of his brother Edred in 947; he ſays that Edmund reigned after Æthelſtan ſeven years, which plainly ſhews, that Æthelſtan died in 940, and in the ſixteenth year of his reign, as the other hiſtorians ſay. So that theſe diſcordances are moſt certainly owing to errors committed by tranſcribers, and not to the authors themſelves. C.

(49) Chron. Sax. p. 113.

(50) Page 111.

(51) Hiſt de Geſt. R. A. p. 155.

(52) Malmſb. Ingulph. R. Hoved. &c.

(53) Chron. p. 839.

AGARD (ARTHUR) a learned and induſtrious Antiquary (*a*), was the ſon of Clement Agard, of Toſton in Derbyſhire, by Eleanor, the daughter of Thomas Middleborough, of Egbaſton in Warwickſhire (*b*). He was born A. D. 1540, and educated in ſuch a manner as to fit him for the practice of the Law, though it does not appear he was at either of our univerſities (*c*). In proceſs of time he became a clerk in the Exchequer-Office, and in 1570 attained the office of Deputy-Chamberlain of the Exchequer, under Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Knt. which place, under many Chamberlains, he held forty-five years (*d*) [*A*]. The great love he had for Engliſh antiquities led him to make large and laborious collections, and his office gave him an opportunity to acquire much ſkill in thoſe branches of an Antiquary's ſtudy, which are moſt intricate, and attended with the greateſt want of materials (*e*). A conformity of ſtudies brought him to an acquaintance with the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton (*f*), with whom he held the ſtricteſt intercourſe of friendſhip as long as he lived. Anthony Wood indeed tells us, that (*g*) *while Mr. Agard held his place in the Exchequer, he learned and received all his knowledge and learning in antiquities, from his faithful and dear friend Sir Robert Cotton.* Which, however, is not over probable, becauſe Mr. Agard came into his office the ſame year, preciſely, that Sir Robert Cotton was born (*h*). Such ſometimes are the Oxford Antiquary's aſſertions! Beſides Sir Robert Cotton, we find that Mr. Agard had the moſt eminent and learned men in the kingdom for his friends and acquaintance. There was in his days, though the time when it was erected is not clearly ſtated, a moſt illuſtrious aſſembly of learned and able perſons (*i*) ſet on foot, who ſtyled themſelves a *Society of Antiquaries*; and Mr. Agard was one of its moſt conſpicuous members, as appears from diſcourſes read therein, and ſince printed. We owe the publication of theſe very valuable eſſays, to the induſtrious Mr. Hearne, who yet has given a very indifferent account of them and their authors in the preface (*k*), as we ſhall ſhew in the notes [*B*]. Beſides the five

(*a*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 9. 208. 213.

(*b*) MS. notes in the hands of the author.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 519.

(*d*) Nicholſon's Library, p. 208.

(*e*) Selden's Titles of Honour. Wood, ubi ſupra. Nicholſon, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Vit. D. Robert Cotton a Thom. Smith, ſcrip. *ap.* Vit. ſelect. quorund. eruditiſ. viror. Vratſlaviæ, 1711, 8*vo.* p. 450.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Smith in vit. R. Cot. p. 434.

(*i*) See a liſt of them in note [*B*].

(*k*) Hearne's Collection, Pref. P. 35. 112. 132.

[*A*] *Under many Chamberlains he held forty-five years.*] When he came into it, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was Chamberlain, *viz.* in 1570, from whence one may conjecture, this gentleman was raiſed thereto by his favour, which is the more likely, ſince Sir Nicholas was a man of great abilities himſelf, and loved to diſtinguiſh merit. He died on the 12th of February 1571 (1), and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Randolph, another learned and worthy Knight, who deceaſed on the eighth of June 1590 (2). After him Sir Thomas Weſt was Chamberlain. His ſucceſſor, George Young, Eſq. After him Sir Walter Cope, Knt. who had for his ſucceſſor Sir William Killigrew, Knt. in whoſe place came Sir John Poyntz, to whom our author was Deputy, at the time of his demiſe (3). Wood obſerves, that formerly this was a place of great honour and worth. I find that the fee was fifty-two pounds three ſhillings and four-pence, and thirteen pounds (4) for a livery, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and there were two Chamberlains. This place ſtill keeps its credit. Indeed ſo does the Deputy's place, having the cuſtody of many valuable records at this day, thoſe particularly which Mr. Agard ſpent ſo much pains about, for which his memory is ſtill had in great honour there (5).

(1) Camd. Eliz. edit. Hearne, Tom. ii. p. 221.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon, Vol. i.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. col. 519.

(4) Queen Elizabeth's Eſtabliſhment, Civil, Military, and Domeſtical, MS.

(5) MSS Notes.

[*B*] *As we ſhall ſhew in the notes.*] Mr. Hearne publiſhed this book in 1720, under the title of *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries, upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities.* Before it is a preface containing 134 pages, dated from Edmund-Hall, Oxon, March 26, 1720. In this preface, after a long account what ſort of an aſſembly a Society of Antiquaries ought to be, he proceeds thus (6): *In the time of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. there was ſuch a Society, made up of right learned Antiquaries, that uſed to meet together, and as they undertook great matters, ſo their performances were anſwerable to their undertakings; and had they went on, there is no doubt but by this time we had had a complete account publiſhed, of the moſt material things in our hiſtory and antiquities. But it being ſuggeſted that the ſaid Society would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies; for that reaſon, the members thought fit to break it off. Nor were there wanting very powerful men that proved enemies to them; and, among other things, they were pleaſed to alledge, that ſome of the Society were not only diſaffected to,*

(6) Page 35.

five discourses in that collection, and another of a much older date (*l*); it is not known that our author Agard hath more in print, though these are sufficient to justify what we have said of him, and to shew that in English antiquities he had few equals, and perhaps no superior [*C*]. In the particular business of his office, he was not only expert, but understood it to the bottom, as is clear from his discovering *Richardus filius Nigelli*, to be the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, which generally goes under the name of

(l) Printed with Sir J. Dodderidge's Discourse on Parliaments, in 1658.

to, but really of a quite different persuasion from, the Church of England. The reader sees, that here are facts, but no dates or authorities. The discourses Mr. Hearne published, were bequeathed to him by the very learned Dr. Thomas Smith, who died May 11, 1710, and who himself intended to have published them (7). This worthy person, in his life of Sir Robert Cotton, had long before given the public a clear and distinct account of them (8). He fixes the rise of this Society of Antiquaries about 1590. He tells us, that the main point they aimed at, was to collect and bring into one place all the MSS. coins, seals, &c. which were scattered through the kingdom; that the study of antiquity might not be the work (as it is) of a man's whole life; and then to get themselves incorporated by charter. It was proposed that a college or public building should be erected at the expence of the friends to this undertaking, in which all the remains of the plundered libraries of old monasteries, &c. should be deposited: that the society should be honoured with the Queen's name; consist of a president, and a certain number of fellows, who should reside in lodgings, adjoining to the intended college; and out of whom two should be annually chosen curators of the library, &c. that they should be subject to a quinquennial visitation, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the High Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, the Principal Secretary of State, and Chief Justice of England. It was this scheme, largely set forth by Dr. Smith, as having been warmly (though vainly) solicited by Sir R. Cotton, both in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, that alarmed, though without reason, the universities; and without knowing this, we must have framed a false notion of the thing. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the society still continued. They met in term-time only, sometimes at the lodgings of Mr. Dethick, in the College of Arms, and at others in some of the members houses. Their method was to state the question to be canvassed, then to summon the members to a place mentioned in the summons, and to collect from such as gave their opinions, their reasons, and authorities in writing. Of such discourses, but whether of the respective authors penning, or collected by the member who officiated as secretary, is, I think, uncertain, Mr. Hearne's collection consists. Of such amongst these, as were composed by Mr. Agard, we shall treat in the next note; at present, let us conclude our account of this society. Under a Prince so fond of learning as King James, and who besides professed a personal respect for Sir Robert Cotton, one might have reasonably supposed this learned assembly should have met with encouragement, or at least protection. Yet, so it was, that their canvassing certain questions relating to the state and government, gave such umbrage to this monarch and his council, that upon signification thereof to the society, they dissolved, or to speak with greater propriety, discontinued their assemblies, about 1614 (9). What induced us to treat of this matter here, was, that Mr. Agard's name stands first in the list of members, as given us by Dr. Smith; and as there is abundant matter for Sir Robert Cotton's life, without introducing therein an account of this society, it could no where, in this work, come in more naturally. For though Sir R. Cotton was the more considerable man, yet Mr. Agard must have had a greater share in the erection of this useful assembly, since, at the time fixed by Dr. Smith, Sir Robert Cotton was scarcely twenty, and was of course a lover of antiquities, rather than an antiquary. It remains, that we add here, a list of the members of this society; which, from Dr. Smith, Mr. Hearne, and the assistance of a learned person, who desires to be concealed, we are able to render more ample, and more accurate than any hitherto published.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Smith, in vit. D. R. Cotton, p. 450.

(9) Smith in vit. R. Cotton, p. 458. Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, p. 69.

A List of the Members of the ancient Society of Antiquaries.

From A. D. 1590 to 1614.

Agard, Arthur	Holland, Joseph
Andrews, Lancelot	Lake, Thomas
Bouchier, Henry	Leigh, Francis
Bowyer,	Ley, James
Camden, William	Oldsworth, Michael
Carew, Richard	Patten, William
Cliffe,	Savel,
Cope, Walter	Saint George, Richard
Cotton, Robert	Selden, John
Davies, John	Spelman, Henry
Dethick, William	Stow, John
Dodderidge, John	Strangeman,
Doyley,	Talbot, Thomas
Erdswicke or Urdswicke	Tate, Francis
Fleetwood, William	Thynne, Francis
Hakewill, William	Whitlock, James
Hartwell, Abraham	Wiseman,
Heneage, Michael	

Whoever considers this list attentively, will need not many words to convince him that scarcely any other can be produced so honourable for this nation, or for the commonwealth of letters. Let us compare this society in 1590 with the French academy, which pretends to no higher antiquity than 1629 (10). Let us examine the design of each, and let us compare the figure made by the respective members of each body, and we shall know what to think of the state of learning in France, and in Britain, at that period. We may thence also borrow another piece of useful knowledge, how much we of this age stand indebted to these industrious inquirers; but for whom our antiquities had been, by this time, rubbish, not worth the raking into.

(10) Memoires concernant les vies & les ouvrages de plusieurs modernes celebres dans la Republique de Lettres, par M. Ancillon. Amsterdam, 1709, 12*mo*. p. 5.

[*C*] *He had few equals, perhaps no superior.*] In order to support this, we shall add to what is said in the text, the titles of Mr. Agard's discourses which have been printed. 1. *Opinion touching the antiquity, power, order, state, manner, persons, and proceedings of the high court of parliament in England.* Published with the like essays of Sir John Dodderidge, Joseph Holland, Francis Tate, and William Camden, all members of the society before mentioned (11). But since Wood informs us, that Bishop Barlow doubted whether this work was genuine, we will say no more of it (12). 2. On this question (13), *Of what antiquity shires were in England?* In this discourse, various ancient MSS. are cited, and Mr. Agard inclines to think King Alfred was the author of this division, because it plainly appears the lesser divisions were made by that Prince. This discourse was delivered in Easter Term 33 Eliz. 1591. 3. *On the Dimensions of the Lands of England* (14). In which our author, with great judgment and learning, settles the meaning of these words, *Solin, Hida, Carucata, Jugum, Virgata, Ferlingata, Ferlinges,* from ancient MSS. and the authentic records in the Exchequer. This discourse was read on November 24, 1599. 4. *Of the authority, office, and privileges, of Heraults (Heralds) in England* (15). He gives it as his opinion, that this office is of the same antiquity with the institution of the Garter. In this discourse also he observes, that John, Earl of Bedford, caused a herald from certain rebels in Cornwall to be hanged, because rebels are not entitled to the law of arms. 5. *Of the antiquity and privileges of the houses or inns of court, and of chancery* (16). In this very short discourse, our author observes, that in the more ancient times, *i. e.* before the making of Magna Charta, our lawyers and judges were of the clergy: that in the time of Edward I. the law came to receive its proper form; and that in

(11) Printed at London, 1658, 8*vo*. and again 1679.

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 520.

(13) Hearne's Collection, p. 29.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 100.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 105.

of *Gervaſius Tilburienſis* (*m*), on which, (each ſuppoſing it his own) two modern antiquaries would have raiſed ſome reputation. But Mr. Madox, who had been charged with borrowing it from Mr. Anſtis, profeſſed his innocence, and owned, that the ſecret they contended about, had been long before known to our author, Agard, who communicated it to the famous Selden (*n*). The Dooms-Day Book, our author had made his chief and peculiar ſtudy; and that his labours might be uſeful to poſterity, he compoſed a large and learned work, on purpoſe to explain it (*o*), under the title of Tractatus de uſu & obſcurioribus verbis libri de Domeſday, *i. e. A Treatiſe of the uſe and of the true meaning of the obſcure words in the Domes-Day Book.* Which was preſerved in the Cotton library, under Vitellius, No. 9. He likewiſe beſtowed three years hard labour in compiling a book for the eaſe of his ſucceſſors, and which was alſo for the conveniency of the public. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt, *A catalogue of all ſuch records as were in the four treaſuries belonging to his Majeſty*; and the ſecond, *An account of all leagues, and treaties of peace, intercourſes, and marriages, with foreign nations.* Of this treatiſe he took ſuch care, as ſhewed at once his prudence, and public ſpirit. He depoſited it with the officers of his Majeſty's Receipt, and took order, that the ſame ſhould paſs by inventory, as being for the good of the ſubject; and a proper index for ſucceeding officers (*p*). He, likewiſe, directed by his Will, that eleven other MS. treatiſes of his relating to Exchequer matters, ſhould, for a ſmall reward paid to his executor, be delivered up to the office. All the reſt of his moſt valuable treaſure of collections, containing at leaſt twenty volumes, he bequeathed to his old friend, Sir Robert Cotton, in whoſe library, as many as remain, are yet to be found (*q*). For, notwithſtanding his great induſtry, and his making ſo much uſe of his pen, his modeſty would not allow him to publiſh any thing. After having thus ſpent his days in honour, and a learned tranquility, he thought of death before it came, and cauſed a monument to be erected for himſelf and his wife, near the chapter door in the cloiſter of Weſtminſter Abbey, in which, dying on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt 1615, he was, ſome time in the ſame month, interred. Mr. Camden (*r*), to whom we owe this date, ſtyles him, Antiquarius inſignis, *i. e. A moſt excellent antiquary*, which is ſufficient to eſtabliſh his general character. The famous Mr. Selden, in the index to his Titles of Honour, publiſhed the year before our author died, *viz.* 1614 (*s*), ſpeaking of the author of *Dialogus de Negotiis Scaccarii*, ſays, *I confeſs it was obſerved to me by Mr. Agard, a man known to be moſt painful, induſtrious, and ſufficient, in things of this nature.* This is mentioned as an inſtance of his abilities in his profeſſion, and, taking theſe teſtimonies together, we can hardly conceive too highly of Mr. Agard's merit [*D*].

(*m*) Selden's Titles of Honour, London, 1614, 4to. *See* Gervaſius, *in the* Index of Authors.

(*n*) Madox, Firma Burg. in the Preface.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 519. Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 213. Hearne's Collection, p. 74.

(*p*) Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 208.

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 520.

(*r*) Annal. Reg. Jac. I. MS. ſub Ann. 1615. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) To the Quarto edition before cited.

an old record, the Exchequer was ſtiled the mother court of all courts of record. At this time, he ſuppoſes, the lawyers began to have ſettled places of abode; but affirms, he knew of no privileges. The former diſcourſe has no date; and this only *Paſchæ*, 33, perhaps Eaſter Term, 1591. 6. *Of the diverſity of names of this iſland* (17). We find in this diſcourſe, that the firſt Saxons landing in this iſland, came here under the command of one Aelle, a King of theirs, and his three ſons, in *A. D.* 435; and that the reaſon why it was called England, rather than Saxon-Land, was, becauſe the Angles, after this part of the iſland was totally ſubdued, were more numerous than the Saxons. He likewiſe obſerves, that after this conqueſt, the name of Briton grew into diſtaſte, and all valued themſelves on being Engliſhmen. This was read June 29, 1604, and is the laſt diſcourſe of Mr. Agard, in the collection. C.

(17) Hearne's Collection, p. 157.

[*D*] *We can hardly conceive too highly of Mr. Agard's merit.*] [In the preface to the Archæologia, an account is given of the Antiquarian Society of Queen Elizabeth's and King James the Firſt's reigns, which is ſomewhat different from *that* we have in the note [*C*]. According to the Archæologia, the foundation of the ſociety may be fixed to 1572, and the honour of it is entirely due to that munificent patron of letters and learned men, Archbiſhop Parker. The members met near twenty years at the houſe of Sir Robert Cotton; and in 1589, reſolved to apply to the Queen for a Charter of Incorporation, and for ſome public building, where they might aſſemble and have a library. A petition for this purpoſe, a plan of the inſtitution, and the reaſons upon which it was founded were ſigned by Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Dodderidge, and Sir James Lee. Whether the petition was preſented, and what was its ſucceſs, does not appear. The author of Mr. Carew's life ſays, that their hopes were fruſtrated by the Queen's death. There is a tradition ſubſiſting, that ſome grant had been obtained, which was forfeited by the diſcontinuance of the ſociety. However, the learned perſons thus aſſociated were probably countenanced by her Majeſty. They continued to meet till her death; and, under the auſpices of the Archbiſhops, the ſociety flouriſhed and increaſed exceedingly. It is certain, that the Archbiſhops Parker and Whitgift were its preſidents. When the ſociety became more reſpectable for the number of its members, its meetings were held at the apartments of Sir William Dethicke, Garter King at Arms, in the Heralds Office, eſtabliſhed in 1555. More than one perſon wrote, or *ſpoke*, on each ſubject propoſed. None but members were admitted to the meetings; and the queſtions propoſed were referred to the conſideration of ſuch members as were thought beſt qualified. The liſt of the members for the thirty years during which the ſociety ſubſiſted, as given in the Archæologia, differs from that already inſerted in this article, by adding the names of Richard Broughton, Lord William Compton, William Lambart, and Robert Weſton; and by leaving out thoſe of Richard St. George, and John Selden. The ſociety ſubſiſted till James the firſt, alarmed for the Arcana of Government, and, as ſome think, for the eſtabliſhed church, thought fit to diſſolve it. Members were admitted into it to the end of the year 1604. About 1617, a propoſal was made to the Marquis of Buckingham for its revival, but without ſucceſs (18)] K.

(18) Archæologia: or, Miſcellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, Vol. i. 1770. Preface, p. 3—15.

AGELNOTH or EGELNOTH or ÆTHELNOTH, in Latin *Achelnotus*, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Canute the Great, ſucceeded Livingus in that ſee, in the year 1020 (*a*). This Prelate, ſirnamed the Good, was ſon of Earl Agilmer, and, at the time of his election, Dean of Canterbury. After his promotion, he went to Rome, and received his pall from Pope Benedict VIII. In his

(*a*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X. Scriptor. col. 1650.

his way thither, as he paſſed through Pavia, he purchaſed, for an hundred talents of ſilver, and one of gold, St. Auguſtin's arm, which was kept there as a relic, and ſent it over to England, as a preſent to Leofric Earl of Coventry (*b*). Upon his return, he is ſaid to have raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to its former luſtre. He was much in favour with King Canute, and employed his intereſt with that Monarch to good purpoſes. It was by his advice the King ſent over large ſums of money for the ſupport of the foreign churches; and Malmſbury obſerves (*c*), that this Prince was prompted to acts of piety, and reſtrained from exceſſes, by the regard he had for the Archbiſhop. King Canute being dead, Agelnoth refuſed to crown his ſon Harold [*A*], alleging that the late King had enjoined him to ſet the crown upon none but the iſſue of Queen Emma (*d*); that he had given the King a promiſe upon this head, and that he was reſolved to be true to his engagement. Having declared himſelf with this freedom, he laid the crown upon the altar, with an imprecation againſt thoſe Biſhops who ſhould venture to perform the ceremony. Harold, who was greatly chagrined at this diſappointment, endeavoured, both by menaces and large offers, to prevail upon the Archbiſhop, but in vain; and whether he was afterwards crowned by any other perſon, is altogether uncertain. Agelnoth, after he had ſitten ſeventeen years in the See of Canterbury, departed this life, the 29th of October 1038, and was ſucceeded by Eadſius King Harold's Chaplain (*e*). At this time (as an hiſtorian obſerves) the Monks of the church of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries [*B*]. This Archbiſhop was an author, having written; 1. *A Panegyric on the bleſſed Virgin Mary.* 2. *A Letter to Earl Leofric concerning St. Auguſtin.* 3. *Letters to ſeveral perſons* (*f*).

(*b*) H. Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. i. apud X. Scriptor. col. 2318.

(*c*) De Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 75, 76.

(*d*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. Sæc. xi, c. 10.

(*e*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1651.

(*f*) Baleus, de Scriptor Britan. Centur. ii. c. 46.

[*A*] *Agelnoth refuſed to crown King Harold.*] After the deceaſe of Canute, who died at Shaftſbury, and was buried at Wincheſter, the kingdom was divided about the ſucceſſion. The Daniſh intereſt at London, and elſewhere, declared for Harold Harefoot, ſon of Canute and Elgiva of Northampton. The Engliſh diſapproved this choice, and were inclined to ſet up Edward ſon of King Ethelred; or, if that point could not be carried, they deſired that Hardicanute, ſon of Canute by Queen Emma, might be the perſon. Edward's party was quickly found too weak to continue the competition. At laſt the two Daniſh brothers agreed to the expedient of a compoſition. Hardicanute had all the counties which lay ſouth of the Thames, and Harold the reſt. This conteſt being finiſhed, Hardicanute ſet ſail for Denmark; where ſpending too much time, and not returning at the invitation of the Engliſh, his ſubjects thought themſelves diſengaged, and ſuffered Harold to ſeize the whole kingdom. Queen Emma, Hardicanute's mother was baniſhed, and forced to retire into Flanders, where ſhe was honourably entertained by Earl Baldwin (1).

[*B*] *The Monks of Canterbury lived with the latitude of Prebendaries.*] The Danes having beſieged Canterbury, and maſſacred all the Monks, excepting four; the clergy who were taken in to fill up the vacancy, continued partly to live as before, refuſing to be wholly tied up to the reſtraints of a monaſtery. They wore indeed the religious habit, but with very little obſervance of the rule. They called their ſuperior a Dean; who afterwards, from Archbiſhop Lanfranc's time, had the title of Prior (2). B.

(1) Ingulphi Hiſtoria, p. 894, 895, apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(2) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. apud X. Scriptor. col. 1650.

AGLIONBY (John) an eminent divine, was born of a genteel family in Cumberland, and admitted a ſtudent of Queen's College in Oxford, in the year 1583. Being elected Fellow, he thereupon went into Holy Orders, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a polite and learned preacher. Afterwards he travelled abroad, and was introduced to the acquaintance of the famous Cardinal Bellarmin [*A*]. After his return, he was made Chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and, in 1600, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. About that time he obtained the rectory of Iſlip, near Oxford, and ſoon after was elected Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. He was likewiſe Chaplain in ordinary to King James I.; and is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament appointed by that King in 1604 [*B*]. He died at Iſlip, the 6th of February 1609-10, aged forty-three, and was buried in the chancel of the pariſh church. He was well accompliſhed in moſt kinds of learning, profoundly read in the Fathers and School-Divinity, and a great critic in the languages (*a*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 354, 355.

[*A*] *He was introduced to the acquaintance of Cardinal Bellarmin.*] Mr. Wood tells us, that the Cardinal, one day pointing to the picture of Dr. William Whitaker, of Cambridge, which hung up in his library, ſaid to Mr. Aglionby, that *he was the moſt learned Heretic that he ever read* (1). This Dr. Whitaker had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his controverſial writings againſt the Papiſts.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, appointed by King James I, in* 1604.] Mr. Wood mentions no authority for this aſſertion, nor is Dr. Aglionby's name to be found in the liſt of the tranſlators (2). It is not unlikely that he might be aſſiſting in the tranſlation, purſuant to the rules agreed upon by the tranſlators; one of which was, that *letters be ſent from every Biſhop to the reſt of his clergy, putting them in mind of the tranſlation in hand; and charging thoſe, who have ſkill in the languages, and have bent their ſtudies that way, to ſend their obſervations to the committees, either at Weſtminſter, Cambridge, or Oxford.* B.

(1) Wood's Athen Oxon. Vol. i. col. 355.

(2) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. ii. book viii. p. 693.

AIDAN, or AIDANUS, was the ſon of Goran, or Goranus, King of Scotland [*A*]. He was very young at the time his father was murdered by conſpirators, of whom Donald of Athol was the chief. This happened in the year 535. Eugenius, the

[*A*] *Aidanus ſon of Goranus, King of Scotland.*] The name of this Prince is variouſly written. In the hiſtories of Boethius and Buchanan, he is called Aidanus (1), but Bede calls him Ædan (2); in the Saxon annals, his name is written Ægthan (3), Jeffery of Monmouth call him Adan (4). But theſe are trivial differences. As to the facts, and even as to the dates, all the old hiſtorians agree perfectly well. It was, therefore, thought proper to inſert this life in this dictionary, in order to ſhew that our ancient

(1) H. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. H. S. lib. v.
(2) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34.
(3) Chron. Sax. p. 23.

(4) Hiſt. Britan. lib. xii. c. 9.

the nephew of the laſt King, and the couſin of Aidanus, ſucceeded in the throne (*a*). He had ſerved long under the celebrated Arthur King of the Britons, and as he was a good officer, ſo he was alſo a wiſe Prince, but withal a man of great art, inſomuch that he diſſembled all concern for his uncle's murder, and even took into his favour Donald of Athol, who was the prime author of it (*b*). This ſo much alarmed the Queen Dowager, that notwithſtanding he made a great ſhew of friendſhip towards her and her family, yet ſhe took the firſt opportunity of retiring with her two ſons, Reginan and Aidan, then about ſeven years old, into Ireland, where they were very kindly received by Tuathalius, the reigning King (*c*). There the Queen and her eldeſt ſon died; but Aidanus continued there, not only during the long reign of Eugenius, but alſo during that of his brother Congallus, that is, throughout the ſpace of forty-eight years. But this laſt mentioned King, conſidering the wrong done to the right heir of the crown, directed the famous St. Columb to bring him home, which that good man performed. But when they arrived in Scotland, they underſtood that the King was dead, and that the Scots had ſet his brother Kennatillus upon the throne. Columb, however, having firſt aſſiſted at the burial of the deceaſed Prince, went afterwards with Aidan to court, where, to the ſurpriſe of all men, the new raiſed King received them with much civility and kindneſs, telling Aidanus, he ſhould for the preſent aſſiſt him in governing the kingdom, which would ſhortly become his, to whom of right it pertained (*d*). This fell out accordingly; for the King being old and infirm died, as he had foreſeen, and our Aidan ſucceeded in his ſtead, according to Hector Boetius, in the year 578. He was crowned King of Scotland in the Marble Chair, by the hand of St. Columb, who made a noble oration on that occaſion, exciting the Prince to juſtice, and the people to obedience. Immediately after his coronation, Aidan went into Galloway, where he reduced certain robbers, who had done great miſchief. He then inſtituted annual aſſizes in Galloway, Lochabar, and Caithneſs (*e*). But theſe works of peace were ſuddenly interrupted. Some of the young nobility quarrelled at a hunting match, and bloodſhed following, thoſe who were moſt guilty, or at leaſt moſt afraid, retired into the dominions of Brudeus, King of the Picts. Aidan, in virtue of a treaty with that Prince, often demanded them, and was as often refuſed. At length he entered his country, and carried off a great number of priſoners, with abundance of cattle. The Pictiſh Prince reſenting this, made alſo an inroad, and did great miſchief in Galloway. In the end, a general engagement happened, wherein the Picts were routed with great ſlaughter, the Scots alſo loſing many men, and amongſt them, the King's ſon Arthur. This battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Dunkell. St. Columb hearing of this war, came to the King, and upbraided him with his too great readineſs to ſhed blood, which made that Prince ſo uneaſy, that he would not part with that excellent man, till he had promiſed him to negociate a peace, which he did with ſucceſs (*f*). The Saxons were now poſſeſſed of England, having driven the Britons into Wales. Ethelfrid who reigned then in Northumberland, was a moſt crafty, and withal a moſt ambitious Prince. He projected the conqueſt of the Pictiſh kingdom, but perceiving himſelf too weak to effect it, he excited Brudeus to break the peace with the Scots, hoping by this means to weaken him, and thereby obtain a more eaſy prey. Aidan, being informed of theſe negociations, concluded a league offenſive and defenſive, with Maelgwyn, King of the Britons (*g*). The Saxons, as ſoon as they were acquainted with this, determined to invade the Britiſh territories, that thereby they might draw the Scots out of their own country, and have them at the greater diſadvantage. This policy of theirs ſucceeded, for Aidan, like a juſt Prince, marched inſtantly to the aſſiſtance of his allies, and joining the Britiſh army, offered Ethelfrid and Brudeus battle, which, however, they declined for two reaſons. One was, that they might the more weary the Scots; the other, that they might give time to Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons, to join them. Aidan and his confederates being aware of their intention, reſolved to attack Ceuline, before his junction ſhould render them too powerful: this they performed with great bravery, and having forced their camp, cut to pieces a very conſiderable number of their enemies, amongſt whom was Cutha, the King of the Weſt Saxons ſon. This, however, did not hinder the remainder from joining their friends, and offering Aidan battle a ſecond time. In this engagement, though he behaved gallantly, yet he was very unfortunate, for he loſt his ſon Griffin, and his

(*a*) Hect. Boethius Scot. Hiſt. lib viii. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*b*) Boeth. & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ogygia, ſeu rerum Hibern. Chronol. p. 430.

(*d*) Boeth & Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 27.

(*f*) Adamn. Vit. S. Columb. lib i. c. 7. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Lewis's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 211.

ancient hiſtory is not ſo uncouth, ſo uncertain, or ſo inconſiſtent, as ſome would perſuade us. It is indeed a little ſtrange, that we admit without ſcruple, ſuch hiſtorical fragments, as yet remain of the ancient Kings of Attica, and take pains to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the firſt Kings of Macedon; though neither of their kingdoms in thoſe times could exceed the bounds of one of our counties (5); and yet give up our own hiſtory as dark and fabulous, though at the diſtance of many ages from thoſe times, and infinitely clearer, more rational, and better ſupported, than either the Greek hiſtory before the Peloponneſian war, or that of Rome before the expulſion of her Kings. He muſt certainly be a critical and ſharp-ſighted reader, who in this hiſtory of Aidan, wherein is touched the ſtate of every one of the nations then ſettled in the Britiſh iſlands, can diſcern any thing of abſurdity or of fable. And why we ſhould give up the actions of all our anceſtors to oblivion, in order to find leiſure to decypher the antiquities of other people, is a thing for which no good reaſon can be aſſigned. It muſt be granted, that before the publication of our ancient hiſtories, tranſactions of ſuch antiquity might appear very dubious; but they cannot be thought ſo now, when confirmed by ſo many different authorities, and ſuch a variety of facts.

(5) Cluver. Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9.

nephew Brennius, who was Thane or Earl of Man. But this was far from being a bloodleſs victory to the Saxons and Picts, who, beſides a great number of private men killed, had both their Princes wounded, Ethelfrid loſing one of his eyes, and Brudeus receiving a deep cut in his hip (*b*). The next ſummer, Ethelfrid joined the Picts early, and with a numerous army invaded Galloway. Aidan was more ready to receive them than they expected, and taking advantage of their ſtraggling about the country, he cut off ſeveral of their parties, and perceiving that theſe loſſes made them keep cloſe in their camp, he marched ſilently by it in a dark night, and joined the Britons. After this, they encamped in a narrow valley in Anandale. There the Saxons and Picts ſurrounded them with a great army, and, ſeizing all the paſſages, perſuaded themſelves they ſhould eaſily and totally rout their enemies. Aidan conſulting, as well with Conſtantine and Menrein, the Britiſh Generals, as with Callan and Murdach, his own Generals, they made a ſhew of ſtrongly fortifying their camp, as if therein they meant to wait for their attack, and when they had ſo done, lighting up a multitude of fires, they decamped in the night, and, paſſing certain rivers the Saxons deemed not fordable, ſuddenly entered Northumberland, and deſtroyed all the country with fire and ſword. This compelled the Saxons and Picts to follow them, and, ſoon after their arrival in the ſame country, a pitched battle enſued, wherein, after an obſtinate engagement, the Saxons and Picts were totally routed with prodigious ſlaughter, Ceuline, King of the Weſt Saxons, being killed upon the ſpot, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. After this great victory, King Aidan cauſed all the ſpoil, which they had brought out of Galloway, and which now fell into his hands, to be reſtored to the right owners. This done, he gave a tenth of the remaining booty to be diſtributed in alms: the reſt was equally divided amongſt the Scottiſh and Britiſh ſoldiers. All the trophies of this conqueſt, he cauſed to be tranſported to the iſland of Colmkill, to St. Columb, there to remain in his abbey (*i*). After this, he governed his kingdom in peace about eleven years, and then Ethelfrid prevailed on the Picts to renew the war. Aidan, though he was very old, marched to the place where the Britiſh army ſhould have joined him; but his allies failing him, gave his enemies a great advantage over him, ſo that attacking him with a ſuperior army, they cut the greateſt part of his forces to pieces, the King himſelf narrowly eſcaping. In this battle fell Theobald, King Ethelfrid's brother, which ſhews that it was no eaſy victory. However, its conſequences were ſo fatal, that the thoughts of them, and the news of St. Columb's death, brought the good old King in ſorrow to his grave, in the year 606, when he had reigned thirty-two years, and lived ſeventy-eight (*k*). There are certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory [*B*], which, becauſe they are not mentioned either by the Scotch or Engliſh hiſtorians, we have thought proper to inſert in the notes, being unwilling to place any thing in the text, which is not perfectly clear and certain.

(*b*) Boeth. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Henr. Huntingd. lib. ii. Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 28. Chron. Saxon. p. 22.

(*i*) H. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. ix. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Chron. Saxon. p. 23. Lewis's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 212.

(*k*) Boeth. ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra. Bed. H. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 24. Lewis, ubi ſupra, Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iii. c. 80.

[*B*] *Certain circumſtances in this King's hiſtory.*] St. Adamnanus, in his life of St. Columbanus, or Columb, tells us, how prophetically he marked out to the King Aidan, which of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom. This ſtory is preſerved in the hiſtory of Scotland, printed in the firſt volume of Hollingſhed's collection, but very imperfectly, becauſe of his abſolute want of ſkill in the ancient Scottiſh language (6). The fact in few words ſtands thus. About the year 584, King Aidan was in the Iſle of Man, and there preſented his ſons to St. Columb. They were in number eight, *viz.* Arthur, Eochod Finn, *i. e.* the White, Domangard, Eochod Buidhe, *i. e.* Yellow (Hollingſhed calls him Eugenius, and tells us he was alſo called Brudus); Tuathalius, Boetan, Conang, and Gartnad. St. Columb paſſing by the three eldeſt, laid his hand on Eochod Buidhe, or Eugenius the Yellow. This ſon, ſaid he, and his heirs, ſhall be heirs of your kingdom, for the other three ſhall fall in battle againſt your enemies; which came accordingly to paſs (7). The Iriſh chronicles take notice, that in 590, King Aidan paſſed over into that country, and was preſent at a council held there, which is very probable, ſince he had lived ſo many years in Ireland, and it is very likely married there (8). Bede gives a very circumſtantial account of the great defeat King Aidan received from Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, which he tells us happened in the year 603, at a place called Degſaſtane; the defeat being ſo total, that to this day, ſays he, that is, to the year 731, the Scots have never dared to enter Britain, or offer battle to the Engliſh; which circumſtance is alſo taken notice of in the Saxon Annals, where this battle is placed in the ſame year (9). C.

[What our ingenious predeceſſor hath here remarked is worthy of attention. It is certainly right to inquire into our ancient hiſtory, to gain as exact a knowledge of it as we can; and to ſeparate, if poſſible, truth from fable. But, after all, we are afraid that the accounts given of Aidan are not entirely free from doubt and difficulty. And we are the more confirmed in this opinion, when we reflect that ſo perfect a maſter of the Scottiſh hiſtory, as Sir David Dalrymple, hath begun his Annals of Scotland with the acceſſion of Malcolm III. in the year 1057; becauſe the hiſtory of Scotland, previous to that period, is involved in obſcurity and fable.] K.

(6) Chronicle, Vol. i. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 111.

(7) S. Adamn. de Vit. S. Columb. lib. i. c. 9.

(8) Ogygia, p. 475.

(9) Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. c. 34. Chron. Saxon. p. 23, 24.

AIDAN, Biſhop of Lindisfarne, or *Holy Iſland*, in the VIIth century, was originally a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona [*A*], one of the iſlands called *Hebrides* (*a*). In the year 634, he came into England, at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland,

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. lib. iii. c. 3.

[*A*] *He was a Monk in the monaſtery of Hii or Iona.*] Let us hear venerable Bede. 'Monachus 'ipſe Epiſcopus *Aedan*, utpote de inſula quæ voca- 'tur *Hii* deſtinatus: cujus monaſterium in cunctis 'pene Septentrionalium Scottorum & omnium Pic- 'torum monaſteriis non parvo tempore arcem tene- 'bat, regendiſque eorum populis præerat: quæ 'videlicet inſula ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, 'non magno ab ea freto diſcreta; ſed donatione 'Pictorum, qui illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, 'jamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod 'illis prædicantibus fidem Chriſti perceperint (1). '——— *Biſhop Aidan was himſelf a Monk, being 'ſent on this miſſion from the iſland Hii, the monaſtery 'of*

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. iii. c. 3. & H. Huntingd. Hiſt. l. iii. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601, p. 339.

berland [*B*], to inſtruct that Prince's ſubjects in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion [*C*]. At his coming to Oſwald's court, he prevailed upon the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York, where it had been ſettled by Gregory the Great, to Lindisfarne, or Holy Iſland [*D*]. He was very ſucceſsful in his preaching; in which he was not a little aſſiſted by the pious zeal of the King, who having lived a conſiderable time in Scotland, and acquired a ſufficient knowledge of the language, was himſelf Aidan's interpreter, and explained his diſcourſes to the nobility, and the reſt of his court (*b*). After the death of Oſwald, who was ſlain in battle, Aidan continued to govern the Church of Northumberland, under his ſucceſſors Oſwin and Oſwi, who reigned jointly; the former in the province of Deira, the latter in that of Bernicia. Bede tells us a remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan [*E*]. This holy Biſhop, having foretold that Prince's untimely death, was ſo afflicted for his loſs, that

(*b*) *Id. ibid.* & H. Huntingdon, Hiſt. l. iii. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601, p. 330.

'*of which place had for a long time a juriſdiction over all the monaſteries of the northern Scots and Picts. The iſland itſelf was ſubject to Britain, from which it was ſeparated only by a ſmall arm of the ſea: but by donation of the Picts, who inhabit thoſe parts of Britain, it had been given to the Monks of Scotland, as an acknowledgment of their converſion by the preaching of the latter.*'

[*B*] *He came into England at the requeſt of Oſwald King of Northumberland.*] This Prince, being ſenſibly affected with the advantages of Chriſtianity, and deſirous that his ſubjects ſhould partake of the ſame privilege, had ſent into Scotland for ſome perſon of learning and character to inſtruct them. The Scotch clergy immediately diſpatched away a Miſſionary (2) for that purpoſe. But this eccleſiaſtic, being of a rugged and ſevere diſpoſition, was greatly diſliked by the Engliſh; inſomuch that, finding himſelf unſucceſsful in his miſſion, he returned home, and reported to his countrymen, that the Engliſh were an untractable people, bigotted to Paganiſm; and that it was impoſſible to convert them. Aidan, who was preſent, turning himſelf to the Prieſt, ſaid: 'Your want of ſucceſs, brother, 'ſeems to me to be owing to your want of conde'ſcenſion to the weakneſs of your unlearned hearers; 'whom, according to the apoſtolical rule, you 'ſhould firſt have fed with the milk of a milder 'and leſs rigid doctrine, till, being nouriſhed by 'degrees with the word of God, they were become 'capable of reliſhing the more perfect and ſublime 'precepts of the Goſpel.' *Videtur mihi, frater, quia durior juſto indoctis auditoribus fuiſti, & non eis juxta apoſtolicam diſciplinam primo lac doctrinæ mollioris porrexiſti, donec paulatim enutriti verbo Dei, ad capienda perfectiora & ad facienda ſublimiora Dei præcepta ſufficerent* (3). This diſcrete and judicious ſpeech was highly applauded by the aſſembly, and it was unanimouſly reſolved that Aidan deſerved the honour of the epiſcopal character, and was the beſt qualified to convert the Engliſh. Whereupon he was preſently conſecrated, and ſent upon that employment (4). It may be thought ſtrange, perhaps, that King Oſwald ſhould ſend into Scotland for a miſſionary to inſtruct his ſubjects in the Chriſtian religion; and that he did not rather re-call Paulinus, who had been driven from the ſee of York (5), or employ the miniſtry of James, whom Paulinus had left in Northumberland. But it muſt be conſidered, that Oſwald had been inſtructed in religion by the Scotch; and had imbibed an averſion for the miſſionaries ſent from Rome, on account of the diverſity of ſentiments between the Scotch and the Romaniſts, in relation to the celebration of Eaſter (6), and the tonſure of prieſts.

(2) Hector Boethius, l. 9. gives this Miſſionary the name of *Corman*.

(3) Bede, *ibid.* c. 5.

(4) *Id. ibid.*

(5) See the next remark.

(6) See the remark [*G*].

[*C*] —— *to inſtruct the Northumbrians in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion.*] The kingdom of Northumberland had received the Chriſtian faith by the preaching of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, in the reign of King Edwin, who died in 633. But that Prince being ſlain in battle, and the deſolation, to which Northumberland was expoſed, having obliged Paulinus to quit the kingdom, the Northumbrians returned in crowds to idolatry. Anfrid and Oſric, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their ſubjects, though they had embraced the Chriſtian religion in Scotland. And thus the knowledge of the true religion was almoſt extinguiſhed in that country; and this wretched ſtate continued nearly two years, till Oſwald mounted the throne in 634 (7).

(7) *Vide* Hiſtor. Angl. ſub annis, 633, &c.

[*D*] *He prevailed with the King to remove the epiſcopal ſee from York —— to Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland.*] Bede tell us, Lindisfarne is not really an iſland, but part of the main land; and that, by the flux and reflux of the ſea, it is twice a day ſurrounded with water in the manner of an iſland, and as often left dry. *Qui videlicet locus accedente & recedente reumate bis quotidie inſtar inſulæ maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato littore contiguus terræ redditur* (8). It is a peninſula, joined to the coaſt of Northumberland by a very narrow neck of land, and called *Holy Iſland* from its being inhabited chiefly by Monks (9). But though the epiſcopal ſee was ſmall, its juriſdiction was very extenſive: for the Biſhops of Lindisfarne preſided over the whole kingdom of Northumberland, according to the received diſcipline of the antient Engliſh Church, in which there was but one Biſhop to each kingdom. *Quantumvis autem arcta fuerat Sedes, Diœceſis erat latiſſima: toti ſiquidem Northumbrorum regno epiſcopi Lindisfarnenſes præfuerunt, juxta diſciplinam apud antiquos uſque ad Theodori archiepiſcopi tempora receptam, qua ſingulis regnis ſinguli epiſcopi præſidebant* (10). The author now cited, tells us, that Aidan and his ſucceſſors, as far as Wilfrid, neither knew nor affected the metropolitical dignity, though they ſucceeded to the rights of Paulinus, Archbiſhop of York, who had received the pall, and obtained the title of Metropolitan. Nor had they any intercourſe with the Roman Pontiff: for, beſides that they acknowledged no foreign Biſhops ſuperior to themſelves, they celebrated Eaſter (*) in a manner different from the Church of Rome. *Paulino itaque in ditione ſucceſſerunt, neutiquam tamen in dignitate. Paulinus enim Pallio utebatur, & Metropolitani titulum, quamvis nondum ſibi conſtitutis ſuffraganeis, obtinuit. Aidanus autem, ejuſque ad Wilfridum uſque ſucceſſores è Scotia prodeuntes, metropolitanum dignitatem nec noverunt quidem nec affectarunt; cumque Romano pontifice, qui iſtam Paulino dignitatem contulerat, nil commune habuerunt. Præterquam enim quod nullos exteræ gentis epiſcopos ſibi ſuperiores agnoverint, diem Paſchalem ritu adhuc alieno, a quartadecima ſcilicet luna calculum ducentes, celebrarunt* (11).

(8) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 3.

(9) Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. ii. col. 1502.

(10) Hiſt. de Succeſſ. epiſc. Dunelm. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 691.

(*) See the remark [*G*].

(11) Wharton, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *A remarkable ſtory concerning King Oſwin and Biſhop Aidan.*] King Oſwin had given Biſhop Aidan a fine horſe. Some time after, the Biſhop happening to meet a poor man upon the road, who begged his charity, diſmounted and gave him the horſe with its rich houſings. The King hearing this was diſpleaſed, and, the next time the Biſhop came to dine with him, accoſted him in the following manner: *My Lord, why were you ſo prodigal of my favour, as to give away my pad to a beggar? If there was a neceſſity of ſetting him on horſeback, could you not have furniſhed him with one of leſs value; or if he wanted any other relief, you might have ſupplied him another way, and not have parted ſo eaſily with the preſent I made you.* To which the Biſhop replied; *Your Majeſty ſeems not fully to have conſidered the matter: for otherwiſe you would not ſet a greater value on the ſon of a mare than on a ſon of God* (12). Upon this no more paſſed, and they ſat down to dinner. Not long after, the King coming from hunting when the Biſhop was at court, and remembring what had paſſed between them, laid by his ſword, and, falling at the Biſhop's feet, deſired he would not take amiſs what he had formerly ſaid about the pad. The Biſhop, being diſturbed to ſee the King in that poſture, raiſed him up, and deſired him

(12) Num quid tibi carior eſt, ille filius equæ, quam ille filius Dei?

that he ſurvived him but twelve days, and died in Auguſt 651, after having ſat ſixteen years (*c*). Bede gives him an extraordinary character [*F*]; but at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter [*G*], in which he followed the cuſtom of the Scots, Picts, and Britons (*d*). The ſame hiſtorian aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan [*H*]; two of them performed in his life-time, and the other after his death (*e*). He was buried in his church of Lindisfarne, and part of his relicks were carried into Scotland by his ſucceſſor Colman in 664.

(*c*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14. See the remark [*E*].

(*d*) *Id. ib. c.*

(*e*) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 15, 16, 17.

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him not to trouble himſelf about that matter. And now the Biſhop appeared with a melancholy air, and wept very much; and being aſked the cauſe of his tears by one of his Prieſts, he told him, *he foreſaw that Oſwin's life was but ſhort; for in my life* (ſays he) *I never ſaw ſo humble a Prince before. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us; and indeed the nation does not deſerve the bleſſing of ſuch a governor.* The Biſhop proved a true Prophet: for the King was ſoon after treacherouſly ſlain; and, about a fortnight after, Aidan himſelf died; and, as Bede expreſſed it, received the reward of his pious labours in Heaven. *De ſæculo ablatus, perpetua laborum ſuorum a Domino præmia recepit* (13).

(13) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 14.

[*F*] *Bede gives him an extraordinary character.*] 'Scripſi hæc de perſona *(ſays that hiſtorian)* & 'operibus viri præfati ——— quæ laude ſunt 'digna in ejus actibus laudans, atque ad utilitatem 'legentium memoriæ commendans: ſtudium vide-'licet pacis & caritatis, continentiæ & humilitatis; 'animum iræ & avaritiæ victorem, ſuperbiæ ſimul '& vanæ gloriæ contemptorem; induſtriam faciendi 'ſimul & docendi mandata cœleſtia: ſolertiam lec-'tionis & vigiliarum; auctoritatem ſacerdote dignam 'redarguendi ſuperbos ac potentes, pariter & infir-'mos conſolandi ac pauperes recreandi vel defen-'dendi clementiam. Qui, ut breviter multa com-'prehendam, quantum ab iis qui illum novere 'didicimus, nil ex omnibus quæ in Evangelicis vel 'Apoſtolicis ſive Propheticis literis facienda cogno-'verat, prætermittere, ſed cuncta pro ſuis viribus 'operibus explere curabat (14). —— *Theſe things 'have I written concerning the perſon and actions of 'the aforeſaid Prelate, giving due praiſe to that part 'of his conduct which deſerved it, and tranſmitting 'it to poſterity for the uſe of the readers: namely, his 'concern for peace and brotherly love, for moderation 'and humility; his entire freedom from reſentment and 'avarice, from pride and vain-glory; his readineſs 'both to obey and teach the divine commands; his 'diligence in reading and watching; his true ſacer-'dotal authority in reſtraining the proud and the 'powerful; and at the ſame time, his tenderneſs and 'compaſſion in comforting the afflicted, and relieving 'or defending the poor. To ſay all in a few words, 'as far as we have been informed by thoſe who 'perſonally knew him; he took care to omit no part of 'his duty, but, to the utmoſt of his abilities, performed 'every thing commanded in the writings of the Evange-'liſts, Apoſtles, and Prophets.'*

(14) *Id. ibid.* c. 17.

[*G*] —— *but at the ſame time takes notice, that he was not altogether orthodox in keeping of Eaſter.*] 'Quod autem Paſcha (Bede *goes on)* non ſuo tem-'pore obſervabat, vel canonicum ejus tempus 'ignorans, vel ſuæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitum 'ſequeretur devictus, non adprobo, nec laudo (15). '—— *But I do not approve or commend his keeping 'of Eaſter improperly, whether it was that he was 'ignorant of the time preſcribed by the canons, or, if 'he did know it, was kept from following it by the 'cuſtom and practice of his nation.*' However, Bede apologizes for Biſhop Aidan even in this point; for he adds: 'In quo tamen hoc adprobo, quia in 'celebratione ſui Paſchæ non aliud corde tenebat, 'venerabatur, & prædicabat, quam quod nos, id 'eſt, redemptionem generis humani per paſſionem, 'reſurrectionem, aſcenſionem in cœlos mediatoris 'dei & hominum Jeſu Chriſti. Unde & hanc non, 'ut quidam falſo opinantur, quartadecima Luna in 'qualibet feria cum Judæis, ſed die dominica ſem-'per agebat, a Luna quartadecima uſque ad vice-'ſimam; propter fidem videlicet Dominicæ reſur-'rectionis quam una Sabbati factam, propterque 'ſpem noſtræ reſurrectionis quam eadem una Sab-'bati quæ nunc Dominica dies dicitur veraciter 'futuram, cum ſancta eccleſia credebat (16). —— '*In which, however, this is to be commended in him, 'that in the celebration of his Eaſter, he commemo-'rated and preached the ſame thing that we do; 'namely, the redemption of mankind by the paſſion, 'reſurrection, and aſcenſion of Jeſus Chriſt, the medi-'ator between God and men. And therefore he did not, 'as ſome falſely imagine, keep this feſtival, in imita-'tion of the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon, 'whatever day of the week it happened to fall on; 'but always on a Sunday, reckoning from the four-'teenth day to the twentieth; and this, on account of 'our Lord's reſurrection, which (with Holy Church) 'he believed to have happened on a Sabbath-day; and 'the hopes of our own reſurrection, which he likewiſe 'believed (as we do) will fall out on a Sabbath-day, 'or, as it is now called, a Sunday.*'

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 17.

[*H*] *Bede aſcribes three miracles to Biſhop Aidan.*] I. A certain Prieſt, named Utta, was ſent by King Oſwi to Canterbury, to conduct into Northumberland his betrothed wife, the Princeſs Eanfleda, daughter to King Edwin. This Prieſt, who was to go thither by land, but to return by ſea, addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Aidan, deſiring his prayers for the ſucceſs of his voyage. The good prelate having bleſſed him, and commended him to God, told him, he foreſaw there would ariſe a violent ſtorm, whereby his veſſel would be in great danger; and at the ſame time gave him a viol of holy oil; bidding him, when occaſion ſhould require, to pour it into the ſea, which would thereby be preſently rendered calm. Utta followed the good Biſhop's directions, and by that means ſaved himſelf, and all that were in the ſhip with him, from impending deſtruction. Bede ſays, the truth of this miracle was confirmed to him by a prieſt named Cynimund, who had the ſtory from Utta's own mouth (17). II. The army of the Mercians, commanded by Penda, having committed great devaſtations in Northumberland, and penetrated as far as the royal city of Bebbanburg, began to ſet it on fire: at which time Biſhop Aidan, being in the iſland Farne, about two miles diſtant from the city; and ſeeing the flakes of fire brought by the wind, and the ſmoke riſing above the walls, immediately lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with tears ſaid, *Behold, Lord, what miſchief Penda does!* Whereupon, the wind preſently changing, the flames were driven from the city upon the incendiaries, many of whom periſhed, and the reſt were glad to retreat from a city, which they ſaw to be thus miraculouſly defended (18). III. This good Biſhop being in one of the royal villas, not far from the abovementioned city, and finding himſelf near his death, ordered a tent to be pitched for him cloſe to one of the walls of the church: which being done, he retired thither, and there gave up his laſt breath. It happened ſome years after, that Penda, King of the Mercians, having ſet fire to this church, it was entirely conſumed, all but a wooden buttreſs or beam, cloſe to which Aidan's tent had been placed. This miracle being greatly celebrated, the church was rebuilt, and the ſame piece of timber employed as a buttreſs to the new fabric. But ſome time after, this church, through negligence, was again deſtroyed by fire; and being once more rebuilt, the miraculous beam was no longer placed on the outſide of the church, but was laid up within it; where it became an object of the people's veneration, and was inſtrumental in curing many diſeaſes and infirmities (19). B.

(17) *Ibid.* c. 15.

(18) *Ibid.* c. 16.

(19) *Ibid.* c. 17.

[One might be ready to imagine, from the firſt miracle here aſcribed to Aidan, that the good Biſhop had ſome acquaintance with the property (lately brought to light by Dr. Benjamin Franklin) which oil has of ſtilling waves. Pliny mentions this property of oil, and it ſhould ſeem, that it hath been more or leſs obſerved, and even taken advantage of, in ſeveral diſtant parts of the world, down to the preſent

preſent times; though it hath been treated as a vulgar error, till confirmed by the late experiments. There can be no doubt but that, in ages of ignorance and credulity, the prieſts availed themſelves of their ſuperior knowledge, by giving a miraculous turn to events which were effected by natural means (20).] K.

(20) Annual Regiſter, Vol. xviii. p. 70. Philoſophical Tranſactions, for the year 1774, Vol. lxiv. Part ii. p. 445—460.

AILMER, or ÆTHELMARE, Earl of Cornwall and Devonſhire, in the reign of King Edgar (*a*): it is not known of what family he was. His authority and riches were great, and ſo alſo in appearance was his piety. He founded the abbey of Cerne, in Dorſetſhire; and had ſo great a veneration for Eadwald, the brother of St. Edmund the Martyr, who had lived a hermit in that country, near the ſilver well, as they called it, that, with the aſſiſtance of Archbiſhop Dunſtan, he tranſlated his relicks to the old Church of Cernel (*b*). In 1005, he founded the abbey of Eyneſham in Oxfordſhire, as alſo the priory of Bruton in Somerſetſhire, both for Monks of the Benedictine order (*c*). In 1013, when Suane, King of Denmark, over-ran the greateſt part of England, and forced King Æthelred to ſhut himſelf up in Wincheſter, Earl Ailmer thought fit to ſubmit himſelf [*A*], and to make terms with the conqueror, to whom he gave hoſtages (*d*) In 1016, when Canute, the ſon of Suane, invaded England, and found himſelf ſtoutly oppoſed by that valiant Saxon Prince, Edmund Ironſide, the ſon of Æthelred, this Earl Ailmer [*B*], with that arch traitor, Eadric Streone, Earl of Mercia, and Earl Algar, joined the Dane againſt their natural Prince, which was one great cauſe of the Saxons ruin (*e*). He did not long ſurvive this; and we find mentioned in hiſtory only one ſon of his, whoſe name was Æthelward, Earl of Cornwall, who followed his father's maxims, and was properly rewarded for it. For in 1018, Canute reaping the benefit of their treaſons, and perceiving that the traitors were no longer uſeful, he cauſed the infamous Eadric Streone, and this Earl Æthelward, to be both put to death (*f*).

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

(*b*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. i. p. 254.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 258. & Vol. ii. p. 206.

(*d*) Math. Weſtm. in A. 1013.

(*e*) *Id.* in A. 1016.

(*f*) R. Hoved. Edit. Francf. 1601, p. 437.

[*A*] *Thought fit to ſubmit himſelf.*] In the Saxon Chronicle we are told, that in the year 1013, in the month of July, King Suane came with his navy to Sandwich; thence he ſailed along the coaſt to the mouth of the Humber, and afterwards by the Trent to Gainſborough; there he landed with his ſon Canute, and a very numerous army. The neighbouring country being reduced, he divided his forces: part he left under the command of his ſon to guard his ſhips, and the hoſtages he had received; and with the reſt he marched ſouthward. The city of Oxford, on his approach, ſurrendered, ſo did Wincheſter; which encouraged him to march eaſtward, in hopes of taking the city of London. In this he miſcarried, King Æthelred being there in perſon, who had the better of the Danes in a very bloody engagement. Upon this Suane retired to Wallingford; from thence croſſing the Thames, he marched to Bath, where this Æthelmare, and many other Lords of his party, met him, gave hoſtages for their fidelity, and aſſiſted him in carrying his ſpoil to his ſhips (1). This rivetted the chains of the nation; and for this horrid treachery, which however ſhewed his exceſſive power, he obtained the ſirname of Great. The ſame Chronicle places the death of his ſon Ethelward in the year 1017, and calls him expreſsly the ſon of Æthelmare the Great (2).

(1) Chron. Sax. p. 143.

[*B*] *This Earl Ailmer.*] Some Antiquaries would have us believe, that the Aylmers of Aylmer-hall, in the county of Norfolk, are deſcended from this Æthelmare, becauſe they bear in their arms four choughs; and for their creſt, on a ducal coronet, a Corniſh chough's head and neck, wings diſplayed (3). This notion, however, ſeems a little unreaſonable, Æthelmare being apparently no ſirname; and Duke again, a title unknown to the Saxons. There was a Saxon Biſhop of the ſame name, which ſhews that it was common; and conſequently, that there is no referring the ſirname of Aylmer to this or that particular man amongſt the Saxons, who bore this name; neither in this caſe is there the leaſt reaſon for it. The Aylmers of Norfolk, being certainly a very ancient and honourable family, ſtand in no want of theſe fabulous pretenſions, as will be ſhewn in a proper place. C.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 151.

(3) Strype's Life of Biſhop of Aylmer, Lond. 1701, 8vo. p. 2.

AILRED (*a*), ETHELRED (*b*), or EALRED (*c*), Abbot of Reveſby in Lincolnſhire, in the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry II. was born of noble parents (*d*), in the year 1109, and educated in Scotland, together with Henry, ſon of David King of Scots (*e*). Upon his return into England, he took the habit in the Ciſtertian monaſtery of Reveſby aforeſaid; where his extraordinary piety and learning ſoon raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot [*A*]. His great love of retirement, and a life of contemplation and ſtudy, induced him to decline all offers of eccleſiaſtical preferment, and even to refuſe a Biſhopric. He was particularly fond of reading St. Auſtin's works, eſpecially that author's confeſſions; and he was a ſtrict imitator of St. Bernard in his writings, words, and actions (*f*). He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning [*B*], in the writing of which, he was aſſiſted by Walter Daniel, a Monk of the ſame

(*a*) Hiſtor. Anglic. Scriptores X Lond. 1652.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ann. 1166.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pits, *ibid.*

[*A*] *His extraordinary piety and learning raiſed him to the dignity of Abbot.*] He outſhone his brethren, as the ſun eclipſes the brightneſs of the inferior luminaries; and endeared himſelf no leſs to the great men of the kingdom, than to the Monks of his own houſe. *Tanquam clariſſimum ſuæ religionis ſidus inter minora lumina emicuit, monachos exemplo docens, literis purioribus informans: quo factum eſt, ut regni nobilibus, non minus quam ſuis, charus eſſet, & abbas ſecundus Rievallenſis deſignaretur* (1).

[*B*] *He left behind him ſeveral monuments of his learning.*] 1. De Bello Standardii tempore Stephani regis; *i. e. Of the war of the ſtandard in the reign of King Stephen*, anno 1138. 2. Genealogia Regum Anglorum; *i. e. A Genealogy of the Engliſh Kings.* 3. Hiſtoria de vita & miraculis S. Edwardi Regis & Confeſſoris; *i. e. An hiſtory of the life and miracles of King Edward the Confeſſor.* 4. Hiſtoria de Sanctimoniali de Watthun; *i. e. An hiſtory of the Nun of Watthun.* Theſe four pieces are extant in the collection of *ten Engliſh writers*, publiſhed by Roger Twyſden at London, 1652. Ailred wrote another *life of St. Edward* in elegiac verſe, and dedicated it to Laurence Abbot of Weſtminſter. It is extant in manuſcript in the library of Gonvil and Caius college in Cambridge. 5. Sermones de Tempore & de Sanctis; *i. e. Sermons on time and the ſaints.* 6. In Iſaiam Prophetam Sermones xxxi. *i. e. Thirty-one ſermons on the Prophet Iſaiah.* 7. Speculum Charitatis libris III cum Compendio ejuſdem;

(1) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 169.

(g) Leland, *ibid.* (i) Leland, *ibid.* (k) Pits, *ibid.*

same convent (g). This Abbot died January the 12th, 1166, aged fifty seven years (h), and was buried in the monastery of Revesby, under a tomb adorned with gold and silver (i). And, we are told, he was canonized on account of some miracles said to have been wrought by him after his death (k).

(h) Pits, *ibid.*

ejusdem. *i. e. The mirror of charity, in three books, with an abridgment of the same.* 8. Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni in illud Luc. ii. cum factus esset Jesus, &c. *i. e. A treatise concerning the child Jesus, being twelve years of age, upon that passage of St. Luke* (ch. ii.) *When he was twelve years old*, &c. 9. De Spirituali Amicitia, *libri* III. *i. e. Of spiritual friendship, in three books.* These five pieces were published by Richard Gibbons, a Jesuit, at Douay, 1631; afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Cistertiensis*, T. 5. p. 16. and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, T. 23. p. 1. 10. Regulæ ad Inclusas, seu Moniales, *i. e. Rules for the Nuns.* This piece has been falsely ascribed to St. Augustin, and is usually published with his works: but Ailred's name is prefixed to it in Holstenius's *Collection of Rules*, Part iii. p. 109. 11. Tractatus de Dominica infra Octavas Epiphaniæ, & Sermones XI de Oneribus Isaiæ; *i. e. A treatise concerning the Sunday before the Octaves of the Epiphany, and eleven Sermons on Isaiah's Burthens.* This piece lay some time concealed among the works of St. Bernard (2). The rest of this Abbot's works, which were never published, or extant only in manuscript, are enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits. B.

(2) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1150.

AINSWORTH (Henry) an eminent Nonconformist Divine, who flourished in the latter end of the XVIth, and the beginning of the XVIIth century. It is very much to be regretted, that we are able to say very little of so great a man; for we know not so much as where or when he was born, or any thing more of him than this, that about the year 1590 he distinguished himself amongst the Brownists, to whom he adhered, and on that account endured a share in their persecutions (a). His great skill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which are still highly and justly esteemed [*A*], gained him a vast reputation (b). However, the discredit his sect were then in, drew upon him such dangers and troubles, that after struggling with them for some years, he at length quitted his country, and retired into Holland, where most of the eminent Nonconformists, who had incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth's government, had taken refuge before. At Amsterdam Mr. Johnson and he erected a church, of which our Ainsworth was the Doctor or Teacher (c). In conjunction with Johnson, he published a confession of faith of the people called Brownists, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from the harmony of confessions; but being men of warm spirits, they split into parties about some points of discipline. Johnson excommunicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the congregation, insomuch that Mr. Ainsworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnson, who, after some time, returned the same compliment to Ainsworth. At length the contest grew so hot, that Amsterdam could not hold them. Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where soon after he died, and his congregation dissolved (d). Nor did Mr. Ainsworth and his followers live long in peace; for soon after, he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued some time; but when the spirits of his people were quieted, he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them to his death (e). If we may believe Dr. Heylyn, the contentions at Amsterdam were some of them of an odd nature, and which sufficiently shew how great obedience some men expect, who yet are not much inclined to pay it, either to the Church or to the State (f) [*B*]. His learned writings were received with respect, even by his adversaries, who while they refuted his singularities, paid a proper regard to his abilities, particularly

(a) Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 543. 577.

(b) Treatise of Religion and Learning, by Edw Leigh, M. A. of Magdalen Hall in Oxford, Lond. 1656, Fol. p. 110.

(c) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. p. 47.

(d) Discourse of troubles and excommunications at Amsterdam, by George Johnson, 1603. Robinson's Apology for the Brownists. An animadversion to Richard Clifton's advertisement, by Henry Ainsworth, Amst. 1613, 4to.

(e) Neal, *ibid.* p. 48.

(f) History of the Presbyterians, p. 374, 375.

[*A*] *Which are still highly and justly esteemed.*] His annotations on several books of the Bible were printed at several times, and in several sizes. Those on the Psalms in quarto, in 1612; those on the five books of Moses, in two volumes in quarto, in 1621; all these together, bound in three quarto volumes. At length, 1627, his annotations were printed in one volume in folio, and again in 1639, which edition is become so very rare, as to be inserted in all the catalogues of scarce books (1). It will not therefore be amiss to give an account of its contents. Its title runs thus: 'Annotations upon the five books 'of Moses, the book of the Psalms, and the Song of 'Songs, or Canticles. Wherein the Hebrew words 'and sentences are compared with, and explained 'by, the ancient Greek and Chaldee versions, and 'other records and monuments of the Hebrews; 'but chiefly, by conference with the holy scriptures. Moses his words, laws, and ordinances, the 'sacrifices, and other legal ceremonies heretofore 'commanded by God to the Church of Israel, are 'explained; with an advertisement touching some 'objections made against the sincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in these 'annotations; as also tables, directing unto such 'principal things as are observed in the annotations 'upon each several book. By Henry Ainsworth. 'London, printed by M. Parsons, for John Bellamy, '1639.' In this edition, the first thing that occurs is a preface or discourse, on the life and writings of Moses, which is subscribed by the author; then follow the five books of Moses, translated literally from the Hebrew, with annotations chiefly from Rabbinical writers; and by comparison of texts. At the end of the Pentateuch, there is a little treatise, intituled, An advertisement touching some objections made against the sincerity of the Hebrew text, and allegation of the Rabbins in the former annotations; to which are added some other short dissertations. Then follow, annotations upon the book of Psalms; to which is prefixed, an excellent life of David, extracted from, and in the words of scripture. Lastly, we have the Song of Solomon, with a literal translation from the Hebrew in prose, and another in verse, as also annotations. This learned work was translated into Dutch, as the reader will see in the margin; and his commentary on the Song of Solomon, into German verse. All the modern writers on the scriptures, cite him frequently; and the authors of Moreri's dictionary are pleased to leave it doubtful, whether the learned Lightfoot did not borrow much of what he has written on the scriptures from this excellent work (2).

(1) Wendleri Diss. de Lib. rar. sect. xxiii. Johannis Vogt. Catalogus Historico-criticus Librorum rariorum. Hamb. 1738, 12mo. p. 16, 17.

(2) The Dutch translation was by Sibrand Vomelius, printed at Leuwarden, for H. Nauta, 1690. Folio. The German translation of the Song of Solomon, at Frankfort, by Jer. Schrey, 1692, 8vo.

[*B*] *Either to the church, or to the state.*] We cannot have the differences at Amsterdam set in a clearer, though perhaps they may be placed in a little

particularly that worthy Biſhop of Exeter, Dr. Hall, who wrote with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt the Browniſts (*g*). But nothing it ſeems could reclaim him, or incline him to return home; but as he lived, ſo he died in exile, though with ſome remarkable circumſtances, which have been remembered by ſeveral authors, notwithſtanding the year in which they happened is not recorded. His demiſe was ſudden, and not without ſuſpicion of violence; for it is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the ſtreets of Amſterdam, he advertiſed it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would deſire. Ainſworth, however, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with ſome of his Rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, relating to the Meſſias, which the other promiſed; but not having intereſt enough to obtain it, it is thought he was poiſoned (*b*). It was certainly a great misfortune, that the obſtinacy of his own ſpirit, and the rigorous adminiſtration in the Church, ſhut out ſo able a man from the public exerciſe of his miniſtry; for he was indiſputably a perſon of profound learning, exquiſitely verſed in the Scriptures, and deeply read in the works of the Rabbins. Beſides, he had a ſtrong underſtanding, quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. It is true that theſe excellent qualities were ſomewhat allayed by the haſtineſs of his temper, his contempt for eccleſiaſtical governments, his proneneſs to maintain diſputes about ſmall things, and his raſhneſs in ſeparating, not only from the Church, but his own Nonconformiſt brethren in Holland. This was a grievous prejudice to the Proteſtant cauſe in general; and gave a ſignal advantage to the enemies of the Puritans here in England in particular. Though our author was much conſidered in his life-time [*C*], in his own country, and ſeveral of his books were more than once reprinted after his death,

(*g*) A common apology of the Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of the overjuſt Seſt, commonly called Browniſts, wherein the grounds and differences of the ſeparation are largely diſcuſſed, by Joſeph Hall, Seſt. xiv. xxiii. xxvii.

(*b*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

little too ſtrong a light, than by Dr. Heylyn; whoſe diſtaſte to all ſectaries ſharpened his manner of writing concerning them, for which the judicious reader will make allowances: 'Worſe fared it with 'the brethren of the ſeparation, who had retired 'themſelves unto Amſterdam in the former reign, 'than with their firſt founders and forefathers in the 'Church of England; for having broken in ſunder 'the bond of peace, they found no poſſibility of 'preſerving the ſpirit of unity; one ſeparation grow-'ing continually on the neck of another, till they 'were crumbled into nothing. The brethren of the 'firſt ſeparation had found fault with the Church of 'England for reading prayers and homilies as they 'lay in the book, and not admitting the preſby-'tery to take place amongſt them. But the bre-'thren of the ſecond ſeparation take as much diſ-'taſte againſt retaining all ſet forms of hymns and 'pſalms, committing their conceptions both in 'praying and propheſying, and ſinging of pſalms, 'to the help of memory; and then ſubjoin this 'maxim, in which all agreed, that is to ſay, that 'there is the ſame reaſon of helps in all the parts 'of ſpiritual worſhip, as is to be admitted in any 'one, during the performing of that worſhip. Upon 'which ground they charge it home on their fellow-'ſeparatiſts; that as in prayer, the book is to be 'laid aſide by the confeſſion of the ancient brethren 'of the ſeparation, ſo it muſt alſo be in propheſying 'and ſinging of pſalms; and therefore, whether 'we pray, or ſing, or propheſy, it is not to be 'from the book, but out of the heart. For pro-'pheſying, next they tell us, that the ſpirit is 'quenched two manner of ways, by memory as well 'as reading. And to make known how little uſe 'there is of memory in the act of propheſying or 'preaching, they tell us, that the citing of chapter 'and verſe (as not being uſed by Chriſt and his 'apoſtles in their ſermons or writings) is a mark of 'Antichriſt. And as for pſalms, which make the 'third part of ſpiritual worſhip, they propoſe 'theſe queries: 1. Whether in a pſalm, a man 'muſt be tied to metre, rhyme, and tune? and 'whether voluntary be not as neceſſary in tune and 'words as well as matter? and 2. Whether metre, 'rhyme, and tune, be not quenching the ſpirit? 'according to which reſolution of the new ſepara-'tion, every man, when the congregation ſhall be 'met together, may firſt conceive his own matter in 'the act of praiſing; deliver it in proſe or metre, as 'he liſts himſelf; and in the ſame inſtant, chant 'out, in what tune ſoever that which comes firſt 'into his own head, which would be ſuch a horrible 'confuſion of tongues and voices, that hardly any 'howling or gnaſhing of teeth can be equal to it. 'And yet it follows ſo directly on the former prin-'ciples, that if we baniſh all ſet forms of common 'prayer (which is but only one part of God's pub-'lic worſhip) from the uſe of the Church, we can-'not but in juſtice, and in reaſon both, baniſh all 'ſtudied and premeditated ſermons from the houſe 'of God, and utterly caſt out all King David's 'Pſalms (whether in proſe or metre, that comes all 'to one), and all divine hymns alſo into the bargain. 'Finally, as to forms of government, they de-'clared thus (or to this purpoſe at leaſt, if my me-'mory fail not) that as they which live under the 'tyranny of the Pope and Cardinals, worſhip the 'very beaſt itſelf; and they which live under the 'government of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, do wor-'ſhip the image of the beaſt; ſo they which wil-'lingly obey the reformed Preſbytery of Paſtors, 'Elders, and Deacons, worſhip the ſhadow of that 'image. To ſuch ridiculous follies are men com-'monly brought, when once preſuming on ſome new 'light to direct their actions, they ſuffer themſelves 'to be miſguided by the *ignis fatuus* of their own 'inventions. And in this poſture ſtood the bre-'thren of the ſeparation, *anno* 1606, when Smith 'firſt publiſhed his book of the preſent differences, 'between the churches of the ſeparation, as he ho-'neſtly calls them. But afterwards there grew ano-'ther great diſpute between Ainſworth and Brough-'ton, whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod 'were of blue, or a ſea-water green; which did 'not only trouble all the Dyers in Amſterdam, but 'drew their ſeveral followers into ſides and factions, 'and made good ſport to all the world, but them-'ſelves alone. By reaſon of which diviſions and 'ſubdiviſions, they fell at laſt into ſo many factions, 'that one of them in the end became a church of 'himſelf; and having none to join in opinion with 'him, baptiſed himſelf, and thereby got the name of 'a Se-baptiſt; which never any ſectary or heretick 'had obtained before (3).' As to theſe particular differences between our author Ainſworth and Mr. Johnſon, they were made the ſubject of various books and pamphlets in thoſe days, ſome of which are come down even to our times, as the reader will perceive by the book cited in the margin (4).

(3) Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 374, 375.

(4) Hiſtory of the troubles and excommunications at Amſterdam, by George Johnſon, 1603. An animadverſion to Richard Clifton's advertiſement, by Henry Ainſworth, 1613, 4*to*.

[*C*] *Much conſidered in his lifetime.*] He publiſhed occaſionally ſeveral treatiſes, many of which made a great noiſe in the world, as particularly his book, intituled, A Counter-Poiſon againſt Bernard and Craſhaw, 4*to*, 1612. This piece is often cited, and the principles therein advanced refuted by Biſhop Hall, though he did not write expreſsly againſt Ainſworth, but againſt Smith and Robinſon, two miniſters amongſt the Browniſts; yet whenever he mentions Ainſworth, he always owns him for the greateſt man of his party; and ſpeaking to thoſe he wrote againſt, calls him your Doctor, your Chief, your Rabbi (5). Another work of Ainſworth's was intituled, An animadverſion to Mr. Richard Clifton's advertiſement; who, under pretence of anſwering Charles Lawne's book, hath publiſhed another man's private letter, with

(5) See his Apology for the Church of England againſt the Browniſts, as cited in the text.

death, yet through a prevailing contempt for men of his ſentiments, and too cold a reception of that kind of learning, which rendered him famous, his works are now more known and valued abroad than here; inſomuch that it is not eaſy to produce an Engliſh writer oftener quoted, or with greater teſtimonies in favour of his merit, than we find beſtowed on Dr. Ainſworth; and this by the learned of all countries, and at a conſiderable diſtance in time, and of all ſects and opinions (*i*). A higher teſtimony of the veneration he has acquired by his writings, cannot well be expected, than that which occurs in all the late editions of Moreri's dictionary; and even in the laſt, wherein with great pains they diſtinguiſh between Henry Ainſworth, the able commentator on the Scriptures, and Henry Ainſworth the Hereſiarch, who was one of the chiefs of the Browniſts in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and very gravely tell us, that we muſt have a care not to confound them; nevertheleſs, nothing is more certain, than that theſe two Henry Ainſworths were the ſame man. There was indeed another writer, whoſe Chriſtian name was William, whoſe works have ſome affinity with thoſe of our author, and are therefore ſometimes aſcribed to him (*k*); but this William Ainſworth lived conſiderably later; and beſides him, there was one Mr. Samuel Ainſworth, a Nonconformiſt miniſter in Northamptonſhire, who was alſo an author (*l*). After the deceaſe of Mr. Ainſworth, his congregation at Amſterdam made choice of Mr. Canne for their paſtor, who was author of the marginal references to the Bible, and ſeveral other treatiſes (*m*).

(*i*) Dictionaire de la Bible par Calmet. A Geneve, 1730, 4*to*. Vol. i. p. clvii. clxix. Wendleri Diſſ. de Lib. 24. ſect. xxiii. Theoph. Sinceri Nact. richten von alt. und rar. Buchern. p. 119. Ss.

(*k*) See a book, intituled, The Marrow of the Bible, or a Logico-Theological Analyſis of every book of the Holy Scripture, 8*vo*. 1652, by W. A.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 496.

(*m*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

with Mr. Francis Johnſon's anſwer thereto; which letter is here juſtified, the anſwer thereto refuted, and the true cauſes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the Engliſh exiled Church at Amſterdam, manifeſted: printed at Amſterdam, by Giles Thorp, A. D. 1613, quarto. About the ſame time he wrote a Treatiſe of the Communion of Saints: and two years after another book, intituled, A Treatiſe of the Fellowſhip that the Faithful, *&c.* have with God, his Angels, and one with another, in this preſent life, 1615, 8*vo*. In the ſame year appeared likewiſe, The trying out of the truth between John Ainſworth and Henry Ainſworth; the one pleading for, the other againſt Popery, 4*to*. He wrote likewiſe a ſmall piece, often printed in 12*mo*, called, An Arrow againſt Idolatry, which is highly and juſtly commended by a late writer (5). To theſe we may add, a treatiſe, intituled, Certain Notes of Mr. Ainſworth's laſt Sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. 1630, 8*vo*. whence it may be gathered, that he died ſome little time before.

(6) Neal, ubi ſupra.

C.

[AINSWORTH (ROBERT) a noted Grammarian, in the latter end of the ſeventeenth, and the beginning of the preſent century, was born at Woodyale in Lancaſhire, four miles from Mancheſter, in September 1660 (*a*). He received his education at Bolton in the ſame county, and afterwards taught a ſchool in that town. From thence he removed to near London, and, for a time, was maſter of a conſiderable boarding-ſchool at Bethnal Green; during his reſidence at which place, he wrote, and publiſhed, *A ſhort Treatiſe of Grammatical Inſtitution.* Quitting Bethnal Green, he carried on his ſchool at Hackney, and ſucceſſively at other villages in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Having acquired a moderate fortune, he retired from buſineſs, and lived in a private manner (*b*). In the latter part of his life he uſed to employ himſelf very much in rummaging the ſhops of obſcure brokers, in every quarter of the town; by which means he often picked up old coins, and other valuable curioſities, at a ſmall expence (*c*). He died at London, on the 4th of April 1743, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried at Poplar, where is the following monumental inſcription for him and his wife, written by himſelf:

(*a*) Mr. Samuel Patrick's Preface to the 2d Edition of Ainſworth's Theſaurus.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) From private information.

" *Rob. Ainſworth et Uxor ejus, admodum ſenes,*
" *Dormituri, veſtem detritam hic exuerunt,*
" *Novam, primo mane ſurgentes, induturi.*
" *Dum fas, mortalis, ſapias, et reſpice finem,*
" *Hoc ſuadent manes, hoc canit Amramides.*"

" To thy Reflection, mortal Friend,
" Th' Advice of Moſes I commend:
" Be wiſe and meditate thy End (*d*)."

(*d*) Patrick, ubi ſupra.

Mr. Ainſworth had a turn, it ſeems, for Latin and Engliſh poetry; and ſome ſingle poems of his, in theſe languages, have been printed (*e*). As none of them have happened to fall in our way, we cannot ſpecify their character or merit; but it is certain that they have never occaſioned him to be ranked among the poets of this country. His reputation ariſes from his Theſaurus, an excellent performance, which is in general uſe and eſtimation. About the year 1714, a propoſal was made to ſome eminent bookſellers, for compiling a Latin Dictionary, upon the ſcheme of Faber's Theſaurus, and Mr. Ainſworth was ſoon prevailed upon to undertake this laborious and extenſive work. However, it went on ſlowly for a long time, and for ſome years was entirely ſuſpended (*f*). At length, in 1736, it appeared in 4to, with a Dedication to Dr. Mead. Its title is, 'Theſaurus Linguæ Latinæ Compendarius; or a compendious 'Dictionary of the Latin Tongue, deſigned chiefly for the Uſe of the Britiſh Nations.' A ſecond edition was afterwards publiſhed by Mr. Samuel Patrick (*g*). In 1752 appeared the fourth edition, in two volumes folio, under the care of the Rev. Mr.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

William Young, assisted by Dr. John Ward of Gresham college, who had given his aid in the preceding editions (*b*). It was republished in 1761; and in 1773, a new edition, in two volumes 4to, with considerable improvements, was given by Dr. Thomas Morell, a gentleman well known in the literary world. There is an useful abridgment of the Thesaurus, by Mr. Thomas, in two large 8vo volumes.] K.

(*b*) Mr. Young's Preface.

AIRAY (HENRY) Provost of Queen's college in Oxford, was born in Westmoreland, educated in Grammatical learning by the care of Bernard Gilpin, usually called the Northern Apostle, and by him sent to St. Edmund's Hall in Oxford, in the year 1579. He was then nineteen years of age, and was maintained at the university by Gilpin, who left him a handsome legacy by his last will, bearing date the 27th of October 1582. Mr. Airay soon removed from St. Edmund's Hall to Queen's college, where he became *Pauper Puer Serviens*. In 1583, he took his Bachelor's degree, and was made *Tabardus*, or *Tabardarius* [*A*]; and in 1586, he commenced Master of Arts and Fellow. About this time he went into orders, and became a constant and zealous preacher in the university, particularly in the church of St. Peter in the East, adjoining to Queen's college. In 1594, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and four years after was chosen Provost of his college. In 1600, he proceeded in divinity, and six years after was chosen Vice-Chancellor (*a*). He wrote the following pieces, which were published after his death. 1. *Lectures upon the whole Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians.* London 1618, 4*to* [*B*]. 2. *The just and necessary Apology touching his suit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore in Oxfordshire.* London, 1621, 8*vo*. 3. *A Treatise against bowing at the name of Jesus* [*C*]. Airay was a zealous Calvinist, and a great supporter of those of his party; who concur in giving him the character of a person of great holiness, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the discharge of his ministerial function (*b*). He died in Queen's college the 10th of October 1616, aged fifty-seven, and was buried in the inner chapel of the said college (*c*).

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 408.

(*b*) Hist. and Antiq. of the University of Oxford, Book i. p. 300, &c.

(*c*) Wood, ubi supra.

[*A*] *He became* Pauper Puer Serviens —— *and* Tabardus, *or* Tabardarius.] These are servile offices in that college. *Pauper Puer Serviens* is a servitor, or poor lad, who waits upon the fellows in the common-hall at meals, and in their chambers. Mr. Wood tells us, all must submit to this office before they can be fellows. The *Tabardi*, or *Tabardarii*, that is, *Tabarders*, or *Tabitters*, are so called, because anciently they wore coats or upper gowns, much like those belonging to Heralds (1).

(1) Wood, Athenæ Oxon. Vol. i. col. 408.

[*B*] *Lectures upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians.*] These lectures were preached in the church of St. Peter in the East, in Oxford, and were published by Christopher Potter, fellow of Queen's college; with an epistle of his own composition, prefixed to them. Mr. Potter was a great admirer of our author and his doctrine, and was the editor likewise of his next piece, intitled, *The just and necessary apology*, &c. (2).

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

[*C*] *A Treatise against bowing at the name of Jesus.*] Thomas Beacon, an old Calvinist, had long before written on the same subject; and, about Airay's time, Dr. William Whitaker and Mr. Andrew Willet did the like (3). B.

(3) Wood, *ibid.* col. 409.

AIRAY (CHRISTOPHER), Vicar of Milford in Hampshire, was born at Clifton in Westmoreland [*A*], and admitted a student in Queen's college in Oxford, in Michaelmas Term 1621; where having passed through the servile offices (*a*), and taken the degree of Master of Arts, he was elected a Fellow. Soon after, agreeably to the statutes of that house, he went into Holy Orders, and, in 1642, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. He wrote Fasciculus præceptorum Logicalium in gratiam juventutis Academicæ compositus, *i. e. A Collection of the Rules of Logic, for the use of the Students in the University* (*b*); besides some other pieces, which the Oxford Antiquarian (*c*), who gives us this account, had not seen. He died the 18th of October 1670, and was buried in the chancel of his church of Milford. His epitaph [*B*] may be seen below.

(*a*) Namely, those of *Pauper Puer Serviens*, and *Tabardus*. See the preceding article, remark [*A*].

(*b*) Printed at Oxford, 1660, second edit. 8*vo*.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 470.

[*A*] *He was born at Clifton in Westmoreland.*] Mr. Wood does not tell us, whether Mr. Christopher Airay was any way related to Dr. Henry Airay, whose article we have given above; though one would be apt to suspect he was, when we consider that, besides the similitude of name, they were both born in the same county, had their education in the same college, and proceeded in the same course of study.

[*B*] *His Epitaph.*] 'Memoriæ sacrum Christopheri Airay S. T. Bac. olim. Coll. Reg. Oxon. 'socii, & hujus ecclesiæ vicarii vigilantissimi, viri 'summæ integritatis, judicii acerrimi, & ingenii 'literarum omnium capacis, qui difficillimo seculo 'inter æstuantes rerum fluctus clavum rectum tenuit. Mortalitatem tandem exuit 18 Oct. annos 'natus 69, &c. —— *Sacred to the memory of Christopher Airay, bachelor of divinity, fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, and most vigilant vicar of this church; a gentleman of the greatest integrity, judgment, and learning; and who, in the most difficult and troublesome times, adhered stedfastly to his principles. At length he put off mortality, on the 18th of October, aged sixty-nine*, &c. (1) B.

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 470.

[AKENSIDE* (MARK), an eminent poet and physician of the present century, was born at Newcastle upon Tyne, on the 9th day of November 1721 (*a*); being the second son of Mark Akenside, a substantial butcher in that town (*b*), at the free-school of which he received the earliest part of his grammatical education. He was next put under the care of one Mr. Wilson, a dissenting Minister, who kept a private academy at Newcastle. Here young Akenside had the present Colonel Selby of Paston for his school-fellow (*c*). At about the age of 18, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, with a view of becoming a Dissenting Minister; his parents, and his relations in general, being of the Presbyterian persuasion. However, it was only for

* The Writer hath been enabled to draw up this article, by communications from the Rev. Dr. Percy, Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq; and Sir George Baker, Bart.

(*a*) Advertisement, prefixed to the 4to Edition of his Poems, 1772.

(*b*) His mother's Christian name was Mary, and her maiden name Lumsden.

(*c*) Col. Selby communicated several of the particulars with which Dr. Percy hath favoured us,

for one winter that he profecuted his ſtudies upon this plan; after which he turned his thoughts to phyſic. Having received ſome aſſiſtance towards his education for the miniſtry, from the funds which the Engliſh Diſſenters have for that purpoſe, he took care, afterwards, to return to his benefactors the money which had been expended upon him. His genius, and his taſte for poetry diſplayed themſelves when he was at the grammar-ſchool at Newcaſtle, and during his continuance at Mr. Wilſon's academy. It is ſaid, that his Pleaſures of Imagination, and ſeveral other pieces, were firſt written by him at Morpeth, while he was upon a viſit to his relations, before he went to the univerſity of Edinburgh. At Edinburgh he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, likewiſe, by his poetical compoſitions. His Ode on the Winter Solſtice, which is dated 1740, was certainly compoſed at that place. After ſtaying three years at Edinburgh, he removed to Leyden, where he continued two years; and there, on the 16th of May 1744, he took his degree of Doctor in Phyſic (*d*) [*A*]. In the ſame year appeared his poem on the Pleaſures of Imagination; which was, in general, received with great applauſe, and raiſed his reputation high in the poetical world. But Mr. Warburton (the preſent celebrated and learned Biſhop of Glouceſter) being diſſatisfied with a note in the third book, concerning the nature and objects of ridicule, thought proper, in a preface to certain remarks upon his antagoniſts, to make ſome ſevere ſtrictures on our author; in which, however, he was attacked as a philoſopher only, and not as a Poet. Dr. Akenſide, in return, was warmly vindicated by an anonymous friend [*B*]. The poem on the Pleaſures of Imagination was quickly followed by an Epiſtle to Curio, containing a warm invective, under that name, againſt the Right Honourable William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, on account of his political conduct (*e*). The Doctor was afterwards ſo far diſſatisfied with this performance, that he altered it exceedingly, by changing it into the form of an Ode, and by reducing it to leſs than half the number of lines of which it originally conſiſted. In 1745, he publiſhed ten Odes on ſeveral Subjects, written, as he tells us, at very different intervals, and with a view to very different manners of expreſſion and verſification. The merit, he ſays, which he chiefly pretended to, was that of endeavouring to be correct, and of carefully attending to the beſt models (*f*). Theſe different productions appeared before he was twenty-four years of age; but he was afterwards much more ſlow in his publications. His Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon came out in 1748, and in 1758 he expreſſed his deſire of rouzing the national ſpirit, by an Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England (*g*). Few of his remaining poetical pieces were publiſhed ſeparately, excepting an Ode to Thomas Edwards, Eſq; on the late edition of Mr. Pope's works, which had been written in 1751, but was not printed till the year 1766 (*h*); with a view, as it ſhould principally ſeem, of ſhewing the author's diſlike to Dr. Warburton. The reſt of Dr. Akenſide's poems, which appeared in his lifetime, were given, at leaſt for the moſt part, in Dodſley's collection (*i*). His principal performance in the quality of a Phyſician, was a Treatiſe on the Dyſentery, written in Latin, and publiſhed in 1764. To return to the circumſtances of Dr. Akenſide's private life: Soon after his quitting Leyden, he ſettled for a little time at Northampton [*C*]; but, either not meeting with ſufficient encouragement, or being ambitious of a larger field in which to diſplay his talents, he removed to Hampſtead, where he reſided about two years and a half, and then finally fixed at London. At firſt he had but little practice; and, therefore, that he might be enabled to make a proper appearance in the world, he was generouſly allowed three hundred pounds a year by his great and intimate friend Mr. Dyſon. Whether Mr. Dyſon had any bond or obligation from him on this account, we know not; but it ſhould ſeem, that, at his deceaſe, his effects, and particularly his books and prints, which laſt he was fond of collecting, fell into that gentleman's hands. In a courſe of time, Dr. Akenſide came into very conſiderable reputation and practice; and arrived at moſt of the honours incident to his profeſſion. He was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society; became a Phyſician to St. Thomas's Hoſpital; was admitted, by mandamus, to the degree of Doctor in Phyſic, in the univerſity of Cambridge; and was elected a Fellow of the

(*d*) Diſſertatio medica inauguralis.

(*e*) An Epiſtle to Curio, 4*to*. Printed for Dodſley, 1744.

(*f*) Advertiſement to Odes on ſeveral Subjects, 4*to*. Dodſley, 1745.

(*g*) Both theſe Odes were printed in 4*to*. for Dodſley.

(*h*) Printed in folio for Dodſley.

(*i*) Dodſley's Collection of Poems, Vol. vi. p. 1—36.

[*A*] *Took the degree of Doctor in Phyſic.*] The ſubject of his Diſſertatio Medica inauguralis was, *De Ortu et Incremento Fœtus humani.* In this diſſertation the author is ſaid to have diſplayed his medical ſagacity, by attacking ſome opinions of Leeuwenhoek and other writers, at that time very generally received; but which have ſince been diſcarded by the beſt phyſicians and philoſophers; and by propoſing an hypotheſis, which is now conſidered as founded in truth.

[*B*] *By an anonymous friend.*] This anonymous friend was the late Right Honourable Jeremiah Dyſon, Eſq. The title of the pamphlet is, 'An Epiſtle to 'the Reverend Mr. Warburton, occaſioned by his 'treatment of the Author of the Pleaſures of Imagi-'nation.' There are ſeveral ſenſible obſervations in it; but the ſtile is uncouth and unpleaſant. We do not here mean to enter into the debate; as an hiſtorical view of the controverſy, whether ridicule be a teſt of truth, and whether it ought to be applied to religious matters, will more ſuitably occur in ſome other place; moſt probably under the article of the Noble Author of the Characteriſtics. The Biſhop of Glouceſter's ſtrictures on Dr. Akenſide are reprinted in the poſtſcript to the dedication to the Free-Thinkers, prefixed to the firſt volume of the Divine Legation; without, however, any notice being taken of what had been written in the Doctor's defence.

[*C*] *Settled at Northampton.*] The writer of this article who then reſided at Northampton for education, well remembers that Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Akenſide carried on an amicable debate concerning the opinions of the ancient philoſophers with regard to a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; in which Dr. Akenſide ſupported the firm belief of Cicero in particular, in this great article of natural religion.

Royal

Royal College of Phyſicians in London. Upon the ſettlement of the Queen's houſehold, he was appointed one of the Phyſicians to her Majeſty. He died of a putrid fever, on the 23d of June 1770, in the 49th year of his age, and was buried in the pariſh of St. James's, Weſtminſter (*k*). Dr. Akenſide was very much devoted to the ſtudy of ancient literature, and was a great admirer, particularly, of Plato, Cicero, and the beſt philoſophers of antiquity. His knowledge and taſte in this reſpect are conſpicuous in his poems, and in the notes and illuſtrations which he hath annexed to them. That he had a ſincere reverence for the great and fundamental principles of religion, is apparent from ſeveral paſſages in his writings; and eſpecially, from his Ode to the Author of the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh [*D*]. He was warmly attached to the cauſe of civil and religious Liberty [*E*]. From two of his Odes it appears that he enjoyed the friendſhip of that eminent ſtateſman and parliamentary ſpeaker, the late Right Honourable Mr. Charles Townſhend. We are ſorry that we have not been able to obtain any more particulars concerning this diſtinguiſhed poet; but the friend who

(*k*) Advertiſement, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *His ode to the author of the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh.*] Dr. Akenſide's high veneration for the Supreme Being, his noble ſentiments of the wiſdom and benevolence of the Divine Providence, and his zeal for the cauſe of virtue, are apparent in all his poems. In his Ode to William Hall, Eſq; with the works of Chalieu, he juſtly condemns the licentiouſneſs of that poet:

'We own, had Fate to man aſſign'd
'Nor ſenſe, nor wiſh, but what obey,
'Or Venus ſoft—or Bacchus gay,
'Then might our Bard's voluptuous creed
'Moſt aptly govern human-kind:
'Unleſs perchance what he had ſung
'Of tortur'd joints and nerves unſtrung,
'Some wrangling heretic ſhould plead.

'But now with all theſe proud deſires
'For dauntleſs Truth and honeſt Fame;
'With that ſtrong Maſter of our frame
'The inexorable judge within,
'What can be done? Alas, ye fires
'Of love; alas, ye roſy ſmiles,
'Ye nectar'd cups from happier ſoils,
'—Ye have no bribe his grace to win.'

His regard to the Chriſtian revelation, and his ſolicitude to have it preſerved in its native purity, are diſplayed in the Ode to the Biſhop of Wincheſter:

'To him the teacher bleſs'd,
'Who ſent religion from the palmy field
'By Jordan, like the morn to cheer—the weſt,
'And lifted up the veil which heaven from earth
'conceal'd,
'To Hoadly thus his mandate he addreſs'd:
"Go thou, and reſcue my diſhonoured law
"From hands rapacious, and from tongues impure:
"Let not my peaceful name be made a lure
"Fell perſecution's mortal ſnares to aid:
"Let not my words be impious chains to draw
"The freeborn ſoul in more than brutal awe,
"To faith without aſſent, allegiance unrepaid."

The Ode to the Author of the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh ſeems to have been written on purpoſe to expoſe the irreligious tenets of the royal hiſtorian. Speaking of the King's writing the memoirs with a view of appealing to the judgment of poſterity, Dr. Akenſide goes on as follows:

'O evil foreſight and pernicious care!
'Wilt thou indeed abide by this appeal?
'Shall we the leſſons of thy pen compare
'With private honour or with public zeal?
'Whence then at things divine thoſe darts of ſcorn?
'Why are the woes which virtuous men have borne
'For ſacred truth, a prey to laughter given?
'What fiend, what foe of nature urged thy arm
'The Almighty of his ſceptre to diſarm?
'To puſh this earth adrift, and leave it looſe from
'heaven?

'Ye godlike ſhades of legiſlators old,
'Ye who made Rome victorious, Athens wiſe;
'Ye firſt of mortals with the bleſs'd inroll'd,
'Say, did not horror in your boſoms riſe,
'When thus by impious vanity impell'd
'A Magiſtrate, a Monarch, ye beheld
'Affronting Civil Order's holieſt bands?

'To him the teacher bleſs'd,
'Who ſent religion from the palmy field
'By Jordan, like the morn to cheer—the weſt,
'And lifted up the veil which heaven from earth
'conceal'd,
'To Hoadly thus his mandate he addreſs'd:
'Thoſe bands which ye ſo labour'd to improve?
'Thoſe hopes and fears of juſtice from above,
'Which tam'd the ſavage world to your divine
'commands?'

[*E*] *To the cauſe of civil and religious liberty.*] Dr. Akenſide's zeal for liberty is a diſtinguiſhed feature in the character of his poetical writings. He embraces every occaſion of diſplaying his ardour concerning this ſubject, and two of his principal Odes are directly conſecrated to it; the Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon, and *that* to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. He and his friend Mr. Dyſon were underſtood, in early life, to be ſuch ſtrenuous advocates for liberty in its moſt extenſive ſenſe, as to have ſome tincture of republicaniſm in their notions. But no ſufficient proof of this is deducible from Dr. Akenſide's poems. When, with a reference to our own country, he celebrates the cauſe of freedom, he doth it in no other light than that of a zealous Whig, who was warmly attached to the revolution, and to the memory of the great men by whom it was effected. He omits no opportunity, in particular, of teſtifying his veneration for King William the Third. If there be any truth in the ſuppoſition, that Dr. Akenſide and his friend entertained republican ideas in their youth; it is probable that they might afterwards ſoften the rigour of their ſentiments. Two alterations in the Doctor's Odes have been taken notice of in this view. In the Ode on leaving Holland, the three following lines,

'I go where freedom in the ſtreets is known,
'And tells a Monarch on his throne,
'*Tells him he reigns, he lives but by her voice*,'

are thus changed in the laſt edition,

'I go where liberty to all is known,
'And tells a monarch on his throne,
'He reigns not but by her preſerving voice?'

In the Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon, the four ſubſequent lines which originally were,

'But here where freedom's equal throne
'To all her valiant ſons is known;
'*Where all direct the ſword ſhe* —— *wears*,
'And each the power which rules him ſhares,'

are corrected as follows, in the third line:

'*Where all are conſcious of her cares.*'

Whatever may be thought of theſe particular alterations, it is certain that a moſt ardent ſpirit of liberty breathes through Dr. Akenſide's works; and in this reſpect, he hath been juſtly characteriſed in a late poem:

'Come, Akenſide, come with thine Attic urn,
'Fill'd from Ilyſſus by the Naiad's hand,
'Thy harp was tun'd to freedom.--Strains like thine,
'When Aſia's lord bor'd the huge mountain's ſide,
'And bridg'd the ſea, to battle rous'd the tribes
'Of ancient Greece. The ſons of Cecrops rais'd
'Minerva's Ægis—; Lacedemon pour'd
'Her hardy veterans from their frugal board,
'And Thebes ſaw Xerxes ſhake through all his
'tents (1).

(1) Poetical Epiſtle to Chriſtopher Anſtey, Eſq; 4to. printed for Wilkie, 1773.

knew him beſt, and who was the moſt capable of gratifying the curioſity of the Public concerning him, has left ſo poor and cold an account of him, that it is deſerving of cenſure. This article would have been very defective indeed, if it had not been for the gentlemen before mentioned. Some farther notice will be taken of Dr. Akenſide's poems, and of his medical writings, in the notes [*F*] and [*G*] below.]

[*F*] *Some farther account of his poetical works.*] Mr. Dyſon, in 1772, publiſhed in quarto a beautiful and complete edition of Dr. Akenſide's Poems, with his laſt corrections and improvements. The firſt poem in this collection, is the Pleaſures of Imagination, as it had originally appeared, and had frequently been reprinted. We have obſerved in the text, that in general it was received with great applauſe, and raiſed the author's reputation high in the poetical world. Mr. Cooper, in his Letters concerning Taſte, hath hence taken occaſion to ſpeak of him in the following ſtrain of commendation: 'For 'my part I am of opinion, that there is now living a 'poet of as genuine a genius as this kingdom ever 'produced, SHAKESPEARE alone excepted. By 'poetical genius, I do not mean the mere talent of '*making* verſes, but that glorious enthuſiaſm of ſoul, 'that fine phrenzy in which the poet's *eye rowling, 'glances from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven*, as SHAKESPEARE feelingly deſcribes it. 'This alone is poetry; aught elſe is a mechanical art of putting ſyllables harmoniouſly together. 'The gentleman I mean is Dr. Akenſide, the 'worthy author of the *Pleaſures of Imagination*, the 'moſt beautiful *didactic* poem that ever adorned the 'Engliſh language (2).' On the other hand, the late eminent poet, Mr. Gray, writing to Dr. Wharton, of Old Park, near Durham, ſays, 'You 'deſire to know, it ſeems, what character the poem 'of your young friend (Dr. Akenſide) bears here. 'I wonder that you aſk the opinion of a nation, 'where thoſe who pretend to judge, do not judge 'at all, and the reſt (the wiſer part) wait to catch 'the judgment of the world immediately above 'them; that is, Dick's and the Rainbow coffee-'houſes. Your readier way would be to aſk the 'ladies who keep the bars in thoſe two theatres of 'criticiſm. However, to ſhew you that I am a judge 'as well as my country men, I will tell you, though 'I have rather turned it over than read it (but no 'matter; no more have they), that it ſeems to me 'above the middling; and now and then, for a little 'while, riſes even to the beſt, particularly in deſcription. It is often obſcure, and often unintelligible; 'and too much infected with the Hutchinſon jargon. 'In ſhort, its great fault is, that it was publiſhed at 'leaſt nine years too early. - And ſo methinks, in a 'few words, I have very pertly diſpatched what 'perhaps may for ſeveral years have employed a very 'ingenious man, worth fifty of myſelf (3).' As theſe obſervations were haſtily delivered in a private letter, before the poem had been maturely examined, we may be allowed to think them too ſevere, and to ſteer a middle courſe between Mr. Gray and Mr. Cooper. The obſcurity of the 'Pleaſures of 'Imagination,' when read with attention, will chiefly be found in the allegory of the ſecond book, which, we freely confeſs, we could never underſtand. It might, likewiſe, have been better if the peculiar language of Hutchinſon, or rather of Shafteſbury, had ſometimes been omitted. Nevertheleſs, we cannot but regard it as a noble and beautiful poem, exhibiting many bright diſplays of genius and fancy, and holding out ſublime views of nature, providence, and morality. We concur with Mr. Gray in thinking that it was publiſhed too early. The author himſelf became afterwards of the ſame ſentiment. He was convinced that the poem was defective in ſome reſpects, and redundant in others. 'That it wanted reviſion and correction, ſays his 'editor, he was ſufficiently ſenſible; but ſo quick 'was the demand for ſeveral ſucceſſive republications, that in any of the intervals to have compleated the whole of his corrections was utterly impoſſible; and yet to have gone on from time to 'time making farther improvements in every new 'edition would (he thought) have the appearance 'at leaſt of abuſing the favour of the Public. He 'choſe therefore, to continue for ſome time reprinting it without any alteration, and to forbear 'publiſhing any corrections or improvements until 'he ſhould be able at once to give them to the Public complete. And with this view he went on for 'ſeveral years to review and correct his poem at his 'leiſure; till at length he found the taſk grow ſo 'much upon his hands; that, deſpairing of ever being able to execute it ſufficiently to his own ſatisfaction, he abandoned the purpoſe of correcting, 'and reſolved to write the poem over anew, upon 'a ſomewhat different and an enlarged plan (4).' Dr. Akenſide did not live to finiſh the whole of his plan. That part of it which is carried into execution, occurs next in the edition before mentioned; and the reader may judge of the Doctor's intentions, by having recourſe to the general argument prefixed to the poem (5). He deſigned, at firſt, to compriſe the whole of his ſubject, according to a new plan, in four books. But he afterwards changed his purpoſe, and determined to diſtribute 'the Pleaſures of Imagina-'tion' into a greater number of books (6). How far his ſcheme would have carried him, if he had lived to complete it, is uncertain; for at his death he had only finiſhed the firſt and ſecond books, a conſiderable part of the third, and the introduction to the laſt. The firſt book of the improved work bears a nearer reſemblance to the firſt book of the former editions than any of the reſt do to each other. There are, nevertheleſs, in this book, a great number of corrections and alterations, and ſeveral conſiderable additions. Dr. Akenſide has introduced a tribute of reſpect and affection to his friend Mr. Dyſon. He has referred the pleaſures of imagination to two ſources only, greatneſs, and beauty, and not to three, as he had heretofore done. His delineation of beautiful objects is much enlarged; and upon the whole, the firſt book ſeems to have received no ſmall degree of improvement. The ſecond book is very different from the ſecond book of the preceding editions. The difference, indeed, is ſo great that they cannot be compared together. The author enters into a diſplay of truth and its three claſſes, matter of fact, experimental or ſcientifical truth, and univerſal truth. He treats, likewiſe, of virtue as exiſting in the divine mind, of human virtue, of vice and its origin, of ridicule and of the paſſions. What he hath ſaid upon the ſubject of ridicule is greatly and advantageouſly reduced from what it was in the former copies. The enumeration of the different ſources of ridicule is left out; and, conſequently, the lines which had given offence to Dr. Warburton. The allegorical viſion, which heretofore conſtituted a principal part of the ſecond book, is likewiſe omitted. The poetical character of the ſecond book as it now ſtands, is, that it is correct, moral, and noble. The third book is an epiſode, in which Solon the Athenian lawgiver is the chief character; and the deſign of it ſeems to be to ſhew the great influence of poetry, in enforcing the cauſe of liberty. This part is entirely new, and if it had been finiſhed, would have proved a beautiful addition to the poem. It is greatly to be regretted, that Dr. Akenſide did not live to complete his deſign. Nevertheleſs, we ſhould have been ſorry to have had the original poem entirely ſuperſeded. Whatever may be its faults, we find in it a certain brightneſs and brilliancy of imagination, and a certain degree of enthuſiaſm, which the Doctor did not ſeem to have poſſeſſed in equal vigour in the latter part of his life. Years, and an application to ſcientific ſtudies, appear, in ſome meaſure, to have turned his mind from ſound to things, from fancy to the underſtanding. Every reader of taſte would have regretted the loſs of the fine deſcription (in the third book) of the operations of the mind in producing works of imagination; and have felt the being deprived of the following beautiful lines in the allegoric viſion of the ſecond book:

'—— —— 'Twas an horrid pile
'Of hills with many a ſhaggy foreſt mix'd,
'With many a ſable cliff and glittering ſtream.
'Aloft recumbent o'er the hanging ridge,
'The brown woods wav'd; while ever trickling ſprings
Waſh'd

(2) Letters concerning Taſte, the 4th Edition, p. 95. In the 1ſt Edition, Mr. Cooper had carried his applauſe of Dr. Akenſide to a ridiculous height of extravagance.

(3) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 178, 179.

(4) Advertiſement to the 4th Edition of his Poems, p. 5, 6.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 115, 116.

(6) Advertiſement, p. 7. *ubi ſupra.*

' Waſh'd from the naked roots of oak and pine
' The crumbling ſoil, and ſtill at every fall
' Down the ſteep windings of the channel'd rock,
' Remurmuring ruſh'd the congregated floods
' With hoarſer inundation; till at laſt
' They reach'd a graſſy plain, which from the ſkirts
' Of that high deſert ſpread her verdant lap,
' And drank the guſhing moiſture, were confin'd
' In one ſmooth current, o'er the lilied vale
' Clearer than glaſs it flow'd. Autumnal ſpoils
' Luxuriant ſpreading to the rays of morn,
' Bluſh'd o'er the cliffs, whoſe half-encircling mound
' As in a ſylvan theatre inclos'd
' That flowery level. On the river's brink
' I ſpy'd a fair pavilion, which diffus'd
' Its floating umbrage mid the ſilver ſhade
' Of oſiers. Now the weſtern ſun reveal'd
' Between two parting cliffs his golden orb,
' And pour'd acroſs the ſhadow of the hills,
' On rocks and floods a yellow ſtream of light
' That chear'd the ſolemn ſcene.'

To 'the Pleaſures of Imagination,' ſucceed two books of Odes, the firſt containing eighteen Odes, and the ſecond fifteen. It was Dr. Akenſide's intention, if he had lived, to have made each book conſiſt of twenty. Thoſe which had been formerly publiſhed, are greatly altered and improved. The Doctor's Odes are not equal to the ſublime and beautiful productions of Mr. Gray; nor perhaps to thoſe of one or two living writers. But ſtill there is in them a noble vein of poetry, united with manly ſenſe, and applied to excellent purpoſes. This emcomium cannot be extended to the whole of the Odes without exception. Dr. Akenſide does not always preſerve the dignity of the lyric muſe. He is defective in the pathetic, even upon a ſubject which peculiarly required it, and where it might have been moſt expected, the death of his miſtreſs. We mean his Ode to the Evening Star. However, his Hymn to Chearfulneſs, and his Odes on leaving Holland, on Lyric Poetry, to the Earl of Huntingdon, and on recovering from a Fit of Sickneſs, juſtly entitle him to a place among the principal lyric writers of this country. The Hymn to the Naiads and nine Inſcriptions, complete his poetical works. In Pearch's collection of poems (7), we find three pieces aſcribed to Dr. Akenſide, *Love*, an elegy; *a Britiſh Philippic*, and *a Hymn to Science*; which, if they were written by him, he did not think proper to acknowledge (8).

(7) Vol. iii. p. 49—53. 57—68.

(8) Some of the ſentiments advanced in this Note have appeared before, from the writer of the preſent article, in another publication.

[*G*] *Of his medical writings.*] Beſides his 'Diſſertatio de Dyſenteria,' which hath been commended for its latinity, and was twice tranſlated into Engliſh; he wrote ſeveral little pieces, the titles of which are ſubjoined. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, 1. *Obſervations on the Origin and Uſe of the Lymphatic Veſſels in Animals:* being an extract from the Gulſtonian Lectures, read in the Theatre of the College of Phyſicians, in June 1755, and at the Royal Society, Nov. 10. 1757, Vol. l. for the year 1757. Dr. Alexander Monro junior, of Edinburgh, having taken notice of ſome inaccuracies in this paper, in his 'Obſervations anatomical and phyſiological, &c.' Dr. Akenſide publiſhed a ſmall pamphlet (1758) in his own vindication. 2. *An Account of a Blow on the Heart, and its Effects.* Read December 22, 1763. vol. liii, for the year 1763. —— 'Oratio Anniverſaria, ex Inſtituto Harveii, in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinenſis habita, Anno 1759. Londini, *4to.* 1760.' In the firſt volume of Medical Tranſactions, publiſhed by the College of Phyſicians in London. 1. *Obſervations on Cancers.* Read June 6, 1767. 2. *Of the Uſe of Ipecacuanha in Aſthmas.* Read June 6, 1767. 3. *A Method of treating white Swellings of the Joints.* Read July 6, 1767. Beſides theſe, Dr. Akenſide read at the College, ſome practical obſervations, made in St. Thomas's hoſpital, on the *putrid Eryſipelas*, which he intended for the ſecond volume of the Medical Tranſactions. This paper he afterwards carried home, with a deſign to correct it; but it was not returned at the time of his deceaſe. Being appointed Krohnian Lecturer, he choſe for his ſubject, *the Hiſtory of the Revival of Learning*; and read three lectures on it before the College. But this work he gave up, as it was ſuppoſed, in diſguſt; ſome one of the College having objected that he had choſen a ſubject foreign to the inſtitution. K.

ALAN (OF LYNN), in Latin *Alanus de Lynna*, a famous divine in the XVth Century, was born at Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, and educated in the univerſity of Cambridge; where he applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity, and, having taken the degree of Doctor (*a*), became an eminent preacher. Bale, who gives Alan an advantageous character (*b*), yet blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of Scripture [*A*]. But he is particularly famous for the great pains he took in making Indexes to moſt of the books he read [*B*]. Alan flouriſhed about the year 1420 (*c*), and wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly 1. De vario Scripturæ ſenſu, *i. e. Of the different ſenſes of Scripture.* 2. Moralia Bibliorum, *i. e. The Morality of the Scriptures.* 3. Sermones notabiles, *i. e. Remarkable Diſcourſes.* 4. Elucidarium Scripturæ, *i. e. A Method of interpreting Scripture.* 5. Prælectiones Theologicæ, *i. e. Lectures on Divinity.* 6. Elucidationes Ariſtotelis, *i. e. Explications of Ariſtotle* (*d*). At length he became a Carmelite, in the town of his nativity, and was buried in the convent of his order (*e*).

(*a*) Joh. Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 524.

(*b*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(*c*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

(*d*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Bale —— blames him for uſing allegorical and moral expoſitions of ſcripture.*] 'Unum hoc inſigne malum cum cæteris ſuarum factionum habebat commune. Quæcunque hiſtoricè ſcripta erant in utroque Dei Teſtamento, per allegorias & morales (ut vocant) expoſitiones ad animæ negotium & humanæ juſtitiæ opera traxit (1). —— *He had this great fault in common with thoſe of his ſtamp. He allegorized the hiſtorical parts of the Old and New Teſtament; and applied them to the buſineſs of the ſoul, and the moral actions of men.*' Pits, on the other hand, commends the method he took to explain the Holy Scriptures; which was by comparing them with themſelves, and having recourſe to the ancient fathers of the church. *In quo conatu, optimam viam ſecutus, alia cum aliis ſacræ ſcripturæ loca conferens, & ad antiquos eccleſiæ patres, ſanctoſque recurrens doctores, nihil temere ſuoque ſolius ingenio nixus, interpretatus eſt* (2).

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. VII. c. 54.

(2) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. ad ann. 1420.

[*B*] *He made indexes to moſt of the books he read.*] Particularly, Joſephus, Origen, Hilary, Euſebius, St. Jerome, St. Ambroſe, St. Auguſtin, St. Baſil, St. Chryſoſtom, St. Cyril, Caſſian, Johannes Damaſcenus, St. Gregory, Rabanus, Remigius, Caſſiodorus, Bede, Alcuinus, Haymo, Hugo, Anſelm, St. Bernard, Gerard of Laodicea, Belethus Bleſenſis, Thomas Aquinas, Ægidius, Duns Scotus, Alexander Neckam, Gorham, Baconthorp, Berthorius, and Philip Ribotus. The indexes to all theſe authors Bale himſelf ſaw in the library of the Carmelites at Norwich (3). The uſe and neceſſity of indexes is well ſet forth by Dr. Fuller (4). 'An index, ſays he, is a neceſſary implement, and no impediment of a book, except in the ſame ſenſe wherein the carriages of an army are termed *impedimenta*. Without this, a large author is but a labyrinth, without a clue to direct the reader therein. I confeſs there is a lazy kind of learning, which is only indical; when ſcholars (like adders, which only bite the horſe-heels) nibble but at the tables, which are *calces librorum*, neglecting the body of the book. But though the idle deſerve no crutches (let not a ſtaff be uſed by them but on them), pity it is the weary ſhould be denied the benefit thereof; and induſtrious ſcholars prohibited the accommodation of an index, moſt uſed by thoſe, who moſt pretend to contemn it.'

(3) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(4) Worthies of England, Norfolk, p. 256.

I find

I find another ALAN, Abbot of Tewkesbury [C], who flouriſhed about the year 1177, and died in 1201. He wrote a book De vita & exilio Thomæ Cantuarienſis, *i. e. Of the Life and Baniſhment of Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Canterbury* (f).

(f) Cave's Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. xii. ann. 1177.

[C] *ALAN, abbot of Tewkeſbury.*] In Baronius (5) he is ſtyled *Abbas Deoches*; which is a miſtake, ariſing perhaps from hence, that in the Vatican copy, which that author made uſe of, he found written *Deoches*, inſtead of *Theoches*, or as we now ſay, *Teukeſburienſis*. B.

(5) Ad ann. 1162. n. 21.

ALAN, ALLEN, ALLYN (WILLIAM), Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church. He was the ſon of John Allen, by Jennet Lyſter, ſiſter to Thomas Lyſter, of Weſtby in Yorkſhire (a), and was born at Roſſal in Lancaſhire, ſome time in the year 1532. His father was a gentleman of good family, and ſome fortune [A], who took care of his education till ſuch time as he reached his fifteenth year, and then ſent him to Oxford (b), where, in 1547, he was entered of Oriel college, and had for his tutor, Morgan Philips, or Philip Morgan, a very famous man, and a zealous Papiſt (c), under whom he ſtudied with great ſucceſs, addicting himſelf eſpecially to Logick and Philoſophy, in which he became ſuch a proficient, that he was unanimouſly elected fellow of his college in 1550 (d), in which year alſo he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e). In an Act celebrated July the ſixteenth, he went out junior of the Act, having compleated his degree of Maſter of Arts, with great reputation (f); being at that time eſteemed an honour to the univerſity on account of his great parts, learning, and eloquence. In 1556, he became principal of St. Mary's Hall, and in that, and the year following, one of the Proctors of the univerſity (g), being then but twenty-four years of age. In 1558, he was made Canon of York (h); but on Queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, he, as a zealous Catholick, loſt all hopes of preferment, and therefore, in 1560, withdrew out of his native country (i), and retired to Louvain in the Spaniſh Netherlands, where an Engliſh college was erected, of which he became the principal ſupport [B]. At this time, ſeveral perſons of great learning, and ſome of the boldeſt champions of the Popiſh cauſe, reſided in this place; with whom Allen converſed, and by the politeneſs, as well as ſtrength of his genius, he grew quickly into great eſteem with them. To this, it is ſaid, the gracefulneſs of his perſon did not a little contribute; for, with a majeſtick preſence, he had an eaſy, affable deportment, and, with the greateſt ſeverity of manners, a mildneſs in ſpeech and behaviour, which drew the affection of all who converſed with him (k). Here he began to write in ſupport of the Catholic cauſe, and his firſt piece was againſt a work written by the learned Biſhop Jewell, on the ſubject of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead (l) [C]. The method he made uſe of in this work, was very proper to captivate the judgment of the reader; and his ſtyle, which was remarkably pure and flowing, made his performance ſtill the more dangerous. The chiefs of the party then abroad, conceived the greateſt hopes of this new diſputant; and, as a mark of their confidence, put under his care a young man,

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 272.

(b) Camden. An. edit. T. H. p. 684.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 273. Pits, de illuſtr. Script. Angl. p. 792.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 273.

(e) *Id.* Faſt. Ox. Vol. i. col. 75.

(f) *Ibid.* col. 80.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 272. Camden. Anal. p. 684.

(b) Wood, ubi ſupra. Camden, ubi ſupra.

(i) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 792. Edw. Fitzherbert in Epit. Vit. Card. Alani.

(k) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 104.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 273.

[A] *A Gentleman of good family and fortune.*] So an eminent writer and his contemporary informs us. His words are theſe, 'Natus ille in comitatu Lancaſtrenſi honeſta familia, & quæ aliquot clariores 'cognatione complexa, *i. e. He was born in Lancaſhire of a reputable family, allied to ſome of a 'higher degree* (1).' Pits improves this, according to his wonted manner; for he tells us, that he was *nobilibus ortus parentibus* (2), which muſt ſignify, born of honourable parents at leaſt. The Author of his Life tells us, that he was deſcended from the Allens of Staffordſhire; and that his grandfather, George Allen, ſettled at Roſſal in Lancaſhire, becauſe an uncle of his, who was Abbot of Delawiſe, demiſed to him diverſe lands there, belonging to his monaſtery (3). Wood rightly obſerves, that the arms Cardinal Allen bore, *viz.* Argent three Conies paſſant ſable (4), are not the arms of the Allens of Staffordſhire, nor indeed, that I can find, of any other family (5) of that name; perhaps it was aſſigned him abroad, on account of the dangers he had run in the ſervice of the Catholic cauſe, and the fierceneſs with which his enemies had purſued him; but this is ſubmitted to the reader as a mere conjecture.

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 634.

(2) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. p. 792.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 268.

(4) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(5) See the Index to Guillim's Heraldry.

[B] *Of which he became the principal ſupport.*] The reaſon why the Engliſh fugitives inclined to ſettle in the Low Countries, was chiefly on account of its vicinity to their own country, whereby they had an opportunity of applying, as occaſion required, to their friends for relief. The Spaniſh government alſo, having already an eye towards Britain, encouraged ſuch learned Catholicks as fled from thence, to ſettle in thoſe provinces, and eſpecially at Louvain, where there was a flouriſhing univerſity, and other conveniencies (6). Of this, the government in England had early intelligence, and took great care to break off all correſpondence between theſe fugitives, and the relations they had left behind them. There are ſtill ſome writings in the Paper Office, which contain the names of perſons puniſhed for ſending money to Louvain, as alſo an account of the ſums they ſent (7). However, Dr. Harding, Dr. Bullock, and other eminent perſons remaining there, our author Allen, when he went abroad, thought it the propereſt place for him to reſide in, and renew his acquaintance with his ſtudies (8).

(6) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 90.

(7) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 114.

(8) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani.

[C] *On the ſubject of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.*] Of all who have written againſt the Papiſts, there is none whoſe works have been better received than thoſe of Biſhop Jewell; nor of all the ſubjects which he handled, was there one wherein he ſeemed to have reaſoned with greater force, than on this, which Allen undertook to anſwer. The title of his book ran thus: *A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholicks, concerning Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.* It was printed at Antwerp, in 1565, in 8*vo* (9). The ſtrength of our author's argument lies in this poſition, that a middle ſtate is what moſt Proteſtants own; and that therefore it is more reaſonable to believe, as the Church teaches concerning it, than to think at random in this reſpect. He likewiſe takes pains to ſhow, that prayers for the dead were in uſe in the earlieſt ages of the Church; and, at the ſame time, omits nothing that may move the paſſions, and incline the reader to believe, that as the practice of antiquity, ſo reaſon and good-nature alſo, were on his ſide of the queſtion. This treatiſe made a great noiſe in England, and was anſwered by Mr. William Fulke (10); to whom, in proceſs of time, Dr. Richard Briſtow wrote a reply, printed at Louvain, 1580; whereupon Dr. Fulke thought himſelf obliged to write a rejoinder, which came out the next year (11).

(9) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Scrip. p. 793.

(10) See Catalogue of Popiſh Books, and Anſwers, in Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. at the end.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col 212.

of

of an honourable family, who was come to ſtudy at Louvain. The care he took of this young pupil, and his application to his other ſtudies, had ſuch an effect upon his health, that his Phyſicians were of opinion, nothing could reſtore it, but the enjoying for a ſeaſon his native air. On this account, though his coming into England was attended with great danger, our author ventured over about 1565 (*m*). He went firſt, as the doctors had adviſed him, into Lancaſhire, where he was born, and there, without any regard to his ſafety, he laboured to the utmoſt of his power in making converts, and in diſſuading ſuch as were already Catholics, from going to Heretical Conventicles, that is, from going to the eſtabliſhed Church (*n*). In order to carry his point the more effectually, he wrote and diſtributed ſeveral little pieces, which were afterwards printed; but by theſe endeavours rendering himſelf obnoxious to the government, ſo ſtrict a ſearch was made after him by the magiſtrates, that he was forced to retire out of that county (*o*), into the neighbourhood of the city of Oxford, where he concealed himſelf ſome time. In this retreat he wrote a kind of apology for his party, under the title of *Brief Reaſons concerning the Catholic Faith* (*p*). Some indeed ſay, this was written at the houſe of the Duke of Norfolk, in Norfolk, where it is certain our author was ſome time concealed, though he returned afterwards into the neighbourhood of Oxford again, where he diſtributed copies of this performance, to fix the minds of ſuch as wavered between the two religions; and to draw over ſuch as already doubted their ſafety, while remaining in the eſtabliſhed Church (*q*). Such ſucceſs attended theſe his endeavours, that though the conveniency of a ſhip going to the Netherlands (*r*) offered, yet he refuſed to make uſe of it, and choſe rather to continue in this dangerous ſituation, promoting, as far as in his power lay, the doctrine of Popery, and the ſpiritual juriſdiction of his Holineſs, and ſuch as derived their authority from him. With this view, he ventured to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with ſome of his old friends in the univerſity, and amongſt the reſt with a perſon formerly a Papiſt, but then of the eſtabliſhed church, and one, of whoſe preferment his family had great hopes. This man, our author by his unwearied applications drew back to his former opinions, which ſo exaſperated his relations, that they perſecuted Allen with extraordinary diligence, inſomuch that he was forced to fly towards London, and not long after, with ſome difficulty, made his eſcape into Flanders, in 1568 (*s*), having remained in England three years. In all probability he had ſome great friends here, who, in reſpect to their former acquaintance with him, were well enough pleaſed at his withdrawing a ſecond time beyond ſea. Amongſt whom we may reckon Sir Chriſtopher Hatton (*t*), afterwards Chancellor, who received part of his education in St. Mary's Hall at Oxford, while our author was Principal thereof; on which account, Sir Chriſtopher had a great tenderneſs for Allen's perſon; and Allen, on the other hand, had ſo high an eſteem of him, as to raiſe his reputation to the greateſt height abroad, which occaſioned ſome invidious reflections at home (*u*). After our author came a ſecond time into the Spaniſh Low-Countries, he went to Mechlin (*w*) in the Dutchy of Brabant, where he read a divinity lecture in a certain monaſtery there, with great applauſe. Thence he went to Doway, where he became Doctor in Divinity (*x*), and laboured very aſſiduouſly in eſtabliſhing a ſeminary there for the ſupport of Engliſh ſcholars; and, becauſe this was looked upon with an evil eye by the government in England, he afterwards wrote a book in defence of ſuch eſtabliſhments, of which the reader will find notice taken in our account of his writings. While he was thus employed, he became canon of Cambray (*y*), a very conſiderable and honourable preferment, conferred on him purely to reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholic Church [*D*]. In this ſeminary of Doway, many books were compoſed to juſtify the Popiſh religion, and to anſwer the books written in defence of the Church of England, which occaſioned Queen Elizabeth's iſſuing a proclamation, forbidding ſuch books to be either ſold or read (*z*). In 1569, our author Allen appointed one Briſtow, who became afterwards a very eminent man, moderator of ſtudies at Doway (*a*); which Briſtow, in all probability, was the perſon Allen drew over to his opinions, when he was in England, as is before mentioned. Not long after, Dr. Allen was appointed canon of Rheims, through the intereſt of the Guiſes (*b*), and to this city he transferred the ſeminary which had been ſettled at Doway. The reaſon which induced this altera-

(*m*) Fitzherbert, in vit. Card. Alani, p. 39.

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 269.

(*p*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 793.

(*q*) As appears from the Treatiſe itſelf.

(*r*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) *Id. ibid.*

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 253.

(*u*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, edit. 1649, p. 119.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 269.

(*x*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. Book ix. p. 224.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 557.

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 212.

(*b*) *Ibid.* col. 270. Camden. Ann. p. 684. Fuller's Church Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *To reward his zeal in the ſervice of the Catholic Church.*] All who are admitted to this dignity, are obliged to prove their deſcents, that is, to ſhow that for ſo many generations they have been gentlemen. We learn from a celebrated Popiſh writer, a very extraordinary circumſtance concerning our author Allen's miſſion in England, the report of which might very poſſibly contribute ſomewhat to his obtaining this preferment. The author having told us the reaſon of his going over to England, proceeds thus: Neither did he lead there an idle or ſupine life, but, like a brave and bold ſoldier, diſguiſed in name and in habit, he ſallied by ſtealth into the enemies quarters, recovering from them many whom they had ſeduced, which grievouſly provoked them, and occaſioned much pains to be taken in order to apprehend him. Once he very narrowly eſcaped, for the perſon employed to ſeize him, who knew him well, and had actually ſupped with him the ſame night, had ſuch a miſt before his eyes when he came to execute his deſign, that he paſſed by him without knowing him (12). It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, becauſe Wood takes no notice of it, that the pupil of whom Allen took ſuch care as to endanger his own health, was Mr. Chriſtopher Blount, afterwards Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who was concerned in the Earl of Eſſex's inſurrection (13).

[It is probable that the perſon employed in the ſearch, was ſome good-natured man, who, becauſe he knew Allen, would not *know* him. Allen's eſcape may be accounted for without a miracle; for he had to do with Engliſhmen.]

(12) Nicius Erythræus in Pinacoth. i. p. 92.

(13) Camden. Annal. p. 855.

tion, was, becauſe the then governor of the Netherlands, Don Lewis de Requeſens, had obliged the Engliſh fugitives to withdraw out of his government (*c*). Henceforward Dr. Allen was eſteemed the chief of his party; and indeed he laboured inceſſantly to do it ſervice by writing various treatiſes in defence of the doctrines, and not a few, by way of apology for the practices of the Papiſts; by licenſing, and recommending many books written by others, and by many journies into Spain and Italy. By theſe his labours, he procured a ſeminary to be eſtabliſhed at Rome (*d*), and two others in Spain (*e*); wherein Engliſh ſtudents were not only educated in all ſorts of learning, but were alſo maintained and provided for. At home, Dr. Allen was juſtly reputed a capital enemy of the ſtate (*f*); all correſpondence with him was looked on as the higheſt kind of treaſon, and Thomas Alfield, a Jeſuit, was actually executed for bringing certain books of our author's writing into England [*E*]. The celebrated Robert Parſons, the Jeſuit, was Dr. Allen's great friend and counſellor (*g*), and very probably put him upon that deſperate project, which, if it had ſucceeded, would have overwhelmed the Engliſh, and which, as it miſcarried, did in a manner enervate the Spaniſh monarchy. For many years there had been differences, diſcontents, and even actual injuries committed, between the Engliſh and the Spaniards; but now Dr. Allen, and the fugitive Noblemen from England, perſuaded King Philip the Second openly to undertake the conqueſt of their native country (*h*). To facilitate this, the Pope, who then was Sixtus V. was prevailed upon to renew the excommunication thundered againſt Queen Elizabeth by his predeceſſor Pope Pius V (*i*). While this was in agitation, Sir William Stanley, who commanded a very conſiderable garriſon of Engliſh and Iriſh in the important town of Daventer, baſely betrayed it to the Spaniards, and went with his whole regiment of 1200 men into that ſervice (*k*). Rowland York, who had been alſo intruſted with a ſtrong fort in the ſame country, acted in the like infamous manner, which not a little aſtoniſhed the States General of the United Provinces, and brought no ſmall ſcandal on the Engliſh nation (*l*): yet Dr. Allen wrote a treatiſe in defence of this baſe proceeding, and ſent ſeveral prieſts to Stanley, in order to inſtruct thoſe he had drawn over to the King of Spain's ſervice (*m*), as the reader will ſee in the notes [*F*]. To give

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 271.

(*d*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) See his epitaph, in Note [*H*].

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(*g*) Watſon's Quodlibets, 8*vo*. p. 240. See alſo the article of PARSONS, in Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(*h*) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 684.

(*k*) Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, 942. 943. Camden. Annal. p. 552. Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 428.

(*l*) Grimeſtone, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *Bringing certain books of our author's writing into England.*] The college of Doway was ſettled through the prudence and care of Dr. Allen, who procured a penſion from the Pope, for the ſupport of ſuch as led a collegiate life there. Of theſe, there were uſually eight or ten doctors, who officiated as profeſſors: of whom, ſome explained the Holy Scriptures, and others taught ſcholaſtic divinity; but the ſtudies principally encouraged there, were the canon-law, and controverſy. Here alſo, ſuch as were appointed thereto, wrote books againſt hereſy, defended the religion, and the practices of Catholics, againſt the aſperſions of their enemies; and alſo collected memoirs of the ſufferings and deaths of ſuch as were ſtyled martyrs for the Catholic Faith. In the direction of this college, Dr. Allen officiated as preſident, and behaved with ſo much mildneſs, wiſdom, and circumſpection, that he was univerſally revered and beloved (14). He likewiſe reviſed and approved ſuch books as were written there, during the time that he preſided, as appears particularly by his teſtimony prefixed to Richard Briſtow's brief Treatiſe of diverſe ſure and plain ways to find out truth, in this doubtful and dangerous time of Hereſy; to which book Dr. Allen's licence bears date, April 30, 1574 (15). He likewiſe licenſed ſome of the books of Robert Parſons, and of many others. As to this Jeſuit, whoſe name was Thomas Alfield, and who in the text is ſaid to have died for bringing in ſome of our author's books; there is ſtill among the papers of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, a brief of the treaſonable expreſſions extracted out of Dr. Allen's books, in order to ground his indictment. Theſe expreſſions are moſt of them contained in a treatiſe written by Dr. Allen, intituled, *The Defence of the twelve Martyrs in one Year* (16), which is not mentioned either by Pits or Wood, in their catalogues of his works. In order to give the reader ſome notion of our author's ſtyle and manner of writing, as alſo, becauſe this book is ſo ſcarce, that 'tis hardly to be met with, we ſhall tranſcribe a paragraph or two from the indictment. 'The bond and 'obligation we have entered into for the ſervice of 'Chriſt and the Church, far exceedeth all other 'duty, which we owe to any human creature. And 'therefore, where the obedience to the inferior 'hindreth the ſervice of the other, which is ſuperior, 'we muſt, by law and order, diſcharge ourſelves of 'the inferior. The wife, if ſhe cannot live with 'her own huſband, being an infidel, or an heretic, 'without injury or diſhonour to God, ſhe may depart from him, or contrariwiſe, he from her, for 'the like cauſe; neither oweth the innocent party, 'nor can the other lawfully claim, any conjugal 'duty, or debt in this caſe. The bond-ſlave, which 'is in another kind, no leſs bound to his lord and 'maſter, than the ſubject to his ſovereign, may 'alſo, by the ancient Imperial laws, depart, and 'refuſe to obey or ſerve him, if he become a Heretic. Yea, *ipſo facto*, he is made free. Finally, 'the parents that become Heretics, loſe the ſuperiority and dominion they have by the law of nature, 'over their own children. Therefore, let no man 'marvel, that in caſe of hereſy, the Sovereign 'loſeth the ſuperiority over his people and kingdom.' The indictment charges, that the author did hereby intend, that Queen Elizabeth, by reaſon of her hereſy, had fallen from her ſovereignty. It likewiſe charges Thomas Alfield, with bringing the ſaid traiterous books of William Allen into her Majeſty's dominions, and there publiſhing them on the 10th of September, in the twenty-ſixth year of her reign; that is, in 1584 (17). For which facts he was executed at Tyburn, the 6th of July, 1585 (18).

(14) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 972.

(15) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 211.

(16) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 562.

(17) MS. Burleigh, from a book once belonging to Dr. More, Biſhop of Ely.

(18) Stowe's Annals, p. 709.

[*F*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] This event happened in the winter of 1587. Sir William Stanley had been before in the ſervice of the King of Spain, but deſerted from him, and ſerved with reputation in Ireland. The Earl of Leiceſter made him Governor of Daventer, not only without, but againſt the conſent of the States, who always ſuſpected him; and who, after the Earl was gone into England, would willingly have removed him. Stanley having made an agreement with Count Taxis, admitted him with a ſmall body of troops into the place, and having thus reduced it to the King of Spain's obedience, he was left there Governor, with ſuch of his Iriſh forces as adhered to him. As for Rowland York, whom the Earl of Leiceſter intruſted with a ſtrong fort, to bridle the Spaniſh garriſon in Zutphen, he ſold it to the ſame Count Taxis, who commanded that Spaniſh garriſon (19). The treatiſe written by our author, in defence of this action, was firſt printed in Engliſh, in the form of a letter, and afterwards in Latin, under the title of *Epiſtola de Daventriæ Ditione, Cracov.* 1588. In this epiſtle it is alledged, that Sir William Stanley was no traitor, becauſe he had only delivered to the King of Spain, a city which was his own before; and all Engliſhmen, in the ſervice of the States, are exhorted to follow his example (20).

(19) Grot. Annal. 1587. Camd. Annal. p. 553. Grimeſton's Netherlands, p. 942, 943. Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 428.

(20) Pits, ubi ſupra.

give the greater weight to theſe his writings, our author, Allen, on the twenty-eighth of July 1587, was created Cardinal, by the title of St. Martin in Montibus (*n*); and ſoon after, the King of Spain gave him an Abbey of great value in the kingdom of Naples, with ſtrong aſſurances of much greater preferment, which was afterwards performed. In April 1588, he compoſed that work which rendered him moſt famous abroad, and infamous at home. It conſiſted of two parts, the firſt explaining the Pope's Bull, for the excommunication and deprivation of Queen Elizabeth; the ſecond, exhorting the nobility and people of England to deſert her, and take up arms in favour of the Spaniards (*o*). Of this book the reader will find a farther account in the notes [*G*]. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was by far the ſevereſt piece ever written againſt an Engliſh Prince, and very capable, conſidering the then ſituation of things, of producing miſchievous effects. Many thouſand copies were printed at Antwerp, in order to have been put on board the Armada, that they might have been in readineſs to have been diſperſed by the Papiſts all over England, upon the firſt landing of the Spaniards. But, on the failing of this enterprize, all theſe books were ſo carefully deſtroyed, that very few were preſerved (*p*). Of theſe, one, as ſoon as it was printed, was tranſmitted by ſome of the Lord Treaſurer's ſpies, to the Engliſh Council, and Queen Elizabeth thereupon ſent Dr. Dale into the Low-Countries, to complain of ſuch a proceeding to the Prince of Parma, who affected to preſerve great meaſures towards her Majeſty. He heard this complaint with a great deal of phlegm, and anſwered, that as he knew of no ſuch book, he could not ſay any thing to its contents (*q*). After the Armada was deſtroyed, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had been three years in priſon under the charge of high-treaſon, was brought to his trial, and the great crime charged upon him, was his correſpondence with Cardinal Allen, which being proved, he was found guilty by his Peers (*r*). In the ſame year, the King of Spain promoted our author, as he had promiſed him, to the Archbiſhoprick of Mechlin in Flanders (*s*), where he would have had him conſtantly reſident, in order to his more effectually cheriſhing the Popiſh and Spaniſh intereſts in England. But the Pope having a high opinion of the Cardinal's merit, and finding him of great uſe in conſiſtories, would not ſuffer him to leave Rome (*t*), where, however, he laboured as earneſtly as ever in the ſervice of his countrymen and the Catholic Faith. Some have aſſerted, that he and one Sir Francis Ingleſield aſſiſted Father Parſons in compoſing his traiterous book concerning the ſucceſſion (*u*), which he publiſhed under the name of Doleman, and which was of ſo dangerous conſequence, that it was made capital by law for any perſon to have it in his cuſtody (*w*). Yet others affirm, that he had no hand in it, but, on the contrary, was very little pleaſed with this treatiſe (*x*), as tending to perpetuate thoſe diſſentions, which for ſo many years had torn and diſtracted his native country. The remainder of his life he ſpent at Rome in great honour and reputation, living in much ſplendor, and uſing all his intereſt for the comfort and maintenance of ſuch poor Catholics as fled out of England (*y*). As for the adminiſtration here, they had ſeveral ſpies upon him, and it appears by the papers of the Treaſurer Burleigh, that he had conſtantly very diſtinct accounts of every ſtep the Cardinal took (*z*). In the laſt years of his life, he is ſaid to have changed his ſentiments, as to government, and to have been heartily ſorry for the pains he had taken in promoting the invaſion of England by the Spaniards: nay, we are told by a very eminent Popiſh writer, that when he perceived the Jeſuits intended nothing but deſolating and deſtroying his native land, he

(*n*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptor. p. 793.

(*o*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 271.

(*p*) Watſon, ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. p. 564. Grimeſtone's Hiſtory of the Netherlands, p. 996. Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 429.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. p. 595.

(*s*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, ubi ſupra. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 269.

(*t*) Fitzherbert, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. p. 673.

(*w*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 359.

(*x*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 203.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iv. p 277.

(*z*) See in the Table of Contents, to Strype's ivth Volume.

[*G*] *Of this book the reader will find*, &c.] The firſt part of this book was intitled, *A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus V*; wherein it is maintained, that, by virtue of the Pope's bull, Queen Elizabeth was accurſt, and deprived of her crown; the invaſion and conqueſt of her kingdoms committed to the King of Spain, to execute the ſame with his armies both by ſea and land; and to take the crown to himſelf, or to limit it to ſuch a potentate as the Pope and he ſhould name. The title of the ſecond part was, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*; and in the title, our author is called the Cardinal of England (21). The chief points inſiſted on in this book, are theſe. The Queen is called the pretended Queen, and the preſent Uſurper. She muſt be deprived of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. She is an Heretic, a Schiſmatic; uſurping the kingdom againſt all right: as for the other cauſes, ſo becauſe ſhe had not the conſent of the great Biſhop of Rome. That ſhe moved the Turk to invade Chriſtendom. She had ſet at ſale, and made a market of laws and rights. Some of her facts make her uncapable of the kingdom. Some others make her unworthy of life. That therefore Pope Sixtus V. had renewed the excommunication againſt her, and deprived her of her title and pretences to the kingdom of England and Ireland, and declared her illegitimate, and an uſurper, and abſolved all her ſubjects from the oath of fidelity to her. And then he charged all perſons to withdraw their aid from her; that worthy puniſhment might be taken of her. And that they join themſelves with the Duke of Parma. Alſo, it was proclaimed lawful to lay hands upon the Queen; and a very great reward was promiſed to them that did ſo. And a ſafe-conduct was then given to as many as would bring warlike proviſions to the Spaniſh camp; and to all who would aſſiſt that enterprize, the Pope doth by indulgence give full pardon, and plenary remiſſion of all their ſins, &c. In the ſame book he ſays, that he was made Cardinal on purpoſe to ſuccour and ſerve his nation at this time, and promiſes that all imaginable diligence ſhall be uſed to preſerve and protect all Catholics, and all ſuch as ſhould come in and ſubmit themſelves to the Prince of Parma. Notwithſtanding all this, many Papiſts were of opinion, that the Cardinal was in a manner compelled to take this book upon himſelf; andthat in reality it was either written or altered by Father Parſons, and other Jeſuits (22). Nay, it is pretended, that the Cardinal himſelf in his lifetime proteſted as much; and it is certain, that after his death, the Jeſuits pretended to father upon him many things, of which he was ignorant. The truth is, the contents of this book were univerſally diſliked by all ſober Catholics (23) as well as Proteſtants; and therefore it is no wonder there is ſuch ſhifting it from one to another.

(21) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

(22) *Ib.* p. 247.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 561. Speed's Chron. p. 857.

wept bitterly, not knowing how to remedy it, much leſs how to bridle their inſolence (*a*). This conduct of his drew upon him the ill-will of that powerful ſociety, who, notwithſtanding all the pains he had taken, all the books he had written, all the reputation and rewards he had acquired, gave out that he was a good ſimple man, but not of any eſteem or reckoning in ſtate affairs handled in the Pope's conſiſtory, a man of weak judgment, ſhallow wit, and ſmall advice, never uſed but a little for matters of learning, and that in poſitive only, not in any ſchool point (*b*). On his death-bed he was very deſirous of ſpeaking to the Engliſh ſtudents then in Rome, which the then Father Rector, a Jeſuit, prevented, as fearing he ſhould have perſuaded them to a loyal reſpect for their Prince, and a tender regard for their country (*c*). He is generally ſaid to have died of a retention of urine; but it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that he was poiſoned by the Jeſuits, which ſuſpicion was attended with ſuch probable circumſtances, that the reverend Fathers themſelves admitted his being poiſoned, but then they charged it on his antagoniſt, the Biſhop of Caſſana, whom they liked not, and who it was thought, on his demiſe, would have been made a Cardinal (*d*). As for our author, his death happened on the ſixth of October 1594, in the ſixty-third year of his age (*e*). He was buried with great pomp, in the chapel of the Engliſh college at Rome, where a monument is erected to his memory, with an inſcription, which the reader will find in the notes [*H*]. Upon the death of this memorable perſon, the Jeſuits, as a Prieſt of the Church of Rome tells us, openly triumphed, and inſulted over the dead corpſe; giving out, among other calumnies againſt him, that he was well gone, and that God had taken him away in good time. For if he had lived but a little while longer, he would have diſgraced himſelf, ſhamed his country, and loſt the credit which he had gotten (*f*); yet they ſhortly after, for many reaſons, altered their tone, and when they found how little credit theſe diſcourſes met with, magnified the Cardinal's memory, as if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor [*I*]. Without all queſtion, it is a very hard taſk, to give this eminent perſon his true character: however, ſince it is our province, we cannot be blamed for attempting it, eſpecially if it be conſidered that we offer nothing but what is ſupported by authority. If we conſider him as an Engliſh ſubject, writing, adviſing, and acting againſt his Prince, we muſt look upon him as a buſy, enterprizing, and dangerous rebel, labouring continually the deſtruction of his Prince and her people, equally ready to perſuade foreigners to invade, or ſubjects to riſe up in arms, which is the picture drawn of him by Camden (*g*). If, on the other hand, we look on him in the light of a zealous Papiſt, and as one convinced in his conſcience, that what he did was agreeable to the doctrines of the Church, then we cannot deny him the title of an active, learned, and induſtrious perſon; and if we may credit what ſhould ſeem to be the ſtrongeſt evidence, far from being an enemy, in the latter part of his life eſpecially, either to his country, or to his lawful Sovereign Queen Elizabeth (*b*) [*K*]. Laſtly, taking him merely as an author, he was unqueſtionably, for matter, method, wit,

(*a*) Watſon's Quodlibets, p. 240.

(*b*) *Id.* 98.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Camd. Ann. p. 684. Fuller, ubi ſupra, Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i, col. 272.

(*f*) Thom. Bell, in his Anatomy of Popiſh Tyranny, lib. ii. c. 2.

(*g*) Camd. Ann. p. 684, 685.

(*b*) Fitzherbert, in Vit. Card. Alani.

[*H*] *An inſcription which the reader will find in the notes.*]

Deo Trino & Uni.

Gulielmo Alano, Lancaſtrienſi, S. R. E. Cardinali Angliæ, qui extorris patria, perfunctus Laboribus diuturnis, & Orthodoxa Religione tuenda, ſudoribus multis in ſeminariis ad ſalutem patriæ inſtituendis, fovendis, periculis plurimis ob eccleſiam Romanam, opera, ſcriptis, omni corporis & animi contentione defenſam, hic in ejus Gremio, Scientiæ, Pietatis, Modeſtiæ, Integritatis fama et exemplo charus, occubuit 17 Kal. Novembris, Anno Ætatis 63, ſalutis humanæ 1594 (24). That is,

(24) Godwin, de Preſul. Angl. Part ii. p. 179.

In the name of the Holy Trinity.

To the memory of William Alan, a Lancaſtrian, in the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of England, who, driven from his country, worn out with daily Labours, ſupporting the Orthodox Religion, ſtriving inceſſantly in the founding Seminaries, for promoting the ſpiritual ſafety of his country, cheriſhing when founded, expoſing himſelf to many dangers by ſerving the Church of Rome, in Actions, Writings, and by the whole forces of his Soul and Body, here in its Boſom, endeared by the Fame and Example of his Wiſdom, Piety, Modeſty, and Integrity, he died the 17th of the Kalends of November, in the 63d year of his Age, and of Man's Salvation 1594.

[*I*] *As if he had lived a Saint, and died a Confeſſor.*] In order thoroughly to underſtand this perplexed affair, the reader muſt obſerve, that a little before the Spaniſh invaſion, in 1588, it was thought neceſſary, to have ſome Engliſhman promoted to the rank of a Cardinal. The candidates were Dr. Lewis, Biſhop of Caſſana, and our Dr. Allen, and much intereſt was made on both ſides; but at length the Jeſuits being exceedingly apprehenſive of Biſhop Lewis's coming to that honour, it was procured for him of whom we are writing. However afterwards, when the Cardinal did not go all their lengths, they treated him as injuriouſly, as ever they had done any of their greateſt enemies: yet growing again apprehenſive, that Biſhop Lewis might put on that hat which Allen had left, they began to obſerve, in all companies, that the deceaſed Cardinal was a perfect ſaint, that he was juſtly admired by ſeveral Popes, reſpected by all the Princes of Europe, who either knew or heard of him; that his whole ſtudy was for the good of his country, and the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and that yet the Biſhop of Caſſana had made it the buſineſs of his life, to diſturb and diſquiet ſo holy and ſo excellent a man (25).

(25) Watſon's Quodlibets, 98, 99, 101. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 264.

[*K*] *To his lawful ſovereign Queen Elizabeth.*] The cleareſt proof that can be of this, we find in a letter amongſt the MSS. of the Lord Burleigh, thus endorſed by that Lord's own hand. Cardinal Allen from Rome, to Richard Hopkins, fugitive, Auguſt 14, 1593. It runs thus (26):

(26) From a book once belonging to (More) Biſhop of Ely.

'Good Mr. Hopkins,

'YOURS of the tenth of July came ſafely to my hands, and gave me knowledge of a certain overture made to you, by one, that might ſeem to do it by ſome ſecret commiſſion of treaty of an accord between England and Spain, with deſire of my ſenſe therein, either of myſelf or with the Pope, upon ſome reaſonable conditions, for toleration of the Catholic religion in our country. Which argument, how grateful it ſhould be unto me, you that of old knew ſo well my opinion and deſire in that cauſe, may eaſily deem. And after a little

wit, learning, language, one of the moſt conſiderable writers of his age, as the greateſt of his enemies, and the beſt critics, have allowed [*L*]. It ſeems ſtrange, that many of our writers of controverſy, and ſome not unlearned, have treated this our author as a Jeſuit (*i*); whereas in all controverſies between that order and the ſecular Prieſts, the latter always gloried in Cardinal Allen, as a man to whom no Jeſuit could juſtly be compared in any reſpect [*M*]. In the cloſe of this life it is proper to remark, that at Rome, and every where abroad, Cardinal Allen was ſtyled Cardinal of England, regarded as the Protector of the nation, and honoured with extraordinary reſpect. He had about him ſeveral perſons of ſome diſtinction, particularly Mr. Fitzherbert, who wrote a large account of his life, which was never printed, as well as the epitome of that life, from which moſt of the facts mentioned in this article are taken; Mr. Thomas Heſket, his nephew; Mr. Banes, who had lived long in Poland; with many others. To maintain his magnificence, he had a revenue of 15,000 crowns *per annum*, then computed at 4,500 pounds of our money (*k*). But when it appeared that all this had wrought little, and that there were no hopes of reducing England, either by fraud or force, leſs care

(*i*) Stowe, edit. 1631, p. 746. Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 630. Dr. Denton, in Popiſh Merits, p. 39.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iv. p. 277.

'a little pauſe of mind upon ſo ſudden and unwonted 'news, I could think no otherwiſe, but that God 'himſelf hath ſtirred up in their hearts this motion, 'for the ſaving of that realm from the preſent fears, 'and dangers, and perplexities it is fallen into. And 'thereby alſo a ſpecial [favour] offered at length unto 'me, once e'er I die, not only to give the willing, 'deſired comforts, I owe unto my afflicted Catholic 'friends and brethren, but therein alſo to ſerve 'moſt faithfully and profitably, even my very ene'mies, though otherwiſe than through theſe unfor'tunate differences and debates in religion, [our 'Lord God forgive the author thereof] I know I 'have none; or to do to the one or the other, and 'above all to my native country, moſt dear unto me, 'ſo much good as an unfeigned peace would bring, 'I would travel to the laſt drop of my blood. I 'thank God, I am not ſo eſtranged from the place 'of my birth, moſt ſweet, nor ſo affected to foreign'ers, that I prefer not the weal of that people above 'all mortal things, whereof if it pleaſed the Queen's 'majeſty or council to take a ſure taſte, I deſire no 'more, but that they would confidently uſe and 'command me in this matter. And in truth, upon 'the receipt of your letter, I had not ſlept before I 'had dealt with his Holineſs, if the party that made 'the motion unto you, had brought any warrant in 'the world from any in authority, or any ſufficient 'proof or atteſtation of their contentment therein. 'Which might have been [as yet it may be] kept as 'cloſe as themſelves would require. That they ſo 'did not, if they meant any matter indeed I marvel. 'And you did well and wiſely to ſtand on that point: 'without which I cannot, in reaſon nor honour, at'tempt a thing of that weight and quality with the 'Pope, much leſs bring our purpoſe to paſs, either 'with him or the King. With whom alſo, not on'ly by his Holineſs's mediation, but by myſelf, in 'matters concerning our country and religion, I may 'perhaps do more than I need now to ſay. And 'whatſoever I can do with either of them, I would 'employ in this caſe myſelf to the uttermoſt. 'Though, to ſay the truth, if the Pope were a tem'poral Prince only, being no leſs injured [though in 'another kind] than the King himſelf, his perſon 'were not ſo fit to be a moderator of this pretended 'peace. But being a ſpiritual perſon, and the com'mon and moſt loving father of all Chriſtians, and 'attending above all human reſpects the ſervice of 'God, and the advancement of religion, without 'all formalities and puncto's of worldly humour, I 'am aſſured he will embrace this cauſe with all 'hearty affection. For I know many ways his moſt 'tender heart and deſire towards our country's weal, 'both in God and in the world, *&c.*'

[*L*] *And the beſt critics have allowed.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of ſuch of his writings as we have not already mentioned. Such as, *A Defence of the Lawful Power and Authority of the Prieſthood to remit ſins.* To which is added two other tracts, *The People's Duty in confeſſing*; and *An Explanation of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, with reſpect to Indulgencies.* Printed at Louvain, 1567, in 8*vo* [27]. De Sacramentis in genere, de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de Miſſæ Sacrificio, Libros tres; i. e. *Of Sacraments in general, of the Euchariſt, and of the Sacrifice of the Maſs, three Books. Addreſſed to Pope Gregory XIII. Printed at Antwerp*, 1576 (28). *Of the Worſhip due to Saints, and their Relicks.* 'A 'true, ſincere, and modeſt Defence of Chriſtian 'Catholicks, that ſuffered for their faith at 'home and abroad. Againſt a falſe, ſeditious, and 'ſlanderous libel, intituled, The Execution of Juſ'tice in England: wherein is declared, how unjuſtly 'the Proteſtants do charge Catholics with Treaſon; 'how untruly they deny their perſecution for reli'gion, and how deceitfully they ſeek to abuſe ſtran'gers about the cauſe, greatneſs, and manner of 'their ſufferings; with diverſe other matters per'taining to this purpoſe.' Printed without the name of the place, in 1583 (29). The book to which this was an anſwer, was penned by Lord Burleigh himſelf, and the original, under his own hand, is yet preſerved (30). As for this piece of Cardinal Allen's, it is eſteemed the very beſt of all his writings. It conſiſted of nine chapters, wherein as much is ſaid for his cauſe, and as great learning ſhewn in defending it, as it would admit. Of this diſcourſe it is, that the learned Edmund Bolton, author of Nero Cæſar, gives this character, *a princely, grave, and flouriſhing piece, of natural and exquiſite* Engliſh, *is Cardinal* Alan's *apology* (31). Beſides theſe, he wrote ſome other little treatiſes, which were publiſhed without his name, and therefore cannot certainly be known to be his. To the laſt mentioned book, an anſwer was written by John Stubbe of Lincoln's-Inn (32), by direction of the Lord Treaſurer, and another by Biſhop Bilſon (33).

(29) Copied from the book.

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 481.

(31) See his Hypercritica, at the end of A. Hall's edition of N. Trivet, Vol. ii. p. 233.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 482.

(33) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 271.

[*M*] *Could juſtly be compared in any reſpect.*] If only the common writers of pamphlets (34), following honeſt John Stowe (35), had ſtyled our author a Jeſuit, I ſhould have looked on it as a mere term of reproach, and not ſtrictly to be taken; but ſince Mr. Strype (36), who ſhould have known better, calls him ſo, it is neceſſary to cite the following ſhort proof of the contrary, from an author of undeniable credit in ſuch a diſpute, I mean Father Watſon, the great champion of the ſecular prieſts againſt that order (37): 'It is, ſays he, a very 'mean occupation, and but coarſe ſtuff, that the 'Jeſuits can and will not make a commodity of one 'way or other. For who knowing what number of 'learned there are in the world, of Dominicans, 'Franciſcans, Auguſtines, Benedictines, Carthu'ſians, *&c.* that I may omit ſundry Cardinals, 'Biſhops, Deans, Canons, and others, ſecular 'Prieſts, yea of our own nation, as Dr. Allane, 'Dr. Sanders [though too much jeſuited], Dr. Hard'ing, Dr. Stapleton, Dr. Gifford, Dr. Parkinſon, 'Dr. Ely, and a whole ſcore twice told, now *in 'eſſe*, of ſecular Prieſts, whom no Engliſh Jeſuit is 'able to hold tack withal, yet have theſe Machia'vels got ſuch a general fame and report to fly 'abroad of them, as though there were not one of 'any talent in the world to be found, unleſs he were 'a Jeſuit.' And in another part of the ſame work, this author tells us, that Pope Gregory XIII. made uſe of this phraſe to his Cardinals, Venite Fratres mei, oſtendam vobis Alanum: as much as to ſay, continues he, *I will ſhew you a man in Anglia born, to whom all Europe may give place, for his high prudence, reverend countenance, and purport of government* (38). But whoever would ſee a ſtill more ample character of this our Cardinal, may conſult a foreign writer, mentioned in the margin, who will give him full ſatisfaction (39).

(34) Such as Dr. Denton in his Popiſh Merits.

(35) Annals, p. 746.

(36) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 630.

(37) Quodlibets, p. 71, a marginal note.

(38) *Ibid.* 97.

(39) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. i. p. 92.

(27) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 269. Pits, p. 793.

(28) See the authors before cited.

was taken of Engliſh Prieſts, and few of them were raiſed even to the degree of Biſhops. But in the reign of King Charles II. when it was again thought probable at Rome, that ſomething might be done for promoting the Catholic cauſe in Britain, Philip Thomas Howard, younger brother to the Duke of Norfolk, was created Cardinal, and ſometimes called the Cardinal of England (*l*), as our Cardinal Allen had been before.

(*l*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 272.

ALBAN *(St.)* is famous for having been the firſt Chriſtian (*a*), who ſuffered martyrdom in this iſland; for which reaſon he is uſually ſtyled the St. Stephen, or protomartyr, of Britain [*A*]. He was born at Verulam, of Pagan parents [*B*], and flouriſhed towards the end of the third century. In his youth he took a journey to Rome [*C*], in company with Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon [*D*], and ſerved

(*a*) See the article AARON.

[*A*] *He is ſtyled the —— protomartyr of Britain.*] This is the uſual appellation given him by our old hiſtorians. Thus Matthew of Weſtminſter (1) calls him *Anglorum ſive Britonum promartyrem*, 'the protomartyr of the Engliſh, or Britons:' where, at the word *Britonum*, ſome critic has put the following remark, which, in the printed books, has crept from the margin into the text. *Quod ſolum verum eſt; quia certum eſt, eum Britonem, non Anglicum extitiſſe: unde male dicitur, Anglorum protomartyrem*; i. e. 'Which alone is true; becauſe it is certain he was 'a Briton, and not an Engliſhman: ſo that he is 'improperly called the protomartyr of the Engliſh.' For this reaſon Thomas Walſingham, in deſcribing the common-ſeal of the convent of St. Albans, retains only the proper appellation. *In quo* (ſays he) *vetuſtiſſimo opere imago glorioſi protomartyris Britannorum Albani figurabatur, tenens in manu palmam* (2). i. e. 'In which moſt ancient piece of workmanſhip, the 'image of St. Alban, the protomartyr of the Britons, was figured, holding a branch of palm in 'his hand.' Venantius Fortunatus, in celebrating the praiſes of the martyrs, writes thus of St. Alban:

(1) Flores Hiſt. an. 794.

(2) Walſing. in Hiſtor. Rich. ii. an. 1. 81.

Egregium Albanum fæcunda Britannia profert (3).

The great St. Alban fruitful Britain bore.

(3) Lib. 8. Carm. 4. de Virginitate.

Notwithſtanding which teſtimonies, Thomas Dempſter (4) contends, that this Saint was by birth a Scotchman, though he ſuffered martyrdom in Britain; and for this he cites the following diſtich of Hartmannus as quoted by Caniſius:

(4) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Scotor. l. i. n. 23.

Scotia ſe Albano felicem martyre clamat,
Victima qui Chriſto prima Britanna fuit.

The Church to Scotland martyr'd Alban ow'd,
Who firſt for Chriſt in Britain ſhed his blood.

The learned Uſher ſought in vain to find theſe verſes in the books of Caniſius; and therefore builds no more upon them, than upon another confident aſſertion of Dempſter's in the ſame place, that he had met with a ſmall treatiſe written by St. Alban, intitled *Chriſtianorum Puritas*, which the Archbiſhop will venture any wager, neither that hiſtorian nor any other writer ever ſaw. *Verum quum in tomis Caniſianis hoc fruſtra quæſiverim, non magis hic apud me fidem ſuam liberat, quam in illo quod in eodem ipſo loco non minori confidentia aſſeverat, perveniſſe ad ſe Albani opuſculum inſcriptum* Chriſtianorum Puritas; *cujuſmodi libellum neque ab illo, neque a mortalium omnino quoquam, conſpectum fuiſſe unquam, quovis pignore auſim contendere* (5). The title of Protomartyr is likewiſe given to St. Alban in an ancient inſcription, found by ſome workmen, who were repairing the eaſt end of the church of St. Alban's, in the year 1257. Theſe labourers, in opening the ground between the ſhrines of St. Oſwin and St. Wulſtan, found certain leaden ſheets containing relics, which, by the following inſcription on a plate of lead, appeared to be thoſe of the martyr. IN HOC MAUSOLEO INVENTUM EST VENERABILE CORPUS SANCTI ALBANI PROTOMARTYRIS ANGLORUM (6); i. e. *In this* Mauſoleum *is found the venerable body of St. Alban, the Protomartyr of the Engliſh.* I ſhall only add part of the hymn, which uſed to be ſung on the feſtival of this Saint:

(5) Uſſerii Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq London, 1687, p. 77.

(6) Matth. Par. Hiſt Angl. edit. 1640. Vol. ii. p. 942. & Anonym. *apud* Uſſer. ubi ſupra.

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum (7);

(7) In Breviar. Sariſbur. Offic. S. Albani.

i. e. *Hail, Protomartyr of the Engliſh, Soldier of the King of Angels, O Alban, Flower of the Martyrs!*

[*B*] *He was a native of Verulam, &c.*] This town was anciently called *Werlamceſter* or *Watlingaceſter*; the former name being derived from the river *Warlame*, which ran on the eaſt ſide, the latter from the Roman high-way, called *Watling-ſtreet*, which lay to the weſt (8). Tacitus calls it *Verulamium*, and Ptolemy *Urolamium*. The ſituation of this place was cloſe by the town of St. Alban's in Hertfordſhire, which takes its name from our protomartyr. There is nothing now remaining of old Verulam but ruins of walls, chequered pavements, and Roman coins, which are now and then dug up. It is conjectured from the ſituation, that this was the town of Caſſivelaunus, ſo well defended by woods and marſhes (9), which was taken by Cæſar. In Nero's time, it was eſteemed a *Municipium* (10), or town, whoſe inhabitants enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens (11). It was entirely ruined by the Britons, during the war between the Romans and Boadicea Queen of the *Iceni*. Afterwards Verulam flouriſhed again, and became a city of great note. About the middle of the fifth century, it fell into the hands of the Saxons. But Uther the Briton, from his ſerpentine ſubtilty firnamed *Pendragon*, recovered it with much difficulty, after a very long ſiege. Alexander *Nequam* or *Neckam*, who was born at Verulam in the thirteenth century, mentions this revolution, as alſo the martyrdom of St. Alban (whom he improperly ſtyles a citizen of Rome), in the following verſes (12):

(8) Matth. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtor. an. 313.

(9) Caſſivelauni oppidum ſylvis paludibuſque munitum. Cæſar, de Bello Gall. l. v.

(10) Camden's Britannia, by Biſhop Gibſon, Vol. i. laſt edit. col. 355.

(11) A. Gell. Noctes Atticæ, l. xvi. c. 13.

Urbs inſignis erat Verolamia, plus operoſæ
Arti, naturæ debuit illa minus.
Pendragon Arthuri patris hæc obſeſſa laborem
Septennem ſprevit cive ſuperba ſuo.
Hic eſt martyrii roſeo decoratus honore
Albanus, civis, inclyta Roma, tuus.

(12) *Apud* Camden. ubi ſupra.

To ancient Verulam, a famous town,
Much kindneſs art hath ſhew'd, but nature none.
Great Arthur's fire, Pendragon's utmoſt pow'r,
For ſeven long years did the proud walls endure.
Here holy Alban, citizen of Rome,
Obtained the happy crown of martyrdom.

After Uther's death, Verulam fell again into the hands of the Saxons: but by frequent wars it was at laſt entirely ruined, and is now converted into cornfields (13). *Seges eſt, ubi Troja fuit.*

(13) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *He took a journey to Rome.*] Leland tells us, that, at the time when Alban flouriſhed, learning and the polite arts had been lately introduced by the Romans into Britain, which was now become a province of the empire; and that the youth of quality and diſtinction uſed to travel to Rome for improvement in knowledge and the ſciences. *Eo tempore, quo floruit Albanus, bonæ literæ, beneficio magno Romanorum, in Britannia jam in provinciam redacta, enituerunt; uſque adeo ut nobiles votis omnibus eloquentiam, unà cum receptis artibus, inſigniter excolerent. Utque felicius hæc ſibi ornamenta comparārent, ipſos, ſcientiarum fontes, nempe Romam, de more petebant* (14).

(14) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 18.

[*D*] *Amphibalus, a Monk of Caer-Leon.*] In an ancient book of the Acts of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus, the latter is ſaid to have been a Roman by birth, and to have paſſed into Britain in the time of Diocletian's perſecution (15). But Giraldus Cambrenſis (16) and Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis (17) affirm, that he was born at Caer-Leon, the metropolis of Wales;

(15) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 85.

(16) Itinerar. Cambriæ, l. i. c. 5.

(17) Polychron. l. i. c. 48.

ſerved ſeven years as a ſoldier in the armies of the Emperor Diocletian. Having returned home, he ſettled in the town of Verulam, where he lived highly eſteemed by his countrymen, till the perſecution under the above-mentioned Emperor (*b*). In the mean time, through the example and inſtructions of Amphibalus, he renounced the errors of Paganiſm, in which he had been educated, and became a thorough convert to the Chriſtian religion (*c*). He was put to death in the year of Chriſt 303 [*E*], during the tenth and laſt general perſecution of the Church. The ſtory of his martyrdom is very briefly and obſcurely related by Gildas, but more circumſtantially and at large by venerable Bede, the ſubſtance of whoſe narrative is as follows. Being yet a Pagan (or at leaſt it not being known that he was become a Chriſtian) he entertained the above mentioned Amphibalus (*d*) in his houſe. The Roman Governor being informed that he harboured a Chriſtian, ſent a party of ſoldiers to apprehend him. But Alban, putting on the habit of his gueſt [*F*], preſented himſelf to the officers in his ſtead, and was carried before that Magiſtrate. The noble freedom with which he behaved [*G*], and the declaration he made of his converſion to Chriſtianity, ſo enraged the Judge, that he ordered him immediately to be beheaded. In his way to execution, he was ſtopped by a river, over which was a bridge, ſo thronged with ſpectators, that it was impoſſible to croſs it. The Saint, impatient for the crown of martyrdom, approached the brink, and lifting up

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 18.

(*c*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 7.

(*d*) This name is not found in Bede, who only calls him *Clericus quidam.*

Wales; and Rudburn (18) and the author of the little Wincheſter Hiſtory (19) tell us, he was a Monk, and promoted to the clerical office in the cathedral of that city. Johannes Caius (20) likewiſe informs us, that Amphibalus was a native of Caer-Leon; and adds, that he was Rector of the univerſity of Cambridge. However it be, it is certain he was inſtrumental in the converſion of St. Alban, and was himſelf afterwards crowned with martyrdom. *See more of him in the ſequel of this article.*

(18) Hiſt. major. l. i. c. 4.
(19) Winton. eccleſ. hiſt. c. 6.
(20) Hiſt. Cantabrig. l. i. p. 24, 25.

[*E*] *He was put to death in the year of Chriſt* 303.] The date, aſſigned by Bede (21), is the year 286; in which he is followed by the Anglo-Saxon Annals, and by the Latin Annals aſcribed to Aſſerius Menevenſis; by Thomas Rudburn the elder, in his Leſſer Chronicle; by Johannes Tinmuthenſis, and by Capgrave in his Life of St. Alban; by the Saliſbury Breviary, and others. There is no great variation between this account of time, and the computations of Matthew Paris and Matthew of Weſtminſter. For the former tells us, the relics of St. Alban were diſcovered by King Offa, 507 *years after that Saint's death*, 344 *years after the arrival of the Angles in Britain, on the kalends of Auguſt, the firſt indiction*; that is, in the year of Chriſt 793, from which the indictions began to be reckoned. The latter informs us, that his tomb was diſcovered on the Octave of St. Stephen, the beginning of the year 1257, *nine hundred and ſeventy years after his death*. Here may properly be inſerted the following computations, made by a Monk of St. Alban's, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. 'From the incarnation of our 'Lord, to the paſſion of St. Alban, are elapſed '286 years; and from the paſſion of St. Alban, to 'the arrival of Germanus, Biſhop of Auxerre, in 'Britain, 163 years: which put together make 449 'years. From the arrival of St. Germanus, to the 'tranſlation of St. Alban, under the illuſtrious King 'Offa, are 344 years: add theſe to the former, and 'they become 793. From this tranſlation, to that 'which was made in the reign of King Henry I, 'under the Abbot Geoffrey, are 336 years. All 'theſe put together make 1129 years. From this 'laſt tranſlation, to the diſcovery of the ſaid martyr's Mauſoleum, under Abbot John, on the 'octave of St. Stephen, are 127 years. Theſe 'added to the foregoing make the whole 1256. 'And at this time, *viz.* in the year of our Lord '1257, are elapſed 970 years from the martyrdom 'of St. Alban, counting the beginning of the year 'from the feaſt of the Circumciſion, and not from 'that of the Annunciation.' William Caxton, and after him Johannes Major, in his Scottiſh Hiſtory, refer the martyrdom of St. Alban to the year of Chriſt 226, which is full fifty-eight years before the beginning of Diocletian's reign. According to ſome of the Wincheſter Annals, St. Alban ſuffered in the year 296; according to others, in the year 305. Stowe's Chronicle places his martyrdom in 293; and Wendover's in 304, which that writer calls the nineteenth of Diocletian. The truth of the caſe is; St. Alban was martyred during that dreadful perſecution, which, according to Oroſius and others, laſted ten years. But it appears from Euſebius, that this flame broke out in the year of Chriſt 303, being the nineteenth of Diocletian; and though in other provinces it continued to rage during the ſpace of ten years, yet in Gaul and Britain, where Conſtantius Auguſtus reſided, it ceaſed the very ſucceeding year. And therefore the Martyrdom of St. Alban is properly reckoned among the events of the year 303 (22).

(21) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 7.

(22) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 88.

[*F*] *He put on the habit of his gueſt.*] The garment of Amphibalus, which Alban, upon this occaſion, put on, is called by Bede, and in ancient writers, *Caracalla*; which is rendered by the Saxon interpreter of Bede, *a monkiſh habit*. This *Caracalla* was a kind of *cloak with a cowl*, as appears from St. Jerom (23) and Eucherius (24), who, deſcribing the Ephod, or ſacerdotal garment of the Jewiſh Prieſts, tell us, it was made, *in modum Caracallæ*, after the manner of the *Caracalla*, or monkiſh dreſs, *ſed ſine cuculla*, but without a cowl. Hence the diminutive Καραχάλλιον, in the Greek-Latin Gloſſary aſcribed to Cyrill, is explained by *Cuculla*. Thomas Walſingham relates (25) that this garment was preſerved in the Church of Ely, in a large cheſt, which was opened in the reign of Edward II, A. D. 1314. They found therein a woollen garment, ſo big that it filled the cheſt from top to bottom; and on the upper part of it were perceived ſome ſpots of blood, as freſh as if it had been newly ſtained therewith. This hiſtorian ſays hereupon, that it is plain this garment was the ſame which St. Alban, at the time of his converſion, received from his maſter St. Amphibalus, as a mark of the new religion he had embraced, and the ſame in which the martyr afterwards ſuffered death. Thomas Rudburn, who reports the ſame ſtory (26), goes farther, and tells us, there was found with the garment an ancient writing in theſe words; *This is the* Caracalla *of St. Amphibalus, the Monk, and Preceptor of St. Alban; in which that Protomartyr of England ſuffered death, under the cruel perſecution of Diocletian againſt the Chriſtians.*

(23) Epiſt. 128 ad Fabiolam.
(24) Inſtruction, l. ii. c. 10.
(25) Apud Uſſer. ubi ſupra, p. 78.
(26) *Ibid.*

[*G*] *He behaved with a noble freedom.*] It happened at the time when Alban was brought before the Judge, that magiſtrate was ſtanding by an altar, and offering ſacrifice to his Gods. When he ſaw Alban, and perceived the cheat he had put upon him, he ordered him to be dragged before the images of his gods, ſaying to him; *Becauſe you have choſen to conceal a ſacrilegious perſon and a blaſphemer, rather than deliver him up to ſuffer the juſt reward of his blaſphemy, the puniſhment due to him ſhall be inflicted on you, if you refuſe to comply with the ceremonies of our religion.* Alban, not in the leaſt terrified with theſe threats, boldly declared he would not obey the Judge's commands. The Magiſtrate then aſked him, *Of what family he was?* Alban replied, *To what purpoſe do you enquire of my family? if you would know my religion, I am a Chriſtian.* Then the Judge aſked him *his name*; to which he anſwered, *My name is Alban, and I worſhip the only true and living God, who created all things.* The Magiſtrate returned, *If you would enjoy the happineſs of eternal life, delay not to ſacrifice*

up his eyes to Heaven, the ſtream was miraculouſly divided [*H*], and afforded a paſſage for himſelf and a thouſand perſons. This miracle converted the executioner [*I*] upon the ſpot, who threw away his drawn ſword, and, falling at St. Alban's feet, deſired he might have the honour to die with him, or rather for him. This ſudden converſion of the headſman occaſioning a delay in the execution, St. Alban walked up to a neighbouring hill, where praying for water to quench his thirſt, a fountain ſprung up under his feet. Here he received the crown of martyrdom [*K*], on the tenth of the kalends of July. The executioner was a ſignal example of divine vengeance: for, at the inſtant of the ſtroke given to the Saint, his eyes dropped out of his head [*L*]. The behaviour of St. Alban at his death, and the miraculous circumſtances attending it, were inſtrumental in converting many of the ſpectators to Chriſtianity [*M*]. Between four and five hundred years afterwards, Offa, King of the Mercians, built a very large and ſtately monaſtery, to the memory of St. Alban, in the place where he ſuffered martyrdom [*N*]. The ſtory of this Saint's death, particularly the miraculous circumſtances attending it, are by many looked upon as fabulous, and without foundation; whilſt others think there is no rea-

ſacrifice to the great gods. Alban anſwered, *The ſacrifices you offer are made to devils; neither can they help the needy, or grant the petitions of their votaries.* The Judge was now enraged beyond meaſure, and commanded the holy confeſſor to be beaten, in hopes thereby to ſhake his conſtancy: but finding all means ineffectual, he ordered him to be taken away, and led to immediate execution (27).

(27) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *The ſtream was divided.*] Neither Bede, nor the other antient writers of the Acts of St. Alban, have told us the name of this river. In a few copies of Gildas, it is true, the word *Tameſis* or *Tamenſis* appears: but it is not to be found in the manuſcript of that author in the public library of Cambridge. Nor can it be admitted, unleſs we ſuppoſe Gildas to have given the name of *Tameſis* to the *Coln*, becauſe that river empties itſelf into the Thames. For the *Coln* runs through part of Hertfordſhire, between old Verulam and new St. Albans (28).

(28) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 79.

[*I*] *This miracle converted the executioner.*] Capgrave calls the ſoldier, who was to have beheaded St. Alban, by the name of *Heraclius* (29); and the author of the Acts of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus (30) gives him that of *Araclius*. This man had the honour to bury St. Alban with his own hands, and afterwards to tread in his ſteps. He is celebrated by Robert of Dunſtable (31) in the following verſes:

(29) *Ibid.* p. 89.

(30) In Hiſtor. Sanctor. collectione, edit. Lovanii, 1485.

(31) *Apud* Uſſerium, *ibid.*

Improba diſploſos convulſio diſſipat artus;
Horribilis Lethi forma, furoris opus.
Nec moritur Sontum tot Sancti mortibus ira;
Sed metit, exitii meta, machæra caput.
Fit de terreno cœleſtis milite miles,
Dum fovet invicta ſtrenuitate fidem.
Albani callem virtutis odore ſecutus,
Fit bravio conſors, ſicut agone comes.

This ſoldier is placed in the Roman martyrologies together with St. Alban.

[*K*] *Here he received the crown of martyrdom.*] The place where he was beheaded, was called in the Anglo-Saxon language *Holm-hurſt*. *Hurſt* ſignifies a *Wood*; and an ancient author, quoted by Archbiſhop Uſher, tells us, he had ſeen the place, and that it was overgrown with trees. *Vidi locum repleri arborum denſitate, in quo martyr invictus quondam pro Chriſto ſententiam ſubiit capitalem.* In after-times, it obtained the name of *Derſwold Wood*, and was the ſpot whereon the town of St. Albans was built (32).

(32) *Id. ib.* p. 87.

[*L*] *The executioner's eyes dropped out of his head.*] This miracle is recorded in the martyrologies of Bede, Ado, Rabanus, and Notherus, under X *Kalend. Julii*. To which may be added the following verſes of Erric of Auxerre (33):

(33) Erric. Antiſiod. de vita Germani, l iii.

Millia pœnarum Chriſti pro nomine paſſus;
Quem tandem rapuit capitis ſententia cæſi.
Sed non Lictori ceſſit res tuta ſuperbo;
Utque caput ſancto, ceciderunt lumina ſævo.

Thus tranſlated into Engliſh (34):

(34) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 352.

After a thouſand ſufferings for the faith,
When judg'd at laſt to end them all with death;
The bloody Lictor did juſt Heaven ſurpriſe,
And as the ſaint his head, the villain loſt his eyes.

[*M*] *Many of the ſpectators were converted to Chriſtianity.*] One of them, being more ſenſibly touched than the reſt, delivered himſelf to this effect: He told them, 'That if St. Alban had proved his 'belief by mere rhetoric, he ſhould not have wonder'ed if his countrymen had paid no regard to his 'diſcourſe: for why ſhould they liſten to a perſua'ſion, which ſtood condemned by the conſtitutions 'and religious cuſtoms of their anceſtors? But ſince 'he wrought miracles in atteſtation of his doctrine, 'not to ſubmit to ſuch irreſiſtible evidence, was, in 'effect, to ſtand out againſt the omnipotence of God; 'for that God was the author of thoſe wonderful 'effects, was paſt diſpute.' *With what colour of ſenſe then* (adds he) *can we diſpute the truth of thoſe doctrines, thus ſupernaturally atteſted? For when was ever any thing of this kind performed by our deities, or heard of in our religion? And beſides all this, the character of the man was admirable. His patience and conſtancy, his temper and devotion, were particularly remarkable; inſomuch that, all things conſidered, his behaviour ſeems almoſt as great a miracle as any of the reſt. When he was inſulted, he ſhewed no uneaſineſs, nor indeed ſeemed to have any paſſion about him but that of pity. And when he was brought to the place of execution, he diſcovered as much pleaſure in his countenance, as if he had been going to an entertainment. Who, upon reflection, does not eaſily perceive, that Alban was ſupported by more than human aſſiſtance? And if ſuch greatneſs and conſtancy be the peculiar marks of divine favour, we may certainly conclude, that ſuch bleſſings are beſtowed only on the virtuous and devout. And therefore the beſt ſervice we can do ourſelves and our country, is to embrace St. Alban's principles, and imitate his example.* This diſcourſe being well received by the auditors, they unanimouſly declared for the Chriſtian religion; and wanting a perſon to inſtruct them more fully, and aſſiſt them in religious offices, they went in queſt of Amphibalus, who had converted St. Alban. This Monk, having eſcaped the fury of his perſecutors, was retired into Wales, where he preached with wonderful ſucceſs, and converted great numbers to the Chriſtian faith. The men of Verulam abovementioned, being about a thouſand in number, travelled into Wales, where they all received baptiſm at the hands of St. Amphibalus (35).

(35) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ang. c. 10. & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 84.

[*N*] *Offa, King of the Mercians, built a monaſtery in the place where St. Alban ſuffered martyrdom.*] This foundation was made in the year 795. That King, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, beſtowed large poſſeſſions on this religious houſe, and obtained ample privileges for it from ſeveral Popes. Particularly, it was exempt from paying the apoſtolical duty called Romeſcot or Peter-pence: its Abbot, or Archdeacon acting under him, had epiſcopal juriſdiction over all the clergy and laity reſiding on any of the lands belonging to the monaſtery; and Pope Adrian IV. who was an Engliſhman, and born near Verulam, granted to the Abbot of this monaſtery; *that as St. Alban* (theſe are the words of the privilege) *is well known to be the protomartyr of the Engliſh nation, ſo the abbot of his monaſtery ſhould, at all times, be reputed the firſt in dignity of all the Abbots.* The church of this monaſtery is ſtill in being, and is much admired for its largeneſs, beauty, and antiquity. When the Monks were turned out, it was purchaſed by the townſmen for four hundred pounds, and converted into a parochial church (36).

(36) Camden, ubi ſupra.

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ſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St. Alban [*O*]. St. Amphibalus himſelf afterwards ſuffered martyrdom [*P*] at Rudburn, three miles diſtant from Verulam.

[*O*] *The ſtory of this Saint's death —— is by many looked upon as fabulous —— whilſt others think there is no reaſon to diſbelieve the miracles recorded of St. Alban.*] Our great Milton, in his Hiſtory of England (37), ſeems to give very little credit to the narrative of Bede and others. His words are, ſpeaking of St. Alban, *The ſtory of whoſe martyrdom, ſoiled and worſe martyred with the fabling zeal of ſome idle fancies, more fond of miracles, than apprehenſive of truth, deſerves no longer digreſſion.* Let us now hear Mr. Collier. 'As for 'St. Alban's miracles, being atteſted by authors of 'ſuch antiquity and credit, I do not ſee why they 'ſhould be queſtioned. That miracles were wrought 'in the Church at that time of day, is clear from 'the writings of the ancients. To ſuppoſe there 'are no miracles but thoſe in the Bible, is to believe 'too little. To imagine that God ſhould exert his 'omnipotence, and appear ſupernaturally for his 'ſervants, in no place but in Jewry, and in no age 'ſince the Apoſtles, is an unreaſonable fancy. For 'ſince the world was not all converted in the 'Apoſtles time, and God deſigned the farther en-'largement of his Church, why ſhould we not be-'lieve he ſhould give the Pagans the higheſt proof 'of the truth of Chriſtianity, and honour his ſer-'vants with the moſt undiſputed credentials? Now 'if this is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, why ſhould 'St. Alban's miracles be diſbelieved, the occaſion 'being great enough for ſuch an extraordinary in-'terpoſition? For by this means the martyr muſt 'be mightily ſupported, the Britiſh Chriſtians for-'tified againſt the perſecution, and the Pagans ſur-'priſed into a converſion (38).'

(37) *Apud* Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 24.

(38) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. i. B. i. p. 22.

[*P*] *St. Amphibalus ——— ſuffered martyrdom.*] We have ſeen in the remark [*M*], that a thouſand of the inhabitants of Verulam were converted and baptized by this Saint. The reſt of the burghers who continued Heathen, being vexed at the loſs of ſo many of their townſmen, took arms, and went after them into Wales; where they inhumanly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. As for St. Amphibalus, who had inſtructed and baptized them, they brought him away with them, and ſtoned him to death at Rudburn (39); in which town Thomas Rudburn the hiſtorian (who was born there, and wrote in the fifteenth century) affirms there were two knives found of an extraordinary ſize, ſuppoſed to have been uſed upon that occaſion (40). It is remarkable, that the martyrdom of St. Amphibalus is not mentioned by Gildas, Bede, or in any of the ancient martyrologies; but Matthew Paris, and other hiſtorians, vouch the matter of fact from a book of great antiquity in St. Alban's monaſtery. As to the name Amphibalus, it came originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory (41); though the learned Archbiſhop of Armagh is of opinion, it was not the real name of St. Alban's inſtructor, but belonged more properly to the Caracalla or garment mentioned above (42), than to its owner (43); ἀμφιβαλλειν ſignifying in the Greek language the ſame as *induere*, or *accingere* ſc. *veſtem*. B.

(39) Harpsfield, ubi ſupra, & Uſſerius, ubi ſupra.

(40) Apud Harpsfield, *ibid.*

(41) Lib. v. c. 5.

(42) In the remark [*F*].

(43) Uſſerius, ubi ſupra, p. 78.

[We cannot avoid expreſſing our opinion, that, in the preceding article, too much attention hath been paid to the miracles ſaid to have been wrought at the time of St. Alban's martyrdom. Neither was it reaſonable to ſet the ſentiments of ſo weak and credulous a man as Collier, in oppoſition to the ſound judgment of Milton. The facts related in the text are too abſurd in themſelves, as well as too deſtitute of ſatisfactory evidence, to admit of credit. There appears to be no ſufficient reaſon for allowing the truth of any miracles beyond thoſe of the apoſtolic age. The ſcheme of Dr. Middleton, though it occaſioned much alarm at firſt, and was written againſt by many learned men, hath ſilently and gradually ſpread itſelf, till it ſeems to have become the ſyſtem of the greater part of rational and moderate Divines; and the productions of his antagoniſts are ſunk into oblivion. The only true diſtinction is that which is laid down and ſupported by Dr. Douglas, in his excellent work, intitled the 'Criterion.' All the miracles pretended to have been wrought, excepting thoſe of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Revelations, will be found, when accurately examined, either not to have been miraculous in their nature, or to be void of proper and ſatisfactory evidence. Whereas the nature of the extraordinary facts recorded in the Old and New Teſtament is ſuch, that they muſt have been miraculous; and the teſtimony in favour of them is ſo ſtrong and deciſive, that they muſt have been true. Thus they ſtand upon a diſtinct and an unmoveable foundation.] K.

ALBANACT, or ALBANAK, the ſon of Brutus or Brito, from whom this iſland is ſaid to have received the name of Britain (*a*). Many very learned men deny the exiſtence of him and his ſuppoſed father. It is neceſſary, however, to the thorough underſtanding of our ancient hiſtory, to be acquainted with what it reports of him, and that is briefly this [*A*]. Brutus, King of this whole iſland, had by his wife Ignoge, three ſons, Locrin, Kamber, and Albanact (*b*). To the eldeſt, he gave

(*a*) Galfrid. Munum. L b. i. Robert of Glouceſt. p. 22. Chron. Godſtov. p. 18.

(*b*) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. ii. c. 1. Alured. Beverl. Annal. p. 13. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 85. Girald. Cambrenſ. Cambriæ Deſcript. c. 7.

[*A*] *And that is briefly this.*] It is not our intention, in this article, to enter into the great controverſy which hath divided, nay, and well nigh confounded our beſt Antiquaries, *viz.* whether any credit is due to the ſtory of Brute? Our preſent buſineſs, therefore, ſhall be to examine this ſtory of Albanact; and to inquire if the arguments alledged to prove it fabulous, be more weighty, than thoſe which have been, or may be urged for it as a true hiſtory. To this inquiry, we have been led by ſeveral inducements. One was the fitneſs of diſcuſſing ſuch points in this work, it being hard to think of another, into which they would ſo properly fall. A ſecond reaſon was, the ſhewing foreigners that theſe matters are not altogether ſo void of light, as ſome who have ſkimmed the Britiſh hiſtory would perſuade them. To which we may add an inclination to demonſtrate the folly of rejecting without conſideration, as fabulous, all that relates to very ancient times. It is morally certain, that the dread of credulity, hath betrayed more people into it, than ever it kept from leaning thereto. An age or two ago, a man would have been laughed at for adviſing recourſe to Turkiſh hiſtories, in order to correct thoſe we have of that nation's riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate, yet now many excellent authors confeſs it to be neceſſary (1). But if we reflect on what would have been ſaid, if at that time one had mentioned the memoirs of a Tartar Prince (2), and his ſkill in Aſtronomy, it will not appear ſo amazing a paradox, ſhould we even venture to aſſert, there is more wiſdom in doubting the truth of the old Britiſh hiſtory, than in believing it wholly falſe and fictitious. For while we only doubt we are ready at any time to review old arguments, or to hear new evidence; whereas a thing once declared fabulous, is thenceforward condemned to oblivion. All who are well read, eſpecially in oriental hiſtory, know of how great conſequence this advice is; and that without it, we had never known more of the famous Timur, who ſubdued a larger empire than Alexander, than our immediate anceſtors, who called him Tamerlane, and reported him a lame blackſmith (3). Some ſuch introduction as this was neceſſary, not to this article of Albanact only, but to ſeveral others of as ancient date; and therefore this preface, once for all, may ſuffice to gain attention to the narrative itſelf, though not abſolutely certain; and to render the notes leſs tedious, which expoſe the grounds of theſe diſputes. It may indeed be objected, that all ſuch diſputes are frivolous, to which we anſwer, that concerns not us: very great men have engaged in them; and have ſo far introduced them into all our hiſtories, as to make it our duty to clear them the beſt we may.

(1) See the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, the preface to Prince Cantemir's hiſtory, and the military hiſtory of the Turks in Italian and French, by Count Marſigli.

(2) See the general hiſtory of the Tartars.

(3) See Knolles's Hiſtory of the Turks.

the middle and beſt part of the iſland, called from him Loëgria; to the ſecond, Kamber, the country on the other ſide of Severn; and to the youngeſt, Albanact, all the land on the other ſide the Humber. This was ſome time before his death, which happened in the year before Chriſt 1114 (*c*), when all the young Princes were at their reſpective governments. For ſome years they all three governed their countries in peace and proſperity; but at length, Humber, King of the Huns, invaded the dominions of Albanact with a great army, ſlew him, and drove his people to fly for ſhelter to Locrin, who, equally ſtung with his brother's loſs, and the inſult offered to himſelf, drew together all his forces, and gave battle to the invader, who was now in his territories, defeated him, and in the flight forced him into a river, in which he was drowned, whence it received his name, and hath never ſince been otherwiſe called than Humber (*d*). This fell out about 1104 years before Chriſt (*e*); and from this King Albanact, the northern part of this iſland was called Albany, as it is by its natives to this day. Our ancient hiſtorians, who relate theſe facts, ſome of whom are mentioned in the margin, agree pretty well in their dates, and in their relation, and ſo they well might, if, as ſome ſay, they all tranſcribed the work of him who is firſt mentioned. But as this does not appear, ſo we think no conſequences ſhould be drawn from an unproved aſſertion [*B*]. The old Scots hiſtorians (*f*) did not much oppoſe this account of their country's receiving the name of Albany; but Buchanan is very angry with it, and will by no means allow that this is any thing better than a fable (*g*). Of which however we ſhall prove he was a moſt incompetent judge. On his authority, ſucceeding authors have treated this narration with extraordinary contempt. We decide nothing, but for the reader's ſatisfaction, and to place this controverſy in a true light, we will fairly ſtate the arguments on both ſides, that the judicious peruſer may frame his concluſion according to reaſon and evidence [*C*].

(c) Chron. Godſtovianum, MS. p. 17, 18.

(d) Galfrid. Munument. Hiſt. Brit. lib. ii. c. 1. Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 23. Alured. Beverl. p. 13.

(e) Chron. Godſtovian. p. 18.

(f) Such as Boethius, Major, &c.

(g) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.

ALCOCK

[*B*] *An unproved aſſertion.*] The grand argument againſt this part of the Britiſh hiſtory is, that it has no foundation but in one author's writings, *viz.* Geoffrey of Monmouth. Now thoſe who ſay this, beg the queſtion, becauſe they affirm that other authors tranſcribe his book, who perhaps never ſaw it. Geoffrey relates the death of Brutus, the diviſion of his kingdom, the invaſion of Humber, the death of Albanact, and Locrin's victory, but without a date (4). Henry of Huntingdon relates the coming of Brutus, which he ſays he met with in ſeveral authors (5). But he ſays nothing of Albanact; ſo that it ſeems many writers had touched this ſubject before Geoffrey, with whom this Henry was contemporary (6). The Chronicle of Godſtow is the work of various writers; it makes no mention of Geoffrey, though the hiſtory does indeed correſpond with his, except in dates, which are carefully placed here (7), though omitted as I have ſaid by Geoffrey. Alured of Beverley is noted by the induſtrious Leland (8), to have taken moſtly out of Geoffrey's Britiſh hiſtory, yet himſelf ſays nothing of this. He ſpeaks of ancient books he had read, and particularly of a Britiſh hiſtory (9) he uſed, but does not ſay it was Geoffrey's. In all probability it was not, for Alured has many things not to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the faireſt and fulleſt proof that can be had, or indeed deſired, that the ſtory of Albanact reſts not on this ſuſpected author, is the teſtimony of Girald Barry, or as he has been commonly called, Giraldus Cambrenſis, who in his deſcription of Wales (10), delivers this whole ſtory as it ſtands in our text; though immediately after he calls Geoffrey a fabulous writer, and treats him with the utmoſt indignity. Hence it is moſt evident, that this hiſtory was found elſewhere than in Geoffrey's writings, and ſo it is aſſerted by Leland (11), in a tract, or rather in hiſtorical collections for a tract, to prove the ſuperiority of the Kings of England over Scotland. In theſe notes it is ſaid, that Albanact's ruling over Scotland, and leaving it his name, ſtood in many ancient Chronicles then in being. This, however, was no more than had been affirmed long before by Edward I. to the Pope, in a letter, wherein this poſſeſſion and right of Albanact is ſtated as a thing notorious and indubitable (12). But after all, this iſland was very populous when the Romans came firſt hither under Cæſar, ſo that it muſt have been long inhabited. We have no account of theſe inhabitants from other authors; the ancient bards retained theſe remains and ruins of old hiſtory, which, on a nice enquiry, will be found a thing cuſtomary in all nations, even the moſt barbarous. Here are various hiſtorians, who have (as the Greeks did) turned their verſe into proſe: here is a royal letter too, in ſupport of its authority; and if, after all, darkneſs is welcomer than ſuch a light, why no body is bound to take it. The ſtory, with its proofs, is propoſed; and if they are not ſufficient to procure it credit, they are at leaſt ſuch as ought to ſecure it a place in this Dictionary, that it may abide the cenſure of the public.

(4) Galfrid. Munum. lib. ii. cap. 1.

(5) Hiſt. lib. i. ap. Script. poſt Bed. p. 30.

(6) Galfrid. Munum. Lib. xii. c. ult.

(7) Chron. Godſtovianum, p. 19.

(8) Collectanea, Vol. iii. p. 224.

(9) Alured. Beverl. An. lib. i. p. 12, 13.

(10) Cambriæ Deſcript. cap. 7. apud Camden. Script. p. 886.

(11) Leland. Collectan. Vol. iii. p. 1.

(12) Hen. de Knyghton de Event Angl. int. X. Scriptor. p. 1484.

[*C*] *According to reaſon and evidence.*] The point here to be diſcuſſed is, whether Scotland was called Albania, or Albany, from Albanact? Buchanan deſpiſes this etymology, and treats the ſtory as a fable. To ſtate his reaſons fairly, they are theſe (13). 1. This account depends on the ſtory of Brute, which he eſteems a ridiculous fable, and the invention of the Monk of Monmouth. 2. He ſays the derivation of Albania, from Albanactus is not grammatical (14). 3. He can give us the true derivation. Albany is from Albion, the old name of the whole iſland, which was ſo called, not from the whiteneſs but height of its mountains (15). To theſe particulars, plain and eaſy anſwers may be given. 1. The overturning the Monk of Monmouth's hiſtory, will not prove the ſtory of Brute a fable (16). Our ballads relate many fictions about Roſamond, yet there was certainly ſuch a woman. But Buchanan, I believe, never read Geoffrey, though he quotes him; for he banters him about one Tintagol a giant, of whom the Monk of Monmouth ſays not a word. 2. As to the grammatical criticiſm, we muſt obſerve, that Albanactus is a Britiſh name latinized, ſo is Albania: now how faulty ſoever the derivation may be, according to the Roman uſage, that does by no means ſhew that the Britiſh name of the man might not be the ground of the Britiſh name of the country. I ſhall preſently ſhew Buchanan knew better. 3. It is a conjecture only, that Alp and Alb, ſignify high; and beſides he owns the old cuſtom was to name places from perſons, as *Knock-Fergus*, i. e. *the Rock of Fergus* (17), from his being loſt there. But to theſe we may add ſome poſitive arguments in favour of the Britiſh account. 1. Buchanan (18) owns the Britiſh language prevailed originally through the iſland; and that in this language, Scotland is called Albin, and the Scots Albinich, which is preciſely what the Britiſh author called them, whom the Monk of Monmouth tranſlated. 2. He can give us no counter-hiſtory to this; for Fergus, the firſt King of Scotland, came thither as he ſays (19), three hundred and thirty years before Chriſt, in the reign of Coil, a Britiſh King, which is agreeable to the Britiſh hiſtory he ſo much condemns. 3. This name of Scotland correſponds with all the other appellations impoſed by the Britons, whence we are ſenſible the Roman or Latin names were framed not more elegantly than this.

(13) Hiſt. Scot. lib. i.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) See the Note [*B*].

(17) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.

(18) *Id.* lib. i.

(19) Hiſt. Scot. lib. iv.

On

On the whole, Buchanan ſhews himſelf infinitely a better Philologiſt than he is an Antiquary; and if this controverſy ſhould be determined according to his rule, that Britiſh names are to be accounted for from the Britiſh tongue, and not from the Greek and Latin; as alſo in conſequence of his conceſſions; without doubt this old derivation will appear both natural and probable. Hector Boethius, whom Buchanan owns to have been a learned man, was aware of this, and did not therefore diſpute the point. But what is ſtill more to the purpoſe, the very learned Biſhop Leſley, who was ſcarcely inferior to Buchanan, even in his Latin ſtyle; and in politics and antiquities much his ſuperior: a prelate who reſided long in England, converſed with our Antiquaries; and who, notwithſtanding, had no great reaſon to be in love with our nation, agrees exactly with us in this etymology (20). The hiſtory of Brute and his ſons does not appear at all incredible to him; and he ſays expreſsly, that the original of Albany is Albanact. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Shakeſpeare has introduced Albanact into one of his plays (21), probably to familiarize the name to his countrymen, and to preſerve the memory of the ſole ſovereignty of Brute. C.

(20) In Deſcript. Scot.

(21) Tragedy of Locrine.

[Notwithſtanding the ingenuity diſplayed by our worthy predeceſſor, we can ſcarcely think that the article of Albanact, involved as it is in obſcurity and fable, was deſerving of ſo much attention. Neither was it, in this reſpect, neceſſary to treat Buchanan with ſeverity, or to prefer Biſhop Leſley to him. The royal letter of Edward the firſt, which was deſigned to ſupport a particular point at any rate, is a very inſufficient authority either for the exiſtence of Albanact, or his ruling over the kingdom of Scotland; and we believe that few of our preſent Antiquaries will agree in ſuppoſing, that the name of Albany might be given to the northern part of this iſland, in conſequence of its having been under the government of Albanact.] K.

ALCOCK (John) ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter, Worceſter, and Ely, in the latter end of the fifteenth century, was born at Beverley in Yorkſhire, and educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In the year 1461, he was collated to the church of St. Margaret's, New Fiſh-Street, by Thomas Kemp, Biſhop of London, and in the ſame year was advanced to the Deanery of St. Stephen's College, Weſtminſter. In 1462 he was appointed Maſter of the Rolls (*a*). Six years after, he obtained two Prebends, one in the church of Sarum, and the other in that of St. Paul's, London. In 1470, he was made a Privy Counſellor, and one of the Ambaſſadors to the King of Caſtile; and, in the next year, he was, together with others, a Commiſſioner to treat with the Commiſſioners of the King of Scotland. About the ſame time, he was appointed, by Edward the Fourth, to be of the Privy Council to his ſon Edward Prince of Wales. He was alſo in 1471 promoted to the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter; and in 1472, conſtituted Lord High Chancellor of England (*b*), which great poſt he doth not appear to have held longer than ten months. In 1476 he was tranſlated to the See of Worceſter, and appointed Lord Preſident of Wales (*c*). During his being Biſhop of Worceſter, he very elegantly enlarged the collegiate church of Weſtbury. He was in diſgrace with the Protector Richard Duke of York, and was removed from his office of Preceptor to Edward the Fifth, on account of his attachment to that young Prince. Soon after the acceſſion of King Henry the Seventh, he had again, for a ſhort time, the cuſtody of the great ſeal. At length, in 1486, he was raiſed to the Biſhoprick of Ely, in the room of Dr. John Morton, tranſlated to Canterbury, and, according to A. Wood, MS. Glyn, he was made Preſident of the Council of King Edward the Fourth, in the ſame year; which is a palpable miſtake, as Henry the Seventh came to the Crown in 1485 (*d*). Biſhop Alcock, in 1488, preached a ſermon in St. Mary's church at Cambridge, which laſted from one o'clock in the afternoon, till paſt three (*e*). He was a Prelate of ſingular learning and piety (*A*); and was, not only a conſiderable writer, but an excellent architect, which occaſioned his being made Comptroller of the royal works and buildings, under Henry the Seventh. He founded a ſchool at Kingſton upon Hull, (Fuller ſays, at Beverley (*f*);) and a chapel on the ſouth ſide of the church, in which his parents were buried. He built the beautiful and ſpacious hall belonging to the epiſcopal palace at Ely, and made great improvements in all his other palaces. Laſtly, he founded Jeſus College in Cambridge [*B*], for a Maſter, ſix Fellows, and as many Scholars (*g*). This Prelate wrote ſeveral Pieces; particularly theſe following: 'Mons Perfectionis ad 'Carthuſianos.' London, 1501, 4*to*. 'Galli Cantus ad Confratres ſuos curatos in 'Synodo apud Barnwell, 25 Sept. 1498.' Lond. per Pynſon, 1498, 4*to*. At the beginning is a print of the Biſhop preaching to the Clergy, with a cock at each ſide. There is alſo a cock in the firſt page. 'Abbatia Spiritus ſancti in pura Con-'ſcientia, fundata.' Lond. 1531. 4*to*. 'In Pſalmos penitentiales,' in Engliſh verſe.

(*a*) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 23.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 24.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Godwin de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. Ann. 1486. Tanner, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Tanner, *ibid.*

(*f*) Fuller's Worthies, part the 3d, p. 214.

(*g*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was a Prelate of ſingular learning and piety.*] 'Qui ab ipſa pueritia (ſays Bale) bonarum 'literarum ſtudiis ac pietati deditus, ita à virtute in 'virtutem crevit, ut eo nemo per Angliam majori 'ſanctitatis nomine inſigniretur. Parciſſime per 'totam ætatem victitaſſe dicitur, duriterque vigiliis, 'ſtudiis, abſtinentia, & aliis caſtigationibus domuiſſe 'prurientis ſuæ carnis illecebras (1). *Who, having 'devoted himſelf from his childhood to learning and 'piety, made ſuch a proficiency in virtue, that no one 'in England had a greater reputation for ſanctity. 'His whole life was ſpent in a diligent application to 'his ſtudies, in faſting and abſtinence, and in mortifying the corrupt deſires of his fleſh.*'

(1) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. cent. 8, c. 57.

[*B*] *He founded Jeſus College in Cambridge.*] This houſe was formerly a nunnery dedicated to St. Radigund: but the building being greatly decayed, and the revenues come to nothing, the Nuns had all forſaken it, except two; whereupon Biſhop Alcock, obtaining a grant thereof from the King, converted it into a college, and dedicated it to the honour of the Holy Trinity, the Bleſſed Virgin, and St. Radigund (2). This is Biſhop Godwin's account of the matter. But Camden (3), and others tell us, that the Nuns of that houſe were ſo notorious for their incontinence, and ſo generally complained of, that King Henry VII, and Pope Julius II, conſented to its diſſolution. And agreeably hereto, Bale (4) calls this nunnery ſpiritualium meretricum cœnobium, *i. e. a community of ſpiritual harlots.* [Jeſus College, under the patronage of the Biſhops of Ely, hath ſince increaſed much in buildings and revenues; and now conſiſts of a Maſter, ſixteen Fellows, and thirty Scholars.]

(2) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Elienſ. an. 1486.

(3) Britannia, laſt Edit. Vol. i. col. 483.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

'Homiliæ

'Homiliæ vulgares.' 'Meditationes piæ.' 'Spouſage of a Virgin to Chriſt.' 1486; *4to.* Biſhop Alcock died October 1, 1500, at his caſtle at Wiſbich, and was buried in the middle of a ſumptuous chapel which he had built for himſelf, at the Eaſt end of the North iſle of the Preſbytery of his cathedral church. This chapel is a noble ſpecimen of his ſkill in architecture, though at preſent it lies in a neglected ſtate (*b*) [*C*].

(*b*) Bentham's Hiſt. of the Church of Ely, p. 181—183; to whoſe accurate account of Biſhop Alcock, we are much indebted in the preceding article.

[*C*] *Lies in a neglected ſtate.*] He had a very ſtately monument erected over him, which, in Biſhop Godwin's time, was greatly defaced, and almoſt deſtroyed. That author hints to the members of Jeſus College, how commendable it would be in ſome one of the great men daily produced from that foundation, to reſtore the ſepulchral honours due to their founder and patron. *Inter tot præclaros viros quot ex hoc collegio prodierunt & prodeunt quotidie, quam vellem non deeſſet qui—patrono de ſe optime merito tumuli honorem deditum reſtitueret* (5). B. & K.

(5) Godwin, *ibid.*

ALCRED, ALCREDUS, or ALREDUS, King of Northumberland. He was lineally deſcended from Ida, the firſt King of the Bernicii, and was born about the year 740 (*a*). When he attained to man's eſtate, he ſaw his country miſerably diſtracted, partly through the vices of their Kings, and partly through the madneſs of the people. Oſulf, who ſucceeded on the voluntary reſignation of his father, and who was the lawful heir of the kingdom of Northumberland, periſhed by a conſpiracy in his own family, in the year 758 (*b*). In his ſtead, Æthelwold, who is alſo called Moll, ſucceeded by a popular election; for it does not appear, that he was ſo much as of the royal family (*c*). This it ſeems was by no means pleaſing to many of the great Lords of the kingdom, eſpecially ſuch as were of the royal blood; and therefore Oſwin, a perſon of great intereſt in his country, took up arms againſt him, but with very little ſucceſs; for his army being totally routed, he was himſelf alſo ſlain, at a place called Edwin's Cliff, in the month of Auguſt 761 (*d*). This, however, did not hinder Alcred from aſſerting his right to the crown, in which he proved ſucceſsful; for, as ſome of our hiſtorians tell us, he procured Æthelwold to be fraudulently ſlain near Durham, in 765 (*e*). Roger Hoveden ſays, King Æthelwold loſt his kingdom at Wincanheale, in the latter end of October that year (*f*); and the Saxon Chronicle intimates, that after ſix years reign he reſigned (*g*). However it was, Alcredus at this time aſcended the throne, which proved no eaſy ſeat to him (*h*). In 768 died Elbert, King of Northumberland, in the cloiſter which he had choſen for his retreat. The ſame year King Alcred married his Queen Oſgerna (*i*). He ſeems to have lived upon good terms with his neighbours, and to have taken ſome pains in cultivating a friendſhip with foreign Princes (*k*). However, he was as far from pleaſing his ſubjects as any of his predeceſſors, inſomuch that about Eaſter, in the year 774, he was compelled to fly from York, with a very ſmall number of dependents, who choſe rather to follow his fortunes, than to deſert his perſon (*l*). He retired firſt to the ſtrong city of Bebba, which is thought to be the town now called Bamborrow in Northumberland, and finding himſelf not ſafe there, he ſought the protection of Cynoth, King of the Picts, who treated him kindly (*m*). Two of our ancient hiſtorians aſſert, that this King Alcred was depoſed by the unanimous conſent of all the Princes of the royal family, and other great Lords of his kingdom (*n*), which hath drawn ſome to conſider this as an inſtance of depoſing a King for mal-adminiſtration [*A*]. Thoſe who expelled him, either recalled out of baniſhment, or took out of priſon, Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, and ſet him upon the throne. In 778 they expelled him, and crowned Alfwold of the blood royal, who governed the king-

(*a*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765. R. Hoved. Annal. p. i. p. 403.

(*b*) Chron. Sax. p. 59. Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. ap. X. Script. col. 105. Flor. Vigorn. A. D. 759.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 759. Simeon. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chron. Sax. p. 60. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 761.

(*e*) Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*f*) Sim. Dunelm. fol. 106. R. de Hoved. p. 403.

(*g*) A. D. 759.

(*h*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 765. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra. Florent. Vigorn. A. D. 765.

(*i*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 106.

(*k*) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 620.

(*l*) Chron. Sax. p. 61.

(*m*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

(*n*) R. Hoved. p. 403. S. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *An inſtance of depoſing a King for male-adminiſtration.*] Amongſt the ſtate tracts, written in the reign of King William, there is the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Stamford, at the general quarter ſeſſions, held for the county of Leiceſter at Michaelmas 1691, his Lordſhip being then *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for that county. The intent of this ſpeech is to vindicate the Revolution; wherein his Lordſhip having run through all the inſtances of depoſitions of Princes in France, Spain, and Scotland, proceeds thus: 'As for England, 'I will mention ſome few before the Conqueſt '(vulgarly ſo called), who were Archigallo, Eme'rian, Vortigern, Sigebert, King of the Weſt 'Saxons, Beornred, and *Alured*, King of Northum'berland; all theſe were deprived of their thrones 'for their cruel and evil government, and others 'more worthy put in their ſtead (1).' This muſt be founded on what we are told by Simeon of Durham, who in his hiſtory, under the year 794, writes thus: 'Alcredus Rex conſilio & conſenſu ſuorum 'omnium, reges familiæ ac principum deſtitutus 'ſocietate, exilio imperii mutavit majeſtatem; *i. e.* '*King Alcred, by the common council and conſent of* '*his ſubjects, being deſerted by his Princes, and even* '*thoſe of the Royal Family, changed his royal ſtate* '*for an inglorious exile* (2).' Roger Hoveden tranſcribes this account literally (3); though by a different manner of pointing it, it has ſomewhat a different ſenſe given to it in Sir Henry Savil's edition. It is very remarkable, that Simeon of Durham hath exactly the ſame ſtory of another King of Northumberland: for under the year 796, having related the murder of King Æthelred, he goes on thus: 'Oſbald vero patricius à quibuſdam ipſius gentis 'principibus in regnum eſt conſtitutus, & poſt XXVII 'dies omni regiæ familiæ ac principum eſt ſocietate 'deſtitutus, fugatuſque & de regno expulſus, atque 'ad inſulam Lindisfarnenſem cum paucis ſeceſſit, & 'inde ad Regem Pictorum cum quibuſdam è fratri'bus navigio pervenit (4); *i. e. One Oſbald, a* '*Nobleman, was by ſome of his own party exalted to* '*the throne; but being deſerted by all of the Royal* '*Family, and by the great men, in twenty-ſeven days* '*ſpace he was compelled to fly, with a few of his* '*followers, out of the kingdom, retiring into Holy* '*Iſland; and thence he paſſed in a bark, with ſome* '*of his brethren, into the dominions of the King of* '*Picts.*' Neither are theſe all the inſtances of that nature to be met with in the Chronicle of the Northumbrian Kings (5). On the contrary, there are ſeveral others both before and after him; inſomuch that it is certain that the people in thoſe days made very free with their monarchs; or rather their chiefs made free with them, as was the caſe alſo in Scotland.

(1) Collection of ſtate tracts publiſhed in the reign of William III. Vol. ii. p. 191.

(2) Simeon Dunelm. col. 107.

(3) Annal. p. i. p. 403.

(4) Hiſtor. col. 113.

(5) Vid. Chron. Saxon. Simeon. Dunelm. Roger. Hoved.

dom

dom ten years (*o*). It is not certain how long Alcred lived in exile, or where he died; but in all probability it was before this Prince came to the throne, who was his near relation, and who took his two ſons, Ofred and Alcmund, into his protection. He was an excellent Prince, and as our hiſtorians ſay, exceedingly pious (*p*). Yet, in 788, or as the Saxon Chronicle has it, in 789, towards the end of September, he was treacherouſly murdered by one Siga, a powerful nobleman (*q*); who ſome years after, ſtung with remorſe, laid violent hands on himſelf (*r*). To him ſucceeded his nephew Ofred, the ſon of Alcred, who in leſs than a year was betrayed and driven into exile; and Æthelred, the ſon of Æthelwold, being a ſecond time recalled from baniſhment, again mounted the throne (*s*). Ofred having ſtill ſome friends, in 792 returned out of the Iſle of Man, then called Euphania, and endeavoured to dethrone his competitor; but being betrayed, he was defeated, and delivered up into the hands of Æthelred, who cauſed him to be put to death; though he ſuffered his body to be royally interred at Tinmouth (*t*). In 794, King Æthelred was murdered by his people, and was ſucceeded in the kingdom by Eardwulf (*u*); though Roger Hoveden ſays, that Oſbald ſucceeded him, and was depoſed and baniſhed in twenty-ſeven days (*w*): to whom ſucceeded Eardwulf, who held the kingdom, not without much trouble, many years; and in 800, procuring Alcmund, the younger ſon of Alcred, to be put into his hands, by thoſe who had the care of him, he cauſed him and all his attendants to be put to death (*x*); thereby putting an end to the family of Alcred, and all its pretenſions. But ſuch was the prudence, piety, and integrity, of this young Prince, that though he was thus cut off, by a ſudden and violent death, in the bloom of his youth, and without any fault of his own, yet many years after his deceaſe, he was, for the fame of his virtues, reputed a ſaint; and, as ſuch, had the nineteenth day of March appointed for his feſtival (*y*). There was alſo another ſaint of his name (*z*), of whom, to avoid multiplying articles, we will ſay ſomewhat in the notes, that we may omit nothing curious or inſtructive; and which, at the ſame time, has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory [*B*].

(*o*) Chron. Sax. p. 62.

(*p*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(*q*) Chron. Sax. p. 64. Sim. Dunelm. col. 110.

(*r*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 112. A. D. 791.

(*s*) Chron. Sax. p. 65. Sim. Dunelm. col. 111. R. de Hoved. p. 404.

(*t*) Chron. Sax. A. D. 792.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 65, 69.

(*w*) Annal. p. I. p. 404.

(*x*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 116.

(*y*) Matth. Weſtmonaſt. ad An. Dom. 800.

(*z*) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 108.

[*B*] *Has any relation to the Britiſh hiſtory.*] It is ſurprizing, that Alford (6) the Jeſuit, ſhould particularly relate the martyrdom and canonization of this St. Alemund, and yet ſay nothing of another Saint of the ſame name, who ſeems to have been much more famous. He was alſo a Northumbrian, and flouriſhed about the ſame time with this other Alcmund; whence I have ſometimes inclined to doubt, whether the latter was not ſupplanted by the former. This other Alcmundus was Biſhop of Hexham in Northumberland; and Richard the Prior, in his celebrated hiſtory of that church, tells us (7), that he became Biſhop of that See in 767, being the ſecond year of the reign of King Alcred, and that he died in 781, being the fourth year of King Elfwald; when he had held the See upwards of twelve years, or, as he ſays in another place, thirteen years (8). But Simeon of Durham gives us a very large account of his declaring himſelf a Saint (9), which, for its ſingularity, deſerves to be taken notice of. The body of Biſhop Alcmund was, it ſeems, depoſited by that of his predeceſſor St. Acca. But, two hundred and fifty years after he was buried, he appeared to one Dregmus, a very pious man, and deſired him to go to one Ælfred, a prieſt at Durham, and with his help to remove his body into a more honourable place. Dregmus hereupon aſked him who he was? *I am*, ſaid he, *Alcmund Biſhop of Hexham, and my body lies next to that of St. Acca, my predeceſſor.* Upon this his corpſe was taken up the next day; but ſo many people crowded to ſee it, that it was too late to depoſit it in the place deſigned for it, and therefore it was laid in the porch of St. Peter for that night, being watched by a great company of Monks and Prieſts. Towards morning, all of theſe, except one, fell faſt aſleep; whereupon he taking this opportunity, ſtept to the ſhrine, and withdrew a middle bone of one of St. Alcmund's fingers. The next day, when, after ſinging various hymns, they attempted to move the corpſe to the high altar, where it was to remain; they found, to their great amazement, that it was impoſſible to ſtir it. The prieſt, who took the finger-bone with no other intent than to place it in the church of Durham, as a relic of St. Alcmund; and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that he was the cauſe of this wonder, beſought the people to apply themſelves to God in prayer, that he would be pleaſed to permit the Saint to declare what the reaſon was, why his body could not be moved. Accordingly, that night St. Alcmund appeared to the man whom he viſited firſt, and ſaid, with a ſtern countenance, *What is it you would do? would you carry me maimed into that church where I ſerved God and St. Andrew whole; adjure you all the people to-morrow, that they reſtore what they fooliſhly took away, otherwiſe my body cannot be moved: at the ſame time he ſtretched out his hand and ſhewed the maimed finger.* This being accordingly done, the prieſt delivered the bone, and the body was carried and interred behind the altar. C.

(6) Alford. Annal. Tom. ii. p. 692.

(7) De Statu & Epiſcop. Haguſtalden. Eccl. ap. X. Script. col. 289.

(8) *Id. ibid.* col. 300.

(9) Simeon. Dunelm. col. 107.

ALCUINUS, or ALBINUS (Flaccus), a famous writer in the eighth century, was born in Yorkſhire, or (as others tell us) not far from London (*a*). He had his education firſt under venerable Bede, and afterwards under Egbert, Archbiſhop of York, who made him keeper of the curious library which he had founded in that city (*b*). Alcuinus flouriſhed about the year 780, was deacon of the church of York, and at laſt Abbot of the monaſtery of Canterbury. In 793 he went over into France, being invited thither by Charlemagne, to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the hereſy of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel [*A*], and the Canons of the falſe Synod of Nice (*c*). He was in high eſteem

(*a*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. centur. 2. c. 17.

(*b*) Leland. Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 88.

(*c*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad ann. 780.

[*A*] *The hereſy of Felix, Biſhop of Urgel.*] Hear what Mr. Du Pin ſays of this Hereſiarch and his doctrine. 'Towards the end of the VIIIth century, 'there aroſe in the Weſt a diſpute about the myſtery 'of the incarnation. Felix, Biſhop of Urgel, in 'Catalonia, being conſulted by Elipand, Biſhop of 'Toledo, whether Jeſus Chriſt as man, ought to be 'called the adoptive or natural Son of God, anſwered, that in that quality he ought only to be 'called his adoptive Son. He wrote in defence of 'this opinion, and endeavoured to ſpread it, not 'only in Spain, but alſo in France and Germany. 'He was oppoſed by the Biſhops, who, in a council 'held at Ratiſbon in 792, condemned that error, 'together with its author, who was ſent to Rome to 'Pope Adrian. The Pope confirmed the judgment 'of

esteem with that Prince, who not only honoured him with his friendship and confidence, but became his pupil likewise, being instructed by him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity (*d*). The year following he attended Charlemagne to the council of Francfort, and, upon that Prince's recommendation, was admitted a member of that council. The same Prince gave him the Abbies of Ferrara, St. Jodocus, and St. Lupus. In 796 he earnestly requested leave to retire from secular affairs; which was refused him. In 798 he drew his pen against Felix, Bishop of Urgel, and confuted his errors in seven books. In 799, being invited by Charlemagne to accompany him in his journey to Rome, he excused himself on account of his infirmities and old age. In 801, Charlemagne being returned from Italy, and newly declared Emperor, Alcuinus took the opportunity of congratulating him on his election, and pressed his suit so earnestly, that at length he obtained leave to retire from court, to the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, which the Emperor had lately given him. Here he spent the remainder of his life in an honourable retreat, and employed himself in educating the youth in the school which he had founded in that city. The Emperor in vain endeavoured by repeated letters to recal him to court. He died at Tours, on Whitsunday, in the year 804 (*e*). He was a man of singular piety and learning, and the best English Divine (according to William of Malmsbury) after Bede and Aldhelme (*f*). France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flourishing state of learning in that kingdom [*B*]. He wrote a great number of books [*C*], most of which are extant. His style is elegant and sprightly, and his language very pure, considering the age in which he lived.

(*d*) W. Malmsb. de gest. Reg. Anglor. l. i. *apud* Scriptor. post Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 24.

(*e*) Cave, ubi supra.

(*f*) W. Malmsb. ubi supra.

' of the synod, and obliged Felix to retract. Nevertheless some Spanish Bishops persisted in that opinion. Felix himself espoused it anew, and Elipand defended him in a letter, which was condemned by Pope Adrian, then by a synod held in Italy; and lastly, by the council of Francfort in 794, consisting of three hundred bishops. The question was debated in that council, and it was decided, that Jesus Christ, as man, ought to be called the proper, and not the adoptive Son of God. This council informed Elipand, and the other Spanish Bishops, of their decision; and Charlemagne joined his authority with that of the council, to oblige them to renounce their opinion. This affair was likewise examined at Rome, under Pope Leo III. in a council of fifty-seven Bishops, held in 799. They confirmed the judgment given by Adrian, against the error of Felix, Bishop of Urgel, and anathematized him as an heretic. The same year Charlemagne sent for Felix to Aix la Chapelle, and gave him permission to defend his opinions before the Bishops. Alcuinus replied to him, and confuted him; whereupon he gave up his opinion and embraced that of the church. He was followed by his disciples, and that question occasioned no farther controversy in the Church (1).'

(1) Du Pin, Hist. de l'Eglise. cent. viii. ch 4.

[*B*] *France was indebted to Alcuinus for the flourishing state of learning in that kingdom.*] ' Ei quicquid politioris literaturæ isto & sequentibus sæculis Gallia ostentat totum acceptum referri debet. Ei Academiæ Parisienses, Turonenses, Fuldenses, Suessionenses, aliæque plures originem & incrementa debent; quibus ille, si non præsens præfuit, aut fundamenta posuit, saltem doctrina præluxit, exemplo præivit, & beneficiis à Carolo impetratis adauxit (2).—— *France is obliged to Alcuinus for all the polite learning it boasted of in that and the following ages. The universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soissons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increase; those of whom he was not the superior or founder, being at least enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured for them from Charlemagne.*' A German poet, cited by Camden (3), mentions the service Alcuinus did France, by introducing literature into that kingdom. His verses are these:

(2) Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. viii. ad an. 780.

(3) Britannia, last edit. Vol. i. col. 166.

Quid non Alcuino, facunda Lutetia, debes?
Instaurare bonas ibi qui feliciter artes,
Barbariemque procul solus depellere cœpit.

No smaller tokens of esteem from France
Alcuinus claims, who durst himself advance
Single against whole troops of ignorance.
'Twas he transported Britain's richest ware,
Language and arts, and kindly taught them there.

[*C*] *He wrote a great number of books.*] An edition of them was published by Du Chesne at Paris in 1617, consisting of the following pieces. 1. Interrogationes & Responsiones, seu Liber Quæstionum, in Genesim; *i. e. Questions and answers on the book of Genesis.* 2. Dicta super illud Geneseos, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram; *i. e. A discourse on those words in Genesis, Let us make man in our own image.* 3. Enchiridium, seu Expositio pia brevis in VII Psalmos Penitentiales, in Psalmum CXVIII, & in Psalmos Graduales, ad Arnonem Archiepiscopum Salisburgiensem; *i. e. A Manual, or short pious exposition on the seven penitential Psalms, on the* 118*th Psalm, and on the gradual Psalms, dedicated to Arno, Archbishop of Salizburg.* It was printed separately at Paris in 1547, in 8*vo.* but without the preface, which was first published by Lucas Dacherius (4). 4. De Psalmorum usu liber; *i. e. Of the use of the Psalms*, together with divers forms of prayer fitted for daily use. This book is dedicated to Fredegisus his scholar. 5. Officia per ferias. *i. e. Offices for each day*, or Psalms disposed according to the days of the week, together with Orations, Hymns, Confessions, and Litanies. 6. Epistola de Illo Cantici Canticorum loco, Sexaginta sunt Reginæ, &c. *i. e. An epistle concerning that passage in Solomon's Song,* (vi. 8.) *There are threescore Queens, &c.* 7. Commentaria in Ecclesiasten; *i. e. Commentaries on the book of Ecclesiastes.* Basil. 1531. 8*vo.* 8. Commentariorum in S. Joannis Evangelium libri septem; *i. e. Seven books of commentaries on St. John's Gospel.* Strasburg. 1527. 9. Epigrammata de recognitione & emendatione totius divinæ scripturæ; *i. e. Epigrams on the revisal and correction of the whole Bible.* In Du Chesne's edition of Alcuinus's works, we are told, that our author, by order of Charlemagne, undertook to correct the whole text of the Vulgate Bible; which work is still to be found in the library of Vauxcolles, with the epigrams here mentioned (5). 10. De Fide SS. Trinitatis libri tres, ad Carolum Magnum, cum invocatione ad S. Trinitatem & Symbolo fidei; *i. e. Three books concerning faith in the Holy Trinity, addressed to Charlemagne, with an invocation to the Holy Trinity, and the Creed.* 11. De Trinitate, ad Fredegisum Quæstiones 28, seu Confessio, sive Doctrina de Deo; *i. e. Twenty-eight questions concerning the Trinity; or a confession, or doctrine concerning God, addressed to Fredegisus.* 12. De differentia Æterni & Sempiterni, Immortalis & Perpetui, Sæculi, Ævi, & Temporis, Epistola; *i. e. A letter concerning eternity, immortality, ages, time, &c.* 13. De Animæ ratione ad Eulaliam Virginem; *i. e. Of the nature of the soul, addressed to the virgin Eulalia.* 14. Contra Felicem Orgiletanum libri septem; *i. e. Seven books against Felix, Bishop of Urgel,* written in 798, and falsely ascribed, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, to Paul of Aquileia. 15. Epistola ad Elipandum; *i. e. A letter to Elipand, Bishop of Toledo.* There is extant in Alcuinus's works an answer to this letter, full of reproaches and calumnies, written by Elipand to Alcuinus, in the year 799. 16. Contra Elipandi Epistolam libelli duo; *i. e. A reply to Elipand's letter in two books,* written in the year 800. 17. De Incarnatione Christi; *i. e. Of Christ's Incarnation*, and of the two natures united in him,

(4) *In* Spicileg. T. X.

(5) Cave, ubi supra.

him, againſt the ſame, in two books. This is followed, in Du Cheſne's edition, by a *Letter from Elipand to Felix* upon his converſion. The former abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix, in the end of the year 799: nevertheleſs, being depoſed from his ſee, he was baniſhed for life to Lyons. Elipand alſo, convinced of his error by the writings of Alcuinus, died piouſly in the year 808. There is alſo a *Confeſſion of Faith*, ſent by Felix to the clergy and people of Urgel, after he had abjured his hereſy in the Synod of Aix (6). 18. Epiſtola ad filiam in Chriſto chariſſimam; *i. e. A letter to his dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt.* 19. De Divinis Officiis Liber, ſive Expoſitio Romani Ordinis; *i. e. A Treatiſe concerning Divine Offices, or an Expoſition of the Roman Office.* This paſſes for the genuine work of Alcuinus, and has been often cited under his name by the writers who have treated that ſubject; and in Du Cheſne's edition of this author, it is enlarged with the addition of twelve entire chapters. Nevertheleſs Dr. Cave (7) is of opinion it is not Alcuinus's, but was written after the year 1000. 20. De Ratione Septuageſimæ, Sexageſimæ, & Quinquageſimæ, Epiſtola; *i. e. A Letter concerning Septuageſima, Sexageſima, and Quinquageſima*, written to the Emperor Charlemagne. 21. De Baptiſmi cæremoniis, ad Odvinum preſbyterum, Epiſtola; *i. e. A Letter to the preſbyter Odwin concerning the ceremonies of Baptiſm.* This is followed by another piece on the ſame ſubject, entituled *Dei iſdem ceremoniis:* but Father Sirmond has juſtly taken it from Alcuinus, and reſtored it to its true author Amalarius of Triers (8). 22. De Confeſſione peccatorum, ad pueros Sancti Martini; *i. e. A Letter to the Youths of the Abbey of St. Martin's, concerning Confeſſion of Sins.* 23. Sacramentorum Liber; *i. e. A Book of Sacraments*, Colon. 1571. 24. Homiliæ tres, 1. De Silentio in quo miſſum eſt incarnatum verbum. 2. In Nativitatem B. Mariæ. 3. In Feſto omnium Sanctorum; *i. e. Three Homilies; the firſt on the Incarnation, the ſecond on the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, and the third on the Feaſt of All Saints.* Theſe homilies are ſpurious, being taken out of Paulus Diaconus's *Homiliarium.* The third of them is the thirty-ſeventh among thoſe on the Saints, under St. Auguſtin's name (9). 25. Vita Antichriſti, ad Carolum Magnum; *i. e. The Life of Antichriſt, dedicated to Charlemagne.* 26. De Virtutibus & vitiis ad Comitem Widonem Liber; *i. e. A Diſcourſe concerning the Virtues and Vices, addreſſed to Count Wido.* 27. De Septem Artibus Liber; *i. e. A Treatiſe concerning ſeven Sciences.* This piece is imperfect, there remaining no more than two chapters, *viz.* thoſe on Grammar and Rhetoric, with a tranſition to Logic. The *Grammatica* was publiſhed ſeparately at Hanover in 1605. The *Rhetorica & de Virtute Dialogus* came out at Paris in 1599. And the *Dialectica* or *Logic* being a Dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus, was publiſhed, together with the Grammar, at Ingolſtad in 1604 (10). 28. Diſputatio Regalis; *i. e. The Royal Diſputation*, being a dialogue between Pipin, afterwards King of Italy, and the author. 29. Scriptum de vita Sancti Martini Turonenſis; *i. e. The Life of St. Martin of Tours.* 30. De Tranſitu Sancti Martini Sermo; *i. e. A Sermon on the Death of St. Martin.* 31. Vita S. Vedaſti Epiſcopi Attrebatenſis; *i. e. The Life of St. Vedaſt Biſhop of Arras*, written in the year 795. 32. Vita beatiſſimi Richarii preſbyteri; *i. e. The Life of St. Richarius or Riguier the Prieſt.* 33. De Vita S. Willebrordi Trajectenſis Epiſcopi Libri duo; *i. e. The Life of St. Willebrord Biſhop of Utrecht, in two Books*; one in proſe, the other in verſe. 34. Epiſtolæ 115; *i. e. One Hundred and fifteen Letters.* 35. Poemata & Verſus de pluribus Sanctis; *i. e. Poems and Verſes on ſeveral Saints.* The pieces hitherto mentioned were publiſhed altogether by Andrew du Cheſne: but ſince that edition of Alcuinus's works, other pieces have been publiſhed under the ſame author's name; as, 36. Libri quatuor Carolini de Imaginibus; *i. e. Four Caroline Books concerning Images.* Theſe are ſaid by Roger Hoveden (11) to have been written by Alcuinus under the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. They were written againſt the worſhip of images, a little before the council of Francfort, and publiſhed during the ſeſſion of that council under the Emperor's name; who in the preface expreſsly declares, *he undertook that work out of a zeal for God and truth.* Dr. Cave is of opinion, they are the genuine work of that Emperor, who might poſſibly be aſſiſted in compoſing them by Alcuinus (12). 37. Confeſſio fidei; *i. e. A Confeſſion of Faith.* This is a Collection taken out of the writings of St. Auguſtin, and divided into four parts. It was publiſhed under Alcuinus's name by Chifflet, at Dijon, 1654, in *quarto*, among ſeveral tracts of other writers. M. Daillé, in a tract of his publiſhed at Roan in 1675, has endeavoured to prove, that this *Confeſſio fidei* is a ſpurious piece, and falſely aſcribed to Alcuinus. F. Mabillon has written a long diſſertation (13) in defence of the genuineneſs of the piece in queſtion. However, he owns very candidly, he has not abſolutely proved his aſſertion, but only rendered it highly probable. 38. Commentarius brevis in Cantica Canticorum; *i. e. A ſhort Commentary on the Canticles or Solomon's Song.* London, 1638, 4*to.* This piece was publiſhed by Patricius Junius, with the commentary of Gilbert Foliot. 39. Breviarium fidei ad verſus Arianos; *i. e. A Summary of Faith againſt the Arians.* Sirmundus publiſhed it at Paris in 1630, without a name; but Chifflet reſtored it to Alcuinus (14). 40. Homilia de Purificatione B. Mariæ Virginis; *i. e. An Homily on the Purification of the Virgin Mary*; falſely aſcribed to St. Ambroſe, but reſtored to Alcuinus by M. Baluze (15). 41. Epiſtolæ duo & Sermo ad Carolum M. *i. e. Two Letters and a Diſcourſe addreſſed to Charlemagne*, publiſhed by M. Baluze (16). 42. Epiſtola & Præfatio ad Libros ſeptem in Felicem Orgiletanum; *i. e. An Epiſtle and Preface to the ſeven Books againſt Felix, Biſhop of Urgel.* It was wanting in the printed copies, and was firſt publiſhed by M. Baluze (17). 43. Epiſtolæ tres; *i. e. Three Letters*, brought to light by Dacherius (18). 44. Epiſtolæ XXVI. *i. e. Twenty-ſix Letters*, publiſhed by Mabillon (19). 45. Carmen de Cuculo; *i. e. A Poem on a Cuckow*, and two other poems, publiſhed by Mabillon (20). 46. Poemata duo; *i. e. Two Poems*, the firſt a ſhort one in heroic verſe, the other a long one in elegiac, both of them chiefly on the argument of the books of the Old and New Teſtament; publiſhed by Lambecius (21). 47. Hymnus & Epigrammata tres in S. Vedaſtum; *i. e. An Hymn and three Epigrams on St. Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Lambecius (22). 48. Homilia in die Natali S. Vedaſti; *i. e. An Homily on the Birth-day of St. Vedaſt*, publiſhed by Bollandus (23). 49. De Pontificibus & Sanctis Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis; *i. e. Of the Biſhops and Saints of the Church of York.* This is an heroic poem, containing near 1700 verſes. It was copied from two manuſcripts, one at Rheims in France, and the other at St. Theodoric near Rheims; and ſent by Mabillon to Dr. Gale, Dean of York, who publiſhed it under Alcuinus's name (24). But Oudin (25) is of opinion, it was not written by Alcuinus, becauſe the poetry is very barbarous, and inferior to that of his other poems. That writer aſcribes it to a Benedictine Monk, named Fridegodus, who lived about the year 960. Dr. Gale aſſures us (26) he had by him ſeveral epiſtles of Alcuinus, which were never publiſhed. Beſides the works of Alcuinus above mentioned, he wrote ſome pieces, which are loſt; namely, 50. Commentarius in Proverbia; *i. e. A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs.* 51. Commentarius in quatuor Epiſtolas S. Pauli, viz. ad Epheſios, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, & ad Hebræos; *i. e. A Commentary on four of St. Paul's Epiſtles*, viz. *thoſe to the Epheſians, to Titus, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews.* 52. De Orthographia liber; *i. e. A Treatiſe of Orthography.* 53. De muſica Liber; *i. e. An Eſſay on Muſic.* B.

[A number of other ſmall pieces aſcribed to Alcuinus, have appeared ſince Du Cheſne's edition, the titles of which may be met with in Du Pin's Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (27). We ſhall ſubjoin Mr. Warton's account of Alcuinus, as it contains ſome particulars not mentioned in the preceding article, and concludes with a very judicious obſervation concerning the ſtate of learning in the eighth century.

'Alcuine, Biſhop Ecbert's Librarian at York, was 'a contemporary pupil with Aldhelm, under Theodore and Adrian at Canterbury. During the 'preſent period, there ſeems to have been a cloſe 'correſpondence and intercourſe between the French 'and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. Alcuine was invited from England into France, to 'ſuperintend the ſtudies of Charlemagne, whom he 'inſtructed in Logic, Rhetoric, and Aſtronomy. 'He was alſo the maſter of Rabanus Maurus, who 'became

(6) Cave, *ibid.*
(7) *Ibid.*
(8) Cave, *ibid.*
(9) *Id. ibid.*
(10) *Id. ibid.*
(11) Annal. ad an. 792.
(12) Cave, ubi ſupra, an. 768.
(13) Analect. T. i. p. 178.
(14) Præfat. ad Oper. Ferrandi.
(15) Miſcell. T. ii. p. 382.
(16) *Ibid.* p. 365.
(17) Ib. T. iv. p. 413.
(18) Spiceleg. T. ix.
(19) Analect. T. iv. p. 272.
(20) *Ibid.* T. i. p. 369. T. ii. p. 552.
(21) Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob. lib. ii. c. 5.
(22) *Ibid.*
(23) Acta Sanct. menſe Februar. p. 800.
(24) Galeus. Rer. Anglic. Script. T. iii. p. 703.
(25) Comment. de Script. Eccleſ. Sæc. viii.
(26) Ubi ſupra.
(27) Berkenhout's Biographia Literaria, Vol. i. p. 74.

'became afterwards the Governor and Preceptor of 'the great Abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of the 'most flouriſhing ſeminaries in Europe, founded by 'Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and 'ſeventy Monks. Alcuine was likewiſe employed 'by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and diſ-'cipline of the univerſities, which that prudent and 'magnificent potentate had newly conſtituted. He 'is ſaid to have joined to the Greek and Latin, an 'acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which per-'haps in ſome degree was known ſooner than we 'may ſuſpect; for at Trinity College in Cambridge 'there is a Hebrew Pſalter with a Normanno-Gallic 'interlinear verſion of great antiquity. Homilies, 'lives of ſaints, commentaries on the Bible, with 'the uſual ſyſtems of Logic, Aſtronomy, Rhetoric, 'and Grammar, compoſe the formidable catalogue 'of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books 'of the ſciences, he ſometimes ventured to break 'through the pedantic formalities of a ſyſtematical 'teacher: he has thrown one of his treatiſes in Lo-'gic, and I think, another in grammar, into a 'dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. 'He firſt adviſed Bede to write his Eccleſiaſtical 'Hiſtory of England; and was greatly inſtrumental 'in furniſhing materials for that early and authen-'tic record of our antiquities.

'In the mean time, we muſt not form too mag-'nificent ideas of theſe celebrated maſters of 'ſcience, who were thus invited into foreign coun-'tries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, 'and to plan the rudiments of the moſt illuſtrious 'academies. Their merits are in a great meaſure 'relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, 'their ſyſtems of philoſophy jejune; and their lec-'tures rather ſerved to ſtop the growth of ignorance, 'than to produce any poſitive or important improve-'ments in knowledge. They were unable to make 'excurſions from their circumſcribed paths of ſcien-'tific inſtruction, into the ſpacious and fruitful re-'gions of liberal and manly ſtudy. Thoſe of their 'hearers, who had paſſed through the courſe of the 'ſciences with applauſe, and aſpired to higher ac-'quiſitions, were exhorted to read Caſſiodorus and 'Boethius; whoſe writings they placed at the ſum-'mit of prophane literature, and which they be-'lieved to be the great boundaries of human erudi-'tion (28).'

The account, in the preceding extract, that Alcuine firſt adviſed Bede to write his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, and was greatly inſtrumental in furniſhing materials for that work, cannot be true. Leland indeed doth ſay, that 'He exhorted Bede to 'write the Hiſtory of the Engliſh Church;' and Biſhop Tanner hath paſſed over this aſſertion without any ſtricture (29). But the fact is evidently confuted by chronology. Bede publiſhed his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in 731; and he had been employed ſeveral years before in making collections for this great undertaking (30). He could not perhaps, conſidering the extenſiveneſs of his materials, and the difficulty at that period of ſpeedily collecting them, have formed his deſign later than in the year 720. Now Alcuine lived till the year 804; ſo that he muſt have given his advice to Bede above eighty years before his own death, which is too abſurd to be credited. There was another Alcuinus, or Albinus, Abbot of St. Auſtin's Church in Canterbury, who was ſtrictly contemporary with Bede, and who died three years before him. This Alcuinus it was who urged Bede to draw up his hiſtory, and who aſſiſted him by his communications, as is evident from a letter written to him by that venerable author himſelf (31). Neither is it at all probable that our Alcuine was educated under Bede; before he was put under the care of Archbiſhop Egbert. Dr. Henry juſtly remarks, that 'as he ſurvived Bede 'about ſeventy years, it is hardly poſſible that he 'could have received any part of his education 'under him, as ſome writers of literary hiſtory have 'affirmed; and it is worthy of obſervation, adds 'the Doctor, that he never calls that great man his 'maſter, though he ſpeaks of him with the higheſt 'veneration (32).' 'Alcuine, ſays Sir John Haw-'kins, was well verſed in the liberal ſciences; par-'ticularly in muſic, as appears by a tract of his on 'the uſe of the Pſalms, and by the preface to Caſ-'ſiodorus de ſeptem Diſciplinis, firſt printed in 'Garetius's edition of that author, and which is ex-'preſsly ſaid by Du Pin, Fabricius, and others, to 'have been written by Alcuine (33).'] K.

(28) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh poetry, Diſſertation the Second, p. 101—103.

(29) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 20.

(30) *Vide* the article Bede.

(31) Tanner, ubi ſupra. Artic. Albinus Cantuarenſis, p. 20. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, Vol. i. p. 637. Oxford Edition, of 1740.

(32) Henry's Hiſtory of Britain, Vol. ii. p. 334.

(33) Hawkin's Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. i. p. 378. Note.

ALDHELM or ADELM (*St.*) Biſhop of Shireburn in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt Saxons (*a*) [*A*]. He was born at Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury [*B*] in Wiltſhire, and had his education partly abroad in France and Italy, and partly at home under Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, who had built a little monaſtery where the town of Malmſbury now ſtands. After Maildulphus's death, Aldhelm ſucceeding him did, by the help of Eleutherius, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the ground of right belonged, build there a very ſtately monaſtery [*C*], of which himſelf was the firſt

(*a*) Baleus, de Script. Britan. centur. I. n. 83. and Godwin de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherbornenſ. an. 705.

[*A*] *He is generally ſaid to have been the ſon of Kenred or Kenter, brother of Ina King of the Weſt Saxons.*] Let us hear William of Malmſbury concerning the family of St. Aldhelm. 'Ferunt quidam *(ſays that 'hiſtorian)* incertum unde id aſſumpſerint, fuiſſe 'nepotem Inæ regis Weſt-Saxonum ex fratre Ken-'tero. Nobis pro vero arrogare non libuit, quod 'videtur magis opinioni quadrare volaticæ, quam ve-'ritati hiſtoricæ. Siquidem ex chronicis conſtat quod 'Ina nullum fratrem præter Inigildum habuerit, qui 'paucis ante ipſum annis deceſſit. Poſſem & illud 'objicere, quod Aldhelmus non minor ſeptuagena-'rio decedens, Inam plus xviii annis ſuperſtitem reli-'querit, idemque rex poſtea tot annos viridi adhuc 'ævo Romam iverit. Convenitne ut patruus juvenis 'nepotem ſeptuagenarium haberet, qui de fratre mi-'noris ætatis natus fuiſſet?——Qui legit manualem 'librum legis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum beati Ald-'helmi patrem non fuiſſe regis Inæ germanum, ſed 'arctiſſima neceſſitudine conſanguineum (1).——*Some 'report, upon what authority I know not, that he was 'nephew of Ina King of the Weſt-Saxons, being the 'ſon of his brother Kenter. I would not aſſume for 'true, what looks more like a flying rumour, than a 'matter of fact. For it is evident from hiſtory, that 'Ina had no other brother than Inigild, who died a 'few years before him. I might alſo object, that Ald-'helm, being not leſs than ſeventy years old when he 'died, left Ina, who ſurvived him eighteen years, and 'that the ſame King, after ſo many years, went to 'Rome in the vigour of his age. Is it conſiſtent, that 'the uncle in the flower of his youth ſhould have a 'nephew ſeventy years of age, and the ſon of his 'younger brother? Whoever reads King Elfred's ma-'nual, will find that Kenter the father of St. Ald-'helm was not the brother of King Ina, but only very 'nearly related to him by blood.'* We ſhall leave the matter to reſt upon the authority and reaſoning of William of Malmſbury.

(1) W. Malmſb. de Vit. S. Aldhelmi, *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, T. ii. p. 2.

[*B*] *Caer-Bladon, now called Malmſbury.*] This town was built by Dunwallo Mulmutius King of the Britons, and by him called Caer-Bladon. After it had been deſtroyed by the wars, there aroſe out of its ruins a caſtle called by the Saxons Ingelborne; which was known by no other name for a long time, till Maildulphus an Iriſh Scot, a great ſcholar, and eminent for his devotion and ſtrictneſs of life, being delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the wood under the hill, upon which the caſtle ſtood, lived there a hermit. Afterwards inſtituting a ſchool, and with his ſcholars devoting himſelf to a monaſtic life, he built a little monaſtery. From this Maildulphus the town of Ingelborne began to be called Maildulfſburg, and by Bede *Maildulfi Urbs* Maildulf's town: which name in length of time was changed into that of Malmſbury (2).

(2) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 103.

[*C*] *Aldhelm built a very ſtately monaſtery.*] King Ethelſtan enriched this monaſtery with ample donations, and choſe it for the place of his burial. After the Monks had been in poſſeſſion of it for the ſpace

first Abbot. Upon the death of Hedda, Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, that kingdom being divided into two dioceſes, namely, Wincheſter and Shireburn, King Ina promoted Aldhelm to the latter, comprehending Dorſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwall (*b*). It is ſaid, he was conſecrated at Rome by Pope Sergius I. and that he had the courage to reprove the Holy Father for having a baſtard [*D*]. This Prelate, by the direction of a dioceſan Synod, wrote a book againſt the miſtake of the Britons concerning the celebration of Eaſter; in which he charged the Britiſh Church with many ſingularities, which kept them from the Saxon communion. This book, Bede tells us (*c*), reconciled many of the Britons, who were ſubject to the Weſt Saxons, to the Catholic uſage in that point. He likewiſe wrote a book, partly in proſe, and partly in hexameter verſe, in praiſe of virginity (*d*), dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbeſs of Barking (*e*), and publiſhed among Bede's *Opuſcula* (*f*). Aldhelm wrote ſeveral other pieces, mentioned by Bale and William of Malmſbury [*E*]. Bede gives him the character of an univerſal ſcholar and an elegant writer (*g*). The monkiſh authors, eſpecially William of Malmſbury (*h*), have aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St. Aldhelm: particularly they tell us, that a Carpenter having cut a beam for his church too ſhort, the Saint by his prayers ſtretched it out to the full proportion; and that he hung his garments upon the rays of the ſun, which miraculouſly ſupported them, to the admiration of all the beholders (*i*). He was the firſt Engliſhman that ever wrote in Latin, and that introduced Latin poetry into England [*F*]. He preferred muſic to all other worldly delights, and played ſkilfully on all ſorts of inſtruments (*k*). The Popiſh writers pretend, he

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Anglor. l. v. c. 18.
(*d*) Bede, *ibid.*

(*e*) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* Decem Scriptores, p. 745.

(*f*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. ii. p. 121.
(*g*) Bede, ubi ſupra.
(*h*) See W. Malmſb. lib. v. de Pontif. Angl. ſive de Vit. S. Aldhelmi. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part ii.

(*i*) Flowers of the Engliſh Saints, p. 491, 492.

(*k*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

of 270 years, they were turned out in the year 956 by the command of King Edwy, and ſecular prieſts put in their room; but they were reſtored by King Edgar. This religious houſe was famous for its wealth, and for having produced ſeveral learned men, eſpecially William of Malmſbury, to whoſe learned induſtry the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England are greatly indebted. King John gave the Monks leave to raze the caſtle for the enlargement of the abbey, which exceeded all the reſt in Wiltſhire both for riches and honour, its Abbot ſitting in Parliament as a Peer of the Realm. At the diſſolution of the monaſteries in the reign of Henry VIII. the abbey of Malmſbury was purchaſed for a large ſum of money by one Stump, a rich clothier, for the uſe of the inhabitants, who converted it into a pariſh church (3).

(3) Camden, *ib.* col. 104.

[*D*] *He had the courage to reprove the Pope for having a baſtard.*] 'Memoriæ traditum *(ſays Biſhop Godwin)* dum ibi loci hæreret, approbationem 'pontificiam expectans, ſanctiſſimum illum patrem, 'verum jam patrem, nova prole auctum; & luxuriam 'hominis reprehendere coram auſum novitium hunc 'epiſcopum (4). —— *It is reported, that, whilſt he 'tarried at Rome in expectation of the Pope's approbation, the moſt holy Father, now a father indeed, 'had a child born to him; and that this new Biſhop 'had the courage to reprove him to his face for his incontinency.*' But Bale gives this ſtory a quite different turn, and reproaches Aldhelm for not diſcharging his conſcience. 'Unum hoc in eo deflendum '*(ſays he)* occurrit, quod cum Sergio Primo Pontifice 'Romano longam conſuetudinem habens (cujus interim non ignorabat inceſtum) cauterio peruſtam 'avehebat conſcientiam (5). — *One thing only is 'blameable in him, that having had a long intimacy 'with Pope Sergius I. (whoſe incontinency in the 'mean time he was not a ſtranger to) he brought away 'his conſcience ſeared with a hot iron.*'

(4) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Sherbornenſ. an. 715.

(5) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. centur. I. n. 83.

[*E*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] 1. De octo vitiis principalibus; *i. e. Of the eight principal Vices* (6); or, as it is otherwiſe called, De pugna octo principalium virtutum; *i. e. Of the fight of the eight principal virtues* (7). It is extant in the Bibliotheca Patrum of Caniſius (8). 2. Ænigmatum Verſus mille; *i. e. Ænigmas conſiſting of a thouſand Verſes*, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius (9). This, with the other works in verſe of St. Aldhelm, were publiſhed by Martin Delrio at Mentz, in 1601, in 8*vo.* (10) 3. A book, addreſſed to a certain King of Northumberland named Alfred, containing the following chapters: De Septenarii numeri dignitate, collecta ex veteris & Novi Teſtamenti floribus & diſciplinis philoſophorum; *i. e. Of the dignity of the number Seven, collected from the flowers of the Old and New Teſtament, and from the doctrines of the philoſophers.* De Ammonitione fraternæ charitatis; *i. e. Of the admonition of brotherly charity.* De inſenſibilium rerum natura, quæ ſecundum metaphoram ſermocinari figurantur; *i. e. Of the nature of inſenſible things, which are metaphorically and by a figure ſuppoſed to be indued with ſpeech.* De pedum regulis; *i. e. Of the rules of feet, or the meaſures of verſe.* De Metaplaſmo; *i. e Of the figure called Metaplaſm.* De Synalæpha; *i. e. Of the figure called Synalæpha.* De ſcanſione & eclipſi verſuum; *i. e. Of the ſcanning and ellipſis of verſes.* De metro alterna interrogatio & reſponſio; *i. e. A Dialogue concerning metre* (11). 4. De vita monachorum; *i. e. Of the monaſtic life.* 5. De laude ſanctorum; *i. e. Of the Praiſe of the ſaints.* 6. De Arithmetica; *i. e. A Treatiſe of Arithmetic.* 7. De Aſtrologia; *i. e. A Treatiſe of Aſtrology.* Beſides Homilies, Epiſtles, and Sonnets in the Saxon tongue (12). I ſhall ſubjoin William of Malmſbury's character of St. Aldhelm as a writer. 'Sermones ejus minus infundunt hilaritatis quam 'vellent hi qui rerum incurioſi verba trutinant; 'judices importuni, qui neſciant quod ſecundum 'mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. Denique Græci involute, Romani ſplendide, Angli 'pompatice dictare ſolent. Id in omnibus antiquis 'cartis eſt animadvertere. Moderatius tamen ſe 'agit Aldelmus, nec niſi perraro & neceſſario verba 'ponit exotica. Allegat catholicos ſenſus ſermo facundus, & violentiſſimas aſſertiones exornat color 'rhetoricus. Quem ſi perfecte legeris, & ex acumine Græcum putabis, & ex nitore Romanum 'jurabis, & ex pompa Anglum intelliges (13). —— '*There is leſs gaiety in his diſcourſes than thoſe deſire 'who are more careful of ſtyle than matter; unreaſonable critics, who forget that the mode of ſpeaking 'differs according to the different manners of people. 'Thus the language of the Greeks is involved and obſcure, that of the Romans ſplendid and elegant, that 'of the Engliſh pompous and ſwelling. This is remarkable in all the ancient writings. As for Aldhelm, he is very moderate in his ſtyle, and never introduces foreign terms but upon neceſſity. His Catholic 'meaning is cloathed with eloquence, and his moſt vehement aſſertions adorned with the colours of Rhetoric. 'If you read him with attention, you will take him 'for a Grecian by his acuteneſs, a Roman by his elegance, and an Engliſhman by the pomp of his language.*'

(6) Baleus, ubi ſupra, p. 7.
(7) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.
(8) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. vii. an. 680.
(9) W. Malmſb. *ibid.*
(10) Cave, *ibid.*

(11) W. Malmſb. *ibid.*

(12) Baleus, *ibid.*

(13) W. Malmſb. *ibid.*

[*F*] *He was the firſt —— that introduced poetry into England.*] This he ſays of himſelf in one of his treatiſes on metre: 'Hæc de metrorum generibus & 'ſchematibus pro utilitate ingenii mei habes, multum 'laborioſe, neſcio ſi fructuoſe, collecta, quamvis mihi 'conſcius ſum me illud Virgilianum poſſe jactare,

'Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
'Aonio rediens deducam vertice Muſas (14).

'—— *Theſe things have I written concerning the 'kinds and meaſures of verſe; collected with much labour, but whether uſeful I know not; though I am 'conſcious to myſelf I have a right to boaſt as Virgil 'did:*

'*I firſt,*

(14) *Apud* W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

he uſed frequently to put his virtue to a dangerous trial, by lying all night with a young woman, yet without violation of his chaſtity (*l*). St. Aldhelm lived in great eſteem till his death, which happened May the 25th, 709. A meadow near the town of Malmſbury is called from him *St. Aldhelm's Mead*; and before the Reformation they had ſeveral other memorials of him, as his Pſalter, the robe wherein he ſaid Maſs, and a great bell in the Abbey-ſteeple called *St. Aldhelm's Bell* (*m*).

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

(*m*) Camd. Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. i. col. 104.

' *I firſt, returning from th' Aonian hill,*
' *Will lead the Muſes to my native land.*'

His hiſtorian tells us, he made an excellent uſe of his ſkill in Engliſh poetry; which was to poliſh the barbarous manners of the people, and to bring them to a better ſenſe of religion. ' Commemorat Elfredus ' carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Al- ' delmum feciſſe; adjiciens cauſam, qua probet ra- ' tionabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola ' inſtitiſſe: populum eo tempore ſemi-barbarum, pa- ' rum divinis ſermonibus attentum, ſtatim cantatis ' miſſis domos curſitare ſolitum; ideoque ſanctum ' virum ſuper pontem quæ rura & urbem continuat, ' abeuntibus ſe oppoſuiſſe obicem, quaſi artem can- ' tandi profeſſum. Eo plus quam ſemel facto, plebis ' favorem & concurſum emeritum. Hoc commento, ' ſenſim inter ludicra verbis ſcripturarum inſertis, ' cives ad ſanitatem reduxiſſe; qui ſi ſevere & cum ' excommunicatione agendum putaſſet, profecto pro- ' feciſſet nihil (15). —— *Elfred informs us, that Aldhelm made the ballad, which is ſtill commonly ſung, adding a probable reaſon why ſo great a man buſied himſelf about ſuch trifles; namely, that the people were half barbarians, little attentive to religious diſcourſes, and accuſtomed to run home immediately after ſinging of maſs; wherefore the holy man, placing himſelf upon a bridge that joined the town and country, uſed often to ſtop them, profeſſing himſelf ſkilled in the art of ſinging. By this means he gained the favour of the populace, who flocked about him; and inſenſibly mixing words of ſcripture with ludicrous matters, he brought the towns-men to a right way of thinking; whereas, if he had thought proper to uſe ſeverity, or have proceeded to excommunication, he would have met with no ſucceſs.*' B.

(15) *Id. ib.*

[All the accounts of Aldhelm repreſent him as having been a very conſiderable man for the time in which he lived. It is evident, ſays Dr. Henry, from his works, which are ſtill extant, that he had read the moſt celebrated authors of Greece and Rome, and that he was no contemptible critic in the languages in which theſe authors wrote (16). In the different ſeminaries in which he was educated, he acquired ſuch a ſtock of knowledge, and became ſo eminent for his literature, not only in England but in foreign countries, that he was reſorted to by many perſons from Scotland, Ireland, and France. Artville, a Prince of Scotland, who applied himſelf to letters, ſent his works to Aldhelm to be examined by him, and intreated him to give them their laſt poliſh, by rubbing off their Scotch ruſt (17). Beſides the inſtructions which Aldhelm received from Maidulphus, in France and Italy, he had part of his education, and as it would ſeem, the moſt conſiderable part, at Canterbury, under Theodore, Archbiſhop of that city; and Adrian, the moſt learned profeſſor of the ſciences who had ever been in England (18). The ardour with which he proſecuted his ſtudies at that place, is well repreſented in a letter written by him to Hedda Biſhop of Wincheſter; which letter alſo gives a good account of the different branches of knowledge in the cultivation of which he was then engaged. Theſe were, the Roman Juriſprudence, the Rules of Verſes and the muſical Modulation of Words and Syllables, the Doctrine of the Seven Diviſions of Poetry, Arithmetic, Aſtronomy, and Aſtrology (19). It is obſervable, that Aldhelm ſpeaks in very pompous terms of Arithmetic, as a moſt high and difficult attainment; though it is now ſo generally taught, as not to be reckoned a part of a learned education. In oppoſition to what has commonly been underſtood, that Aldhelm was the firſt of the Saxons who taught his countrymen the art of Latin verſification, Mr. Warton informs us, that Conringius, a very intelligent antiquarian in this ſort of literature, mentions an anonymous Latin poet, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verſe, and adds, that he was the firſt of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verſe. But it ought to have been recollected, that Aldhelm died above thirty years before Charlemagne was born. ' Aldhelm's Latin compoſitions, whe- ' ther in verſe or proſe, as novelties, were deemed ' extraordinary performances, and excited the at- ' tention and admiration of ſcholars in other coun- ' tries. A learned cotemporary, who lived in a re- ' mote province of a Frankiſh territory, in an epiſtle ' to Aldhelm, has this remarkable expreſſion: " VESTRÆ LATINITATIS PANEGYRICUS RUMOR " has reached us even at this diſtance, &c." Mr. Warton, to whom we are indebted for the preceding information, juſtly takes notice, that Aldhelm's Treatiſe on Metre is a proof that the ornaments of compoſition had begun to be ſtudied; and that when Malmeſbury, in ſpeaking of Aldhelm (20), characteriſes the Greeks by their acuteneſs, he took his idea of them from their ſcientifical literature, which was then only known: for after the revival of the Greek philoſophy by the Saracens, Ariſtotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe, long before Homer and Pindar (21). In an ancient anonymous chronicle, found by Leland at Barnewell, not far from Cambridge, it is ſaid of Aldhelm, that ' he was ' an excellent harper, a moſt eloquent Saxon and ' Latin Poet, a moſt expert chantor or ſinger, a ' DOCTOR EGREGIUS, and admirably verſed in the ' Scriptures and the liberal Sciences (22).' ' Sanctus ' Aldhelmus, Inæ, Regis Weſtſaxonum, propin- ' quus, citharœdus erat optimus, Saxonicus atque ' Latinus poeta facundiſſimus, cantor peritiſſimus, ' doctor egregius, ſermone nitidus, Scripturarum ' tam liberalium quam Eccleſiaſticarum eruditione ' mirandus (23).' To excel in ſinging, and in playing on the harp, are often mentioned as accompliſhments of the ancient Saxon eccleſiaſtics (24). Other writers, beſides Bale, have celebrated Aldhelm's love of muſic, and his ſkill in the practice of it. Bale's expreſſion is, ' Artem Muſices omni- ' bus mundi deliciis prætulit, inſtrumentorum ' omnium peritiam perappoſitè callens (25).' Accordingly, Sir John Hawkins has not forgotten to give Aldhelm an honourable place in his Hiſtory of Muſic (26).] K.

(16) Henry's Hiſt. of Brit. Vol. ii. p. 320.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 318. Leland *apud* Tanner, p. 25.

(18) Leland, *ibid.* Henry, *ibid.* Mr. T. Warton ſays, That Aldhelm was taught by Albin, the pupil of Adrian. Hiſt. of Engl. Poetry. Diſſ. 2d.

(19) Henry, ubi ſupra, p. 320—322.

(20) See the Note [*E*].

(21) Warton, ubi ſupra.

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) Leland. Collectan. tom. ſecund. p. 322. Edit. 1770.

(24) Warton, ubi ſupra.

(25) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(26) Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. ii. p. 18.

ALDHUN, the firſt Biſhop of Durham, ſucceeded Elfſig in the biſhopric of Lindisfarne or Holy Iſland (*a*), in the year 990, being the twelfth of the reign of King Ethelred. He was of a noble family, but, according to Simeon of Durham, more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment [*A*]. He ſat about ſix years in the ſee of Lindisfarne, during which time that iſland was greatly expoſed to the incurſions of the Daniſh pirates. This made him think of removing from thence; though Simeon

(*a*) See an account of this biſhopric in the article AIDAN, a Scotch Biſhop.

[*A*] *He was of a noble family, but —— more ennobled by his virtues and religious deportment.*]
' Erat autem idem antiſtes proſapia nobilis, ſed pla- ' cita Deo converſatione multo nobilior, habitu, ſicut ' omnes predeceſſores ejus, & actu monachus proba- ' bilis. Cujus probitatis laudem a majoribus ſibi tra- ' ditam indigenæ pene omnes, ac ſi eum viderent, ' prædicare ſolent (1). —— *He was noble by birth, but much more ſo by his religious behaviour; a Monk, as all his predeceſſors were; and that not only in the external garb, but in the real virtues of that character. The fame of his goodneſs has reached poſterity, and is ſtill celebrated by the inhabitants of his dioceſe, as if he were now alive and converſant among them.*'

(1) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelm. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 26.

of

of Durham says, he was put upon it by an admonition from Heaven (*b*). However, taking with him the body of St. Cuthbert, which had been buried there about 113 years, and accompanied by all the Monks and the rest of the people, he went away from Holy Island; and, after wandering about some time, at last he settled with his followers at Dunelm, now called Durham; where he gave rise both to the city and cathedral church [*B*]. He had a daughter named Ecgfrid, whom he gave in marriage to Uchtred, son of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, and with her six towns belonging to the episcopal see (*c*); upon condition that he should never divorce her. But that young Lord afterwards repudiating her [*C*], Aldhun received back the church lands he had given with her (*d*). This Prelate educated King Ethelred's two sons, Alfred and Edward; and, when their father was driven from his throne by Swane King of Denmark, he conducted them, together with Queen Emma, into Normandy, to Duke Richard the Queen's brother (*e*). This was in the year 1017, a little before Bishop Aldhun's death. For the next year, the English having received a terrible overthrow in a battle with the Scots, the good Bishop was so affected with the news, that he died a few days after [*D*], having enjoyed the prelacy twenty-nine years (*f*). Radulphus de Diceto (*g*) calls this Bishop *Alfhunus*, and Bishop Godwin (*h*) *Aldwinus*.

(*b*) Cœlesti monitus oraculo. Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 27.

(*c*) These were, Birmeton, Skirningheim, Elton, Carltun, Heaclif, and Hefelden. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra, col. 79.

(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 80.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Dunelm. an. 990.

(*f*) Sim. Dunelm. *ibid.* col. 30.

(*g*) Abbreviat. Chronol. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 467.

(*h*) Ubi supra.

[*B*] *He gave rise both to the city and cathedral church of Durham.*] Before Aldhun's arrival, the town of Dunelm, or Durham, consisted only of a few scattered huts or cottages. The spot of ground was covered with a very thick wood, which the Bishop, with the assistance of the people that followed him, made a shift to cut down, and clear away. After he had assigned the people their respective habitations by lot, he began to build a church of stone; which he finished in three years time, and dedicated it to St. Cuthbert, placing in it the body of that Saint. From that time the episcopal see, which had been placed at Lindisfarne by bishop Aidan, remained fixed at Durham; and the cathedral church was soon endowed with considerable benefactions by King Ethelred and other great men (2). Durham, in Latin *Dunelmum*, (Bishop Godwin tells us) was so called from *Dun*, which in the Saxon language signified a mountain, and *Holm* which signified a river-island; because the river Were surrounds on all sides the mountain on which the city stands (3).

(2) Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra, col. 28, 29.

(3) Godwin, ubi supra.

[*C*] *That young lord repudiated Aldhun's daughter.*] Malcolm King of Scotland, having invaded the northern parts of England, laid siege to Durham. Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, being an old man and not able to make head against the enemy, shut himself up in the royal city of Bebbanburg. But his son Uchtred, at that time married to Ecfrid, putting himself at the head of the Northumbrians and Yorkshire-men, fell upon the Scots, and gave them a total overthrow, Malcolm himself narrowly escaping by flight. King Ethelred hearing of this victory sent for Uchtred; and as a reward of his valour and conduct, gave him the earldom of Northumberland, though his father was not yet dead, and annexed to it that of York. The young Earl was scarcely invested with these new honours, when he repudiated his wife (4). Simeon of Durham assigns no reason for this divorce: but it is very probable, Uchtred now thought himself too great a man to be son-in-law to a Bishop, and that he aspired after a nobler alliance: for having first married the daughter of a rich citizen named Styr, and thereby (probably) acquired a considerable increase of wealth, he soon got rid of her by divorce, and obtained in marriage Elfgiva the daughter of King Ethelred (5). As for Ecfrid, she was married to a Thane in Warwickshire named Kilvert; but being divorced from this second husband, she returned to Durham, and there shut herself up in a convent during the rest of her life (6). Our author places the siege of Durham, mentioned in this remark, in the year 969; whereas Aldhun did not remove from Lindisfarne till about 996; which two dates are utterly irreconcileable. It is not easy to say whence this chronological mistake arose, whether from the negligence of the author, the copyist, or the printer. It is certain that Aldhun's daughter was not married to Uchtred till after her father's settlement at Durham, nor was she divorced from him till after the above-mentioned siege.

(4) Sim. Dunelm. de Uchtredo Comite Northanhymbrorum. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 79, 80.

(5) *Ibid.* col. 80.

(6) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *The Bishop was so affected with the news, that he died a few days after.*] When he heard of the dreadful slaughter of the English, he fetched a deep groan, and cried out, 'Wretch that I am! Why 'have I lived to this time? Was it to see the destruc-'tion of my people? O holy confessor Cuth-'bert, beloved of God! if ever I have done any 'thing pleasing in thy sight, now reward me by not 'suffering me to survive the slaughter of thy people.' *O me, inquit, miserum! ut quid in hæc tempora servatus sum? an ideo huc usque vixi, ut tantam viderem cladem populi? O, inquit, sanctissime, O dilecte Deo confessor Cuthberte, si quid unquam tibi placitum feci, nunc quæso mihi vicem repende. Illam dico vicem, ut tuo populo mortuo non sim ego diutius superstes* (7).

B.

(7) *Id. ibid.* col. 30.

ALDRED, Archbishop of York in the reigns of Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William the Conqueror, was a Monk of Winchester, afterwards Abbot of Tavistock, and from thence promoted to the see of Worcester, in the year 1046 (*a*). Four years after his consecration he took a journey to Jerusalem, through Hungary; a thing which no English Bishop had attempted before him (*b*). Being returned into England, he was sent by King Edward on an embassy to the Emperor Henry II. [*A*] He stayed a whole year in Germany, and learned many things there relating to Church discipline,

(*a*) Sim. Dunelm. de Gest. Reg. Anglor. ad an. 1046.

(*b*) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Episc. *apud* X. Scriptores, 1700.

[*A*] *He was sent by King Edward on an embassy to the Emperor Henry II.*] The design of this embassy was, to desire the Emperor to send letters and Ambassadors to Solomon King of Hungary, to prevail with him to send home Prince Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, whom King Edward had designed for his heir (1). For King Edmund having left two sons, Edmund and Edward, King Canute, for fear they should disturb him in the possession of the throne, sent them into Denmark, under pretence of travelling, but with a secret intention of having them murdered. The person, with whom he had entrusted the young Princes, knowing his design, instead of carrying them into Denmark, conducted them to the King of Sweden, whom he acquainted with the King of England's design. The Swedish King received them with great kindness: but, being cautious of disobliging Canute, he sent the young Princes to the court of Hungary, where Solomon willingly took upon himself the care of their education. That prince married one of his daughters to Edmund, and gave his sister-in-law, the Emperor's daughter, to Edward. Edmund died soon after his marriage; but Edward had several children (2). The Emperor complied with the intention of Aldred's embassy, and accordingly Edward, with his wife Agatha, his son Edgar, and his daughters Margaret and Christina, arrived in England in 1057. But Prince Edward dying soon after his arrival disappointed the Confessor's intention (3).

(1) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 942.

(2) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, l. v.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

the

the practice of which he afterwards introduced into England (*c*). He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman [*B*]; and of that of Hereford four years, after the death of Leofgar, in 1056 (*d*). In the year 1061, Kinſius Archbiſhop of York being dead, Aldred was advanced to that See, and, with the King's conſent, held the Biſhoprick of Worceſter *in commendam* [*C*], as four of his predeceſſors had done (*e*). Soon after, he went to Rome for his pall, accompanied by Toſti Earl of Northumberland, Giſo Biſhop of Wells, and Walter Biſhop of Hereford. But Pope Nicolas II. being informed of his ſimoniacal practices, not only refuſed to confirm him in the Archbiſhoprick, but deprived him likewiſe of all he enjoyed before. Thus diſappointed, he left Rome with his three companions: but as they were travelling over the Alps, they were ſet upon by a band of robbers, who plundered them of every thing but their clothes; ſo that they were obliged to return to Rome, to get a farther ſupply for their journey. Then Earl Toſti interpoſing, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats [*D*], prevailed upon the Pope to confirm Aldred, and give him the pall; which he did, on condition that Prelate ſhould reſign the See of Worceſter (*f*). Being quietly ſeated in his chair at York, he began to do ſome good things: for he built a common hall for the Canons to dine in; he finiſhed the hall at Beverly, begun by his predeceſſor, but left imperfect; he re-built the new cathedral church at Glouceſter, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes; laſtly, he obliged the clergy of his province to wear a decent and uniform habit, whereas before they were not diſtinguiſhable from the laity. The See of York having been greatly reduced by the perſecution of the Barbarians, Aldred, with the King's conſent, retained twelve towns or manors belonging to the See of Worceſter for his own uſe (*g*) [*E*]. And now this Prelate began to diſcover himſelf to be a mere worldling and an odious time-ſerver. For no ſooner was his patron King Edward dead, but he aſſiſted Harold, ſon of Earl Godwin, to obtain the crown. Afterwards, when William the Norman had ſucceeded in his invaſion, and Stigand Archbiſhop of Canterbury had refuſed to crown him, Aldred fell in with the ſtream, and performed the ceremony; only exacting an oath from the Norman, that he would love and protect the Engliſh equally with his own natural ſubjects (*h*). But when afterwards he found that the Conqueror little regarded this oath, he thundered out an excommunication againſt him (*i*). Soon after, the Daniſh invaſion coming on, and the citizens of York, with the Northumbrians and others, declaring for Prince Edgar Atheling's title, Aldred ſickened at the news, and died, September 10, 1069, juſt before the Danes landed; and was buried in the cathedral church of York (*k*). This Archbiſhop was the laſt Engliſhman promoted to the ſee of York; his ſucceſſors being of Norman race (*l*). I ſhall give the reader a taſte of this Prelate's ſpiritual pride and prieſtly

(*c*) Stubbs, ibid.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.* col. 1701.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

(*f*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. iii *apud* Rer. Anglic. poſt Bedam Scriptor. p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

(*g*) Stubbs, ubi ſupra, col. 1702.

(*h*) *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. vi.

(*k*) Stubbs, ib. col. 1703.

(*l*) *Id. ib.* col. 1705.

[*B*] *He had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Wilton three years, during the abſence of Biſhop Herman.*] This Herman was a Fleming, and had been chaplain to King Edward, who advanced him to the Biſhopric of Wilton. The revenues of that Biſhopric being but ſmall, Herman petitioned the King for leave to fix the epiſcopal ſee in the convent of Malmſbury: but Edward, by the advice of his nobles, refuſing his conſent, Herman in diſguſt threw up his Biſhopric, and retiring into France lived three years in a monaſtery: in the meantime Aldred had the care of his ſee. But Herman diſreliſhing the monaſtic life, and hearing that the Biſhop of Shireburn was dead, which ſee the King had formerly promiſed him he would annex to that of Wilton, he returned into England; and the King keeping to his promiſe, Herman held the united ſees of Wilton and Shireburn till the ninth year of William the Conqueror, when the epiſcopal ſeat was fixed at Sarum or Saliſbury (4).

(4) Chronic. J. Bromton. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 946.

[*C*] *He held the Biſhopric of Worceſter* in commendam.] William of Malmſbury charges the Archbiſhop with obtaining this *commendam* ſimoniacally. *Hic ſimplicitati Edwardi illudens, moremque anteceſſorum pecunia magis quam ratione allegans, Archiepiſcopatum Eboracenſem non intermiſſa priori ſede ſuſcepit* (5). There is ſome obſcurity in this paſſage: but the ſenſe of it ſeems to be; that Aldred, abuſing the eaſy diſpoſition of the King, found means to retain the ſee of Worceſter, rather by the force of money properly applied, than by virtue of the precedent he alledged.

(5) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. Angl. l iii. *apud* Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. poſt Bedam, p. 271. edit. Francof. 1601.

[*D*] ——— *By threats.*] The earl was of a fiery diſpoſition, and upon this occaſion played the bully for his friend. He went to his Holineſs, and railed plentifully at him. He told him, his excommunication would ſtrike no terror into diſtant nations, if it could not frighten a band of robbers in the very neighbourhood of Rome. He demanded reſtitution for the loſs he had ſuſtained; otherwiſe he might depend upon it, when the King of England came to hear of this uſage, he would withdraw the tribute due to the holy chair. The thunder of theſe threats (ſays Malmſbury) frightened the Pope into compliance. *Toſtinus quippe gravibus verborum contumeliis Apoſtolicum aggreſſus, in ſententiam ſibi placitam reduxit. Parum metuendam à longinquis gentibus ejus excommunicationem, quam propinqui latrunculi deriderent. In ſupplices furere, in rebelles parum valere. Aut ſua ſibi per ejus authoritatem reddenda, quæ per fraudulentiam conſtaret amiſſa; aut futurum, ut hæc rex Anglorum audiens, tributum S. Petri merito Nicolao ſubtraheret: ſe non defuturum rerum veritati exaggerandæ. Hoc minarum fulmine Romani territi Papam flexerunt, ut Aldredo Archiepiſcopatum redderet & pallium* (6). Stubbs ſays nothing of Earl Toſti's threats, but imputes the Pope's change of mind to the motions of pity, and the interceſſion of the whole court. *Itaque Papa Nicholaus ſuper eum pietate commotus, & totius curiæ interceſſione pro eo exoratus, Archiepiſcopatum ei dato pallio confirmavit* (7). The ſame author has preſerved part of the preamble of the Pope's Bull of confirmation, as follows: *Nicholaus Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Confratri & Coepiſcopo Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo Apoſtolicæ benedictionis privilegium & Salutem, & per eum ſuæ eccleſiæ ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus canonicè promovendis imperpetuum. Quia divinitatis occulta diſpenſatio eſt*, &c. (8)

(6) W. Malmſb. *ibid.*

(7) Th. Stubbs, Act. Ebor. Epiſc. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1701.

(8) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *He retained twelve towns or manors belonging to the ſee of Worceſter for his own uſe.*] This is what his panegyriſt Thomas Stubbs tells us: but if John Bromton is to be believed, his conduct in this affair merits the higheſt cenſure. For, according to that hiſtorian (9), he detained thoſe poſſeſſions by violence and injuſtice; and, the better to cover his rapine, he nominated Wolſtan, Prior of Worceſter, to that ſee, agreeably to the Pope's Bull, which gave him the power of appointing his ſucceſſor therein. This Wolſtan being a plain eaſy man, and owing his advancement to Aldred, did not attempt, during the life of the Archbiſhop, to recover the twelve manors unjuſtly transferred to the church of York: but no ſooner was Aldred dead, than Wolſtan defended the rights of the church of Worceſter, and recovered the poſſeſſions which had been diſmembered from it.

(9) *Apud* X. Scriptor. col. 952.

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arrogance, in two ſtories; the one from his panegyriſt Stubbs [*F*], who relates it as a ſingular inſtance of his conſtancy and reſolution; the other from William of Malmſbury [*G*].

[*F*] *Two ſtories; the one from Stubbs.*] As the Archbiſhop's officers were, one day, bringing a great quantity of proviſions to his palace at York, they were met upon the road by the high-ſheriff of the county, who ſtopped them, and aſked them to whom they belonged. The men anſwered, they were ſervants of the Archbiſhop, and were carrying thoſe proviſions for his uſe. The high-ſheriff, deſpiſing the Prelate and his ſervants, ordered the officers who attended him to ſeize upon the carriages and proviſions, and carry them to the King's granary in the caſtle of York. The Archbiſhop hearing of this, ſent ſeveral of his clergy and citizens to demand reſtitution of the high-ſheriff, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refuſed it. But that officer diſregarding his threats, the Archbiſhop poſted up to London, and went, attended by a numerous train of Biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, to Weſtminſter, where the King then was in council. The monarch no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the Prelate, than he roſe up to ſalute him as uſual; which the latter put by with his croſier, and taking no notice of the King's ſtanding, nor of his crowd of courtiers, he addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words: 'Hear me, William; when thou wert an alien, and 'God had permitted thee, for our ſins, and through 'much blood, to reign over us, I anointed thee King, 'and placed the crown upon thy head with a bleſ-'ſing: but now, becauſe thou deſerveſt it not, I will 'change that bleſſing into a curſe againſt thee, as a 'perſecutor and oppreſſor of God and his miniſters, 'and a breaker and contemner of thoſe oaths and 'promiſes, which thou madeſt unto me before the 'altar of St. Peter.' The King aſtoniſhed at theſe menaces threw himſelf at the Archbiſhop's feet, and humbly begged to know by what offence he had deſerved ſo ſevere a ſentence. The noblemen in the preſence were irritated to a high degree at the Prelate's arrogance, in ſuffering the King to lie at his feet without raiſing him. But the Archbiſhop turning to them ſaid, 'Let him alone, gentlemen, let him 'lie; he does not fall down at my feet, but at the 'feet of St. Peter.' After ſome time he thought fit to raiſe the King, and told him his errand. The Conqueror was too much frightened to deny his requeſt. He gave him rich gifts, and diſpatched an expreſs to the high-ſheriff for the reſtitution of his goods, which were punctually reſtored, to the value of a ſack-ſtring, *uſque ad ligamen ſacci* (10).

(10) T. Stubbs, *ibid.* col. 1703.

[*G*] ——— *The other from William of Malmſbury.*] Urſus, Earl of Worceſter, had built a caſtle to the prejudice of a neighbouring monaſtery: for the ditch of the ſaid caſtle took off part of the church-yard belonging to the Monks. Aldred had often by letters admoniſhed the Earl to do juſtice to the Monks. But finding intreaties would not do, he went to Urſus in perſon, and demanded whether it was by his appointment that this encroachment was made. The Earl not denying the fact, the Prelate cried out;

Higheſt thou Urſe (11);
Have thou God's curſe.

This curſe, ſays my author, ſeemed to take effect: for Urſus died ſoon after, and Roger his ſon enjoyed his father's honour but a very ſhort time; for, having ſlain one of the King's officers, he was forced to fly his country (12). B.

(11) i. e. *Thou art called* Urſus. This name ſignifies in Latin a *Bear*.

(12) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

ALDRICH or ALDRIDGE (Robert), called in Latin *Aldriſius*, was Biſhop of Carliſle in the reigns of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. and Queen Mary (*a*). This Prelate was born at Burnham in Buckinghamſhire, educated in grammar learning at Eaton ſchool, and elected Scholar of King's college in Cambridge in the year 1507; where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and was about that time ſtyled by Eraſmus, in one of his epiſtles, *blandæ eloquentiæ juvenis* (*b*). Afterwards he became Proctor of the univerſity, School-Maſter of Eaton, Fellow of that college, and at length Provoſt. In 1529 he retired to Oxford, where he was incorporated Bachelor of Divinity, March 15, 1529 (*c*); and the next year, performing his exerciſes for the degree of Doctor in that faculty, he was licenſed to proceed, in April 1530 (*d*). About the ſame time he was made Archdeacon of Colcheſter. In 1534, May 7, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor; and the ſame year he was appointed Regiſter of the moſt noble order of the Garter (*e*), in the room of Dr. Richard Sydenore, Archdeacon of Totneſs (*f*). July 18, 1537, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Carliſle, in the room of Dr. John Kyte deceaſed: from which time to that of his death, though there were many changes both in Church and State, yet (Mr. Wood tells us) he ran through all, and conſequently complied with all (*g*) [*A*]. Biſhop Aldrich wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly theſe following: 1. Epiſtola ad Gulielmum Hormannum; *i. e. A Letter to William Horman.* 2. Epigrammata varia; *i. e. Various Epigrams.* 3. *Several Reſolutions concerning the Sacraments.* 4. *Anſwers to certain Queries concerning the Abuſes of the Maſs.* He wrote alſo *Reſolutions* of ſome queſtions relating to Biſhops and Prieſts, and other matters tending to the Reformation of the Church begun by King Henry VIII. John Leland, the antiquarian and poet, who was his familiar acquaintance, has celebrated

(*a*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Carliol.

(*b*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 97.

(*c*) *Id.* Faſti, Vol. i. ad an. 1530.

(*d*) *Ibid.* ad an. 1530.

(*e*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Id.* Faſti, Vol. i. ad an. 1503.

(*g*) *Id.* Athen. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *And conſequently complied with all.*] ['That 'this prelate ſhould continue unmoleſted in theſe 'ſucceſſive reigns, ſays Dr. Berkenhout, may ſeem 'to authoriſe Wood's concluſion, viz. that he com-'plied with the muliſh religion of Harry, the re-'formation of Edward, and the Popery of Mary. 'Nevertheleſs it is poſſible that his tranquillity 'might be owing chiefly to his moderation. Poſ-'ſibly he might think creeds and ceremonies of leſs 'authority and importance than ſome of his cotem-'poraries; and probably he might not be ſo proud-'ly bigoted to any opinion, as to ſuffer death rather 'than admit the poſſibility of his being miſtaken. 'He might think, that all governments have a 'right to eſtabliſh whatever religion they think fit, 'and that an individual is no more authoriſed to op-'poſe that religion, than to fly in the face of any 'other law (1).' Theſe ſuppoſitions may be anſwered by other ſuppoſitions. Biſhop Aldrich might *not* be ſuch an *enlightened* philoſopher as Dr. Berkenhout imagines. His compliances might proceed only from a timid or a worldly ſpirit. And he might *not* have reaſoned himſelf into principles, which, if admitted, would juſtify every violation of integrity, honour, and conſcience.] K.

(1) Berkenhout's Biographia Literaria, Vol. i. p. 338. Note.

him for his admirable parts and learning [*B*]. This Prelate died March 25, 1555, at Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire, which was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle [*C*].

[*B*] *John Leland—has celebrated him* in the following verſes :]

Ad Rob. Aldrigum.

Si ſcires penitus meæ Camœnæ
Erga te ſtudium, benignis illam
Ulnis acciperes, tuoque dignam
(Ni fallor modo) diceres favore.
At qui ſcire meæ (rogo) tacentis
Affectum potes intimum Camœnæ ?
(Ut ſis ergo ſciens) lubenter in te
Teſtatos faciet ſuos amores,
Attingetque tuas canora laudes
Doctrinæ ſolidas, jubente Granta :
Quæ te quæ juvenem bonas docebat
Artes ingenuum, elegantiamque :
Illo tempore, quo beata Eraſmum
Ingentis pretii virum fovebat,
Non magno ſine commodo ſuorum
Omnium, &, tulit ut quidem ſecundus
Caſus, præcipue tuo : Aſſidebas
Nam deſiderio laborioſe
Exemplaria docta conferenti,
Caſtæ relliquias latinitatis.
Nunc, Aldrige, tibi ſuas Camœna
Partes præſtitit, additura metam
Succincti hendecaſyllabis Phaleuci (2).

(2) Joh. Lel. Encomia, &c. Illuſtr. viror. *apud* Collectan. Append. Part I. p. 134.

[*C*] *Horn-Caſtle in Lincolnſhire was a houſe belonging to the Biſhops of Carliſle.*] Among other alienations of the church-lands in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a licence, dated November 1, 1552, was granted to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, empowering him to ſell to the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral of England, *Socam ſive dominium ſuum de Horn-Caſtle, cum omnibus pertinentiis in Com. Lincoln, in villis, campis, ſive parochiis de Horn-Caſtle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Aſhby, Maring, Wileſby, Haltham, Coniſby, Boughton, Fimbleby, Morbey, Meckham & Innerby in com. prædict.* to have the ſame to him and his heirs, *tenend. de domino rege*, &c. There was likewiſe a licence granted to the Dean and Chapter to confirm the ſaid conveyance. And for all theſe lordſhips the purchaſer was only to pay the yearly rent of twenty-eight pounds to the Biſhop (3). B-

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. ii. in the Records, n. 25.

ALDRICH (Henry) an eminent divine, and polite ſcholar in the ſeventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, was the ſon of Henry Aldrich of Weſtminſter, Gent. He was born there in the year 1647 (*a*), and educated in the college-ſchool in that city, under the famous R. Buſby. In act-term 1662, he was admitted into Chriſt-church college, Oxon, of which he was, ſoon after, elected ſtudent (*b*). He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 31, 1666 (*c*), and that of Maſter, April 3, 1669 (*d*). Entering ſoon after into Holy Orders, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge in every branch of divine and human learning, and became a famous tutor in his college. On the fifteenth of February 1681, he was inſtalled Canon of Chriſt-church, in the ſecond ſtall (*e*); and the ſecond of March following, accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (*f*). He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts during the reign of King James II. [*A*], upon which, and other accounts, his merit became ſo conſpicuous, that when, at the Revolution, J. Maſſey the Popiſh Dean of Chriſt-church fled beyond ſea, his deanery was conferred upon Dr. Aldrich; who was therein inſtalled the ſeventeenth of June 1689 (*g*). In this eminent ſtation he behaved in the moſt worthy and exemplary manner; and promoted learning, religion, and virtue, with great application and zeal, in that noble college over which he happily preſided. A great deal of its preſent luſtre and beauty it owes to his ſkilful and ingenious hand; for it was he who deſigned the beautiful ſquare, called Peckwater-Quadrangle, which is eſteemed a regular and compleat piece of architecture (*h*). Like his excellent predeceſſor Biſhop Fell (*i*), he publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an ancient Greek author [*B*], for a new year's-gift to the ſtudents of his houſe. He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of logic, and ſome other things [*C*]. The reviſing of the manuſcript of *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, was committed to his care, jointly with Biſhop Sprat: but it doth not appear that they made any additions, or con-

(*a*) Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 1055. He tells us there, that our author was aged fifteen in 1662; and conſequently was born in 1647.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 164.

(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 175.

(*e*) Athenæ, ubi ſupra; and J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 527.

(*f*) Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 218.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) See Preſent State of Gr. Britain, by John Chamberlayne, Eſq; edit. 1735, 8*vo*. Part I. p. 277.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 798, and 1055.

[*A*] *He bore his part in the controverſy with the Papiſts, during the reign of King James II.*] The tracts he then publiſhed were, 1. *A Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford, concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour, in the holy Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1687, 4*to*. It was an anſwer to O. Walker's *Two Diſcourſes concerning the Adoration of our bleſſed Saviour in the Euchariſt.* And he writing *Animadverſions upon the Reply to two Diſcourſes*, &c. Dr. Aldrich publiſhed 2. *A Defence of the Oxford Reply to two Diſcourſes lately printed at Oxford*, &c. *From the Exceptions made to it in the ſecond Appendix to a Compendious Diſcourſe of the Euchariſt.* Oxford, 1688, 4*to*. This *ſecond Appendix* was written by Obadiah Walker, and *The Compendious Diſcourſe*, &c by Abraham Woodhead (1). Biſhop Burnet ranks our author among thoſe eminent Engliſh clergymen, who 'examined all the points of Popery with a ſolidity 'of judgment, a clearneſs of arguing, a depth of 'learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond 'any thing that had before that time appeared in 'our language (2).'

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 616. 936. 1055.

(2) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. 673, 674.

[*B*] *He publiſhed yearly ſome piece of an ancient Greek author.*] We have not been able to get an account of what he publiſhed of that kind, except theſe following pieces: 1. *Xenophontis Memorabilium libri quatuor.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1690, 8*vo*. 2. *Xenophontis Sermo de Ageſilao.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1691. 8*vo*. 3. *Ariſteæ Hiſtoria* LXXII. *Interpretum.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1692, 8*vo*. 4. *Xenophontis de Re Equeſtri lib.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8*vo*. 5. *Epictetus & Theophraſtus.* Gr. & Lat. Oxon. 1707, 8*vo*. 6. *Platonis, Xenophontis, Plutarchi, Luciani Sympoſia.* Gr. Oxon. 1711, 8*vo*. This laſt was publiſhed after his deceaſe. — He compoſed alſo Biſhop Fell's epitaph, and ſome others, which are expreſſed in a very polite and elegant manner (3).

(3) Wills, ubi ſupra, p. 534, 535.

[*C*] *He wrote likewiſe a ſyſtem of Logic, and ſome other things.*] It was printed under the title of *Artis Logicæ Compendium.* Oxon. 1691, 8*vo*. in ſix ſheets; and reprinted ſeveral times ſince, with variations and additions. The learned author compoſed it for the uſe of his noble pupil, Frederic-Chriſtian Howard, ſon to Charles Earl of Carliſle.—He alſo printed *Elements of Geometry*, in Latin, in a large thin octavo; probably for the uſe of ſome of his friends or pupils: for it was never publiſhed. — And likewiſe, had a hand in Gregory's *Greek Teſtament*, printed at Oxford in 1703, fol. — Some of his notes are printed in the new edition of Joſephus, by Havercamp.

ſiderable

ſiderable alterations in it, as has been aſſerted by a late writer, Mr. Oldmixon (*k*). Beſides his preferments above mentioned, Dr. Aldrich was alſo Rector of Wem in Shropſhire (*l*). He was choſen Prolocutor of the Convocation in 1702. This worthy perſon died at Chriſt-church, on the fourteenth of December 1710. As to his character: he was a moſt univerſal ſcholar, and had a taſte for all ſorts of learning, eſpecially architecture. Having never been married, he appropriated his income to works of hoſpitality and beneficence, and in encouraging learning to the utmoſt of his power, of which he was a moſt munificent patron, as well as one of the greateſt men in England, if conſidered as a Chriſtian or a gentleman. He had always the intereſt of his college at heart, whereof he was an excellent governor [*D*]. And, as he was remarkable for modeſty and humility, concealing his name to thoſe ſeveral learned tracts he publiſhed, ſo at his death he appointed to be buried without any memorial in the cathedral; which his thrifty nephew complied with, depoſiting him on the South ſide of Biſhop Fell's grave, December 22, eight days after his deceaſe; which happened in the ſixty-third, or ſixty-fourth year of his age (*m*).

(*k*) See the late Biſhop of Rocheſter's Vindication of Biſhop Smalridge, Dr. Aldrich, and himſelf: and Oldmixon's Reply to the Weekly Miſcellany, in a looſe ſheet, wherein he gives up the point.

(*l*) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; p. 443, edit. 1730, 4*to*.

(*m*) Willis, *ibid.* & p. 444.

[*D*] *Whereof he was an excellent governor.*] This part of his character is well expreſſed by the author of the dedication to his edition of the *Sympoſia*, in the following elegant words:—*Qui in omni vitæ curſu præclarum aliquod vel benignum alumnis ſuis paravit. — Qui patronus fuit munificentiſſimus; amicus amiciſſimus; mortalium, pene dixerim, optimus: illum denique opum honorum contemtorem animum, omnium ſcientiarum omnium virtutum capacem, cælo (unde profectus fuit) redditum, juvat, & juvabit uſque, plauſu & gratulationibus proſequi.* M.

[Dr. Aldrich was one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners appointed by King William the Third, on the 13th of September 1689, to prepare matters for introducing an alteration in ſome parts of the church ſervice, and a comprehenſion of the diſſenters. But the Doctor, in conjunction with Dr. Peter Mew, Biſhop of Wincheſter; Dr. Thomas Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter; and Dr. William Jane, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Oxford, either did not appear at the meetings of the Committee, or ſoon withdrew from them. They excepted to the manner of preparing matters by a ſpecial commiſſion, as limiting the convocation, and impoſing upon it; and they were againſt all alterations whatſoever (4). In this laſt reſpect, many wiſe and good men have entertained a different opinion.

(4) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 168. 173. 177. 181.

Dr. Aldrich's ſkill in architecture was diſplayed in other inſtances beſides that of the Peckwater-quadrangle. The pariſh church of All Saints in Oxford, which he is known to have deſigned, is eſteemed a finiſhed ſpecimen of his knowledge and taſte in building. He is ſuppoſed likewiſe to have given the plan, and adjuſted the deſign, of the Chapel of Trinity College, erected by Dr. Ralph Bathurſt (5).

(5) Warton's Life of Ralph Bathurſt, p. 68. 71.

Sir John Hawkins has favoured the Public with ſeveral particulars relative to Dr. Aldrich's ſkill in muſic; and on account of the Doctor's eminence in this reſpect, Sir John hath given his Life, with his head prefixed. His abilities as a muſician rank him, we are told, among the greateſt maſters of the ſcience. He compoſed many ſervices for the church, which are well known; as are alſo his anthems, nearly to the number of twenty. He adapted, with great ſkill and judgment, Engliſh words to many of the motets of Paleſtrina, Cariſſimi, Victoria, and other Italian compoſers for the church, ſome of which are frequently ſung in our cathedrals as anthems. By the happy talent which Dr. Aldrich poſſeſſed, of naturalizing the compoſitions of the old Italian maſters, and accommodating them to an Engliſh ear, he increaſed the ſtores of our own church. Though the Doctor chiefly applied himſelf to the cultivation of ſacred muſic; yet, being a man of humour, he could divert himſelf by producing pieces of a lighter kind. There are two catches of his; the one 'Hark 'the bonny Chriſt-church Bells,' the other entitled, 'a Smoking Catch,' to be ſung by four men ſmoking their pipes, which is not more difficult to ſing than diverting to hear. His love of ſmoking was, it ſeems, ſo exceſſive as to be an entertaining topic of diſcourſe in the univerſity. Such was Dr. Aldrich's regard for the advancement of muſic, and the honour of its profeſſors, that he had formed a deſign of writing a Hiſtory of the Science; and the materials from which he propoſed to compile it are yet extant in the library of his own college. It appears from theſe materials, that he had marked down every thing which he had met with concerning muſic and muſicians; but that he had wrought no part of them into any kind of form (6).

(6) Hawkins's Hiſtory of Muſic, Vol. i. Prelim. Diſc. p. 22. Vol. iii. p. 183. Vol. iv. p. 92. Vol. v. p. 10, 11.

Dr. Aldrich is of ſome note as a Latin poet. In the Muſæ Anglicanæ, we find two elegant copies of verſes by him; one on the acceſſion of King William the Third, and the other on the death of the Duke of Gloceſter (7). Sir John Hawkins hath preſerved a humorous tranſlation of the well-known Engliſh ballad:

(7) Muſæ Anglicanæ, Vol. ii. p. 26. Vol. iii. p. 9.

'A ſoldier and a ſailor,
'A tinker and a taylor,' &c. (8)

(8) Hawkins Hiſt. of Muſic.

The following epigram, entitled 'Cauſæ Bibendi,' is likewiſe aſcribed to Dr. Aldrich.

'Si bene quid memini, Cauſæ ſunt quinque bibendi,
'*Hoſpitis Adventus, præſens Sitis*, atque *futura*,
'Aut *Vini Bonitas*; aut *quælibet altera Cauſa*.'

This epigram hath been thus tranſlated:

'If on my Theme I rightly think,
'There are five reaſons why men drink.
'Good wine, a friend, becauſe I'm dry,
'Or leaſt I ſhould be by and by;
'Or any other reaſon why.'

The tranſlation is not equal to the original. It is evident, from the verſes cited and referred to, that Dr. Aldrich was of a very chearful and pleaſant turn of mind. Indeed, he is always ſpoken of as having been a man of wit; and as one who, to his great talents and virtues, joined thoſe amiable qualities, which rendered him the object of general affection, as well as of general eſteem and reſpect.]

K.

ALDULPH or ARDULPH or EARDULPH, King of Northumberland, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy, ſucceeded King Oſwald, and was inaugurated in St. Peter's church at York, the twenty-ſixth of May 796 (*a*). King Ethelred, the immediate predeceſſor of King Oſwald, the better to ſecure himſelf on the throne, had baniſhed ſeveral of the principal Northumbrian Lords, and among the reſt Aldulph, whom he ſuſpected of carrying on deſigns againſt his perſon and crown. But the malecontent party prevailing, and King Ethelred being aſſaſſinated, Oſwald was elected in his room. This Prince reigned but twenty-ſeven days, being driven out by the oppoſite faction, who placed Aldulph on the throne. Two years after his acceſſion, a conſpiracy being formed againſt him by the murderers of the late King Ethelred, at the head

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Angl. an. 796.

head of whom was one Wada; King Aldulph engaged them in a place called by the Anglo-Saxons *Billingahoth* near *Walalege*; and many being ſlain on both ſides, Wada and his forces were put to flight, and the King obtained a glorious victory (*b*). In the year 801, this Prince led an army againſt Kenwolf King of the Mercians, who had afforded ſhelter to his enemies: but, through the interpoſition of the Biſhops and Nobles on both ſides, the two Monarchs were reconciled, and made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip (*c*) [*A*]. Aldulph had the addreſs to maintain himſelf upon the throne by the help of the moſt powerful faction of the two, which at that time divided the kingdom of Northumberland. Nevertheleſs the other made ſeveral attempts from time to time to advance itſelf. Alcred, who had ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, had left a ſon named Alcmund, who was at the head of this laſt party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, Aldulph, who judged it neceſſary to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety, cauſed him to be privately murdered. His death being looked upon by the oppoſite party as a martyrdom, Alcmund was placed in the number of the ſaints; and this furniſhed the King's enemies with a pretence to take up arms, and to put themſelves under the command of a Lord named Aldrick. This rebel being overcome and ſlain in battle, the malecontents continued ſome time without making any freſh attempt. But the face of affairs ſoon changed: the party oppoſed to the King became ſo powerful, that this Prince was forced to ſave himſelf by flight, and take refuge in the court of Charlemagne, where the Engliſh were always well received. Nor did Aldulph ever recover his crown: for, two years after, the kingdom of Northumberland ſubmitted to the power of Ecbert King of Weſſex; which put an end to the Heptarchy (*d*).

(*b*) *Victoriam regaliter ſumpſit.* Sim. Dunelm. *ib.* an. 798.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.* an. 801.

(*d*) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, lib. iii. in Abregé de l' Hiſt. de Northumb.

I find an ALDULPH Biſhop of Lichfield in the reign of Offa King of the Mercians; whom I mention for no other reaſon, but becauſe in his time the See of Litchfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric [*B*].

[*A*] *The two monarchs —— made a league of the moſt firm and laſting friendſhip.*] Simeon of Durham quotes a tetraſtic, which he ſays was fulfilled by this treaty of peace between the two Kings. It is this:

Gratius aſtra nitent, ubi nothus
Deſinit imbriferos dare ſonos;
Lucifer ut tenebras pepulerit,
Pulchra dies roſeos agit equos (1).

(1) Simeon. Dunelm. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. an. 796.

That is,

When the moiſt ſouth no longer blows,
Each ſtar its grateful radiance ſhows;
When Lucifer diſpels the night,
The day holds forth its roſy light.

[*B*] *In Biſhop Aldulph's time, the ſee of Litchfield was erected into an Archbiſhopric.*] King Offa being ſucceſsful in his wars, and making the greateſt figure in the Heptarchy, reſolved, in the year 765, upon the erecting Litchfield into an Archiepiſcopal ſee. Lambert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made uſe of all his intereſt to prevent the diſmembering his juriſdiction; and, the conteſt being brought before the court of Rome, the Archbiſhop urged the grant of Gregory the Great to the ſee of Canterbury. However, King Offa prevailed in his application, and obtained of Pope Adrian I. that all the Biſhops within the kingdom of Mercia ſhould be ſuffragans to the Biſhop of Litchfield as their Metropolitan (2). B.

(2) Matth. Weſtminſt. Flores Hiſtor. an. 765.

ALEXANDER, Biſhop of Lincoln, in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, was a Norman by birth, and nephew of the famous Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who firſt made him Archdeacon of Saliſbury, and afterwards, by his intereſt with the King, raiſed him to the Mitre (*a*). Alexander was conſecrated at Canterbury, July 22, 1123. Having received his education under his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, and been accuſtomed to a ſplendid way of living, he affected ſhow and ſtate, more than was ſuitable to his character, or conſiſtent with his fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation [*A*]. The year after his conſecration, his cathedral church at Lincoln having been accidentally burnt down, he rebuilt

(*a*) Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. Tom. i. p. 68. Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Lincoln. an. 1123.

[*A*] *He affected ſplendor more than was conſiſtent with his character or fortunes. This failing excepted, he was a man of worth and honour, and every way qualified for his ſtation.*] Henry of Huntingdon, who dedicated his hiſtory to Biſhop Alexander, calls him in the preface, Florem et cacumen regni & gentis, *The flower and top of the kingdom and nation.* The ſame author has preſerved the following flattering verſes on this Biſhop.

Splendor Alexandri non tam reniteſcit honore,
Quam per eum reniteſcit honor; flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans, theſauros cogit honoris;
Et gratis dare feſtinans, ne danda rogentur,
Quod nondum dederit, nondum ſe credit habere.
O Decus, O morum directio, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta poteſtas,
Lene jugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertaſque decens venere, pudorque facetus.
Lincoliæ gens magna prius, nunc maxima ſemper;
Talis & ille diu ſit nobis tutor honoris (1).

(1) H. Huntingdon. Hiſt. l. vii. p. 382. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, edit. Francof. 1601.

Which may be thus rendered into Engliſh:

Honour, which us'd to dignify a name,
Is dignify'd by Alexander's fame.
In bounty rich, in uſing riches wiſe,
His treaſure only in beſtowing lies.
His charity prevents the ſuppliant's moan;
Nor ought, but what he gives, he calls his own.
O Glory, and exemplar of the ſtate!
On thee the Graces and the Virtues wait;
Unerring faith, and chearful clemency,
With cautious pow'r, and decent liberty;
The yoke ungalling, and correction ſweet,
Doctrine that ever charms, and modeſt wit.
Lincoln, thy envied glories higher riſe,
And Alexander lifts thee to the ſkies.
Late may he lay in duſt his honour'd head,
Who teaches all in honour's paths to tread.

I call theſe verſes *flattering*; becauſe, as an hiſtorian, Huntingdon ſeems to have drawn a more faithful picture of this Prelate, acknowledging his virtues, and not diſſembling his faults: for thus he deſcribed him after his death: 'Nutritus in ſummis deliciis à Rogero avunculo ſuo Saliſberienſi epiſcopo, majores inde animos contraxit quam opportunum eſſet ſuis. Siquidem

rebuilt it, and ſecured it againſt the like accident for the future by a ſtone roof (*b*). This prelate increaſed the number of Prebends in his church, and augmented its revenues with ſeveral manors and eſtates. In imitation of the Barons and ſome of the Biſhops, particularly his uncle the Biſhop of Saliſbury, he built three caſtles; one at Banbury, another at Sleaford, and a third at Newark. He likewiſe founded two monaſteries; one at Haverholm, for regular Canons and Nuns together, the other at Tame for White-Fryars (*c*). When King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons [*B*], that of Newark held out againſt the King's officers, but was forced at laſt to ſurrender. As for the Biſhop himſelf, after ſeven months impriſonment, and being kept to very ſlender diet, he with difficulty obtained his liberty (*d*). From that time he applied himſelf to the governing and ornamenting his church, which he rendered the moſt ſtately and flouriſhing of any in England. He went twice to Rome, in the years 1142 and 1144. The firſt time, he came back in quality of the Pope's Legate, for the calling a Synod, in which he publiſhed ſeveral wholeſome and neceſſary canons. In Auguſt 1147, he took a third journey to the Pope, who was then in France; where he fell ſick through the exceſſive heat of the weather, and returning with great difficulty to England, he died in the twenty fourth year of his prelacy (*e*). About a year before his death, he received a letter from the famous St. Bernard [*C*], who ſeems to have been pretty well acquainted with his temper and character.

(*b*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de vitis Epiſcop. Lincoln. c. 22.

(*c*) At the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the firſt of theſe was found to be worth 256*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* the other 88*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* per annum. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Chronic. Joh. Bromton, *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1027.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

'Siquidem præterire volens principes cæteros largitione munerum & ſplendore procurationum, cum proprii reditus ad hoc non ſufficere poſſent, à ſuis ſummo ſtudio carpebat, unde egeſtatem ſuam nimietate prædicta comparatam complere poſſet; nec tamen complere poterat, qui ſemper magis magiſque diſpergebat. Fuit autem vir prudens, et adeo munificus, ut à curia Romana vocaretur magnificus (2). —— *Having been educated in luxury and pleaſure under his uncle Roger, Biſhop of Saliſbury, he entertained higher thoughts than were ſuitable to his rank and fortunes; for, vying with the nobles in liberality and ſplendor, and his income not being ſufficient to ſupport his expences, he was forced to rack his tenants, for money to ſupply his wants occaſioned by his prodigality; which yet he could not fully ſupply, inaſmuch as his profuſeneſs continued daily to increaſe. However he was a prudent man, and ſo bountiful, that he was ſtyled by the court of Rome, the Magnificent.*'

(2) H. Huntingd. ubi ſupra, p. 394.

[*B*] *King Stephen reſolved to take the caſtles from the Barons.*] As a comment on theſe words, we ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort account of this matter from one of our hiſtorians: 'Stephen, having now gotten a little reſpite from his enemies, began to conſult with himſelf how he might eaſe himſelf of ſuch troubleſome conteſts with his ſubjects; and becauſe he now found, that the caſtles he had permitted his nobility to build, were the greateſt impediments of his peace at home, and the readieſt harbour of rebels, he reſolved to forbid that any ſhould be built hereafter, and demoliſhed ſome of the moſt dangerous lately erected; and to this end called a great council at Oxford. Here ſome of his lords, who much envied the magnificent and ſtately caſtles erected by the clergy (whoſe buildings both in number and ſtrength much exceeded thoſe of the nobility) but eſpecially the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who had built ſeveral great caſtles at Saliſbury, the Devizes, Sherburn, Malmſbury, and (3) Newark; whiſpered into the King's ears, who was very jealous and ſuſpicious of ſuch deſigns, That theſe forteſſes were intended for the reception of the Empreſs Maud and her party: and by their ſurmiſes ſo wrought upon the King's fears, that he ſent for the Biſhop of Saliſbury to Oxford. The Biſhop, foreſeeing the danger impending, would have excuſed himſelf from his attendance upon the King, by reaſon of his great age: but that plea would not be allowed, he muſt go. The Biſhop therefore taking with him his nephews Alexander Biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigell Biſhop of Ely, with a retinue of well-armed men, went to Oxford; where at his firſt coming, his ſervants going to take them up lodgings, happened into a quarrel with the ſervants of the Earl of Britain, and killed one of them in the fray, the nephew of the Earl being dangerouſly wounded. This being brought to the King's ears, he calls for the Biſhop, and demands ſatisfaction for the breach of peace made by his ſervants in his court, which was this, that he ſhould immediately yield up the keys of all his caſtles to him, as pledges of his fidelity. The Biſhop refuſed to do it; whereupon he commanded the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln to be ſeized upon, and kept under a guard. The Biſhop of Ely had made his eſcape, and got into the caſtle of the Devizes. The King preſently took into his hands by force the caſtles of Saliſbury, Sherburn, and Malmſbury; and after three days aſſault, that of the Devizes was ſurrendered to him, whither he ſent the two Biſhops priſoners, and ſeized the Biſhop of Saliſbury's treaſure, which amounted to forty thouſand marks (4).'

(3) Here ſeems to be a miſtake: for it appears by the preſent article, that the caſtle of Newark was built by the Bp. of Lincoln.

(4) S. Daniel, Hiſt. of England, ſub an. 1138.

[*C*] *He received a letter from the famous St. Bernard.*] Among other things, St. Bernard, in his letter, cautions him *not to be dazzled with the luſtre of ſecular grandeur, nor to look upon any worldly advantage as permanent; nor value his fortune more than himſelf: to guard againſt the flattery of proſperity, for fear of a turn of misfortune which will laſt longer: not to be charmed with the tranſient ſatisfactions of life; for that ſcene will quickly be ſhut up, and make way for another both laſting and uncomfortable.* He adviſes him *not to deceive himſelf with any diſtant proſpect of death: for ſuch deluſive hopes lead directly to danger and ſurpriſe, and are the likelieſt way to hurry a man into the other world without preparation* (5).

B.

(5) Bernard. Epiſt. 64.

ALEXANDER (WILLIAM) an eminent nobleman, ſtateſman, and poet of Scotland, in the reigns of King James, and King Charles I. His ſirname is ſaid, by the hiſtorians of his own country, to have been taken from the proper name of his predeceſſor Alexander Macdonald; who holding, under the family of Argyle, the lands of Menſtrie, this became the place of his reſidence. Andrew Alexander, in the reign of James V. is obſerved to be the firſt who is mentioned in the records of Scotland. He, by Catherine Graham his wife, had Alexander his ſon and heir; who obtained a grant from Archibald, Maſter of Argyle, of the ſaid lands of Menſtrie, to himſelf and Elizabeth Douglas his wife, in life-rent, and to Andrew Alexander their ſon, in fee, which was ratified under the great ſeal in 1529; whoſe heir and ſucceſſor was this William Alexander (*a*). He was born in the year 1580, as we compute from an inſcription quoted towards the end of this narrative. He ſoon appeared ſuch a promiſing youth, that the beams of thoſe bright endowments of nature, which ſhone out, and gilded his dawning years, made his friends deſirous of improving them to the

(*a*) The Peerage of Scotland by George Crawfurd, Eſq; fol. 1716, p. 462.

height of excellence, by a liberal education; and ſo much was he diſtinguiſhed for both, that they recommended him, in the quality of a tutor, or rather companion, to the Earl of Argyle in his travels. After ſome time ſpent in foreign parts, he returned to Scotland, and betook himſelf a while, it ſeems, to a rural retirement. There he finiſhed his poetical complaint, of the unſucceſsful addreſs he had made to his firſt miſtreſs; which he intitled *Aurora*. For he had, before he went abroad, and three luſtres were expired, as he expreſſes it himſelf (*b*), or was fifteen years of age, ſeen ſome rare beauty, who had ſmitten him ſo deeply, that neither the diverſion of travel, nor the ſight of ſo many fair foreigners, as he calls the river Loir to witneſs he had there met with, could remove his affection (*). Wherefore now, after his return, this courtſhip was revived, and he wrote above an hundred ſonnets, *&c.* upon it; till matrimony diſpoſing of her to another perſon, he alſo had recourſe to the ſame, as a remedy to wean his paſſion for the former object. For he tells us, that the lady ſo unrelenting to him, had matched her morning to one in the evening of his age (*c*). That himſelf ſhould now change the myrtle-tree for the laurel, and the bird of Venus for that of Juno (*d*). That he was at laſt bound to one, whereby he ſhould eſcape bondage from all others. That the torch of Hymen had burnt out the darts of Cupid; and that he had thus ſpent the ſpring of his age, which now his ſummer muſt redeem (*e*). Now, therefore, it was that he removed to the court of King James VI. and lived there in the capacity only of a private gentleman (*f*), but with the character of a learned and accompliſhed one. He ſtill found occaſion to exerciſe his poetical talents, from the recommendation they made of him even to the King, who might be the readier to encourage thoſe ſtudies in another, which he had ſo publickly profeſſed himſelf. Farther notice of, and perhaps acquaintance with him, might be promoted by the ſituation of his abode, being ſo commodious for thoſe ſports, wherewith his Majeſty was wont, in his journies of pleaſure, there to divert himſelf. But the poetry to which Mr. Alexander now turned his pen, was that ſolid and ſublime ſpecies of it, which would hold up the cleareſt mirror to Princes and Potentates; which would beſt animate the lifeleſs precepts of philoſophy, and render its graveſt leſſons moſt agreeably affecting; for the better government, not only of a people in general, but the paſſions and appetites of the Governors themſelves; by the moſt ſovereign precedents, and harmonious precautions, of the uncertainty of life, and the inſufficiency of its felicities, the vanity of grandeur, the corruption of power, and burden of riches. To this purpoſe he formed himſelf ſomewhat after the plan of the ancient Greek and Roman tragedies, at leaſt in their choruſes between the acts; not ſo much to have his dramatic compoſitions perſonated in mimickry upon the narrow ſtage of a play-houſe, as to be really and more extenſively acted in human life, by thoſe who bore the parts of the greateſt actors in the common theatre of mankind. And to this effect, we find a tragedy of Mr. Alexander's publiſhed, upon the ſtory of Darius, at Edinburgh, in 1603. The choice of his meaſure in this (as in his other plays) is alternate rhyme, which I leave the critics to defend (*g*) or to blame (*h*); and as to his ſtyle, if it is not always pure, our author has modeſtly pleaded his country, and allowed in his preface, the preference to our dialect. It was the year after publiſhed again at London, with ſome verſes before it in praiſe of the author, by J. Murray, and Walter Quin, who has here alſo an anagram upon the name of William Alexander, which has been reprinted elſewhere (*i*). But that preface is not here revived; and there are two poems of our author's at the end of this edition, which were never afterwards printed again; the one, congratulating his Majeſty upon his entry into England; the other, written ſhortly after, upon the inundation of Doven, a water near our author's houſe, upon which his Majeſty was uſed to recreate himſelf with the paſtime of hawking. As it contains a fine compliment, we ſhall here ſubjoin the ſenſe of it [*A*], and proceed to obſerve, that the ſame year in which this play was reprinted in England, was publiſhed here his *Aurora* alſo, in quarto, 1604; which, as it was the fruit of, he made an oblation to Beauty, by dedicating it to Agnes Douglas, Counteſs of Argyle. But theſe poems were never after reprinted, though bound up with the ſucceeding augmentation of his plays. In the ſame year laſt mentioned, his *Paræneſis* to Prince Henry, was here alſo publiſhed: therefore, how truly its publication was deferred till after the death of that Prince, lies upon Mr. Langbain to reconcile (*k*). In this poem, among other noble inſtructions, he ſhews, how the happineſs of a Prince depends on his chooſing for a council, ſuch as can throw off private grudges, regard public concerns, and will not, to betray their ſeats, become Penſioners. He farther ſhews, the uſe of hiſtories, and how the lives of great men are to be read with greateſt profit: lays open the characters of vicious Kings; thoſe abandoned to avarice, to flattery, and, the moſt contemptible of all, to effeminacy and luſt: diſplays the glories of martial accompliſhments; and hopes, if the Prince ſhould ever make an expedition

(*b*) Aurora: containing the firſt fancies of the author's youth; by W. Alexander of Menſtrie, Lond. 4to. 1604. Sonnet 2.

(*) *Ibid.* Son. 36.

(*c*) *Id.* Son. 10.

(*d*) *Id.* Son. 106.

(*e*) *Id.* Son. 10.

(*f*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Dryden, in Pref. to An. Mirab. and Sir W. Davenant, in Pref. to Gondib.

(*h*) Rymer, in Pref. to Rapin, on Ariſtotle's Treatiſe of Poetry.

(*i*) Ger. Langbain's account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, 8vo. 1691, p. 5.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

[*A*] *Subjoin the ſenſe of it.*] Intimating, as if thoſe waters had forſaken their banks, upon his Majeſty's leaving the kingdom; and, in ſpreading over the plains, ſtrove, by a licentious greatneſs, to recover reſpect; which ſerved but to make the inhabitants more feelingly mourn their loſs of ſuch a ruler, as had kept all things among them in bounds and regularity: ſo that they, like the Antipodes, while he is ſhining day upon England, are beginning their night; which makes his Muſe droop with ſorrow: but, if his Phœbus would deign to ſhine upon her, ſhe might raiſe her flight, to build amidſt his rays. And ſo ſhe did not long after, as may above appear.

pedition to Spain, that he might attend him, and be his Homer to ſing his acts there. Whether the author was yet arrived in England, does not appear, by any of theſe writings; and whether he publiſhed any more, ſeparately, till the year 1607, we have not yet directly learnt. But in this year came out his three other plays, which with that beforementioned, are intitled, *The Monarchick Tragedies*; *Cræſus*, *Darius*, *The Alexandræan*, *Julius Cæſar*; *newly enlarged* (*). *By William Alexander, Gentleman of the Prince's privy chamber:* and with them are bound the poems aforeſaid. Theſe plays are dedicated to King James, in a poem of thirteen ſtanzas, and have a copy of verſes by Sir Robert Ayton before them, expreſſing, that the King himſelf had graced our author's labours with his glorious name; ſo that, patron, ſubject, ſtyle and all, make him the *Monarchick Tragedian* of our iſland. And though indeed thoſe plays, for the reaſons before given, muſt, to all royal readers of them, adminiſter a kind of terrible pleaſure; yet his Majeſty is ſaid, not only to have been delighted with our author's converſation, but his works (*l*); and to have called him his *Philoſophical Poet:* So that no ſtream appears to have more viſibly wafted him to thoſe honours wherewith he was a few years afterwards graced, than what thus flowed through his own hand, from the fountain of the Muſes. We might be endleſs in giving inſtances of his fine ſenſe out of theſe plays; but, to thoſe who have not read him, a few may be here acceptable, and enough to ſhew his preference of *Merit* to Dignity; his grief that it is not made a guide in the choice of *Favourites*; his thoughts on the wretched condition of *Miniſters*, with that of *Kings* themſelves; and laſtly, who is to be accounted the greateſt *Conqueror*; as may be ſeen below [*B*]: and we ſhall refer to other topicks, gathered out of him, in a collection from our old poets, lately publiſhed (*m*). Beſides the authors beforementioned, others have celebrated theſe performances; as John Davis of Hereford, who, in a book of Epigrams, publiſhed about the year 1611, has one to Mr. William Alexander of Menſtrie, in praiſe of theſe tragedies (*n*), wherein, though a ſtranger to his perſon, he thinks himſelf obliged in juſtice to applaud his writings; as having made himſelf thereby a Sovereign even over Monarchs; and thinks, Alexander the Great had not gained more glory with his ſword, than this Alexander has acquired by his pen. Michael Drayton calls him *my Alexander*, whoſe name he would ever have known to ſtand by his; yet attempts but to ſhow the friendſhip that was between them, not the merit of his numbers, which were brave and lofty, ſo like his mind was his muſe (*o*). We are informed, that not long after, was firſt publiſhed, the ſupplement he wrote to complete the third part of Sir Philip Sidney's celebrated Romance; and that it is to be found in the true fourth, as well as the ſubſequent editions thereof, with the initial letters of his name (*p*); though Anthony Wood only mentions it in the eighth, as perhaps having only that at hand, when he made this remark (*q*). This was an exerciſe for his Muſe, ſtill in a kind of poetry, though not in verſe. In the month of July 1613, the ſame year that ſupplement was printed, we find Mr. Alexander mentioned to have been ſworn one of the Gentlemen Uſhers of the Preſence to Prince Charles (†). But now his Muſe laboured with a more ſolemn birth than any of her tragick productions, and brought forth a fruit unuſual to the ſoil of courts, which gave him the title of a *Divine Poet*; being a ſacred poem, as large as all his others, called *Dooms-Day*; *or, the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment.* It was printed at Edinburgh in quarto,

(*) See a criticiſm upon theſe tragedies, in the Lives and Characters of the Engliſh dramatic Poets, being an abridgment and continuation of Langbain (by C. Gildon) printed 8vo. about the year 1698.

(*l*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 463.

(*m*) Mr. T. Hayward's Britiſh Muſe, &c. 3 Vols. 12mo. 1738.

(*n*) Davis's Scourge of Folly, &c. 8vo. ſine anno p. 98.

(*o*) See M. Drayton's Elegies, at the end of his Battle of Agincourt, and other poems, fol. 1627, p. 207.

(*p*) Arcadia, 4th Edit. folio, 1613.

(*q*) Ath. Oxon. laſt edit. Vol. i. col. 228.

(†) In a Letter of Mr. T. Lorkin's to Sir T. Puckering, among the MSS. in the Harleian Library.

[*B*] *May be ſeen below.*] And firſt, having ſpoken of hereditary honours, and the borrowed feathers of titles, that fall by ſucceſſion, and not by deſert; and having ſhown his ſcorn, to beg his worth from dead mens names, or gain credit only by his coat, he proceeds thus, upon

MERIT.

What comfort's this, to have the higheſt ſeat,
And all the bliſs that majeſty imparts;
If thoſe, whom only we excel in ſtate,
Be our ſuperiors in far better parts?
More than a crown, true worth ſhould be eſteem'd:
One, fortune gives, the other is our own;
By which, the mind, from anguiſh is redeem'd;
When Fortune's goods, are by herſelf o'erthrown (1).

(1) Cræſus, Act iii. Scene ii.

FAVOURITES.

O, more than happy ten times, were that King!
Who were unhappy but a little ſpace,
So that it did not utter ruin bring,
But made him prove, a profitable thing!
Who, of his train, did beſt deſerve his grace;
Then cou'd, and wou'd, of thoſe, the beſt embrace:
Such vultures fled, as follow but for prey,
That faithful ſervants might poſſeſs their place:
All gallant minds, it muſt with anguiſh ſting,
While wanting means their virtue to diſplay.
This is the grief, which burſts a gen'rous heart;
When favour comes by chance, not by deſert (2).

(2) Darius, Act. iv. Scene iii. in chorus.

MINISTERS.

Although we cou'd, to quit our ſtate, conſent,
Us, from ſuſpicion, nought but death could purge:
Still greatneſs muſt turmoil, or elſe torment;
If borne, a burden; if laid down, a ſcourge (3).

(3) The Alexandrean Tragedy.

KINGS.

And while they live, we ſee their glorious actions,
Oft wreſted to the worſt; and all their life
Is but a ſtage of endleſs toil and ſtrife;
Of tumults, uproars, mutinies, and factions.
They riſe with fear, and lie with danger down;
Huge are the cares that wait upon a crown (4).

(4) Darius, Act v. in chorus.

The CONQUEROR.

O! what a great indignity is this?
To ſee a conq'ror to his luſt a ſlave!
Who wou'd the title of true worth were his,
Muſt vanquiſh vice, and no baſe thoughts conceive:
The braveſt trophy ever man obtain'd,
Is that, which o'er himſelf, himſelf hath gain'd (5).

(5) *Ibid.* Act. iii.

Then let us live, ſince all things change below,
When rais'd moſt high, as thoſe who once may fall;
And hold, when by diſaſters brought more low,
The mind ſtill free, whatever elſe be thrall:
Thoſe, Lords of fortune, ſweeten ev'ry ſtate,
Who can command themſelves, though not their fate (6).

(6) Jul. Cæſar, p. ult.

1614,

1614, and afterwards in the folio edition of his works; alſo again by itſelf, in a quarto edition at London (*r*). It is divided into twelve hours, as the author calls them, or books; and the firſt book was, a few years ſince, reprinted in octavo, with intention to give us the remainder of his poetical writings in a correct edition. The editor, A. Johnſtoun, tells us, that having communicated the author's whole works to Mr. Addiſon, for his peruſal; he ſaid, in approbation of them, *That he had read them over with the greateſt ſatisfaction*; and gave it as his judgment, 'That the beauties in 'our ancient Engliſh poets are too ſlightly paſſed over by the modern writers; who, 'out of a peculiar ſingularity, had rather take pains to find fault, than endeavour to 'excel (*s*).' In the year above mentioned, the King, looking on him as a wiſe man, made him Maſter of the Requeſts, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood (*t*). And now begins the other part of his character; the man of buſineſs, title, and great undertaking; for little more of the Poet appears, except that two years after, came forth a new edition of his plays, in a pocket volume (*u*). Thus, as it is hard to reſide long in courts, without imbibing ſome of the tincture which prevails there, our *Philoſophical*, our *Divine Poet*, ſeems, upon theſe promotions, to have turned Politician! and inſtead of enlarging his flowery acquiſitions on the banks of Parnaſſus, grew ambitious of ſpacious dominions in Terra Firma; having projected the ſettlement of a large colony, and making great plantations at Nova Scotia in America, at his own expence, and that of ſuch adventurers as ſhould be engaged in the undertaking. His Majeſty made him a grant of that country by his royal deed, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1621 (*x*), and did intend to erect an order of Baronets, for encouraging and ſupporting ſo grand a work: but, to the jealouſies which began to diſturb the two or three laſt years of his reign, the ſuſpenſion thereof is aſcribed, till a more favourable conjuncture of affairs ſhould offer; which that King did not live to ſee. But his ſon, King Charles I. on his coming to the Crown, was very forward to countenance and proſecute the ſame; which, as it was ſchemed or diſplayed, eſpecially in the pamphlet which Sir William himſelf publiſhed, to encourage adventurers, promiſed mighty advantages to the nation. This pamphlet he now ſet forth, is intitled, *An Encouragement to Colonies*; quarto, London, 1625, and it was publiſhed again with an additional title, or another on the ſame ſubject, five years after (*y*). The King was ſo won by theſe repreſentations, that he made Sir William Alexander Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded in the firſt year of his reign the order of Knights Baronet in Scotland, whoſe aid was appropriated for the ſaid plantation and ſettlement, upon the conſideration of each having a liberal portion of land allotted him there. The number of theſe Baronets were not to exceed one hundred and fifty; and they were endowed with ample privileges, pre-eminence, *&c.* as that, the title ſhould be heritable, and they take place before all Knights, called *Equites Aurati*; all leſſer Barons, commonly called Lairds; and before all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, his Majeſty's Lieutenant of Nova Scotia; who (with his heirs, their wives and children) is not only excepted, in each of their letters patents, granted to the Knights his companions; but likewiſe the charter granted to himſelf by the King, in the year aforeſaid, did bear expreſsly this exception and proviſion. It was farther provided, that they ſhould have place in all his Majeſty's and his ſucceſſors armies, near and about the royal ſtandard, for the defence thereof; with other honourable diſtinctions of title and precedency, to them, their wives and heirs. But none of them were to be created Baronets, either of Scotland, or Nova Scotia, till he had firſt fulfilled the conditions deſigned by his Majeſty, for the good and increaſe of that plantation; and till he had confirmed the ſame to the King, by his Majeſty's Lieutenant there. Theſe patents were ratified in parliament, and regiſtered in the books of Lyon King of Arms, and the Heralds: but after Sir William ſold Nova Scotia to the French, they were drawn up ſhorter, and granted in general terms, with all the privileges, *&c.* of former Baronets; and it is now become an honourable title in Scotland, conferred at the King's pleaſure, without limitation of numbers. For a fuller view of the firſt form of theſe patents, with the armorial enſigns granted to the order, and the badge thereof, which they wore about their necks in an orange-coloured ribbon; as alſo of the arms, ſupporters, and motto, of Sir W. Alexander himſelf, we refer to the volumes containing the ſame (*z*). He had now farther given him, a peculiar privilege of coining ſmall copper money; a grant which was inveighed againſt, even at the time, with great bitterneſs (*a*); and indeed the whole enterprize, at leaſt as to Sir William's aims and ends, has had but an ill-favoured repreſentation made of it, by ſome of his own countrymen, and eſpecially in a work, otherwiſe deſigned to honour both them and him [*C*]. But ſuch like reflections are the uſual attendants upon great attempts, when they are not attended with ſucceſs. The

(*r*) *Quarto*, 1641.

(*s*) Dooms-day, or the laſt Judgment, a poem, by W. Earl of Stirline, 8*vo.* 1720, in Pref.

(*t*) Crawfurd, p. 463.

(*u*) *Twelve*, 1616.

(*x*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) *Intituled*, The Map and Deſcription of New England; together with a Diſcourſe of Plantations and Colonies, Lond. 4*to.* 1630.

(*z*) The Britiſh Compendium, or Rudiments of Honour, *&c.* Vol. ii. 3d edit. 16*to.* 1729. and Vol. iii. intituled, Engliſh Baronets, 16*to.* 1727, p. 326, *&c.*

(*a*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *A work, otherwiſe deſigned to honour both them and him.*] For, not to mention here, the private ſchemes and propoſals of the author, Sir Thomas Urquhart, being a priſoner of war, for reſtoring him to his liberty and eſtate at Cromarty; nor other ſtrange ſingularities in the ſaid work; it contains chiefly, the praiſes of ſuch Scotſmen who had been famous in arms and arts, ſince the year 1600. It is therefore a kind of continuation of Dempſter, how little ſoever thereof appears in the title (7). Herein, having mentioned Sir William Alexander (afterwards created Earl of Stirling) with applauſe; as the firſt, who of late had been famous for Engliſh poetry, and named ſome of his works; he goes on thus (8): 'The purity 'of this gentleman's vein was quite ſpoiled by the 'corruptneſs of his courtierſhip, and ſo much the 'greater

(7) The Diſcovery of a moſt exquiſite jewel, *&c.* found in the kennel of Worceſter ſtreets, the day after the fight, *&c.* 8*vo.* 1652.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 207, *&c.*

The King, however, continued his encouragements to Sir William; and being fully satisfied of his abilities and fidelity, was pleased, in the year 1626, to make him Secretary of State for Scotland (*b*), in the place of the Earl of Haddingtoun; and afterwards, in September 1630, a Peer of that kingdom, by the title of Viscount Stirline (*c*); and in this quality, he had the compliments paid him of his countryman Dr. Arthur Johnston, the King's physician, a noted Latin poet, in an epigram, turning much upon the sense of that before mentioned; and also in a panegyrical epistle, too long to be here recited (*d*). In less than three years after this, the King advanced him to the honour of Earl of Stirline, by his letters patent bearing date the fourteenth of June 1633, at the solemnity of his Majesty's coronation, in the palace of Holyrood house. His Lordship discharged that office of Secretary of State, with universal reputation, near fifteen years, even to the time of his death; which happened on the twelfth of February 1640 (*e*); having three years before permitted a new edition of his poetical works, or the greatest part of them, to be published: that is to say, 1. *The Four Monarchick Tragedies.* 2. *Doomsday*; before which there are some verses by William Drummond; as in Drummond's book of Poems, there are also others to, and by our author (*f*). 3. *The Parænesis*, to Prince Henry. 4, and lastly, *Jonathan*; *an Heroick Poem intended, the first book:* which was now, I think, first published. These three poems are written in the *Ottavo Rima* of Tasso; or, as his friend Drayton describes it, a stanza of eight lines; six interwoven, and a couplet in base (*g*). The author's style and versification are much polished in this edition, especially of the plays; and the plans, with the subject matter, improved in some of them. The whole is fronted with a new title (*h*), and the dedication aforesaid, to King James, prefixed; which if Langbain had observed more than he did the date of the book, he had not said it was addressed to King Charles (*i*). Before one copy of this edition, a good effigies of the author has been found, though missing in many. It was engraved by W. Marshall; and is one of his best performances. It represents his Lordship in a closebodied coat; a full ruff about his neck, and the badge of his new-created order hanging at his breast. Livelineſs and gravity are well tempered in his countenance: his hair is short, and well curled; and his beard tapering gradually

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Idem.* ex Chart. in Publ. Archiv. dat. 4 Sept. 1630.

(*d*) Vide Epigrammata Arthuri Johnstoni, Scoti, Med. Regii. 8vo. Abredoniæ, 1632, p. 30. & Parerga, ejusd. Auth. p. 59.

(*e*) Crawfurd, ubi supra.

(*f*) See the most elegant and elaborate poems of that great court wit, Mr. W Drummond, &c. 8vo. 1659.

(*g*) Epist. to the Barons wars.

(*h*) Intituled, Recreations with the Muses, fol. 1637, and again in 12mo. about 1727.

(*i*) Account of the dramatic Poets, p. 5.

'greater pity; for, by all appearance, had he been 'contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was 'born to, and not aspired to those grandeurs of the 'court, which could not without pride be prosecuted, 'nor maintained without covetousness, he might 'have made a far better account of himself. It did 'not satisfy his ambition to have a laurel from the 'Muses, and be esteemed a King among Poets, but 'he must be King of some new-found-land; and 'like another Alexander indeed, searching after new 'worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia! He 'was born a Poet, and aimed to be a King; there-'fore would he have his royal title from King James, 'who was born a King, and aimed to be a Poet. 'Had he stopped there, it had been well; but the 'flame of his honour must have some oil wherewith 'to nourish it: like another King Arthur, he must 'have his knights, though nothing limited to so 'small a number; for how many soever, who could 'have looked out but for one day, like gentle-'men, and given him but *one hundred and fifty 'pounds sterling* (without any need of a key 'for opening the gate to enter through the 'temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the 'only way to honour), they had a scale from him, 'whereby to ascend unto the platforms of virtue; 'which they, treading under feet, did slight the or-'dinary passages; and, to take the more sudden pos-'session of the temple of honour, went upon obscure 'by-paths of their own, towards some secret *angi-'ports* and dark postern-doors, which were so nar-'row, that few of them could get in, until they had 'left all their gallantry behind them: Yet, such be-'ing their resolution, that in they would, and be 'worshipful upon any terms; they misregarded all 'formerly-used steps of promotion, accounting them 'but unnecessary; and most rudely rushing in unto 'the very sanctuary, they immediately hung out the 'orange colours, to testify their conquest of the ho-'nour of Knight Baronet. Their king nevertheless, 'not to stain his royal dignity, or to seem to merit 'the imputation of selling honour to his subjects, 'did, for their money, give them land, and that in 'so ample a measure, that every one of his Knight Ba-'ronets had, for his *hundred and fifty pounds sterling*, 'heritably disponed unto him, six thousand good and 'sufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which, be-'ing but at the rate of six-pence an acre, could not 'be thought very dear; considering, how prettily, in 'the respective parchments of disposition, they were 'bounded and designed; fruitful corn-lands, watered 'with pleasant rivers, running along most excellent 'and spacious meadows; nor did there want abun-'dance of oaken groves, in the midst of very fertile 'plains (for if they wanted any thing, it was the 'scrivener or writer's fault; for he gave orders, as 'soon as he received the three thousand Scots marks, 'that there should be no defect of quantity, or 'quality, in measure, or goodness of land) and here 'and there most delicious gardens and orchards; with 'whatever else, could, in matter of delightful ground, 'best content their fancies; as if they had made 'purchase among them of the Elysian-fields, or Ma-'hummed's paradise. After this manner, my Lord 'Stirling, for a while was very noble; and, accord-'ing to the rate of sterling money, was as twelve 'other Lords, in the matter of that frankness of dis-'position, which not permitting him to dodge it up-'on inches and ells, better and worse, made him not 'stand to give to each of his champions, territories 'of the best, and the most; and although there 'should have happened a thousand acres more to be 'put in the charter, or writing of disposition, than 'was agreed upon at first, he cared not; half a piece 'to the clerk was able to make him dispense with 'that? But at last, when he had enrolled some two 'or three hundred knights; who, for their hundred 'and fifty pieces each, had purchased amongst them 'several millions of *Neocaledonian* acres, confirmed 'to them and theirs for ever, under the great seal; 'the affixing whereof, was to cost each of them but 'thirty pieces more; finding that the society was 'not like to become any more numerous, and that 'the ancient gentry of Scotland esteemed of such a 'whimsical dignity as of a disparagement, rather 'than addition to their former honour; he be-'thought himself of a course more profitable for him-'self, and the future establishment of his own state; 'in prosecuting whereof, without the advice of his 'knights (who represented both his houses of par-'liament, clergy and all), like an absolute king in-'deed, disponed heritably to the French for a mat-'ter of *five or six thousand pounds English money*, 'both the dominion and propriety of the whole con-'tinent of that kingdom of Nova Scotia; leaving 'the new Baronets to search for land amongst the 'Selenites in the Moon, or turn Knights of the 'Sun; so dearly have they bought their Orange 'Ribband, which (all circumstances considered) is, 'and will be more honourable to them, or their 'posterity, than it is, or hath been profitable to 'either.'

to a point, according to the faſhion of the times. The oval frame is encompaſſed with two olive branches; and the inſcription in it is, *Vera Effigies Gulielmi Comitis de Sterlin. Ætatis ſuæ* 57. So that he was threeſcore years of age at the time of his death, three years after the ſaid publication of his plays and this print, as is above mentioned. We have before referred to a criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, an ordinary critick may perceive [*D*]. He left by his wife Janet, the daughter and heir of Sir W. Erſkine, 1. William Lord Alexander, his eldeſt ſon; who dying his Majeſty's Reſident in Nova Scotia, during the life-time of his father, his ſon William ſucceeded his grandfather in the earldom, but died about a month after him. 2. Henry Alexander, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Stirline. This is the ſon, who, according to two authorities here followed (*k*), married a daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, Alderman of London. 3. Sir Anthony; but this is the ſon, who, according to the order of deſcent, married, if we adhere to another, not the daughter, but the grand-daughter of that Vanlore, and not Vanlove, as his name in the ſaid account is erroneouſly ſpelt; which account is tranſcribed below [*E*]. 4. John: and two daughters; the Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary; both married, and the latter had iſſue.

(*k*) Crawfurd, ubi ſupra; and the Britiſh Compend. Vol. ii. and Vol. iii. 4th edit. 16*to*. 1741, by Fra. Nichols, p. 274.

[*D*] *A criticiſm made on theſe plays; how judiciouſly, &c.*] As it is ſufficiently cenſured in Mr. Addiſon's judgment of them before mentioned, we ſhall only point out a few miſtakes of this critic, ſaid to be Mr. Charles Gildon, who publiſhed a ſort of epitome and continuation of Langbain, before cited. One of his miſtakes is, the intention of our author; who never deſigned to creep after any model of the antients, as to unities of action, or other rules of the *drama*. He calculated them not for the amuſement of ſpectators, or to be theatrically acted, ſo much as for readers of the higheſt rank; who, by the wiſeſt counſels and cautions that could be drawn from the greateſt examples, of the ill effects of miſgovernment, and confident reliance upon human grandeur, might be taught to amend their own practices, to moderate their own paſſions and their power over all in ſubjection to them: and if they have but this end with ſuch readers; to term them hiſtorical dialogues, or any thing elſe, can be no diſcredit to them. He owns my Lord is a very good hiſtorian; and his Lordſhip has enough in his own writings to prove himſelf a better poet than many whom this critic has more extolled. We ſhall mention only another of his miſtakes; and that is an egregious one: for having told us, my Lord ſeems *often* to have a peculiar fancy to punning; he cannot give two inſtances of it, without owning he has wronged my Lord in the reader's judgment; becauſe it was the vice of the age, and theſe punning fits come *not often* upon him (9). Such a critic is he! But, to return his own words, enough of theſe ridiculous quotations.

(9) The Lives and Characters of our Engliſh dramatic Poets, *&c.* 8*vo.* without date, but printed about the year 1698, or rather the year after, p. 3.

[*E*] *Which account is tranſcribed below.*] In a letter written to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, afterwards Earl of Strafford, by G. Garrard, afterwards maſter of the Charterhouſe, and dated December 16, 1637, are theſe words: 'A grandchild of Vanlove's, 'rich Vanlove, was to be married to a ſon of Sir 'Thomas Read's; he who lay ſome years in the 'Fleet, and ſpent but eighteen-pence a week: he 'lives now at Brocket-Hall near Hatfield. Read hath 'eſtated upon this ſecond ſon of his, 1500*l.* a year, 'and the match was intended with Mrs. Vanlove, 'who had a portion of 4000*l.* and 400*l.* a year, 'after the death of her father, young Peter. Mon-'day the 11th of this month, they were to be mar-'ried. The day before, in the afternoon, ſhe ſends 'to ſpeak with one Mr. Alexander, a third ſon of 'the Earl of Sterling, Secretary of Scotland here; 'he comes, finds her at cards, Mr. Read ſitting by 'her; ſhe whiſpers him in the ear, aſking him if he 'had a coach (he was of her acquaintance before); 'he ſaid, yes: ſhe deſired Mr. Read to play her 'game, and went to her chamber. Mr. Alexander 'going along with her. Being there, ſhe told him, 'that to ſatisfy her friends, ſhe had given way to 'marry the gentleman he ſaw, but her affection was 'more to him; if his was ſo to her, ſhe would in-'ſtantly go away with him in his coach, and be mar-'ried. So he carried her to Greenwich, where they 'were married by ſix that evening (10).' O.

(10) The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Diſpatches, *fol.* Vol. ii. 1739. p. 141.

ALEYN (CHARLES) an elegant hiſtorical Poet, in the reign of King Charles I.; whoſe works, though written above an hundred years ſince, do ſtill, as they did, when a certain author wrote of them (*a*), live in fame and reputation [*A*]. He received his education in Sidney-college Cambridge; and afterwards ſettling in London, was entertained in the quality of an uſher, by Thomas Farnaby, the famous Grammarian and Commentator, at his great ſchool in Goldſmith's Rents, near Redcroſs-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Giles's Cripplegate (*b*). In the former part of King Charles the Firſt's reign, he exerciſed his genius upon a very heroical and renowned ſubject; the two moſt glorious victories obtained by the Engliſh in France, under the auſpicious banners of King Edward III, and his martial ſon, the Black Prince; which, at the inſtance of ſome noble favourers, he publiſhed in two poems, *anno* 1631 [*B*]. After he left Mr. Farnaby's ſchool in Cripplegate, he was recommended into the family of Edward Sherburne, Eſq; Clerk of

(*a*) William Winſtanley's Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets, 8*vo.* 1687. p. 165.
(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. in *Faſti*, col. 18.

[*A*] *Do ſtill live in fame and reputation.*] For we have lately had ſeveral of his ſelect thoughts revived, in a good collection drawn out, by way of commonplace, from many ingenious poets who flouriſhed in the two laſt centuries (1). By which revival it appears, as well as from many other parts of his poems themſelves, not extracted into the ſaid work, that the author really is, according to the general character which has been given of him, very pithy and ſententious (2).

(1) See the Britiſh Muſe, *&c.* in three volumes, 12*mo.* 1738, by Thomas Hayward, Gent.
(2) W. Winſtanley, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He publiſhed in two poems*, anno 1631.] But finding encouragement to make many improvements and enlargements thereof, he publiſhed the ſecond edition of thoſe poems, by the title of *The Battailes of Creſcey and Poictiers, under the fortunes and valour of King Edward the third of that name, and his ſonne Edward, Prince of Wales, named the Black.* By Charles Aleyn. Printed by Thomas Harper, *&c.* 8*vo.* 1633. Both poems are written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; four alternate, with a diſtich in baſe, and comprized in an hundred and twenty-five pages. They are dedicated by the author, *To the honourable and truly generous the Lord Colerane*; to whoſe munificence the public ſeems obliged for this edition, by that expreſſion of the author's to him, wherein he ſays, This piece 'ſtands an humble tabernacle, 'ſacred to honour; and ſhall in this be advantaged, 'that it muſt be entered by the temple of your vir-'tue.' There are five copies of verſes prefixed, in praiſe of him and his work; by Thomas May, John Hall, John Lewis, Gilb. W. and Henry Blount. The firſt is written in Latin, and ſhews how much of his glory King Edward owes to Charles Aleyn. The ſecond commends his juſtice and truth; and tells him, his art ſhall teach ſucceeding ages how to write. The third wiſhes his hopes may not live,

of the Ordnance, who lived in that neighbourhood, to be domeſtick tutor to his ſon, afterwards Sir Edward Sherburne (c), who ſucceeded his father in the office of Ordnance; and was Commiſſary-General of the artillery to King Charles, at the battle of Edgehill, &c. and likewiſe of note for ſome poetical performances of his own. How long our author continued in this ſituation we know not, before his Muſe brought forth another elaborate poem, in honour of King Henry VII. and that important battle which gained him the crown of England. This work was publiſhed, with ſome commendatory poems before it (as the other had been), in the year 1638 [C]; and by the judicious deliberation he

(c) Id. ibid.

live, if he can judge which is more rare, the acts of thoſe brave heroes, or his expreſſion of them. The fourth ſays, that men trained in war, ſcarce know which has acted beſt, the ſword or pen; that the author writes ſo clearly, that he who reads the book ſhall ſee the battles; and that he paints the wounds, groans, and death of the enemy, in ſuch ſtrong colours, as would make a coward faint to read them. And the laſt, having told him that his Bayes, and Edward's ſword, mutually advance each other; ſays, that his readers will beſt praiſe his battles, with fearful tremblings, and their hair on end. After theſe encomiums, we may be expected to ſhew out of the author's own performance, as far as a little taſte at leaſt will do it, how far he has deſerved them; and the rather, becauſe his poems are grown more ſcarce than they deſerve to be. In the firſt place then, ſee how the brave Black Prince ſpirits up his army at the battle of Creſſy.

Courageous Edward ſpurs their valour on,
And chears his ſprightful ſoldiers: where he came,
His breath did kindle valour, where was none;
And where it found a ſpark, it made a flame.
Armies of fearful Harts will ſcorn to yield,
If Lions be their Captains in the field (3).

(3) Battle of Creſſey, p. 35.

Then in the engagement, ſee how, by his ſhowers of arrows, the enemies drop, like ripe grapes by a ſtorm of hail.

As when the colder region of the air
Moulds rain to hail-ſhot, the relenting tree
Of the plump god, luſty before, and fair,
Loſeth her rubies with heaven's battery;
Thus fell the foe: for ſhoot, though in the dark,
'Tis hard to miſs, when the whole field's a mark (4).

(4) Id. p. 42.

But after the engagement, ſee what melancholy ſpectacles the French were:

Here a hand ſever'd, there an ear was crop'd;
Here a chap fal'n, and there an eye put out;
Here was an arm lopp'd off, there a noſe dropp'd;
Here *half* a man, and there a *leſs* piece fought:
Like to diſmember'd ſtatues they did ſtand,
Which had been mangled by time's iron hand (5).

(5) Id. p. 50.

And then, what a condition the Engliſh pikes and lances were in.

The artificial wood of ſpears was wet
With yet warm blood; and trembling in the wind,
Did rattle like the thorns which nature ſet
On the rough hide of an arm'd porcupine:
Or looked like the trees which dropped gore,
Pluck'd from the tomb of ſlaughter'd Polydore (6).

(6) Id. p. 49.

Out of his ſecond poem, on the battle of Poictiers, we ſhall only offer this deſcription of the Black Prince.

And now my fancy ſees great Edward riſe,
Mars his Enthuſiaſt: his actions were
Raptures of valour, and deep extacies
Of man above himſelf; for drawing here,
His ſpirits from their matter, paſſed more
Himſelf, than he ſurpaſs'd the world before.

He, on the ſtage of Aquitaine, did play
That part, which none beſide can perſonate:
In ev'ry courſe, or found, or made a way,
And proſtrates, as infallible as fate.
Like to death's harbinger, his paſſage made;
And there death lodged, where he lodg'd his blade (7).

(7) Battle of Poictiers, p. 81.

In theſe two poems, it may be here farther obſerved, that a man of copious reading might eaſily point out many fine ſentiments, which the author has happily tranſlated, both from the ancients and moderns; and not only from ſome Latin poets, but even from ſome of our moſt celebrated Engliſh authors in proſe; if that may be called proſe in them, which paſſes for poetry, as turned by him into rhyme and meaſure. For Monſ. Dacier would diſpute it; and argue, that a poem tranſproſed, would ſtill be poetry; and that a true piece of proſe, will ſtill continue ſuch, through all the diſguiſe of verſification: for that, it is the thought, and not the ſtructure of the words, which makes it one or the other (8). This may be more true, in the general ſtory of a poem, or ſome ſelect, than in every ſingle ſentiment. For there are few poems ſo continually upon the ſtretch of metaphors, hyperboles, and the language of the gods, as not to deſcend, in ſome parts, to the diction of mere mortal men. Thus that pathetic apoſtrophe to Death itſelf, in Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World (9), has been quoted and admired as one of the fineſt pieces of proſe upon that ſubject, in any ancient or modern author (10); yet thoſe words, tranſplanted into a dramatic poem, have been applauded on the theatre, as fine poetry (11). Thus that beautiful aſſemblage of ideas, accounting for the fears of death, in one of Nat. Lee's tragedies (12), has been preſcribed as a good poetical preſervative againſt thoſe fears, by a critical writer juſt before quoted (13); and yet, when Sir Francis Bacon firſt wrote thoſe very words, he never dreamt of writing poetry; nor have they been taken ever ſince, as they ſtand in his book, for any other than good proſe (14). And thus might we produce, but that it may be thought too tedious or minute, half a dozen, if not half a ſcore diſtichs from this laſt poem of our author, Charles Aleyn's, the Battle of Poictiers, which are viſibly verſified from Lord Bacon's proſe, chiefly in his book before mentioned. Not but our poet has many elegant thoughts and ſentences of his own; ſo that it appears that the foreign helps to invention, which he, as other able poets, made uſe of, proceeded rather from the want of induſtry, to cultivate his own cogitations, and reap in the fruits of his own harveſt, than any ſterility in the field of his fancy. All we ſhall here farther obſerve of theſe two poems is, from a Manuſcript Continuation of them; containing the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. (15), which has been before cited and made uſe of in another work (16). This learned author, whoever he was, ſays, in the entrance of thoſe poems, that he forbears to recount the glories of King Edward the Third's reign, Creſcy and Poictiers, becauſe they were already drawn by *a happy pen*.

(8) Reflections ſur la Poetique d'Ariſtot.

(9) See the concluſion of that Hiſtory.
(10) See the Cenſor, Vol. ii. 12*mo*. 1717. p. 89.
(11) See Dr. George Sewell's Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh, fourth edit. 12*mo*. 1720. p. 65.
(12) N. Lee's Tragedy of Lucius Junius Brutus, in his dramatical works, Vol. i. 12*mo*. 1734. Act iv. Scene ult. p. 70.
(13) The Cenſor, Vol. i. p. 28.
(14) See Sir F. Bacon's Eſſays, in the chapter of Death.

(15) Therefore intituled Τριναρχωδια, 8*vo*. 1650.
(16) General Dictionary; in the Article of Sir John Faſtolfe.

[C] *This work was publiſhed*, &c. *in the year* 1638.] Under the following title: *The Hiſtorie of that wiſe and fortunate Prince, Henrie, of that name the ſeventh, King of England. With that famed battaile, fought between the ſaid King Henry and Richard III. named Crook-back, upon Redmore, near Boſworth.* In a poem by Charles Aleyn, 8*vo*. printed for Thomas Cotes. This poem, as the others, is written in ſtanzas of ſix lines; and contains an hundred and fifty-ſix pages. It is licenſed by Dr. Thomas Wykes; who ſays, in his Latin Imprimatur, that he has read over this hiſtorical poem, and judges it worthy of being made public. Among the verſes prefixed, there is one copy, to his ingenious friend, Mr. Charles Aleyn, on his learned poem, by Edward Sherburne, his pupil before mentioned; in which he tells our author, that his words yield Henry more honour than did his own weapons; and there is another poem or epigram by his friend Edward Prideaux; which, becauſe ſhort, ſhall here obtain a place.

When

he took in his publications, we cannot expect to meet with much more of his labours, though ſomething more of his in print does appear [*D*]; ſince we are informed he was ſo ſoon after called to his laſt reſt: for it is ſaid that he died about the year 1640; and that he was buried in the pariſh of St. Andrew's Holborn (*d*).

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

When Fame had ſaid thy Poem ſhould come out
Without a Dedication; ſome did doubt
If Fame in that had told the truth; but I,
Who knew her falſe, boldly gave Fame the lye:
For I was certain, that this Book, by thee,
Was dedicated to Eternity.

As this poem is longer than the other two, it is fuller fraught with variety of matter, actions, and characters; and alſo richly adorned with many flowers of rhetoric; alluſions; hiſtorical, poetical, and philoſophical; and many general and comprehenſive maxims, moral and political: ſo that it is animating or inſtructive in moſt parts; and as for verſification, it may vie in elegancy with ſeveral contemporary performances, which have happened to acquire greater fame. If his cadence is not always ſmooth, 'tis generally to make way for ſomething that is nervous and maſculine; which was more regarded by the poets in that age, and before our modern refiners ſacrificed ſtrength to ſoftneſs, and ſenſe to mere ſound. Many quotations having been made from this work, we ſhall content ourſelves here with one ſtanza, of ſeveral he has written upon Empſon and Dudley, thoſe two voracious inſtruments of Henry's avarice, as a ſhort ſpecimen of his genius in this poem; and which may caſually incite the curioſity of ſome ingenious reader, knowing in our Engliſh hiſtory, to peruſe and conſider the poem itſelf, and thoſe before mentioned, with intention, if they ſhall be found deſerving it, of reviving them together, with ſome good hiſtorical illuſtrations:

And as the lower orbs are wheel'd about,
Rapt by the motion of the orb above:
So were inferior agents ſoon found out,
Which mov'd and turn'd, when He began to move:
For 'tis obſerv'd, that Princes ſooner get
Men for their humour, than their honour fit (17).

(17) Hiſtory of Henry VII. p. 146.

[*D*] *Something more of his in print does appear.*] Beſides thoſe three poems, there are in print ſome little copies of commendatory verſes aſcribed to him, before the works of other writers, eſpecially ſome noted dramatic poets of his time; and particularly, before the earlieſt editions of ſome of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. And there was publiſhed, *The Hiſtory of Eurialus and Lucretia*, by Charles Aleyn, the year before (18) that in which he is reported to have died. It is a tranſlation; and the ſtory is to be found among the Latin epiſtles of Æneas Sylvius. O.

(18) London, 8*vo.* 1639.

ALFRED. See ÆLFRED.

ALLAM (Andrew) a writer in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Andrew Allam, a perſon of mean rank, and born at Garſingdon near Oxford, in April 1655. He had his education in Grammar learning at a private ſchool at Denton, in the pariſh of Cudeſdon, near his native place, under Mr. William Wildgooſe of Brazen-noſe college, a noted ſchoolmaſter of that time. He was entered a batteler of St. Edmund's hall, in Eaſter term 1671. After he had taken his degrees in Arts, he became a Tutor, Moderator, Lecturer in the chapel, and at length Vice-principal of his houſe. In 1680, about Whitſuntide, he entered into Holy Orders; and, in 1683, was made one of the Maſters of the ſchools. His works that are extant are: 1. The learned *Preface* or *Epiſtle to the Reader*, with a *dedicatory Epiſtle*, in the printer's name, prefixed to *The Epiſtle Congratulatory of Lyſimachus Nicanor*, &c. *to the Covenanters of Scotland*, &c. Oxon, 1684. 2. The *Epiſtle* containing an account of Dr. Coſins's life, prefixed to the Doctor's book intitled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in tabulas digeſta*. Oxon, 1684. *fol.* 3. The *Preliminary Epiſtle*, with a review and correction of the book intitled, *Some plain Diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper*, &c. written by Dr. George Griffith, Biſhop of St. Aſaph. Oxon, 1684, 8*vo.* 4. *Additions* and *Corrections* to a book intitled, *Angliæ Notitia*, or *The preſent State of England* [*A*]. 5. *Additions* to Helvicus's *Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre* [*B*]. Mr. Allam laid the foundation of a work intitled, *Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, or an *Hiſtory of the Cathedral Churches*, &c. of England. But death prevented his completing this deſign. 6. He likewiſe tranſlated the *Life of Iphicrates*, printed in the Engliſh verſion of Plutarch by ſeveral gentlemen of Oxford. Oxon, 1684, 8*vo.* 7. Laſtly, He aſſiſted Mr. Anthony Wood in compiling his elaborate work of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, or *Hiſtory of the Oxford Writers*; and is mentioned by that author with great commendation and reſpect [*C*]. He died of the ſmall-pox, the 17th of June 1685, and was buried in the church of St. Peter in the Eaſt at Oxford (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 784, 785.

[*A*] *Additions and corrections to a book intitled*, Angliæ Notitia, &c.] They appeared in the edition of that book, printed at London in 1684. But the author of the *Notitia* never thought fit to acknowledge the aſſiſtance he had received from Mr. Allam (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 785.

[*B*] *Additions to Helvicus's* Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre.] He intended to have finiſhed a ſupplement to that work, from 1660 to 1683, but was prevented by death. His additions, as far as they went, were printed with that author at London 1687, *fol.* But whereas there was a column in the edition of 1687, intended to contain the names of the moſt famous Jeſuits, from the foundation of the order to the year 1685, this (Mr. Wood tells us) was not done by Mr. Allam; nor that paſſage under 1678, which runs thus; *Titus Oates diſcovers a pretended Popiſh plot* (2).

(2) Wood, *ib.*

[*C*] *He aſſiſted Mr. Anthony Wood, ---who ſpeaks of him with great commendation and reſpect.*] 'He 'was a perſon (ſays that author) of eminent virtues, 'was ſober, temperate, moderate, and modeſt even 'to example. He underſtood the controverſial writ-'ings between Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, Pro-'teſtants and Papiſts, far beyond his years, which 'was advanced by a great and happy memory. And 'I am perſuaded, had he not been taken off by the 'ſaid offices (*namely thoſe of tutor, moderator*, &c.) 'he would have gone beyond all of his time and 'age in thoſe matters. He underſtood the world of 'men well, authors better; and nothing but years 'and experience were wanting, to make him a com-'pleat walking library (3).' B.

(3) *Id. ib.*

ALLEN (JOHN) Archbiſhop of Dublin, in the reign of King Henry VIII. was educated in the univerſity of Oxford; from whence removing to Cambridge, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Laws (*a*). He was ſent by Dr. Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the Pope, about certain matters relating to the Church. He continued at Rome nine years, and was created Doctor of Laws, either there, or in ſome other Univerſity of Italy. After his return, he was appointed Chaplain to Cardinal Wolſey, and was Commiſſary or Judge of his Court as Legate *à latere*; in the execution of which office he was ſuſpected of great diſhoneſty, and even perjury. He aſſiſted the Cardinal in viſiting, and afterwards ſuppreſſing, forty of the ſmaller monaſteries, for the erection of his college at Oxford, and that at Ipſwich. The Cardinal procured for him the living of Dalby in Leiceſterſhire, though it belonged to the Maſter and Brethren of the hoſpital of Burton Lazars. About the latter end of the year 1525, he was incorporated Doctor of Laws in the Univerſity of Oxford. On the 13th of March 1528, he was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin, in the room of Dr. Hugh Inge deceaſed; and about the ſame time was made Chancellor of Ireland. He wrote; 1. *Epiſtola de Pallii ſignificatione activa & paſſiva*; penned by him at the time when he received the Archiepiſcopal pall. 2. *De Conſuetudinibus ac Statutis in tuitoriis cauſis obſervandis.* He wrote alſo ſeveral other pieces relating to the Church. His death, which happened in July 1534, was very tragical [*A*]. For being taken in a time of rebellion by Thomas Fitz Gerald, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Kildare, he was, by his command, moſt cruelly murdered, being brained like an ox, at Tartaine in Ireland [*B*], in the fifty eighth year of his age (*b*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 670.

(*b*) Ed. Campian, Hiſt. of Ireland, edit. 1633, p. 120.

[*A*] *His death ---- was very tragical.*] It is conſtrued by ſome, whom Mr. Wood (1) calls preciſe writers, as a judgment on him for being concerned in the diſſolution of Daventry priory in Northamptonſhire, being one of the forty, which were ſuppreſſed for the erection of the Cardinal's college at Oxford.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 670.

[*B*] *He was moſt cruelly murdered ---- at Tartaine in Ireland.*] The place, where the murder was committed, was afterwards hedged in, overgrown, and unfrequented, in deteſtation of the fact (2). B.

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

ALLEN or ALLEYN (THOMAS), a famous mathematician in the XVIth century, was born at Uttoxeter in Staffordſhire the twenty-firſt of December 1542, being deſcended, through ſix generations, from Henry Allen or Alan, Lord of the manor of Buckenhall in the ſaid county. He was admitted Scholar of Trinity-college in Oxford, the fourth of June 1561, Fellow in 1565, and two years after, Maſter of Arts. Being much inclined to a retired life, and averſe from entering into Holy Orders, he quitted the college and his Fellowſhip, and retired to Glouceſter Hall, in 1570; where he followed his ſtudies cloſely many years, and at length became an eminent Antiquary, Philoſopher, and Mathematician [*A*]. Being thus accompliſhed with various ſorts of learning, he was ſeveral times invited to the houſes of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others [*B*]. Robert Earl of Leiceſter, the great favourite in Queen Elizabeth's reign, had a particular eſteem for Mr. Allen [*C*], and would have conferred a biſhopric on him; but his love of a retired life made him

[*A*] *He became an eminent Antiquary, Philoſopher, and Mathematician.*] The author of his funeral oration (1) calls him *not only the Coryphæus, but the very ſoul and ſun of all the Mathematicians of his time.* Mr. Selden (2) tells us, he was 'omni eruditionis 'genere ſummoque judicio ornatiſſimus, celeberri-'mæ Academiæ Oxonienſis decus inſigniſſimum; *i. e.* '*A perſon of the moſt extenſive learning and conſummate* '*judgment, the brighteſt ornament of the famous uni-*'*verſity of Oxford.*' And Camden (3) ſays, he was 'Plurimis optimiſque artibus ornatiſſimus; *i. e. Skil-*'*led in moſt of the beſt arts and ſciences.*' Mr. Wood (4) gives him the character of *an excellent man, the father of all learning and virtuous induſtry, an unfeigned lover and furtherer of all good arts and ſciences.* The ſame author, having ſearched in the chapel of Trinity-college, for an epitaph on Mr. Allen's grave, but having found none, gives us, inſtead thereof, part of his character tranſcribed from a certain manuſcript, in the library of the ſaid college, running thus: 'Vir 'fuit elegantium literarum ſtudioſiſſimus, Academicæ 'diſciplinæ tenaciſſimus, apud Exteros & Academicos 'ſemper in magno pretio, eorumque qui in eccleſia 'Anglicana atque in Univerſitate Oxonienſi pro me-'ritis ſuis ad dignitates aut præfecturas ſubinde pro-'vecti fuerunt. Fuit ſagaciſſimus obſervator, fami-'liariſſimus conviva, &c. *i. e. He was a man of dili-*'*gent application to polite literature, ſtrictly tenacious* '*of academical diſcipline, always highly eſteemed both by* '*foreigners, and thoſe of the univerſity, and by all in* '*the Church of England, and the univerſity of Oxford,* '*whoſe merits had raiſed them to the higheſt dignities* '*and ſtations in either. He was a ſagacious obſerver,* '*an agreeable companion,* &c.'

(1) Gul. Burton, in Orat. funebr. Tho. Alleni. Lond. 1632.

(2) In Notis ad Eadmerum, edit. 1623, p. 200.

(3) In Britannia, cap. de Saxonibus.

(4) Athen Ox. Vol. i. col. 575.

[*B*] *He was invited to the houſes of Princes and Noblemen, not only of this nation, but of others.*] He was often courted to live in the family of Henry Earl of Northumberland, a great friend and patron of the Mathematicians; which invitation he partly embraced, and ſpending ſome little time at the Earl's houſe, he there became acquainted with thoſe celebrated Mathematicians Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torporley, &c. He was alſo ſtrongly ſolicited by Albertus L'aſkie, Count or Prince of Sirade in Poland (who was in England in 1583) to go with him into that country, and reſide there, with a promiſe of preferment. But Allen, being fond of retirement, and an academical life, declined the Count's offer, and, like a true philoſopher, deſpiſed riches and greatneſs (5).

(5) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *The Earl of Leiceſter ---- had a particular eſteem for Mr. Allen.*] The Earl's intimacy with Allen, and the abovementioned John Dee, expoſed him to the calumnies of the author of a book intituled, *Leiceſter's Commonwealth*; in which it is ſaid, that *they* (meaning the Earl, &c. whom he brands with the name of *Atheiſts*) *uſed the art of figuring and conjuring, for procuring the ſaid Earl's unlawful deſigns*, and that alſo *by their black art, they endeavoured to make a match between Queen Elizabeth and him.* This is plainly a fooliſh and malicious charge. However, it is certain, the Earl placed ſuch confidence in Allen, that nothing material in the ſtate was tranſacted without his knowledge; and that the Earl had conſtant information, by letter from Allen, of what paſſed in the univerſity (6).

(6) *Id. ibid.*

decline the offer. He was alſo highly reſpected by other famous men of his time, as Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Henry Savile, Mr. Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr. Selden, *&c.* (*a*). His great ſkill in the mathematics made the ignorant and vulgar look upon him as a magician or conjurer. He was very curious in collecting ſcattered manuſcripts relating to every faculty, particularly hiſtory, antiquity, aſtronomy, philoſophy, mathematics, *&c.* Theſe collections have been quoted by ſeveral learned authors, and mentioned to have been in the *Bibliotheca Alleniana:* but they are now loſt in obſcure hands. His works are: 1. *Claudii Ptolemei Peluſienſis, de Aſtrorum judiciis, aut, ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ conſtructionis liber ſecundus; cum expoſitione Thomæ Alleyn Angli Oxonienſis*; i. e. 'The ſecond Book of Claudius Ptolemy 'of Peluſium, concerning the judgment of the ſtars, or, as it is commonly called, of 'the Quadripartite Conſtruction, with the Expoſition of Thomas Allen of Oxford.' 2. *Claudii Ptolemei de Aſtrorum judiciis lib. tertius cum Expoſitione Tho. Alleyn*, &c. [*D*]. Our author likewiſe wrote notes on many of Lilly's books, and ſome on John Bale's book *De Scriptoribus maj. Britanniæ.* Having lived to a great age, he died at Glouceſter-Hall the thirtieth of September 1632 (*b*) [*E*].

(*a*) See the Remark [*A*].

(*b*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 574, 575.

[*D*] *Claudii Ptolemæi Peluſienſis*, &c.] Mr. Wood (7), who ſaw theſe two pieces in manuſcript, tells us, they fell into the hands of William Lilly, the famous Aſtrologer, who gave them to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; in 1652. One of theſe copies was tranſcribed from the original given by Mr. Allen to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury; the other was in the poſſeſſion of John Huniades, the great chymiſt, who gave it to Lilly.

(7) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *He died at Glouceſter-hall the 30th of September*, 1632.] The day after his death, an oration was delivered in praiſe of the deceaſed, by Mr. William Burton (8) of that houſe, in the common refectory, before the Vice-chancellor, heads of colleges and halls, and many of the univerſity then preſent; all of whom accompanied the body to Trinity-College, where, after another oration ſpoken by Mr. George Bathurſt, it was ſolemnly interred. Mr. Allen left his curious collection of manuſcripts to Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave them to the Bodleian library. Some of them, Mr. Wood tells us (9), had, about the time of Allen's death, fallen into the hands of Mr. Richard James, of Corpus-Chriſti college, and were by him depoſited in the Cotton library; and others were in the poſſeſſion of Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Maſter of the Requeſts. His picture, painted to the life, he gave to the preſident of Trinity-college, and his ſucceſſors, to remain in the ſaid Preſident's dining-room for ever. Another copy he gave to the Cotton library, and a third to his old friend Dr. Thomas Clayton, head of Pembroke college. B.

(8) See Remark [*A*], init.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

ALLEN (THOMAS) a learned divine, was born in the year 1573, educated in the King's ſchool at Worceſter, and from thence removed to Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, at ſixteen years of age, *anno* 1589. He made a great progreſs in philoſophy, and became a moſt noted diſputant. He was elected a Probationer Fellow of Merton-college, in 1593. Afterwards he went into Holy Orders; but, inſtead of frequent preaching, he applied himſelf to the more abſtruſe and critical parts of learning. This recommended him to the eſteem of Sir Henry Savile, by whoſe intereſt he obtained a Fellowſhip of Eton-college. He wrote Obſervations in Libellum Chryſoſtomi in Eſaiam; *i. e. Obſervations on St. Chryſoſtom's Book upon Iſaiah* [*A*]. He died in 1636, and was buried in Eton-college chapel (*a*) [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 604.

[*A*] *He wrote* Obſervations, &c.] This piece is printed in Sir H. Savile's edition of St. Chryſoſtom's works, Vol. viii. p. 139, *&c.* Sir Henry was aſſiſted by Mr. Allen, in his annotations on St. Chryſoſtom's homilies on St. Matthew, and the other Evangeliſts, as he acknowledges in his preface to thoſe annotations, in which he ſtyles our author: 'Vir 'doctiſſimus, Græcarum literarum non minus quam 'Theologiæ peritiſſimus; *i. e. A very learned man,* '*and no leſs ſkilled in the Greek learning than in Divi-*'*nity* (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 604.

[*B*] *He was buried in Eton-college chapel.*] Over his grave was placed a flat ſtone, having the following inſcription carved on a braſs plate fixed thereto. 'Thomas Allenus Wigornienſis, vir pietate inſignis, 'Theologus præſtantiſſimus, multarum optimarum 'linguarum variæque eruditionis callentiſſimus, in 'collegium hoc (in quo diu ſocius vixit) in colle-'gia inſuper alia, locaque in quibus aliquam vitæ 'ſuæ partem poſuit pie munificus, hic jacet. Obiit 'die decimo menſis Octobris, an. 1636. *i. e. Here* '*lies Mr. Thomas Allen of Worceſter, a man of ex-*'*emplary piety; an excellent Divine, well ſkilled in* '*many of the beſt languages and various branches of* '*literature, a pious and munificent benefactor to this* '*college, and to other colleges and places in which he* '*ſpent any part of his life. He died the 10th of October,* '1636 (2).' B.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

ALLEIN (RICHARD) was the ſon of a Clergyman of the ſame name, Rector of Dichet in Somerſetſhire, which preferment he held fifty years (*a*). Our Richard was born at the aforeſaid place, in the year 1611 (*b*). The firſt part of his education under his father, fitted him for the univerſity in 1627 (*c*). In that year he was entered a Commoner of St. Alban's Hall in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*). Thence he removed, it ſeems, to New Inn, where having received his Maſter's degree (*e*), and then taking Holy Orders, he became aſſiſtant to his father, and carried on the work of the miniſtry in his own country (*f*). His father inclining to what is called Puritaniſm, he fell naturally into thoſe opinions, and being a man of great zeal and competent learning he came early to be much conſidered. In the month of March 1641, he ſucceeded Richard Bernard in the Rectory of Batcomb, in Somerſetſhire, where that Divine had continued twenty-eight years, having for his predeceſſor Dr. Biſs, who lived in the days of the Reformation (*g*). Mr. Allein diſcharged his duty here, with much induſtry and fidelity, and being a zealous Covenanter, had now and then ſome diſturbance from the King's forces in thoſe parts. He was, however, a great enemy to that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit which broke out in this country, on the ruin of the eſtabliſhed Church, as appears by his ſubſcribing a repreſentation, intitled, *The Teſtimony of the Miniſtry*

(*a*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 580.

(*c*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 689.

(*d*) So Calamy; Wood calls it New Inn.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) As he teſtifies himſelf in various parts of his works, particularly towards the cloſe of the firſt part of *Vindiciæ Pietatis.*

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Calamy, ubi ſupra.

Miniſtry of Somerſetſhire, to the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the ſolemn League and Covenant, which was printed in 1648 (*b*). His induſtry and affection to the Cauſe, procured himſelf and his father to be conſtituted Aſſiſtants to the Commiſſioners, appointed by parliament for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters (*i*). This was in 1654, and Mr. Wood tells us, that they acted in this capacity with ſeverity enough (*k*). However, upon the Reſtoration, Mr. Allein ſhewed a diſpoſition to yield obedience to the government; but could not, it ſeems, come up to the terms of conformity, which occaſioned his being ejected from his living, after he had held it upwards of twenty years (*l*). After this misfortune he continued to exerciſe his function privately, preaching ſometimes at his own houſe, and at other times at the houſes of gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Once he was apprehended at the ſeat of Mr. More, who had been a member of parliament, and who had invited him thither to preach to his family, and to ſome of his neighbours. The penalty was five pounds, which that gentleman very honourably paid for Mr. Allein, though he went to priſon for his own fine (*m*). But if this made him cautious, it did not however make him indolent, he went ſtill on in the way of his profeſſion, notwithſtanding that he was often ſummoned to quarter-ſeſſions, and there ſeverely reprimanded for keeping a conventicle (*n*). However, he was not impriſoned as other miniſters were; becauſe his great learning, piety, and unblameable life had gained him ſo high a reputation, that it would have been a very unpopular thing, to have ſent a man of his character to a county-gaol (*o*). After the five miles act took place, he was obliged to leave Batcomb, and to retire to Frome-Selwood, where he lodged at the houſe of Mr. Smith, and continued there in the conſtant exerciſe of his miniſtry, notwithſtanding the dangers to which he was expoſed (*p*). At length he gave way to fate, on the twenty-ſecond of December 1681, being upwards of ſixty-four years of age (*q*). He was diſtinguiſhed for his plain, practical, and pathetic manner of preaching; for his great delight in the duties of the paſtoral office, ſuch as catechizing, viſiting the ſick, and inſtructing the ignorant. His writings alſo, of which in the notes we ſhall give a particular account, were much eſteemed, and often printed [*A*]. As he choſe to leave his living rather than ſtrain his conſcience, ſo his Nonconformity was no way tinctured, either with ſpleen to the eſtabliſhed Church, or diſloyalty to his Prince. On the contrary, he lived in a fair correſpondence with the Clergy in his neighbourhood, and had much reſpect paid him by the gentry of his acquaintance, though of oppoſite ſentiments (*r*). The reverend Mr. Richard Jenkins, M. A. and Vicar of Frome-Selwood, preached his funeral ſermon, and therein gave full and fair teſtimony to his piety, meekneſs, and moderation (*s*), of which he was the better judge, from his long acquaintance with him, and frequent viſits to him, in his laſt ſickneſs. However, the meek and charitable Anthony Wood, to deſtroy, as far as in him lay, the credit of Mr. Jenkins, ſtyles him a lukewarm Conformiſt, on the ſtrength of theſe facts.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*i*) Scobell, Collections, Part ii. p. 335.

(*k*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 580.

(*l*) Calamy, ubi ſupra. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Calamy, *ib.*

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

(*p*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 690.

(*q*) Wood, *ib.* Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) I collect this from Mr. Alleine's books, which I have carefully peruſed; and Dr. Annesley's Preface to his Inſtructions about Heart-Work, 8vo. 1682.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Much eſteemed and often printed.*] The firſt (1) work he publiſhed ſo far as I know, or can learn, was, *A Letter to a Friend*, proving 1. That valid ordination ought not to be repeated; and, 2. That ordination by Preſbyters is valid. It was addreſſed to Mr. John Humfrey, 1661, 4*to*. But as this hath not his name, we begin with 1. Vindiciæ Pietatis, *Or, a Vindication of Godlineſs in the greateſt Strictneſs, and Spirituality of it, from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy*. Mr. Wood ſays, that it was printed in 8*vo* in the year 1664, and again 1669. He then ſpeaks of *Directions for attaining and maintaining of a godly Life*, as if they had been added to the laſt edition. *The godly Man's Portion and ſanctuary*, being the ſecond part of *Vindiciæ pietatis*, Mr. Wood makes a diſtinct book (2); but the edition I have varies from all theſe. It conſiſts of two parts, the *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, and the *Directions for a godly Life*, printed together at London, without a Printer's name, in 1665, with a dedication to the inhabitants of the pariſh of B —— in the county of S ——; *i. e.* Batcomb in the county of Somerſet. *The godly Man's Portion*, is joined thereto, but is printed in 1663, whence I conceive the firſt edition to have been in that year, if not in the year before it. The reaſon the book is without the Printer's name, is, becauſe it was not licenſed. On its publication, the book was greedily bought up, and the King's bookſeller having notice where there was a parcel of them lodged for ſale, cauſed them to be ſeized; in conſequence of which, they were ſent to the King's Kitchen, there to be employed for other purpoſes than reading. Thence, however, he took care to purchaſe them at the rate of waſte paper, bound them up and ſold them. But this artifice being diſcovered, he was brought on his knees at the council-table, and the books ſent once again to the King's kitchen, there to be biſk'd; that is, ſtruck over with ink, ſo as to be illegible (3). 2. *Heaven opened, or a brief and plain Diſcovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace*. Mr. Wood calls this the third part of the *Vindiciæ Pietatis* (4), but it is not ſo ſtyled in the edition I have, which is printed in 1665, with a preface to the reader, wherein it is ſaid, that the author intended to have added it to his other book, but that he found it growing to too great a bulk. 3. *The World conquered, or a Believer's Victory over the World laid open, being the fourth Part of Vindiciæ Pietatis*, London 1668, 8*vo*. All which pieces, Mr. Wood ſays, were printed together in 1671, under the title of the Works of Mr. Allen, in four Parts (5). 4. *Godly Fear, or the Nature and Neceſſity of Fear, and its Uſefulneſs*, &c. London, 1674, 8*vo*. This is no more than a collection of ſermons on ſeveral texts. 5. *A Rebuke to Backſliders, and a Spur for Loiterers, in ſeveral Sermons lately preached to a private Congregation*, London, 1677, 8*vo*. There was another edition in 1684, which is ſaid, in the title-page, to have been publiſhed for the awakening a ſleepy Age. From the preface to this book it appears, that the author when he wrote it was ſickly, and in a declining ſtate of health. 6. *A Companion for Prayer, or Directions for Improvement in Grace, and practical Goodneſs, in Times of extraordinary Danger*, London, 1680, in 12*mo*. 7. *Inſtructions about Heart-work, what is to be done on God's part and ours, for the Cure and Keeping of the Heart, that we may live in the Exerciſe and Growth of Grace here, and have a comfortable Aſſurance of Glory to Eternity*, London, 1681, 8*vo*. This is a poſthumous work, and before it there is an epiſtle to the reader, by Dr. Anneſley. Wood places the firſt edition of this book in 1682 (6), but therein he is certainly miſtaken (7). The ſecond edition came out in 1684, and then his Companion for Prayer was added to it by way of appendix. He alſo wrote *A brief Character of Mr. Joſeph Allen*, which makes the third chapter in the account of his life publiſhed in 1672. He was related to our author, and ſeveral pieces written by Joſeph, are inſerted in the works of Richard Allein, as the reader may ſee by conſulting the notes upon that life, in this work.

C.

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. iii. p. 731.

(2) Athen. Ox. Vol ii. col. 689.

(3) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 584.

(4) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col 690.

(5) Ubi ſupra. I wonder that in Dr. Calamy's account in his Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 580. Wood's Liſt is only imperfectly copied. I have done all I can at this diſtance of time to render it complete.

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii col. 690.
(7) The Book before me is thus dated. London: Printed for Jonathan Greenwood at the Crown in the Poultry, near Grocer's Alley, 1681.

ALLEIN (JOSEPH) the ſon of Mr. Tobias Allein, was born in the Devizes in Wiltſhire in 1633 (*a*). An extraordinary tincture of religion diſcovered itſelf in all his actions, even in his childhood, inſomuch that at eleven years of age he was much addicted to private prayer, and on the death of his brother Edward, who was a worthy Miniſter of the Goſpel, he earneſtly intreated his father, that he might receive ſuch an education as might fit him for the ſame work. In the ſpace of four years he acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, and was by his maſter declared fit for the univerſity (*b*). His father kept him however ſome time at home, where he was inſtructed in Logick, and at the age of ſixteen, was placed in Lincoln college at Oxford. There he continued to the eighth of November 1651, when he was admitted of Corpus Chriſti college, a Wiltſhire Scholarſhip being then vacant. He was very remarkable while at college, for his great aſſiduity in his ſtudies, a ſettled gravity in his temper, and a chearful readineſs to aſſiſt others. He might, in a little time, have attained a Fellowſhip, which he declined for the ſake of the office of Chaplain, being exceedingly pleaſed with the opportunity this gave him of exerting his gifts in prayer. In July 1653 (*c*), he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, and became a tutor. In this arduous employment he behaved himſelf with equal ſkill and diligence, ſeveral of his pupils becoming very eminent Nonconformiſt Miniſters, and not a few attained to good preferment in the eſtabliſhed Church (*d*). In 1655, being then in the one and twentieth year of his age, he became aſſiſtant in the miniſtry, to Mr. George Newton, in Taunton Magdalen, in Somerſetſhire. There, on the fourth of October in the ſame year, he married his beloved wife, and ſettled himſelf in the world (*e*). His income was very ſmall, at firſt not above forty, never above eighty pounds a year, which, however, was ſomewhat increaſed by the pains of his wife, who kept a boarding-ſchool (*f*). During ſeven years that he lived in this manner, he diſcharged his paſtoral duty with incredible diligence; for beſides preaching and catechizing in the church, he ſpent ſeveral afternoons in a week, in viſiting the people of the town, and exhorting them to a religious life. Theſe applications were, at firſt, far from being welcome to many families; but his meekneſs, moderation, and unaffected piety, made him by degrees the delight of his pariſhioners (*g*). He was deprived in 1662, for Nonconformity. He preached, however, privately, generally ſix or ſeven, ſometimes fourteen or fifteen times a week. His zeal and induſtry in this courſe, brought him at length into trouble; ſo that on the twenty-ſixth day of May 1663, he was committed to Ivelcheſter jail, where at that time there were ſeven Miniſters, and fifty Quakers, confined in one room, where they ſuffered great hardſhips: however, they ſtill continued to preach till the aſſizes (*h*). Theſe were held before Mr. Juſtice Foſter, and at them, *viz.* on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he was indicted for preaching on the ſeventeenth of May preceding, of which indictment he was found guilty, ſentenced to pay a hundred merks, and to remain in priſon till his fine was paid. At the time of his receiving ſentence, he ſaid; *That he was glad that it had appeared before his country, that whatſoever he was charged with, he was guilty of nothing but doing his duty; and that all that did appear by the evidence was, that he had ſung a pſalm, and inſtructed his family, others being there, and both in his own houſe.* He continued in priſon a whole year wanting three days, which broke his conſtitution (*i*). However, when he was at liberty, he applied himſelf to his miniſtry as earneſtly as ever, which brought upon him a grievous ſickneſs. The five miles act taking place, he retired from Taunton to Wellington, where he continued but a ſmall time, Mr. Mallack, a merchant, inviting him to lodge at a houſe of his at ſome diſtance from Taunton (*k*). In the Summer of 1665, he was adviſed to drink the waters near the Devizes, for his health. But before he left Mr. Mallack's houſe, *viz.* on the tenth of July in that year, ſome friends came to take their leaves of him: they were ſurprized praying together, and for this were ſentenced to ſixty days impriſonment, which himſelf, ſeven Miniſters, and forty private perſons, ſuffered in the county jail. This hindered his going to the waters, and his diſeaſe returning, he loſt another Summer (*l*). At length, in 1667, he went, but was far from receiving that benefit he expected. After ſome time he went to Dorcheſter, where he grew better; but applying himſelf again to preaching, catechizing, and other duties, his diſtemper returned with ſuch violence, that he loſt the uſe of his limbs. His death was then daily expected; but by degrees he grew ſomewhat better, and at length went to Bath, where the ſtate of his health altered ſo much, that his friends were in hopes he would have held out ſeveral years; but growing ſuddenly worſe again, he finiſhed his life there, in the month of November 1668, being then ſomewhat above thirty-five years old (*m*). He was a man of great learning, and greater charity, zealous in his own way of worſhipping God, but not in the leaſt bitter towards any Chriſtians who worſhipped in another manner (*n*). He preſerved a great reſpect for the Church, notwithſtanding all his ſufferings, and was eminently loyal to his Prince, notwithſtanding the ſeverities of the times. His writings breathe a true ſpirit of piety, for which they have been always and deſervedly eſteemed [*A*]. Anthony Wood has treated (*o*) his memory very rudely [*B*], and betrayed

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr. Joſeph Allein, p. 18. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 574. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 425.

(*b*) See the Life of Mr. Allein, chap. i.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 101.

(*d*) Life of Mr. Allein, p. 22.

(*e*) Mrs. Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr. Allein, P. 91.

(*f*) *Id. Ibid.*

(*g*) Life of Mr. Allein, p. 94.

(*h*) *Ibid* p. 53.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 59. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. P. 578.

(*k*) Mrs. Allein's Narrative, ubi ſupra, p. 65.

(*l*) *Ibid.* 77. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 425.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 89. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. P. 577. Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) See the ſecond and eighth chapters of his Life, written by Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 420.

[*A*] *His writings are deſervedly eſteemed.*] The moſt remarkable of his printed books were theſe which follow: 1. *A moſt familiar Explanation of the Aſſembly's Shorter Catechiſm.* Wherein their larger anſwers are broken into leſſer parcels, thereby to let the light by degrees into the minds of learners, 8*vo.* 1656,

trayed that ſpleen he had againſt the Nonconformiſts, in ſpeaking ill of one, who ſpake ill of no man. The body of our author lies interred in the chancel of the church of Taunton St. Magdalen, and on his grave-ſtone ſtand the following lines (*p*):

(*p*) *Ibid.* col. 421.

Here Mr. Joſeph Allein lies,
To God and you, a ſacrifice.

1656, with two appendixes. 2. *A Call to Archippus*; being an earneſt motive to the ejected miniſters to continue in their miniſtry, 4*to.* 1664. This was written during his impriſonment, and the intent of it was to ſtir up his Nonconformiſt brethren, to preach and pray, notwithſtanding the ſeverities they laboured under (1). It is very probable this might give offence though in writing it he diſcharged his conſcience. 3. *An Alarm to the unconverted*, publiſhed in 8*vo.* in 1672, as alſo in 12*mo*; at which time there were twenty thouſand of them ſold. It was afterwards printed under the title of *A ſure Guide to Heaven*, in 1675, and with this title, there have been fifty thouſand ſold (2). However, in 1720, there was a large impreſſion publiſhed with the firſt title, *An Alarm to unconverted Sinners*. It has a long epiſtle before it by Richard Baxter, and a ſhorter by our author's friend Richard Allein. I have been very careful in examining all the editions of this book, and find moſt of them vary in ſome particulars. There was an edition in 12*mo.* 1689, with a preface *To the reader that would be ſafe and happy*, which differs from both theſe prefaces. Mr. Wood tells us, it was printed under the title of *A true Way to Happineſs*: but as he makes this a different book from the *Sure Guide to Heaven*, and yet the ſame with the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners* (3), he is certainly miſtaken. 4. *Chriſtian Letters full of ſpiritual Inſtruction*, 8*vo.* London, 1672. They are forty in number, and were afterwards added as an appendix to his life. In 1677, there was another edition, with five new letters. Amongſt theſe, ſeveral are directed to his wife, and the reſt to his friends, and to his flock; moſt of them during his impriſonment at Ivelcheſter. 5. *Caſes of Conſcience*, &c. London, 1672, 8*vo.* Theſe are added to the laſt edition of the *Alarm to unconverted Sinners*. 6. *Remains, being a Collection of ſundry Directions, Sermons, ſacramental Speeches, and Letters, not heretofore publiſhed*, 8*vo.* 1672. Beſides theſe, he wrote ſeveral little practical pieces, which are inſerted in the books of Mr. Richard Allein. Such as the *Synopſis of the Covenant* (4). *A Form of Words, expreſſing a Man's Covenant with God*, &c. (5). Beſides theſe, he left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology, under eight heads, written in a good Latin ſtile, wherein were laid down; firſt, the Chriſtian Doctrine, and then by way of annotation was added, the teſtimonies of the ancient Philoſophers (6). One ſection of this, *viz. De Providentia*, was fitted for the preſs, and licenſed; but Anthony Wood ſays, that being Latin and Greek, and ſuch books having too few buyers in England, there were none yet found, who would be at the charge of printing it (7). To this account of his writings, we may add what is very often printed with them, the life and death of that excellent miniſter of Chriſt, Mr. Joſeph Allein, &c. This was firſt printed in 8*vo.* 1671. It conſiſts of ſeveral parts, 1. An introduction written by Mr. Richard Baxter. 2. A brief relation of what paſſed at his childhood, and at the univerſity, by an eye-witneſs. 3. A ſhort character of him by Mr. Richard Allein. 4. An account of his godly life and practice, by the Reverend Mr. Newton, to whom he was aſſiſtant. 5. A further account of his miniſtry, by an intimate friend. 6. A narrative of his life by his widow, Mrs. Theodoſia Allein. 7. Some notes by a perſon, in whoſe houſe he lodged. 8. His character, under the title of, A Compleat Picture of a Goſpel Miniſter. 9. A few additions to this character, by Mr. Richard Fairclough. The ſecond and eighth, were written by miniſters of the Church of England. There is, likewiſe, annexed a funeral ſermon, preached by Mr. George Newton, from Luke xxiii. 28. (8)

(1) Mrs. Allein's Narrative in the Life and Death of Mr. Joſeph Allein, p. 62.

(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 577.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 421.

(4) Heaven Opened, by R. A. 8*vo.* 1665, p. 262.

(5) Vindiciæ Pietatis, by the ſame Rich. Allein.

(6) Baxter's Introduction to Mr. Allein's Life, p. 17. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 577.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 421.

(8) The copy I have hath two titles, one in 1671, which is firſt, the other in 1672. Theſe books being printed by ſtealth, and without licence, occaſioned theſe unuſual precautions.

[*B*] *Anthony Wood has treated his memory very rudely.*] Moſt of the facts mentioned in this article, are taken out of the life of Joſeph Allein, mentioned in the foregoing note, and all the Oxford Antiquary has done, is to give them a malicious turn. He ſays, he deſired the office of chaplain, though inferior in value to a fellowſhip, *that he might ſhew his excellencies in public twice in a day* (9). A miniſter of the Church of England, who knew him at college, ſays his prayers were grave, ſuccinct, and premeditated, and (10) therefore, the times conſidered in which he executed this office, one may ſafely ſay, the college was the better for it; nor do we know whether he did not take this place to prevent the ill uſe that ſome fiery enthuſiaſt might have made of it. After mentioning his call to Taunton, Wood ſays (11), our author Joſeph *received another call to take to wife, a fair and holy ſiſter, which being effected, he would as in jeſt complain to an intimate friend of his, of the inconveniencies of marriage*, viz. *that whereas he uſed to riſe at four of the clock in the morning, or before, his loving ſpouſe would keep him in bed 'till about ſix; alſo, whereas he uſed to ſtudy fourteen hours in a day, ſhe would bring him to eight or nine. And laſtly, that whereas he uſed to forbear one meal a day, at leaſt for his ſtudy, ſhe would bring him to his meat*, &c. Mr. Wood cites no authority for this, and, therefore, one would ſuppoſe he had been told it; but the truth is, that in the ſecond chapter of Mr. Allein's life, we are told, that an intimate friend of his, having written to him to know the inconveniences of marriage, he, in a familiar anſwer, wrote back what Mr. Wood has mentioned (12); but how this can be called his complaint, is not eaſy to be underſtood. Our Oxford writer tells us, that he had *a third call for the propagation of the Goſpel, and that he would by all means go into China to fulfil it, but was diſſuaded from it by the brethren* (13). All which is built on ſome expreſſions which fell from Mr. Allein at the time he was ejected, when he ſaid, that if he found it impracticable to diſcharge the work of the miniſtry in his own country, he would go and preach Chriſtianity in China. This was only a declaration of the duty he thought incumbent upon him of preaching (14): but he actually formed another deſign, which Mr. Wood does not mention; and that was, to go and preach in Wales, which nothing but his ſickneſs hindered (15). After having taken his materials from the life of Joſeph Allein, he gives this account of it: *From which acting Farce or Life, eſpecially that ridiculous diſcourſe of Theodoſia, the reader may eaſily underſtand what a grand zealot for the cauſe this our author Joſeph Allein was, and how his life was ſpent, in actions buſy, forward, (if not pragmatical) and meddling without intermiſſion. The ſaid Theodoſia, a prating goſſip, and a mere Xantippe, finding Joſeph Allein to be a mere ſcholar, and totally ignorant of women's tricks, did flatter, ſooth him up, and woo, and ſoon after married and brought him to her lure* (16). Much more to the ſame purpoſe, we meet with in this author, whoſe account is thus cenſured by Dr. Calamy: 'Wood, the Oxonian, fancied himſelf among 'his boon companions paſſing away the tedious mi- 'nutes of the lingering glaſs, in its circular returns 'with a wanton tale, when he compoſed that farce 'to which this good man's name is prefixed (in his '*Athenæ Oxonienſes*). But it is no diſgrace at all to 'any one to be ridiculed in ſuch a way as makes 'the actor infamous, in the eſtimation of all ſuch as 'have any relics either of honour, or honeſty (17).' There is a very honourable character given of him in Moreri's Dictionary (18), though he is not mentioned in any of the works of the ſame kind, which have hitherto appeared in our language (19).

(9) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 420.

(10) See the ſecond chapter in Mr. Allein's Life, p. 23.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 420.

(12) Life of Mr. Allein, p. 21. See alſo p. 93, where Mrs. Allein aſſerts, her huſband roſe always at, or before, four, &c.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 420.

(14) Mrs. Allein's Narrative, P. 53.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 64.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 421.

(17) Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 577.

(18) In the edition printed for the bookſellers in Amſterdam, Leyden, &c. in 1740, Vol. i. p. 314.

(19) Such as Collier's, or the General Dictionary.

ALLESTRY or ALLESTREE (RICHARD), Provoſt of Eton-college in the reign of King Charles II. was the ſon of Mr. Robert Alleſtry, a gentleman of an

ancient family in Derbyſhire [*A*], and was born in March 1619, at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropſhire (*a*). He was educated firſt at a country free-ſchool in the neighbourhood, and afterwards at one of greater note at Coventry (*b*), where Philemon Holland the Tranſlator taught (*c*). In 1636, being then ſeventeen years of age, he was carried by his father to Oxford, and entered a Commoner in Chriſt-Church, under the tuition of Mr. Richard Buſby (*d*). Six months after his ſettlement in the univerſity, Dr. Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church, obſerving the parts and induſtry of young Mr. Alleſtry, made him a ſtudent of that college; where he applied himſelf to academical learning with uncommon improvement and ſucceſs. After he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was choſen Moderator in philoſophy; which office he continued to diſcharge, till the diſturbances of the kingdom interrupted the ſtudies and repoſe of the univerſity. In 1641, Mr. Alleſtry, among other Oxford ſcholars, engaged in the King's ſervice, and continued therein till Sir John Biron (*e*), who was ſent with a party of horſe to countenance and ſupport the ſcholars in arms, withdrew from Oxford; upon which he returned, with many others, to his gown and his ſtudies. Soon after, a party of the rebels having entered Oxford, and plundered the colleges, Mr. Alleſtry narrowly eſcaped being ſeverely handled by them [*B*]. In October following he took arms again, and was preſent in the battle fought between King Charles and the rebels, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex, in Keinton-field in Warwickſhire: after which, underſtanding that the King deſigned immediately to march to Oxford, and take up his reſidence at the deanery of Chriſt church (*f*), he haſted thither to prepare for his Majeſty's reception; but in his way was taken priſoner by a party of horſe from Broughton-houſe, which was garriſoned by the Lord Say for the parliament. His confinement was very ſhort, the garriſon ſurrendering itſelf to the King's forces, who ſummoned it in their march. And now Mr. Alleſtry ſettled himſelf again to his ſtudies, and in the next ſpring (*g*) took his degree of Maſter of Arts; and the ſame year his life was greatly endangered by a peſtilential diſtemper, which raged in the garriſon of Oxford. Soon after his recovery, he entered a third time into his Majeſty's ſervice, and carried a muſket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford ſcholars [*C*]. In this ſervice he continued till the end of the war, and then went into Holy Orders, at a time when he had no proſpect of worldly advantage. He was tutor to ſeveral young gentlemen and ſtudents, and diſcharged the office of Cenſor of the college. He bore a part in that ſignal teſt of loyalty, which the univerſity of Oxford gave in their decree and judgment againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*; for which, in July 1648, he was proſcribed and expelled the univerſity by the parliament viſitors [*D*]. Being thus driven from

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 676. See alſo the Preface to Dr. Alleſtree's Sermons, in fol. Oxon. 1684.

(*b*) Preface, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Afterwards the famous Dr. Buſby, and maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

(*e*) Afterwards Lord Biron.

(*f*) The Care of which had been left to Mr. Alleſtry in the abſence of the Dean. Preface, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) June 2, 1643. Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 33.

[*A*] *Mr. Robert Alleſtry, a gentleman of an ancient family in Derbyſhire.*] The eſtate of the family having been conſiderably diminiſhed by the profuſion of his anceſtors, this gentleman was reduced to ſerve Sir Richard Newport, afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of High Arcol, in the quality of his ſteward; and being married, he left that ſervice, and ſettled at Uppington near the Wreken in Shropſhire (1).

(1) Preface to Dr. Alleſtry's Sermons, printed at Oxon in 1684.

[*B*] *Mr. Alleſtry narrowly eſcaped being ſeverely handled by the rebels.*] The occaſion was this: Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treaſury of Chriſt-Church, and after a day's labour having forced a paſſage into it, met with nothing but a ſingle groat, and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron cheſt. Enraged at their diſappointment, they went to the deanery; where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, locked it up, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and diſpoſe of their prize. But when they came, they found themſelves again diſappointed, and every thing removed out of the chamber. Upon examination it was diſcovered that Mr. Alleſtry had a key to the lodgings, in the abſence of the Dean and his family; and that this key had been made uſe of upon this occaſion. Upon this he was ſeized; and, notwithſtanding all the defence he could make, would probably have been very ſeverely handled by the rebels, had not the Earl of Eſſex called away the forces on a ſudden, and by that means reſcued him from their fury (2).

(2) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *He carried a muſket in a regiment formed out of the Oxford ſcholars.*] The exigency of the King's affairs requiring the aid of all his loyal ſubjects, a regiment was raiſed out of the Oxford ſcholars, who ſerved as volunteers without pay or reward, and performed all duties not only in the garriſon, and ſallies for the defence of it in caſe of attacks or ſieges; but were alſo commanded upon parties abroad, and endured the fatigue of marches, and the inconvenience of bad quarters; differing in nothing from mercenary ſoldiers, except in their civility and juſtice to the country people while they ſtaid with them, and paying them at their departure: things ſo unuſual, that when, upon leaving their quarters, they offered their landlords money, they believed it was done in jeſt and to abuſe them, but were convinced of the contrary by its being left with them. In this regiment Mr. Alleſtry bore arms, being forward upon all occaſions to put himſelf upon action, and thinking it no diſgrace, though a Maſter of Arts and Fellow of a College, to perform the duties of a common ſoldier. Nor did he in the mean time neglect his ſtudies, *frequently* (as our author expreſſes it) *holding his muſket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a ſoldier, the lucubrations of a ſtudent* (3).

(3) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *He was proſcribed, and expelled the univerſity by the Parliament viſitors.*] Soon after the decree of the univerſity againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*, viſitors were ſent down by the Parliament to require the ſubmiſſion of that body to its authority. Thoſe who could proſtitute their allegiance to their Prince, and oaths to the univerſity, and comply with the luſt of the uſurpers, were received into favour: all others, however deſerving, were without farther regard proſcribed; which was done by writing their names on a paper, and affixing it on the door of St. Mary's Church; ſignifying therein, that ſuch perſons were by the authority of the viſitors baniſhed the univerſity, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for ſpies of war, and proceeded againſt accordingly. By this practice often repeated, the men of the greateſt hopes and merit in the univerſity were *ſpoiled of all things*; ſo that, within the compaſs of a few weeks, Oxford was purged of its moſt loyal members. In this diffuſive ruin Mr. Alleſtry had an early ſhare; and though he had the care of ſeveral perſons of quality his pupils, and accounts of his own and theirs to make up, he with difficulty obtained of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelſy, governor of the town, a ſhort reſpite, for ſettling his affairs, and doing juſtice to thoſe for whom he was concerned; the viſitors utterly refuſing his requeſt, for this reaſon, as Dr. Rogers one of their number was pleaſed to phraſe it, *becauſe he was an eminent man* (4).

(4) *Ibid.*

Oxford,

Oxford, he retired into Shropshire, and was entertained as Chaplain to the honourable Francis Newport, Esq; (*b*); and, upon the death of Richard Lord Newport (*i*) that gentleman's father, he was sent over into France to clear accounts, and take care of that nobleman's effects. Having dispatched this affair with good success, he came back to his employment, and continued in it till King Charles II.'s march into England with the Scotch army, and his wonderful escape at Worcester: at which time, the managers of the King's affairs wanting an intelligent and faithful person to send over to his Majesty, Mr. Allestry was desired to undertake the journey; which accordingly he did, and having attended the King at Roan, and received his dispatches, he returned into England. Here he found his friends Mr. Dolben and Mr. Fell (*k*), who had likewise been banished the university, residing privately there, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the Loyalists: upon which he joined them, and continued with them, till Sir Anthony Cope, a loyal young gentleman of considerable quality and fortune in Oxfordshire, prevailed upon him to live in his family; where he continued several years, with liberty of going or staying as occasion required: and by this means he was enabled, without being taken notice of, to convey messages to the King from his friends. After several difficult journies successfully performed, he was sent over, in the winter before his Majesty's Restoration, into Flanders; from whence returning with letters, he was seized, upon his landing at Dover, by a party of soldiers; but had the address to secure his letters, by conveying them to a faithful hand. Being guarded up to London, he was examined by a committee of the Council of Safety, and sent prisoner to Lambeth-house (*l*), where he contracted a dangerous sickness. After six or eight weeks confinement, he was set at liberty [*E*], and returned into Oxfordshire; from whence, after a short stay, he went into Shropshire to visit his relations [*F*]. Soon after the Restoration, Mr. Allestry was made a Canon of Christ-Church, and readily concurred in repairing the injuries and decays that church and college had suffered during the Usurpation. At the same time he undertook one of the lectureships of the city of Oxford, with a view to instil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens: yet he never received any part of the profits, but constantly distributed it among the poor. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, on the third of October 1660 (*m*), and was appointed one of the King's Chaplains in ordinary; and soon after, upon a vacancy (*n*) of the Divinity-chair, he was chosen *Regius Professor*. In 1665, the King conferred upon Dr. Allestry the Provostship (*o*) of Eton-college [*G*], which he held to his death. In 1679, finding his health, and particularly his sight, much impaired, he resigned the Professorship of Divinity, and had the satisfaction to be succeeded therein by Dr. Jane, of whose abilities he had perfect knowledge. And now, the decay of his constitution terminating in a dropsy, he removed to London, to be nearer the advice of physicians; but, medicines proving ineffectual, he died [*H*] in January 1680-1, and was buried in Eton-chapel (*p*), under a monument of white (*q*) marble, on which was put the under-

(*b*) Afterwards Lord Viscount Newport of High Arcol.

(*i*) He died in France, having retired thither to avoid the insolence of the conquering Rebels. Pref.

(*k*) Afterwards Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Oxford.

(*l*) The common goal for the King's friends.

(*m*) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 137.

(*n*) By the death of Dr. John Creed. Wood, Athen. Vol. ii. col. 677.

(*o*) Vacant by the death of Dr. John Meredith. Wood, *ibid.*

(*p*) On the north side of the communion table. Wood, *ibid.*

(*q*) Woods says, a black marble stone.

[*E*] *He was set at liberty.*] The means of his enlargement were owing to the prospect of an approaching revolution; for some of the heads of the republican party, seeing things tend towards his majesty's restoration, were willing by kindnesses to recommend themselves to the loyal party, in case matters should take that turn. Among these was the Earl of Shaftsbury, who used to value himself that Mr. Allestry owed his preservation to him (5).

(5) *Ibid.*

[*F*] *He went into Shropshire to visit his relations.*] In his return from thence, designing to visit his worthy friend Dr. Hammond at Westwood near Worcester, he had the mortification to meet, at the gate, the body of that great man carrying to his burial. This circumstance deserves the rather to be mentioned, because that eminent light of the English Church gave at his death, this testimony of his esteem for Mr. Allestry, that he left him his valuable library of books, *well knowing that in his hands they would be useful weapons for the defence of that cause he had during life so vigorously asserted* (6).

(6) *Ibid.*

[*G*] *The King conferred upon Dr. Allestry the Provostship of Eton-College.*] It was with some difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of this benefice: but the consideration that great interest was made for it by a lay-man, who might possibly succeed upon the advantage of his refusal, induced him to comply with his Majesty's gracious offer. For the Provost of Eton being actually parson of the parish, and presented to the Cure, and instituted by the Bishop of Lincoln the Diocesan, nothing (he thought) could be more sacrilegious and irregular than such an usurpation of a lay-person; nor any thing a greater disservice to the Church, than by an unseasonable modesty to make way for it. Upon these motives it was, that Dr. Allestry became Provost of Eton-College; and for the same reason it was, that, during his life, he continued so, never hearkening to any offer of preferment, which might occasion a vacancy. And it may be truly said, that this was the greatest secular care which attended him to his last moments, it being his dying request to his friends, to interpose with the King, that he might be succeeded by a person lawfully qualified, and who would promote the welfare of the college (7). It is remarkable, that his wishes were answered; for Dr. Zachariah Cradock of Cambridge, who had been installed Canon Residentiary of Chichester, succeeded him in the Provostship, being elected thereto by the Fellows; so that Mr. Waller the Poet, who, according to Anthony Wood, struggled hard for it, was disappointed (8).

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 678.

[*H*] *His death.*] Having taken a private lodging in London, he submitted to the methods prescribed by his physicians, more out of compliance with the request of his friends, than in expectation of a cure; in the mean time settling his temporal concerns, and employing the intervals his sickness allowed in attending to the offices of the church constantly read to him, and his private devotions. In his last moments he received the Eucharist, having desired those friends of his who were in town to communicate with him; namely, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Reverend Dr. Busby; and Mr. Fell one of the Fellows of Eton, who continued with him all the time of his sickness. He took his last leave of them, and waited the hour of his release with great serenity and composure of mind (9).

(9) Preface, ubi supra.

mentioned

mentioned inſcription [*I*]. We ſhall give an extract of Dr. Alleſtry's character [*K*], from the *Account* of his *Life*, contained in the *Preface* to his *Sermons*. He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college [*L*], and raiſed the credit and reputation of the ſchool, which

[*I*] His Epitaph.] It is as follows:

H. S. I.
RICHARDUS ALLESTREE
Cathedræ Theologicæ in Univerſitate Oxonienſi
Profeſſor Regius,
Eccleſiæ Chriſti ibidem Præbendarius,
&
Collegii hujus Ætonenſis Præpoſitus;
Muniis iſtis finguiis ita par, ut & omnibus major.
In
Diſputationibus Irrefragabilis, Concionibus flexanimus
Negotii ſolers, Vitæ Integer, Pietate ſanctus.
Epiſcopales infulas eadem induſtria evitavit,
Qua alii ambiunt;
Cui rectius viſum,
Eccleſiam defendere, inſtruere, ornare,
Quam regere.
Laboribus ſtudiiſque perpetuiis exhauſtus,
Morte, ſi quis alius, præmatura,
Obiit Vir deſideratiſſimus
Januarii XXVII. An. M.DC.LXXX.
Ætatis LX.
Nobile ſibi monumentum,
Areæ adjacentis latus occidentale,
Quod à fundamentis propriis impenſis ſtruxit,
Vivus ſibi ſtatuit.
Brevem hanc Tabellam Hæredes defuncto poſuere.

Which may be thus tranſlated: *Here lies* RICHARD ALLESTREE, Regius Profeſſor *of Divinity at Oxford, Canon of Chriſt-Church, and Provoſt of this College of Eton; in the ſeparate diſcharge of which offices he diſcovered abilities ſuperior to the execution of them altogether; in diſputations invincible, an orator in the pulpit, ſkilful in the management of affairs, of great integrity and piety: he declined the epiſcopal character as induſtriouſly as others ſeek it; thinking it a more worthy employ to defend, inſtruct, and adorn the Church, than to govern it. Exhauſted at length with conſtant labour and ſtudy, this valuable man was taken away by too early a death, January* 27, 1680, *in the* 60*th year of his age. In his lifetime he erected to himſelf a noble monument, in building from the ground at his own expence, the weſt ſide of the adjacent Quadrangle* (10). *His heirs erected this ſmall monument to his memory.*

(10) The grammar ſchool, built over a cloiſter or piazza. Mr. Wood ſays, this building coſt the Doctor about fifteen hundred pounds. Ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *An extract of Dr. Alleſtry's character.*] 'His mind, that nobler part of him, was compoſed by 'an extraordinary indulgence of nature; thoſe faculties, which in others uſe to be ſingle, and are 'thought neceſſarily to be ſo, were united in him. 'Memory, fancy, judgment, elocution, great modeſty and no leſs aſſurance, a comprehenſion of 'things and fluency of words; an aptneſs for the 'pleaſant, and ſufficiency for the rugged parts of 'knowledge; a courage to encounter, and an induſtry to maſter all things, make up the character 'of his happy genius. — From his firſt childhood he 'had a ſtrong impreſſion of piety, and the duties 'owed to God and men.——In his conſtitution he 'had a great deal of warmth and vigour, which made 'him apt to take fire upon provocation; but he was 'well aware of it, and kept a peculiar guard upon 'that weak part: ſo that his heat was reſerved for 'the great concerns of the honour of God, and the 'ſervice of his Prince and country, wherein he was 'altogether indefatigable, and in the moſt diſmal appearances of affairs would never deſert them, nor 'deſpair of their reſtauration. There was not in the 'world a man of clearer honeſty and courage; no 'temptation could bribe him to do a baſe thing, or 'terror affright him from the doing a good one. 'This made his friendſhips as laſting and inviolable 'as his life, without the dirty conſiderations of profit, 'or ſly reſerves of craft; not the pageantry of ceremonious addreſs, or cold civility; much leſs the 'ſervile falſeneſs of obſequious flattery.——His converſation was always chearful and entertaining, 'eſpecially in the reception of his acquaintance at 'his table, and friendly viſits.——He was exceeding 'tender of ſaying any thing that might adminiſter 'offence, or reflect upon any one's reputation.—— 'There was no perſon who more literally verified the 'ſaying of the Wiſe Man, that *much ſtudy was a wearineſs of the fleſh*. After his day's work, he 'was uſed to be as faint and ſpent, as if he had been 'labouring all the time with the ſcythe or flail; and 'his intention of thought made ſuch waſte upon his 'ſpirits, that he was frequently in hazard, while at 'ſtudy, to fall into a ſwoon, and forced to riſe from 'his ſeat and walk about the room for ſome time before he could recover himſelf.——His contempt of 'the world was very extraordinary, as in his large 'and conſtant charities, both by ſettled penſions to 'indigent perſons and families, and occaſional alms, 'ſo alſo his bounteous hoſpitality.——But the uncontroulable proof of contempt of the world, is, 'his dying poor; he having never during his life 'purchaſed an inch of ground, nor any annuity, or 'leaſe, to the value of a penny; nor did he take care 'to renew the patrimonial eſtate which he held by 'a leaſe for life (11).——His greateſt treaſure was 'his library, which was indeed a conſiderable one, 'both for the number of books and choice of them; 'but theſe he diſpoſed of by deed before his death to 'the univerſity of Oxford for the uſe of his ſucceſſors 'in the chair.——Though he hung thus looſe from 'the world, he neither was negligent in ſecular affairs, nor unſkilful in the managery of them; which 'was made manifeſt by his dextrous diſcharge of the 'private truſts committed to him in behalf of his 'dead friends, and the adminiſtration of his public 'employments. He was for ſeveral years treaſurer of 'Chriſt-Church, in a buſy time of their repairing the 'ruins made by the intruding uſurpers; and amidſt 'the neceſſary avocations of ſtudy, found leiſure for 'a full diſcharge of that troubleſome employment.— 'In the managery of the buſineſs of the chair of divinity, as he performed the ſcholaſtic part with 'great ſufficiency in exact and dextrous untying the 'knots of argument, and ſolid determination of controverted points, ſo he was not oppreſſed by the 'fame of any of his moſt eminent predeceſſors: his 'prudence was very remarkable in the choice of ſubjects to be treated on; for he waſted not time and 'opportunity in the barren inſignificant parts of 'ſchool-divinity, but inſiſted on the fundamental 'grounds of controverſy between the Church of England and the moſt formidable enemies thereof.— 'By his judicious care herein, though he found the 'univerſity in a ferment, and a great part of its 'growing hopes ſufficiently ſeaſoned with ill preposſeſſions, he ſo brought it to paſs, that during the 'whole tract of ſeventeen years that he held the 'chair, there was no factious bandying of opinions, 'nor petulant ſidings on account of them; which 'things diſturbed the peace of the laſt age, and 'helped forward to inflame thoſe animoſities, which 'ended in the execrable miſchiefs of the civil 'war (12).'

(11) It is proper to remark, that Dr. Alleſtry died a bachelor.

(12) Preface.

[*L*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Eton-college.*] The weſt ſide of the outward court of the college was built from the ground, and finiſhed, at Dr. Alleſtry's ſingle expence. And whereas, at his coming to Eton, he found the ſociety greatly in debt, by an ill cuſtom introduced by the late Republican Occupants, who at the year's end divided whatever money remained after the ordinary payments were made, incidental charges and debts contracted being ſtill thrown off to the future year; which in time grew to ſuch a bulk as endangered the college's becoming bankrupt: to remedy this evil, Dr. Alleſtry, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed on the ſociety to do the like; inſomuch that, within a few years, the college paid off above a thouſand pound debt, and expended above two thouſand pounds

which he found in a very low condition. There are extant *Forty Sermons* (*r*) [*M*] of Dr. Alleſtry's, whereof the greateſt part were preached before the King, and upon ſolemn occaſions. It is much to be regretted, that he could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his *Lectures* [*N*], which, when firſt delivered, were heard with the greateſt ſatisfaction and applauſe. Mr. Wood mentions a ſmall tract (*s*) written by Dr. Alleſtry, intitled, *The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford in point of Viſitation, in a Letter to an honourable Perſonage* (*t*) [*O*].

(*r*) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford, in one volume folio, 1684.

(*s*) Conſiſting of one ſheet and a half, 4*to*, 1647.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 677.

pounds in repairs. Another conſiderable ſervice he did the college and ſchool, as alſo King's college in Cambridge, whoſe ſeminary it is, was this; that whereas formerly the fellowſhips of Eton were generally diſpoſed of to perſons of foreign education, the King was pleaſed, at the inſtance of Dr. Alleſtry, joined with the petition of the Provoſt and Fellows of King's-college, to paſs a grant under the broad ſeal, that for the future five of the ſeven fellows ſhould be ſuch as had been educated at Eton-ſchool, and were fellows of King's-college (13).

(13) *Ibid.*

[*M*] *His ſermons.*] The firſt eighteen ſermons in this collection were originally publiſhed on a charitable account. For his ingenious kinſman Mr. James Alleſtry the bookſeller (*), from a plentiful fortune being by the fire of London reduced to great poverty, Dr. Alleſtry, beſides other aſſiſtances, beſtowed upon him the copies of theſe eighteen ſermons, to make ſome reparation of his loſſes. Afterwards twenty-two more were added to them, being as many as were thought neceſſary to make up a volume. 'The 'variety of auditors (ſays my author) for whom they 'were firſt deſigned, makes them not to be all of 'the ſame fineneſs of ſpinning and cloſeneſs of tex-'ture: but in them all there will appear the ſame 'ſpirit of perſuaſive rhetoric and ardent piety, 'whereby *though dead he yet ſpeaketh* (14).'

(*) See the next article.

(14) *Ibid.*

[*N*] *He could not be prevailed upon to publiſh his lectures.*] Having, a little before his death, communicated to the Biſhop of Oxford ſeveral particulars concerning his intentions for the diſpoſal of his goods and papers; the Biſhop obſerved, that there was no mention made of his Lectures, and knowing how his modeſty, during his life, had reſiſted all importunities for the publiſhing of them, ſuſpected that the ſame motive might be more prevalent at his death: therefore he wrote to Dr. Alleſtry, requeſting that his Lectures might be preſerved, which had coſt him ſo much ſtudy and labour, and would be proportionably uſeful to others. The doctor's anſwer by letter bearing date January 19, 1680, was; *That having not had opportunity to reviſe what he had written, which was not every where conſiſtent with his preſent imaginations, though in nothing material, yet in ſome particulars which he ſhould have better examined; eſpecially divers of the Act-Lectures, which being upon the ſame head, the thread of them was not right nor didactical, and* Nectarius's Penitentiary, *not expounded the ſame way in one place as in another, and the firſt blundering and not true:* therefore he adds, *that if the Biſhop had not writ, and for that he himſelf would not go out of the world without ſatisfying him in every thing, he had reſolved to have ſent for his papers and burnt them; but now he gave them up all to the Biſhop upon this inviolable truſt, that nothing of them ſhould be publiſhed as a ſcheme of his, but to be made uſe of to ſerve any other deſign the Biſhop ſhould think fit.* Dr. Alleſtry's words are here tranſcribed, becauſe the plaineſt account of things is always the moſt ſatisfactory (15).

(15) *Ibid.*

[*O*] *A ſmall tract —— intitled,* The Privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, *&c.*] Upon the publication of this piece, William Prynne came out with his *Univerſity of Oxford's Plea refuted*, &c. and in anſwer to that R. Waryng wrote *An Account of Mr. Prynne's Refutation*, &c. and Mr. Bagſhaw ſenior publiſhed his *Short Cenſure*, &c. Mr. John Fell, one of the fellows of Eton-college, was by ſome taken to be the author of this pamphlet concerning the Univerſity's Privileges (16). B.

(16) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 677.

[A learned correſpondent hath obſerved, that in Dr. Alleſtry's Sermons, p. 92, 93. there is a long ſtory, from the 19th chapter of Mendez Pinto's Voyages, which the Doctor ſeems to have believed, and upon which he hath made ſuch remarks as ſhew his ignorance and credulity with regard to the matters there mentioned. Perhaps it may be urged in the Doctor's favour, that the error was as much the fault of the times as of the man; for a diſcerning and philoſophical ſpirit, in the diſquiſition both of natural phænomena and hiſtorical facts, had not then been greatly cultivated; and eſpecially among the generality of Divines. Notwithſtanding what is ſaid in the note [*I*], it is evident, from a compariſon of dates, that Dr. Alleſtry was nearly ſixty-one years of age, when he died.] K.

ALLESTRY (Jacob), a Poet [*A*] of the laſt century, was the ſon of James Alleſtry, a bookſeller of London, who loſt moſt of his ſubſtance in the dreadful fire, which happened there in the beginning of September 1666. He was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, entered at Chriſt-church in Oxford in the Act-Term 1671, being then eighteen years of age, and the next year was elected ſtudent of that college. Afterwards he took the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, was Muſic-reader in 1679, and *Terræ Filius* in 1682; both which offices he executed with very great applauſe, being

[*A*] *A Poet.*] He wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry; one of which intitled, *What art thou, Love!* was printed in a book intitled *Examen Poeticum* (1). We ſhall tranſcribe it, as a ſpecimen of his talent.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 800.

I.

What art thou, Love! whence are thoſe charms!
  That thus thou bear'ſt an univerſal rule!
For thee the ſoldier quits his arms,
  The King turns ſlave, the wiſe man fool.

II.

In vain we chaſe thee from the field,
  And with cool thoughts reſiſt thy yoke:
Next tide of blood, alas! we yield,
  And all thoſe high reſolves are broke.

III.

Can we e'er hope thou ſhould'ſt be true,
  Whom we have found ſo often baſe?
Cozen'd, and cheated, ſtill we view,
  And fawn upon the treacherous face.

IV.

In vain our nature we accuſe,
  And doat, becauſe ſhe ſays we muſt:
This for a brute were an excuſe,
  Whoſe very ſoul and life is luſt.

V.

To get our likeneſs! what is that?
  Our likeneſs is but miſery:
Why ſhould I toil to propagate
  Another thing as vile as I?

VI.

From hands divine our ſpirits came,
  And Gods, that made us, did inſpire
Something more noble in our frame,
  Above the dregs of earthly fire (2).

(2) See Second Part of Miſcellany Poems, *&c.* Lond. 1727. 12*mo* p. 77.

He had alſo the chief hand (as Mr. Wood had been informed) in the *Verſes* and *Paſtorals*, which were ſpoken in the Theatre at Oxford, May 21, 1681, by Mr. William Savile, ſecond ſon of the Marquis of Halifax, and George Cholmondley, ſecond ſon of Robert Viſcount Kellis (both of Chriſt-church), before James Duke of York, his Ducheſs, and the Lady Anne. Which Verſes and Paſtorals were afterwards printed in the above mentioned *Examen Poeticum*.

then eſteemed a good Philologiſt and Poet. He died [B] the fifteenth of October 1686, and was buried in the church of St. Thomas at Oxford, near the eaſt end of the chancel (a).

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 799, 800.

[B] *He died.*] This perſon, James Alleſtry (to uſe Mr. Wood's own words) being *exceedingly given to the vices of Poets*, his body was ſo emaciated and worn away by his juvenile extravagances, that he retired to an obſcure houſe in Fiſh-Row, in St. Thomas's Pariſh, in the ſuburbs of Oxford; where he continued *incognito*, under the care of a nurſe, about ſeven weeks, and then died in a poor condition, and of a loathſome diſtemper. His body was carried to its burial by four poor men (3). B.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

ALLEY (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Exeter, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (a), was born at Great Wycomb in Buckinghamſhire, and educated at Eton-ſchool. He was removed from thence to King's-college in Cambridge in the year 1528, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity. Soon after, he went to Oxford, where he ſpent ſome time in academical ſtudies. Afterwards he married, was preſented to a benefice, and became a zealous Reformer. Upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the Crown, he quitted his cure, and travelled from place to place in the north parts of England, where he was not known; gaining a comfortable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his wife, by practiſing phyſic, and undertaking the inſtruction of youth. When Queen Elizabeth mounted the throne he came to London, where he acquired ſuch reputation by reading the Divinity Lecture at St. Paul's, that he obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, and was conſecrated to that See, July 14, 1560. In November 1561, he was created Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of Oxford. He wrote: 1. *The Poor Man's Library*, being a Rhapſody or Miſcellany in two volumes; the firſt containing ſeven Lectures upon the firſt Epiſtle of St. Peter, read publickly in St. Paul's cathedral in London, *anno* 1560; the ſecond conſiſting of five Lectures upon the ſame Epiſtle, read in the ſame place. Lond. 1571, fol. 2. An *Hebrew Grammar:* but whether it was ever printed is uncertain. When the verſion of the Bible was undertaken by the command of Queen Elizabeth, this Biſhop tranſlated the Pentateuch. He died the fifteenth of April 1570, and was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir [A]. He left behind him one ſon, who was Archdeacon of Cornwall. [Three Epiſtles of Alley to Matthew Parker, in Latin, are preſerved in the Manuſcripts of Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge. *His Judgment concerning the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church* has been publiſhed by Strype, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth. Wood and Godwin agree in placing Biſhop Alley's death as ſtated above; but Tanner ſays, that it was on the 15th of April 1571, and Fuller carries it down ſo low as 1576 (b).]

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 162.

(b) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 34. Godwin de Epiſcopis Exonienſibus, No. 34. Fuller's Worthies, p. 131.

[A] *He was buried at Exeter in the middle of the choir.*] On his tomb-ſtone is an inſcription, which tells us, he was, 'Acerrimus evangelicæ veritatis propugnator, morum probitate percelebris, bonarum diſciplinarum mirabili ſcientia clarus, *&c. i. e. A zealous advocate for the truths of the goſpel, eminent for his virtues, and remarkably ſkilled in all the uſeful parts of learning* (1). B.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 163.

ALLEYN (EDWARD) a celebrated Comedian in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. and a laudable benefactor, by his charitable foundation of a college in the county of Surry; which flouriſhes with great improvements to this day. He was born of reputable parents, who lived in good faſhion and credit. There is a picture in the ſaid college, which has long paſſed for that of his father, with the age of fifty-nine inſcribed upon it. It is attired in the genteel garb of his time, but was indeed painted for his father-in-law; as a curious and ingenious member of the ſaid college has informed me (a). His father has been alſo reported to have had ſome eſtate in Yorkſhire: it is certain that his ſon died poſſeſſed of lands in that county, of his own purchaſing; as may be ſeen under his own hand (b). But he was born in the city of London; in the pariſh of St. Botolph, without Biſhopſgate, on the firſt day of September, *anno* 1566, as we collect from a memorandum of his own writing [A]; and more particularly according to Dr. Fuller, near Devonſhire-houſe, where now, ſays he, is the ſign of the Pye (c). The ſame author adds, that he was bred a Stage player; which is not improbable, though in his younger days his father might be in good circumſtances, if his ſon proved intractable to a more ſevere education, or ſerious courſe of life. For it does not appear, by what he has left of his writing, that he had ever engaged himſelf very deeply in ſcholaſtic ſtudies; though he was, as may be gathered from the ſeveral teſtimonies which have been given of him, a man of excellent natural parts; flexible genius, corporal agility, lively temper, faithful memory, fluent elocution; and in perſon, as appears by the picture preſerved of him (d), of a ſtately port and aſpect; all which might well induce a young man, to initiate and exert himſelf in that gay and popular profeſſion. And indeed, there are not wanting other authorities, whereby it ſeems to be confirmed, that he was engaged betimes in that vocation. For if before Chriſtopher Marloe, the Poet, died, Alleyn did not only act in ſeveral of his tragedies, but was

(a) The Rev. Mr. Thomas Waterhouſe's Letter from Dulwich-college, to the Author of this Life; April 17, 1745.

(b) In his Laſt Will and Teſtament, more particularly hereafter extracted.

(c) Dr. Tho. Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1661. London.

(d) In Dulwich college.

[A] *As we collect from a memorandum of his own writing.*] This date is calculated from a note written with the ſaid founder's own hand, where he ſays, that, 'On the firſt of September, 1622, being the 'feaſt of his birth-day, he was full fifty-ſix years of 'age (1).' From whence might, and ſhould be rectified, the erroneous date of his age upon his tomb-ſtone; and alſo that, which ſeems to have been thence copied, upon his picture.

(1) Among the MS. papers of Mr. Edward Alleyn in Dulwich-college.

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arrived to that ſuperlative degree, of being inimitable, or *peerleſs* therein; as it has been aſſerted in ſome verſes we ſhall preſently recite (*e*), it may be concluded, that Alleyn was upon the ſtage ſome time before the year 1592, in which year the ſaid Poet Marloe died; as it may be found among the manuſcript papers of the Lord Keeper Puckering, ſtill in being (*f*). For he had then ſo captivated the town, and ſo monopolized the favour of his audience, by thoſe agreeable varieties he could ſo readily command, in his voice, countenance, and geſture; and ſo judiciouſly adapt to the characters he played, as even to animate the moſt lifeleſs compoſitions, and ſo highly improve them, that he wholly engaged thoſe who heard and ſaw him, from conſidering the propriety of the ſentiments he pronounced, or of the parts he perſonated; and all the defects of the Poet were either beautified, palliated, or atoned for, by the perfections of the player. Thus much is intimated in a little curious tract, written by a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times [*B*], and printed but the year following that beforementioned; as well as by the atteſtations of ſeveral ſucceeding authors. And not only in proſe but in poetry we find ſome very high commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew, and could beſt judge of him [*C*]. Thus have many writers for, and concerning the ſtage, beſtowed ſome fine general characters upon him, for his ſingular and eminent qualifications in that ſphere of life; but for any hiſtorical particulars of his own real and proper life, (which ſurely muſt have produced, in a man of his figure, fortune, public character, prudent œconomy, and long converſation with perſons of diſtinction, ſome worthy of preſervation) except what his foundations and endowments have, of themſelves, forced into public view and record; or may be gleaned from ſome detached notes and minutes he left of his own private affairs, it is much that none among thoſe, who were nearly concerned, and lived near enough in time, to have collected ſufficient materials, ever compiled ſome ſuch monument to his memory, as might have done juſtice to gratitude, ſervice to virtue, honour to their founder, credit to his profeſſion, and every other way have anſwered the expectations of the world. Some corporations indeed, have ſecreted the generous and exemplary acts of their founders

(*e*) From Thomas Heywood's Prologue, in the note [*B*].

(*f*) In Biblioth. Harleiana.

[*B*] *By a noted ſatiriſt of thoſe times*, &c.] This was Thomas Naſhe; one of the moſt comical, bantering authors of his age; who having had ſeveral public controverſies with Dr. Gabriel Harvey, and his two brothers, of Saffron-Walden, the ſaid Doctor publiſhed a pamphlet (2), in which he expoſes that Thomas Naſhe, and his acquaintance Robert Greene very plentifully. Naſhe ſmartly replied upon him, in a tract, now grown very ſcarce; which contains many curious particulars, concerning ſeveral learned and ingenious men in thoſe days, and it was publiſhed the next year after Dr. Harvey's; who having had ſome epiſtolary correſpondence with Edmund Spenſer; this famous Poet uſed modeſtly to ſubſcribe himſelf at the end of his letters, *Immerito*; intimating, as if he thereby had acknowledged himſelf unworthy of the eſteem, or compliments, his ſaid correſpondent paid him. Naſhe turns this word upon the Doctor thus: 'Signior *Immerito*; ſo called, be-'cauſe he was, and is, his friend undeſervedly, was 'counterfeitly brought in, to play a part in that his 'enterlude of Epiſtles, that was hiſt at; thinking 'his very name, as the name of Ned Allen, on 'the common ſtage, was able to make an ill matter 'good (3).' Thus we ſee how early this our player was famous upon the Theatre. But he uſually played in the moſt excellent dramatic pieces; and even the capital parts in them. He certainly was one of the original actors in the renowned Shakeſpeare's plays; and of this Poet's writing, there were no leſs than twelve publicly known, and probably acted ſo early as 1598, as from certain contemporary writings it may be certified. In ſome of Ben Johnſon's plays he was alſo a principal performer; but what characters he perſonated in the plays of either of thoſe Poets, is difficult now diſtinctly to nominate, through the inaccuracy of their editors; who printed not the names of the players oppoſite to the characters they performed, as the modern cuſtom is; but either gave us one general liſt of actors to the whole ſet of plays, as in the old folio edition of Shakeſpeare; or divided one from the other; ſetting the Dramatis Perſonæ before the plays, and the catalogue of performers after them; as in Jonſon's (4). As to the diſtinction therefore of Mr. Alleyn's talents; all we can add, is from Dr. Fuller, and others, in a general manner. We are informed by him, that Alleyn 'made any part, eſpecially a 'Majeſtic one, become him (5):' for which, indeed, the portly and graceful figure of his perſon ſeemed well adapted. Another author ſays, 'He was an ornament both to Black-Friars, and to his profeſ-'ſion (6).' And, 'he was as well famous for his 'honeſty, as for his acting,' according to Sir Richard Baker (7). This laſt author, who had doubtleſs been a ſpectator and auditor of him on the ſtage, alſo calls Alleyn and Burbage, 'The beſt actors of 'our time;' and adds, 'What plays were ever ſo 'pleaſing, as where their parts had the greateſt 'part (8)!' And in another more noted work of his, joining our Edward Alleyn with Richard Burbage again, he ſays, 'They were two ſuch actors as no 'age muſt ever look to ſee the like (9).'

(2) Intitled, Four Letters, and certain Sonnets, &c. imprinted by J. Wolfe, 4to. 1592.

(3) Strange news of the intercepting certain letters, and a convoy of verſes, as they were going priviſie to victuall the Low Countries. By Tho. Naſhe, Gent. Printed by J. Dante, 8vo. 1593. Inſignat. G.

(4) An Anſwer to Mr. Pope's Preface to Shakeſpear, in a Letter to a Friend, &c. by a ſtrolling Player, 8vo, 1729. p. 18, 19.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, ubi ſupra.

(6) An Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, &c. by Gerard Langbaine, 8vo. Oxon. 1691. p. 343.

(7) *Theatrum Redivivum*: or, The Theatre Vindicated, by Sir Richard Baker, in anſwer to Mr. Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, 8vo. 1662, p. 48.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(9) Sir R. Baker's Chronicle.

[*C*] *In poetry we find ſome very high commendations of him as an actor, by thoſe who alſo knew and could beſt judge of him.*] Namely, by Ben Jonſon (*); who, though generally avaricious of praiſe himſelf, and therefore often parſimonious of it to others, thus generouſly addreſſes Mr. Alleyn:

If Rome, ſo great, and in her wiſeſt age,
Fear'd not to boaſt the glories of her ſtage;
As, ſkilful Roſcius, and great Æſop; men,
Yet, crown'd with honours, as with riches, then;
Who had no leſs a trumpet to their name
Than Cicero; whoſe ev'ry breath was fame:
How can ſo great example die in me,
That Alleyn, I ſhou'd pauſe to publiſh thee?
Who, both their graces, in thyſelf, haſt more
Outſtrip'd, than they did all who went before.
And, preſent worth, in all, doſt ſo contract,
As others ſpake, but only thou doſt act.
Wear this renown: 'tis juſt, that who did give
So many Poets life, by one ſhou'd live (10).

(*) So he ſpelt his name himſelf, in a preſentation he wrote before a copy of his own plays, to his friend Mr. Tho. Middleton; which copy was in the Harleian Library.

(10) Ben Jonſon's Epigrams, No. 89.

Alſo Thomas Heywood before mentioned, who both wrote for, and acted on the ſtage; ſetting forth in print, an old play of Marloe's, has, in his prologue thereto, ſpoken of that poet, and this player, as follows:

We know not how our play may paſs this ſtage:
But by the beſt of Poets in that age,
The Malta Jew had being, and was made;
And he, then, by the beſt of actors play'd.
In Hero and Leander (11), one did gain
A laſting memory: in Tamerlane,
This Jew, with others many, t'other wan
The attribute of Peerleſs; be'ng a man,
Whom we may rank with, doing no man wrong,
Proteus for ſhapes, and Roſcius for a tongue (12).

(11) A celebrated Poem of Marloe's, finiſhed by G. Chapman.

(12) T. Heywood's Prologue to C. Marloe's Jew of Malta, a Tragedy, &c. 4to. 1633.

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from publication; and we hear too often, that the ſuperintendents of other charitable inſtitutions have preſcribed themſelves alſo a rule of reſervation as to thoſe particulars; and choſe rather to bury in oblivion all honours which might be paid to their donors, than hazard the cenſure, or ſuſpicion, of being unproportionable partakers of the donation: and therefore may have ſhown themſelves averſe to the encouragement of any ſuch memorialiſts as were ambitious of tranſmitting the merits of their benefactors, in the moſt efficacious manner to poſterity. In ſome of thoſe communities, the miſ-application of ſuch public charities has been ingeniouſly reflected on by Mr. Selden (*g*); as the ſhyneſs of ſuch communication has been cenſured, the ill conſequences diſplayed, and the cauſes detected by others (*b*). And thus much upon that topic is the rather obſerved in this place, becauſe as we are made moſt ſenſible of the virtue or value of ſome things, by a knowledge of their oppoſites, ſo the dark conduct in thoſe ſocieties, may ſerve here as a foil, to heighten the luſtre of that at Dulwich College, founded by this our famous Player, Edward Alleyn. For by the uſeful anecdotes and other material pieces of intelligence, which have been moſt candidly and obligingly imparted to us, out of the founder's own papers, and other antiquities in his college, we have been much aſſiſted, to clear the ſaid founder from that obſcurity in which he has been ſo long clouded, diſcharge him of ſome miſrepreſentations wherewith he has been unjuſtly diſguiſed, and produce him in a fairer and ſtronger light, at leaſt than he has yet appeared in, to the public. To this end, we have been principally deſirous of learning, by what means the ſaid founder was enabled, or was ſufficiently enriched, to undergo the expence of erecting ſuch a commodious edifice, and ſo liberally to endow it, for the handſome and decent maintenance of ſo many perſons. And thus much we may gather in anſwer to that queſtion; that beſides ſome paternal inheritance, whatever it was, which might deſcend to him, and lay ſome foundation to his future affluence; it is preſumed, that the benefits he made even by acting of plays, muſt, to a man of his provident and managing genius, and one who drew ſuch numerous audiences to the plays he acted in, being accounted the Protodramatiſt of his time, have alſo conſiderably improved his fortune. But he was not only an actor of plays; he was likewiſe maſter of a playhouſe of his own building, and over a company of players of his own conſtituting [*D*], by which he is ſaid to have amaſſed no ſmall treaſure. He was alſo keeper of the King's wild beaſts, or maſter of the royal bear-garden (*i*); either one or both of thoſe ſituated on the bank-ſide in Southwark; for there were two, which ſeem to have been reſorted to by great numbers of ſpectators (*k*): and the profits which accrued from theſe rough games, are reported to have amounted ſometimes to no leſs than five hundred pounds *per annum*. But a little before his death, he ſold his ſhare and patent, as we are informed, to his laſt wife's father, for five hundred and fourſcore pounds (*l*). But matrimony itſelf has often empowered men, ſo diſpoſed, to perform as expenſive acts of liberality; and he was twice or three times married [*E*], to women, whoſe dowries, they leaving no iſſue to inherit, might probably contribute to the charge of

(*b*) In J. Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. v. 1719, p. 302, 303, &c.

(*g*) In the Apophthegms of the Engliſh nation, MS 4to in poſſeſſion of the writer of this article.

(*i*) The Latin inſcription over the door of Dulwich-college.

(*k*) John Stowe's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 448.

(*l*) The Rev. Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter to the Author, &c. from Dulwich-college, as above.

[*D*] *Maſter of a play-houſe of his own building; and a company of players*, &c.] This was the Fortune Play-houſe near Whitecroſs-Street, by Moor-Fields, which Mr. Alleyn built, or perhaps rebuilt; for there is mention made by Mr. Prynne, of the fearful burning to the ground of the Fortune Play-houſe (13), by ſome unknown accident; and alſo of its being lately re-edified and enlarged (14). There is a tradition in the neighbourhood where this theatre ſtood (on the ground whereof the founder's ſucceſſors have built many tenements) that in demoliſhing the old houſe, or digging to lay the foundation of the new one, which was rebuilt in its place, there was found a conſiderable treaſure of money. If this happened while Mr. Alleyn was proprietor there, it might fall, or the greateſt part of it, to him. There is an author who ſpeaks of him and this houſe in theſe words: 'He was maſter of a company of his own, for whom 'he built the Fortune Play-houſe from the ground; 'a large round brick building (15);' and a little further, that herein, as in others of their Play-houſes, 'They always acted by day-light (16).' And at this time, as well as long after, they had neither women actors, nor ſcenes. For, upon Sir William Davenant's firſt opening, by virtue of his patent, the Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, in the ſpring of the year 1662, with one of his own plays, the Siege of Rhodes, then ſcenes made their firſt appearance upon the Engliſh ſtage (17); and about the ſame time, ſeemingly alſo by him, were actreſſes firſt introduced; and they grew ſo expert, not only in their own parts, but thoſe of the actors, that before the end of King Charles the Second's reign, ſome plays (and particularly the Parſon's Wedding) were repreſented all by women; as in his father's reign, and before, they were all by men (18). When the Fortune Play-houſe was in vogue, there were four more companies, which all got money, and lived in reputation. And one of my authors laſt quoted, to the queſtion, How five companies could then be maintained by the town, when in his time two could hardly ſubſiſt? anſwers, 'That though 'the town was then, perhaps, not much more than 'half ſo populous as now; yet then the prices were 'ſmall, there being no ſcenes, and better order kept 'among the company that came; which made very 'good people think a play an innocent diverſion for 'an idle hour or two; the plays themſelves being 'then more inſtructive and moral. Whereas of late 'the play-houſes are ſo extremely peſtered with vizard-maſks, and their trade, occaſioning continual 'quarrels and abuſes, that many of the more civilized 'part of the town are uneaſy in the company, and 'ſhun the Theatre, as they would a houſe of ſcandal. 'It is an argument of the worth of the plays, and 'actors of the laſt age; and eaſily inferred, that they 'were much beyond ours in this; to conſider, that 'they could ſupport themſelves merely from their 'own merit, the weight of the matter, and goodneſs of the action; without ſcenes and machines: 'Whereas the preſent plays, with all their ſhew, 'can hardly draw an audience; unleſs there be the 'additional invitation of a Signior Fideli, a Monſieur L'Abbé, or ſome ſuch foreign regale expreſſed in the bottom of the bills (19).'

(13) *Hiſtrio-maſtrix*: The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragedy, &c. by W. Prynne, 4to. 1633, p. 556.

(14) *Idem*, in Epiſt. Dedic.

(15) *Hiſtoria Hiſtrionica*: An Hiſtorical Account of the Stage, &c. 8vo. 1699, p. 6.

(16) *Idem*, p. 7.

(17) *Roſcius Anglicanus*: or, An Hiſtorical Review of the Stage, &c. by John Downes, 8vo. 1708, p. 20.

(18) *Idem*, & *Hiſtor. Hiſtrionica*, p. 11, and Ger. Langbaine, p. 313.

(19) Hiſt. Hiſtrionica, p. 6.

[*E*] *He was twice or three times married.*] They have had a conſtant tradition at Dulwich-college, that the founder had three wives: but among their records, they can find only the names of the two laſt. The former of theſe was named Joan Woodward, and ſhe was the daughter of that gentleman whoſe portrait before mentioned, has been miſtaken for the founder's father's. There is a ſeal-ring upon one of his fingers, which, on a curious inſpection, made by the gentleman

of this benefaction. Thus the means by which he was enabled to eſtabliſh it, might be derived from various ſources. But for the motives to this eminent act of beneficence, we have good reaſon to believe, they have been much miſgrounded, or derived from a very falſe and fooliſh pretence, greatly detracting from their true deſerts. For to whom ſhould this humane, charitable, and pious foundation be aſcribed, as it has with moſt injurious abſurdity been related, but, in effect, to the Devil [*F*]! But this idle tradition has been ſufficiently refuted, in the animadverſions it has occaſioned below. And

man in that college who has obliged us with this information, diſcovered to him the miſtake; for he found it to contain the ſame coat of arms with that of the founder's ſaid wife, which is impaled with his own, upon his tomb, *viz.* In the firſt coat, he bears argent; a Chevron, between three Cinquefoils, Gules: In the ſecond coat; ſhe bears Gules; a Lion Paſſant, Or; on a chief Azure; Fleurs-de-Lys of the ſecond. It alſo appears among ſome of the founder's memorandums, that he was married to this wife on the 22d day of October 1592. They lived above thirty years in harmony together; and when ſhe died, on the 28th of June 1623, aged fifty-one years, he directed, in the memorials of her, which he cauſed to be inſcribed upon her tomb, *&c.* that ſhe ſhould be called, his religious and loving wife (20). His laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was Conſtance, the daughter of that Mr. Hinchtoe, to whom the founder ſold, a little before his death, his ſhare and patent of the bear-garden, as is above obſerved in the text. There appears alſo upon one of the organ-pipes in the college chapel, the founder's arms, impaled with another coat, *viz.* Azure; a Wolf Rampant, Ermin; which is very probably ſuppoſed to belong to the family of Hinchtoe (21).

(20) The inſcriptions in Chriſt's chapel, at Dulwich-college.

(21) The Rev. Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *To whom ſhould this pious foundation be aſcribed, &c. but, in effect to the Devil.*] My author, Mr. Aubrey; or his editor; but it may be rather thought the former, who ſo much laid open his own credulity himſelf (22), that there needs no more be ſaid of it; ſpeaking of Dulwich-college, founded by Mr. Alleyn, ſays, 'The tradition was, that playing a dæmon, with ſix others, in one of Shake-'ſpear's plays; he was, in the midſt of the play, ſurpriſed by an apparition of the devil; which ſo 'worked on his fancy, that he made a vow, which 'he performed at this place (23).' Enquiring once of the oldeſt actor of our time, the late Mr. John Bowman, what he had heard, or thought of this ſtory, he pleaſantly anſwered to this effect: That we had been pretty even with the father of lies, in having ſo often belied him with frequenting of plays; for he thought it very inconſiſtent with any probability, that the devil ſhould make his perſonal appearance at the play-houſe, and never go into the boxes, but always expoſe himſelf on the ſtage; and then, only to diſconcert his humble imitators in a dance; thump the muſic out of tune with his cow heels; make the people's hair ſtand an end, and drive them away in confuſion; before they had made any aſſignation for their leſs innocent entertainments: and ſo make his friends curſe him for his unſeaſonable diſturbance, worſe than ever his enemies did. Then, as for this fooliſh tradition in particular, it had made the devil ſuch an egregious fool, as to frighten a man out of a vain courſe of life into a religious one! where he draws a train after him, from generation to generation, out of a deſtitute, or perhaps diſorderly courſe, and teaches them to attach themſelves to the love of God, and renounce the Devil himſelf and all his works! Surely, he never was ſuch a wretched politician, as to conſpire ſo againſt his own intereſt, the diminution of his own votaries; as many might otherwiſe have been; and thereby, if he ſhould make a practice of ſuch plots, the deſtruction of his own kingdom of darkneſs! If the Devil has, by this tradition, ſuffered in his character, the inconſiſtence of it, may, upon theſe conſiderations, clear him from being maſter Alleyn's prompter to good works; and ſuggeſt to us, ſome more ſublime motive to his making this oblation of his fortune to the ſervice of God, than being terrified to it, by any apparition of the Devil.——But, let us look into matter of fact, and we ſhall find maſter Alleyn no ways concerned in, or affected with this tradition. The ſtory was ſtale, long before he left the ſtage. It ſeems to have ſome little relation to a play that was acted in Queen Elizabeth's time; but no play of Shakeſpeare's; therefore the account in Mr. Aubrey is faulty. The firſt hint we have met with of it, is, in an old pamphlet printed in the beginning of her ſucceſſor's reign; wherein Lucifer, prowling about the town in diſguiſe, meets with a Debauchee in a houſe of ill-repute; of whom giving ſome deſcription, he ſays, 'He had a head of hair, like one 'of my devils in Doctor Fauſtus; when the old the-'atre cracked, and frighted the audience (24).' Here the audience appear to have been more alarmed by the cracking of the old houſe, while ſome harmleſs devils were performing their parts in that play, than by any ſupernumerary devil appearing in it; but if there was one, we may account naturally enough for that. Mr. Prynne makes a great enlargement upon this narrow ground; but as he quotes no authority, and diſagrees in the playhouſe where it happened, he is exceptionable too; where he mentions, 'The viſible apparition of the Devil upon 'the ſtage at the Bell-Savage playhouſe, in Queen 'Elizabeth's days, to the great amazement both of 'the actors and ſpectators, whilſt they were there, 'profanely playing the hiſtory of Fauſtus; the truth 'of which, I have heard from many now alive, who 'well remember it; there being ſome diſtracted with 'that fearful ſight (25).' So that the Devil appeared in one of Shakeſpeare's plays, as we find in Aubrey; and in a play that was not one of his, according to the Black Book; and in a playhouſe that was not the Old Houſe, according to Prynne: But ſtill in Queen Elizabeth's days; and no mention made of Mr. Alleyn by either of theſe two laſt authors, who both mention the event, and lived in his own time. Nor is it to be believed that ever any ſuch tradition was ſubſiſting of Mr. Alleyn, when Mr. Prynne was accumulating his ſaid unwieldy bundle of invectives againſt ſtage-players: For as he was many years ſcraping up materials, and buſying himſelf in them, he could not have been ignorant of ſuch an extraordinary incident; nor would he have been ſilent, in what might have ſo directly ſerved his purpoſe; but would, to be ſure, have made a triumphant example of ſuch a notable convert. In the reign of King Charles II. the town was alarmed again with ſuch another viſitation, as the aforeſaid Mr. Bowman has alſo informed me; and, I think it was at the houſe in Dorſet-Gardens; where in a dance of devils again, there appeared one too many; ſome comical fellow among the comedians, having got into ſuch a horrid dreſs, as made him a much more infernal figure than the reſt, and ſo unexpectedly ſtarted up among them, that they took him for the Devil indeed, were ſtruck with a kind of panic, which ſoon infected the audience, and diſperſed it in conſternation. And after the like manner, may all the other apparitions of the Devil on the ſtage be probably accounted for. But laſtly, to put it beyond all doubt, that the Devil never appeared in any play, or any playhouſe, that deterred Mr. Alleyn from repairing to them; or that he was, by any other cauſe or means, induced to withdraw or abſtain from them, even to the latter part of his life; we find he reſorted to, and carried on the buſineſs of his own playhouſe in London, even after he had built, and was ſettled in his college at Dulwich; and this is to be proved by no leſs authority than a memorandum he left written in his own hand; wherein it appears, that having one day received the profits of a play acted in that houſe, at which there was a very ſlender audience, he entered it down, that his whole receipt amounted to no more than three pounds and ſome odd ſhillings (26).

(22) See Aubrey's Miſcellanies, 8vo. 1696, *&c.* from one end to the other.

(23) Aubrey's Nat. Hiſt. and Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. i p. 190. From whence this ſtory has lately been adopted, with other errors concerning this founder, in the Complete Syſtem of Geography, *&c.* fol. 1744, p. 72.

(24) The Black Book (written by T. M.). Printed by T. C. for Jeffery Chorlton, 4*to.* 1604, p. 3.

(25) Prynne's *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, fol. 556.

[Our induſtrious predeceſſor, Mr. Oldys, need not have entered into ſo laboured a confutation of the tradition mentioned by Mr. Aubrey or his Editor. Theſe idle ſtories, the reſult of weakneſs and ſuperſtition, are occaſionally revived, and applied to different perſons and times. It hath juſtly been remarked to us, that it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that Alleyn ſhould have played the dumb part of a Dæmon.] K.

(26) Extract of Mr. Edward Alleyn's Diary, MS. in his college at Dulwich.

we are perſuaded, if the author who fathered it upon Mr. Alleyn, had been in any degree converſant with his private papers, he would have found reaſon to attribute this dedication of his ſubſtance to the poor, not to any ſudden turn of mind, but to a conſtituent principle, maturely ſettled and grounded upon the ſtrongeſt baſis of piety and benevolence. For therein he appears, by many expreſſions, a man who had been habituated to devotion; ſo that, when he came to town about his ſecular affairs, he would, as if it were the chief part of his buſineſs, make it in his way to call at ſome church or other, and partake of the divine ſervice (*m*). The ſtage, therefore, was ſo far from having preſented any cauſe of remorſe, that it ſeems to have rather proved a ſchool of religion to him; where he had imitated imaginary characters of virtue, till he determined, now providence had enabled him, to become himſelf imitable in real ones. And we may conclude, by the ejaculations he makes, acknowledging ſo devoutly, cordially, and conſtantly, as at the ends of his quarterly accounts, *&c.* all he was poſſeſſed of to be the Gift of God (*n*), that he had deliberately reſolved upon the moſt grateful and acceptable ways of reſtoring it, through the hands of innocent and indigent men. He reſolved alſo, as we ſee by the event, to make himſelf an uncommon example, in preferring time preſent, and not poſtponing the execution of his deſign. It adds a great luſtre to the act, that it was not truſted to the hearts, hands, and eyes of others; that it was not left to poſthumous direction, but performed by himſelf, while he was in health and ſtrength, and before he was forty-eight years of age. He well knew that the value of a gift is then greateſt, when made in the life of the giver. Hence, he was under a neceſſity of withdrawing from the leſſer ſtage, that he might perform the part he had caſt off for himſelf, upon the great and real theatre of the open world. If any ſecondary motives were to be admitted, they might ariſe from the thoughts of being a leading pattern, the firſt of his profeſſion, who had adorned his country with ſuch a monument of munificence; or from the hopes of inſpiring an emulation in ſome theatrical deſcendants or other, who might be as fortunate as himſelf, in like manner to advance their character and calling into higher repute; or from ſeveral other inducements. But from his motives, let us proceed to his execution of this work. He began the building of his college at Dulwich in Surry, on the borders of Kent, about five miles ſouthward of London-bridge, after the deſign and direction of Mr. Inigo Jones, who was a witneſs to his deed of ſettlement, ſo early, that it appears to have been in ſome forwardneſs in 1614, the year in which he is commonly thought to have firſt ſet about it; as we learn, with other particulars of this College at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it [*G*]. It has been preſumed, that eight or ten thouſand pounds were expended by him upon this college, chapel, *&c.* before the buildings and gardens were finiſhed, which was about the year 1617; for then he began (*o*), on the twenty-ninth of September,

(*m*) Extract of the Founder's Diary in his college at Dulwich.

(*n*) The Rev. Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) The Rev. Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

[*G*] *Particulars of this College at Dulwich, from one of his own acquaintance, who has given the firſt printed account of it.*] This is Mr. Edward Howes, who, in his edition and augmentation of Stowe's Chronicle, having given ſome account of Mr. Sutton's hoſpital, which may be perceived to be written in the middle of the year 1614, by his mentioning the death of Henry (Howard) Earl of Northampton, proceeds in theſe words: 'Edward Allen, 'alias Allein, of Dulwich, Eſq; at this time build-'ed a very fair hoſpital at Dulwich in Surrey, for 'ſix poor men, and ſix poor women, and for twelve 'poor children, from the age of four to ſix, to be 'there kept and maintained, and taught, till they 'come to the age of fourteen or ſixteen years; their 'ſchoolmaſter to have his diet, lodging, and a 'competent ſtipend. He intends alſo to have a 'maſter to reſide in the ſame hoſpital, whoſe name 'ſhall be Allen, or Alleyne; and by that name, to 'be choſen to that government of his hoſpital for 'ever; as the place ſhall grow vacant. This ſaid 'founder told me, that he intends, and alſo forth-'with, to build thrice twelve poor folks lodgings (*) 'in London, *viz.* Twelve lodgings, or rooms, in 'three ſeveral pariſhes; and give unto every of them 'ſome maintenance. Within two years, this houſe 'will be finiſhed, and the poor in poſſeſſion; and 'then there is more to be ſaid of it: in the mean 'time, thus much deſerves thanks and memory (27).' For it is, as this author above deſcribes, a very fair hoſpital; containing the chapel, maſter's apartments, *&c.* in the front, and the lodgings of the other inhabitants, *&c.* in the two wings; whereof that on the eaſt ſide was handſomely new built, in 1739, at the expence of the college. They have a little library of books; and had a good collection of plays given by old Mr. William Cartwright, an excellent comedian, and acquaintance of the founder's; who was alſo a bookſeller, and lived at the end of Turnſtile-alley by Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (28). He publiſhed the learned *Vindication of Actors*, hereafter quoted, written by Thomas Heywood, Fellow of Peter-houſe, Cambridge; who was alſo a noted actor, and was concerned in writing two hundred and twenty plays, as we have it under his own pen (29). He had long before publiſhed that vindication himſelf, under a title ſomewhat different (30), for which he was called the Atlas of the ſtage; and having improved and enlarged it, it was ſoon after his death publiſhed, by the ſaid Mr. Cartwright, without date, but in Oliver's time, as we take it; by the diſcouragements mentioned of his profeſſion, in his dedication, under the two firſt letters of his name, to Henry Marquis of Dorcheſter. But to return: not far from the library, there is in the weſt wing, a long gallery full of pictures; the beſt of which were thoſe left by the Founder himſelf; and to theſe were added alſo Mr. Cartwright's collections, and among them a curious picture of London, from a view ſaid to be taken by Mr. John Norden, the Topographer, in 1603, with the repreſentation of the City-proceſſion on the Lord-Mayor's day (31). The founder's picture is at full length, in a robe or gown; but the reſemblance of his face is ſaid to have been drawn when he lay dead in his coffin. There is a portrait alſo of his former wife; beſides Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Greſham (32), and both the Cartwrights, elder and younger, with many other perſons of note; as appears by an old catalogue preſerved of them: but the little pictures of the Kings of England are, I think, diſcreetly enough hung in no very good light. It has been formerly publiſhed (33), what the ſalaries were, and what the allowance of the poor men and women; which we do not repeat, becauſe as the revenue is conſiderably increaſed, the ſalaries and allowances are ſo likewiſe.

(*) They were alms-houſes, for twenty poor people, as he appointed in his Will. See note [*L*]. And they were afterwards increaſed to thirty.

(27) Edw. Howe's edit. and continuation of J. Stowe's Annals of England, fol. 1615, p. 940.

(28) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. v. p. 356.

(29) T. Heywood's English Traveller, a Trag. Com. 4to. 1633, in Pref.

(30) The Apology for Actors, *&c.* 4to. 1612.

(31) In Aubrey, ubi ſupra.

(32) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 195.

(33) *Id. ibid.*

to

to keep a Diary of all ſuch collegiate accounts, proceedings, and occurrences, or other perſonal and domeſtic affairs, as might aſſiſt his memory, by recurring to any paſt particulars he had regiſtered, or adminiſter hints in his mind, of making future regulations in his plan or model of that fellowſhip or ſociety, he was now incorporating to participate of his Chriſtian hoſpitality. And in leaving that Diary behind him, he gave his ſucceſſors opportunity of ſeeing, not only how the ſettlement began, but, by noting down ſo many little events, tranſactions, and obſervations, alſo of better ſeeing how he was pleaſed with the progreſs that was made, and what his inclinations were in carrying the government on, than if he had left them, without ſuch experience, an whole volume of meditations on the ſubject. After the founder had built this college, he met with ſome difficulties in obtaining a charter for ſettling his lands in mortmain; that he might more abſolutely endow it, as he propoſed, with eight hundred pounds *per annum*; for the ſupport and maintenance of one Maſter, one Warden, and four Fellows; three of whom were to be Eccleſiaſtics, and the other a ſkilful Organiſt; alſo ſix poor men, as many women, beſides twelve poor boys; to be educated in good literature, till the age of fourteen or ſixteen years, and then put forth to honeſt trades and callings. That obſtruction aroſe from the Lord ChancellorBacon; who would have had King James ſettle part of thoſe lands for the ſupport of two academical lectures, which were then propoſed to be founded by two of his friends; and he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated from York-houſe in the Strand, Auguſt 18, 1618, intreating him to perſuade his Majeſty to that purpoſe [*H*]. But, at length, Mr. Alleyn's benefaction was allowed to be made entirely in his own way; and it appeared ſo above competition and objection, that it obtained the royal licence, and he had full power and liberty given him to eſtabliſh his foundation, by his Majeſty's letters patent, under the Great Seal, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the twenty-firſt of June 1619 (*p*); by virtue whereof, Maſter Alleyn did, in the chapel of the ſaid new hoſpital at Dulwich, called *The College of God's Gift*, on the thirteenth of September following, publickly and audibly read and publiſh one writing quadrupartite in parchment, dated the ſaid day and year; whereby he created, eſtabliſhed, and confirmed the ſaid college, according to the power and authority above (*q*). When he had read and publiſhed the ſaid writing, he ſubſcribed it with his name, and fixed his ſeal to every part of the quadrupartite writing, in the preſence of many honourable perſons; and then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes [*I*]. How far from lofty ſtate, or ſuperior diſtance, he lived in this commmunity, and how affably he condeſcended rather to a kind of equality

(*p*) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 759.

(*q*) *Id. ibid.*

[*H*] *Intreating him to perſuade his Majeſty to that purpoſe.*] This letter written by the ſaid Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the Marquis of Buckingham, is as follows:

'I Now write to give the King an account of a patent I have ſtayed at the ſeal. It is of licence, to give in mortmain eight hundred pound land, though it be of tenure in chief, to Allen that was the player, for an hoſpital. I like well, that Allen playeth the laſt act of his life ſo well; but if his majeſty give way thus to amortize his tenures, his courts of wards will decay; which I had well hoped ſhould improve. But that which moved me chiefly, is, that his majeſty, now lately, did abſolutely deny Sir Henry Savile (34), for 200*l.* and Sir Edward Sandys (*), for 100*l.* to the perpetuating of two lectures; the one in Oxford, the other in Cambridge; foundations of ſingular honour to his majeſty, and of which there is great want; whereas hoſpitals abound, and beggars abound never a whit the leſs. If his majeſty do like to paſs the book at all; yet, if he would be pleaſed to abridge the 800*l.* to 500*l.* and then give way to the other two books for the univerſity, it were a princely work: and I would make an humble ſuit to the King, and deſire your Lordſhip to join in it, that it might be ſo (35).'

(34) Vide Ant. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxon.

(*) *Id. ibid.* & in Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 542.

(35) The Works of Francis, Lord Bacon, the laſt edit. Vol. iv. fol. 1740, p. 685, 686.

There was a remark made on this letter, by the firſt editor of it, with ſome others of the ſaid Lord Bacon's, which is here tranſplanted in this edition, to the bottom of the page; part whereof, which concerns the ſaid letter, is as follows: 'It were to be 'wiſhed this obſervation did not hold true to this 'day: for though the foundations of hoſpitals are 'to be commended, which Sir Francis Bacon hath 'done, both in this letter (36), and other his writ'ings (37), yet it ſhews that ſome more adequate 'remedy for ſupporting the poor, than what ariſes 'from theſe charities, or even from the laws enacted 'for their relief, was then, and yet is to be deſired. 'And as the defect thereof is no ſmall reproach to 'the government of a country, happy in its natural 'product, and enriched by commerce; ſo it would 'be an act of the greateſt humanity, to provide for 'the poor; and that idleneſs and beggary, the ſuc'ceſſive nurſery of rogues, might as far as poſſible 'be extirpated (38).'

(36) But it does not appear in this Letter, being all of it above quoted.

(37) See Lord Bacon's Advice to the King, touching Mr. Sutton's eſtate, in the fourth Volume aforeſaid, of his Lordſhip's Works, fol. 449,

(38) Mr. Stephens's note on the Lord Bacon's Letter, as before, p. 686.

[*I*] *Fixed his ſeal, in preſence of many honourable perſons; and then ordered thoſe writings to four ſeveral pariſhes.*] Thoſe honourable perſons were, Francis, Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal of England; Sir Edward Cecil, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Exeter; Sir John Howland, High-Sheriff of Suſſex and Surrey; Sir Edward Boyer of Camberwell, Sir Thomas Grymes of Peckham, Sir John Bodly of Stretham, Sir John Tonſtal of Caſhalton, and divers other perſons of great worth and reſpect. The pariſhes in which the ſaid writings were depoſited, were, St. Botolph's without Biſhopgate, St. Giles's without Cripplegate, St. Saviour's in Southwark, and the pariſh of Camberwell in Surrey. And the contents, or heads of the ſaid ſtatutes, or quadrupartite writings, containing the laws and rules of this foundation, are as follow: 1. A recital of King James's letters patent. 2. A recital of the founder's deed quadrupartite. 3. Ordination of the Maſter, Warden, &c. 4. Ordination of the aſſiſtant members, &c. 5. The Maſter and Warden to be unmarried, and always to be of the name of Alleyn, or Allen. 6. The Maſter and Warden to be twenty-one years of age at leaſt. 7. Of what degree the Fellows to be. 8. Of what degree the poor Brothers and Siſters to be. 9. Of what condition the poor Scholars are to be. 10. Of what pariſhes the aſſiſtants are to be. 11. From what pariſhes the poor are to be choſen, and the members of this college. 12. The form of their election. 13. The Warden to ſupply when the Maſter's place is void. 14. The election of the Warden. 15. The Warden to be bound by recognizance. 16. The Warden to provide a dinner for the college, upon his election. 17. The form of admitting the Fellows. 18. The manner of electing the Scholars. 19. Election of the poor of Camberwell. 20. The Maſter and Warden's oath. 21. The

equality in it, may be gathered from the words of one of his contemporaries and acquaintance; who, ſpeaking of ſome eminent players deceaſed, goes on thus: 'Among 'ſo many dead, let me not forget the moſt worthy, famous Mr. Edward Alleyn, who 'in his life-time erected a college at Dulwich, for poor people, and for education of 'youth. When this college was finiſhed, this famous man was ſo equally mingled 'with humility and charity, that he became his own Penſioner; humbly ſubmitting 'himſelf to that proportion of diet and cloaths, which he had beſtowed on others (*r*).' And how perfectly ſatisfied he was with this diſtribution and ſettlement of his ſubſtance, may plainly appear, by this memorial of his own writing, which is preſerved among his papers, ——— 'May 26, 1620, my wife and I acknowledged the fine at the Com-'mon-Pleas Bar, of *all our lands* to the College: *Bleſſed be God, that hath given us life* '*to do it* (*s*).' Many other like circumſtances might be picked out of his papers and his Diary aforeſaid, which might farther confirm, if it were needful, his hearty benevolence to this work; which Diary ending on the twenty-ninth of September 1622, comprehended juſt five years (*t*). We are informed alſo, that there remains no book of his account after that time. His wife, with whom he had ſo long affectionately lived, died about ſix months after, in the year 1623, as is before obſerved; and he might find it inconvenient, as the college had been uſed to the inſpection and government in ſome part or degree alſo of a miſtreſs, to live the remainder of his life a widower; for we find that within about a year or two afterwards, he married his laſt wife Conſtance *. Some improbable ſtories have been raiſed upon this occaſion; but the ſlighteſt conſideration of them will ſhew their falſehood [*K*]. That ſhe was well pleaſed with the courſe of life he had preferred, and lived with him, alſo, for the ſhort time they lived together, in conjugal harmony, appears probable from the ſums of money he left her in his will, beſides jewels, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the extract thereof, here ſubjoined [*L*]. He died on the (*u*) twenty-fifth

(*r*) The Actors Vindication, *&c.* by Thomas Heywood, publiſhed by W. C. (*i. e.* Cartwright) 4*to.* fine anno, P. 28, 29. See note [*G*].

(*s*) Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*) See note [*E*].

(*u*) The Latin Inſcription over the college door; alſo Mr. Waterhouſe's Letter ubi ſupra.

The Fellow's oath. 22. The poor Brothers and Siſters oath. 23. The Aſſiſtants oath. 24. The pronunciation of admiſſion. 25. The Maſter's Office. 26. The Warden's office. 27. The Fellows office. 28. The poor Brothers and Siſters office. 29. That of the Matron of the poor Scholars. 30. The Porter's office. 31. The office of the thirty members. 32. Of reſidency. 33. Orders for the poor, and their goods. 34. Of obedience. 35. Orders for the chapel, and burial. 36. Orders for the School and Scholars, and putting them forth apprentice. 37. Order of diet. 38. The Scholars ſurplices and coats. 39. Time for viewing expences. 40. Public audit and private ſitting days. 41. Audit and Treaſure Chamber. 42. Of lodgings. 43. Orders for the Lands and Woods. 44. Allowance to the Maſter and Warden of diet, for one man a piece; with the number, and wages, of the college ſervants. 45. Diſpoſition, and diviſion of the revenues. 46. Diſpoſition of the rent of the Bluehouſe. 47. The poor to be admitted out of other places in caſe of deficiency in the pariſhes preſcribed. 48. The diſpoſition of forfeitures. 49. The ſtatutes to be read over four ſeveral times in the year. 50. The diſpoſition of certain tenements in St. Saviour's pariſh, in Southwark (39).

(39) See Stowe's Survey of London, p. 759, 760. And Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. i p. 191, 192, 193. Alſo a copy of the inſtitutions, ſtatutes, and endowment of Dulwich-college in Surrey, *&c.* Fol. Inter Librorum Manuſcriptorum Viri Sapientiſſimi Samuelis Pepyſii Curiæ Admiraliæ nuper à Secretis: In Catal. Libror. Manuſcr. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, *&c.* Fol. Oxon, 1697, tom. ii. Part i. p. 209.

(40) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. i. p. 194.

[*K*] *But the ſlighteſt conſideration of them will ſhew their falſehood.*] 'Tis ſaid in a work (before quoted) whether by the author, or his editor, is not diſtinguiſhed, that, 'Notwithſtanding all the ſolemnity 'of this deodand, the founder lived to change his 'mind, upon a ſecond marriage; when he was very 'deſirous of revoking his charity, but was not 'ſuffered. In his original endowment he has excluded all other augmentation, from future benefactions; and has conſtituted the church-wardens 'of St. Giles's without Cripplegate, St. Mary-'Overy's, and St. Botolph's Biſhopgate, viſitors; 'who, upon any diſagreement, which they cannot 'compromiſe, are referred to their *dernier reſort*, 'the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (40).' As to that aſſertion of his revoking; it appears nothing more than an envious or malicious ſuggeſtion, for which there is no authority produced, or to be found. And there appears enough by what has been already ſaid, and what hereafter follows by the founder himſelf, in his own Will, which was made ſome time after his marriage, and not a fortnight before his death; that he was ſo far from ever having had any thoughts of repenting or revoking his charity, that he appears there, augmenting it to his laſt moments. And as for his excluding all other augmentation; 'There 'is no ſuch thing to be found or intimated in his 'ſtatutes; indeed he had thereby excluded himſelf 'from all power of making any additional members, 'or augmenting them, their number being fixed 'and limited, both by the letters patent, and the 'deed of incorporation; as the late Lord Chancellor 'King expounded and decreed, in a trial concern-'ing the members of the ſaid college (*).' But as to what the late Sir John Lade has been heard to report; it is much more incredible, and impoſſible, than any other tale, which has been ever ſpread of the Founder. As if, 'after he had appointed him-'ſelf to be the firſt maſter of his own college, and 'reſtrained all the maſters by ſtatute to be unmarried, 'he ſhould alter his own reſolution of celibacy, and 'therefore was, upon his marriage, deprived of his 'office by Archbiſhop Abbot; to whom, when 'Archbiſhop Laud ſucceeded, being better ſkilled in 'civil and canon-law, he, declaring that no found-'er could commit any offence againſt ſtatutes of 'his own deviſing, did, as ſoon as poſſible, reſtore 'him (41).' But the founder could make no reſolution of celibacy, being married when he made the ſtatutes; nay, the firſt Maſter and Warden he choſe himſelf, and were his ſucceſſors, were married men: ſo that the miſapplication of that ſtory to the founder, might ariſe from the objection therefore made to them by the ſociety; but it was over-ruled by the Viſitor, and the Archbiſhop himſelf. But chronology will quite clear the founder of ſuch expulſion and reſtoration; for Laud was not Archbiſhop of Canterbury till September, in the year 1633, which is almoſt ſeven years after the death of maſter Alleyn.

(*) This from a late Maſter of Dulwich-college.

(41) This from John Locker, Eſq; who heard it from Sir John Lade, Baronet.

[*L*] *The extract thereof here ſubjoined* (42).] His Will is dated the 13th of November, 1626, wherein he appoints his burial to be performed without any vain funeral pomp or ſhew in Chriſt's chapel, in God's Gift college, by him founded. And after his juſt debts paid, ſo ſpeedily as may be, after his deceaſe, he, the ſaid Edward Alleyn and Matthias Alleyn, a perſon by him put in truſt, for and in aſſurance of one thouſand five hundred pounds, to and for his dear and loving wife, Conſtance Alleyn, after his death, have by two ſeveral deeds dated the 29th of June laſt, ſet over unto Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, and Sir Thomas (43) Crymes of Peckham in Surry, Knights, *&c.* One capital meſſuage, or inn, called the Unicorn, in St. Saviour's pariſh in Southwark, in the county of Surrey, and all other meſſuages and tenements there: and alſo certain tenements called the Barge, the Bell, and the Cock, on the bank-ſide, in St. Saviour's pariſh aforeſaid. And for further aſſurance of the ſaid 1500*l.* to his ſaid wife, has acknowledged a ſtatute of 2000*l.* bearing the ſame date to Sir Nicholas and Sir

(42) From a copy of his ſaid Will taken out of the Regiſtry of the Prerogative-court of Canterbury, in twenty-one ſheets of ſtamped paper.

(43) So in the copy above, but he is written Grymes in all the printed authorities we have met with.

fifth of November 1626; and in the ſixty-firſt year of his age. He was buried in the chapel of his own college; and has a tomb-ſtone over his grave on which there is an inſcription, which, with the other monumental inſcriptions in memory of him, his wife, *&c.* having already, in what was material, been made uſe of, we refer thoſe who are farther inquiſitive after them, to the author by whom they are printed (*w*). As for the inſcription over the door, which we have before alſo cited, it was written by Mr. James Hume, late Schoolmaſter of the college, and is alſo printed in the author laſt referred to, and concludes with theſe words; *Beatus ille qui miſertus eſt Pauperum: Abi tu, & fac ſimiliter.*

(*w*) In Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, ubi ſupra, p. 195, to 198.

Sir Thomas aforeſaid; who alſo covenanted, in a pair of indentures of defeizance, that if the ſaid ſum were paid her by his executors, within three months after his deceaſe, the ſaid ſtatute ſhould be void, with the two deeds of aſſignment, or to reaſſign them to ſuch perſons as the teſtator ſhould appoint: ſo deſires his executors would firſt of all ſatisfy her, and then that the two Knights would reaſſign the two leaſes to his executors. And in teſtimony of his further love to his wife, leaves her for her preſent uſe, one hundred pounds more, which he had already, on the 26th of September laſt, delivered for her to Sir T. Crymes; and gives her moreover, all her jewels and other ornaments, whereof ſhe is poſſeſſed. *Item*, He gives to the corporation of God's Gift-college, his ſeal-ring with his arms, to be worn by the maſter and his ſucceſſors; and appoints a common ſeal to be made for the college; both to be repaired by the college as oft as they need; alſo all his books and inſtruments, with the pictures, hangings, and other furniture therein. And all the furniture in the twelve poor ſcholars chambers, together with ſeveral parcels and ſets of his own houſehold linen, and other utenſils; all the implements of huſbandry, and two teems of horſes and oxen. *Item*, He wills that his executors, within two years after his deceaſe, ſhould build ten alms-houſes in the pariſh of St. Botolph without Biſhopſgate, London, for ten poor people of that pariſh, to be members of the aforeſaid college; and likewiſe, ten other houſes in St. Saviour's pariſh in Southwark aforeſaid, for other ten poor people of that pariſh, to be likewiſe members of the ſaid college; which ſaid twenty poor people being placed in their ſeveral houſes ſhall have ſuch maintenance, as in the ſtatutes of the foreſaid college is appointed. *Item*, He gives to Thomas Alleyn, the ſon of John Alleyn, late of Willen, in the county of Bucks, being his couſin, and next heir at common law, 50*l.* *Item*, To Edward Alleyn, jun. of Newport, 20*l.* and to his two ſiſters, Elizabeth Newman, and Anne Aſhpoole, 20*l.* a-piece. To his aunt, Jane Waldock, of Water-Eaton, 10*l.* To Anne Alleyn, wife of John Harriſon, Clerk, 20*l.* *Item*, He wills his copy-hold lands in Lambeth-Marſh to Edward Alleyn his god-ſon, and his heirs-male; and for want of ſuch iſſue, to John Alleyn, the ſon of Matthias Alleyn, and his heirs for ever. *Item*, To Sir Francis Calton, Knt. 100*l.* and forgives 20*l.* he owes him. *Item*, To Elizabeth Cutler, his late wife's god-daughter, 10*l.* *Item*, To Hannah Pickerly, 10*l.* *Item*, To Elizabeth Ruſſell, a young girl in his houſe, 10*l.* *Item*, To all the reſt of his houſehold ſervants, in his ſervice at his death, ſo many pounds a-piece, as they have been years in his family, beſides their wages. *Item*, To the church-wardens of St. Botolph's aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, a tenement in Dulwich, with the appurtenances, called the Blue-houſe, for the uſe of the poor of the ſaid pariſh, to be by them diſpoſed of, as in the ſtatutes of the ſaid college is ſet down. And after theſe legacies, *&c.* are paid, the two leaſes aſſigned to thoſe Knights, ſhall remain as an augmentation to the college, over and above what is aſſured thereto in the ſtatutes. *Item*, He gives (after his legacies paid) to his two executors, their heirs and aſſigns for ever, all his lands in Yorkſhire, which he lately purchaſed of George Cole, Eſq. And alſo, after his funeral expences, debts, *&c.* are diſcharged, all the reſidue of his goods, chattels, cattles, and ready moneys whatever, to Thomas Alleyn, and Matthias Alleyn, his kinſman; whom, by this his laſt will, he conſtitutes his ſole executors; charging them, as they ſhall anſwer it before the face of the Almighty, that they punctually, as far as they poſſibly may, perform and execute the ſame, *&c.* Signed, ſealed, *&c.* the day and year above-written; and the Probate is dated on the 13th of December following: O.

[The ſubjoined anecdote is entertaining in itſelf, and ſhews the high eſteem in which Mr. Alleyn was held as an actor: 'Edward Alleyn, the Garrick 'of Shakeſpeare's time, had been on the moſt 'friendly footing with our poet, as well as Ben 'Johnſon. They uſed frequently to ſpend their 'evenings together at the ſign of the Globe, ſome-'where near Black Friars, where the playhouſe 'then was. The world need not be told, that the 'convivial hours of ſuch a triumvirate muſt be pleaſ-'ing as well as profitable, and may truly be ſaid to 'be ſuch pleaſures as might bear the reflections of 'the morning. In conſequence of one of theſe 'meetings, the following letter was written by 'G. Peel, a Fellow of Chriſt-church college, Ox-'ford, and a dramatic poet, who belonged to the 'club, to one Marle, an intimate of his:

"Friend Marle,

"I Muſt deſyre that my ſyſter hyr watche, and "the cookerie book you promyſed, may be ſente "bye the man.——I never longed for thy com-"pany more than laſt night: we were all very "merrye at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not "ſcruple to affyrme pleaſauntely to thy Friende "Will, that he had ſtolen his ſpeeche about the "Qualityes of an actor's excellencye in Hamlet hys "Tragedye, from converſations manyfold whych "had paſſed betweene them, and opinyons given by "Alleyn touchinge the ſubjecte.——Shakeſpeare "did not take this talke in good ſorte; but Johnſon "put an end to the ſtrife with wittylye remarkinge, "*This affaire needeth no Contentione; you ſtole it from* "*Ned, no doubte; do not marvel: Have you not ſeen* "*him act tymes out of number?*

"Believe me moſt ſyncerilie,
Yours,
G. Peele (44)."]
K.

(44) Annual Regiſter, for 1770, Vol. xiii. p. 107.

ALLIX (PETER) a very learned and eminent Divine of the Church of England, though a native of the kingdom of France, and well known in the republic of letters by his numerous and his excellent writings. He was born ſome time in the year 1641, at Alençon (*a*), and having received a liberal education, which highly improved his great natural parts, he became Miniſter of the Reformed Church at Rouen, where, before he was thirty-five, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by publiſhing ſome very learned and curious pieces [*A*], by which he acquired a great reputation (*b*). It was owing to this that he was

(*a*) Nouvelles Literaires, tom. v. p. 286.

(*b*) Oeuvres de Bayle, Vol. i. p. 273.

[*A*] *Some very learned and curious pieces.*] At the time our author came abroad into the world, the controverſy about the Euchariſt was very warm; and the ableſt Proteſtant Divines were employed in writing on that ſubject. His earlieſt performance was intitled, I. Reſponſe à la Diſſertation ſur Bertram & Jean Scot, ou Erigene, qui eſt à la fin du premier Tome de la Perpetuité de M. Arnaud; *i. e. An anſwer to a diſſertation*

was called from Rouen to Charenton, which was the principal church the Reformed had in France; the village in which it ſtood lying little more than a league from Paris, at the confluence of the rivers Seine and Marne, and whither the moſt conſiderable perſons in France, of the Proteſtant religion, conſtantly reſorted (*c*). We are, therefore, to conſider this removal of our author, as the higheſt teſtimony of reſpect that could be paid him by thoſe of his communion, in the circumſtances in which they then were. As he was now in the zenith of preferment, and ſaw himſelf in a condition of doing great ſervice to the Church, he applied himſelf to the taſk with all imaginable zeal, and preached ſeveral moſt excellent ſermons in defence of the Faith, againſt the artful attempts of the Biſhop of Meaux, who was then labouring to overturn the Reformed Religion, by ſeeming conceſſions to its profeſſors (*d*). Some of theſe ſermons were afterwards printed in Holland, and met with deſerved commendations from the famous Bayle, who teſtified a very high eſteem for the learning and abilities of their author (*e*) [*B*]. Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr. Allix found himſelf obliged to quit France, as well as the work of the miniſtry in that kingdom, and had prepared a moſt moving and pathetic diſcourſe, which he intended to have delivered as his farewel to his congregation; which however he was obliged to omit, though the ſermon was afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired (*f*) [*C*]. This edict was revoked, and the Reformed Religion baniſhed France

(*c*) See the article of CHARENTON in Moreri's Dictionary.

(*d*) See an Expoſition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, by Dr. Wake. London, 1686, 4*to*. in the preface.

(*e*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, tom. iii. p. 431.

(*f*) Nouvelles Literaires, tom. v. p. 287.

tion on Bertram and John Scot, which is at the end of the perpetuity of the faith by Mr. Arnaud. This ſhort treatiſe of our author, is at the cloſe of John Claude's anſwer to M. Arnaud's book (1). As for the diſſertation, in anſwer to which it was written, the author of it was, Father Anſelm Paris, Canon Regular of St. Genevieve (2), who replied to him in another book, intitled, Créance de l'Egliſe Grecque ſur la Tranſubſtantiation (3); *i. e. The faith of the Greek Church as to Tranſubſtantiation.* To clear up this matter our author publiſhed,

(1) Printed at Quevilly, 1670, 8*vo*.

(2) P. Niceron, Hom. illuſtr. tom. xxxiv. p. 24.

(3) Printed at Paris, 1672, and again in 1675, 12*mo*.

II. Ratramne, ou Bertrand, Prêtre, du Corps, & du Sang du Seigneur. En Latin, & en François. Rouen, 1672, 12*mo*. *i. e. Ratramn, or Bertrand, the prieſt, on the body and blood of our Lord, in Latin and French.* The deſign of our author in publiſhing this verſion, was to ſhew that Bertrand differed in his ſentiments on this ſubject, from the Church of Rome, as appears by an advertiſement prefixed to the book. James Boileau publiſhed another tranſlation of this ancient author (4), with a long preface, in order to prove that his opinions did not deviate at all from thoſe of the Romiſh Church.

(4) Printed at Paris, 1686, 12*mo*.

III. Diſſertatio de Triſagii origine, Autore P. A. V. D. M. (Petro Allix, Verbi Dei Miniſtro) Rothomagi 1674, 8*vo*. *i. e. A diſſertation on the firſt riſe of the triſagium or doxology; by Peter Allix*, &c. The learned Bayle, in an epiſtle of his, to Dr. Theodore Janſen, takes notice of this work, aſcribes it to our author, and mentions a miſtake committed by Maimbourgh, in aſcribing it to another perſon (5).

(5) Oeuvres de Bayle, Vol. iv. p. 166.

IV. Diſſertatio de Sanguine D. N. J. C. ad Epiſtolam S. Auguſtini quà num adhuc exiſtat inquiritur, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. The preciſe date of this ſmall treatiſe does not appear; but that it was much eſteemed, and reprinted by the learned Crenius, and that he was in ſome meaſure miſtaken as to its author, we learn from an epiſtle of Mr. Bayle, to that induſtrious editor on this ſubject (6).

(6) *Ibid.* p. 774.

V. Diſſertatio de Tertulliani vita & ſcriptis, 8*vo*. *i. e. A Diſſertation on the life and writings of Tertullian.* There is an abridged tranſlation of this very learned and accurate performance, at the cloſe of the French verſion of Tertullian's Apologetic, by M. de Giry (7). It was alſo printed, together with the following diſſertation, on the authority of certain councils, by Crenius, as appears from the epiſtle before cited.

(7) Publiſhed at Amſterdam, 1701, 12*mo*.

VI. *Diſſertatio de Conciliorum quorumvis definitionibus ad examen revocandis*, 8*vo*. According to all circumſtances, theſe curious and elegant performances, were all of them ſent abroad in 1680, or thereabouts, and muſt have contributed to raiſe the author's character exceedingly, by ſhewing his ſolid and extenſive learning, eſpecially in points of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and criticiſm (8). It may not be amiſs to mention another larger work of his in this note, becauſe we cannot otherwiſe introduce it in proper order of time, though it was not publiſhed till after his being called to Charenton.

(8) At leaſt the learned Du Pin places them under 1680.

VII. Anaſtaſii Sinaitæ anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexahemeron, liber xii. hactenus deſideratus, Græcè & Latinè, ex verſione & cum notis Andreæ Dacerii. Præmiſſa Expoſtulatio de S. Joannis Chryſoſtomi Epiſtola ad Cæſarium à Pariſienſibus Theologis nuper ſuppreſſa. Londini 1682, 4to. *i. e. Anaſtaſius his twelfth book of Contemplations, on the ſix days work of the creation, which has been hitherto ſo much deſired, in Greek and Latin, from the verſion, and with the notes of Andrew Dacier. To which is prefixed, an expoſtulatory preface, in relation to an epiſtle of St. John Chryſoſtom to Cæſarius, lately ſuppreſſed by ſome Pariſian Divines.* This Anaſtaſius was Archbiſhop of Antioch about the year 561. The firſt eleven books of theſe Contemplations had been long before publiſhed (9), and theſe were earneſtly deſired, to render his work complete. The Papiſts were at that time very aſſiduous in publiſhing the Chriſtian Fathers, and the moſt learned Proteſtants took care to examine their editions, and to give the world early notice of any attempt to conceal, or to obtrude, under colour of publiſhing theſe valuable monuments of antiquity.

(9) Biblioth. Patr. tom. ix. p. 857.

[*B*] *Learning and ability of their author.*] I have not been able to diſcover when theſe Sermons of our author were firſt publiſhed, but the ſecond edition of them bore this title.

VIII. Douze Sermons de P. A. Miniſtre du S. Evangile ſur divers textes. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1685, 12*mo*. *i. e. Twelve Sermons by Peter Allix, Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel, upon ſeveral Texts.* Of theſe ſermons Mr. Bayle gives the following account (10). 'I ſhall only ſay, in reference to theſe 'diſcourſes, that they turn all of them on matters 'of great importance; and that in the firſt four, the 'author labours to eſtabliſh the true principles on 'which an anſwer can be grounded, to the *Paſtoral* '*Advertiſement*, addreſſed to thoſe of *the Religion* by 'the Clergy of France, in 1682. It is with this 'view, that it is ſhewn with great force of argu'ment, that every man is obliged to examine atten'tively, the doctrine taught him by his Paſtors, and 'to reject whatever appears to him falſe. In them, 'the words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock*, &c. 'are explained with wonderful perſpicuity, and are 'ſet in very new and ſingular lights. In them alſo we 'find explained, the promiſe made by JESUS CHRIST 'to his diſciples, that he would ſend them a ſpirit, '*That ſhould conduct them in all truth*, and it is ſhewn 'that this does not prove the Church ſhould be in'fallible. The nature of the Church is treated in 'the eleventh ſermon, and one may venture to ſay, 'that it is one of the moſt important places in the 'book. One may alſo without hazard aſſert, that 'the ſermons on the Deſcent of Chriſt into Hell, on 'the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, on the Miſeries 'of final Impenitence, on the taking away the Cup, 'on the Incarnation of the Word, &c. contain a 'thouſand beautiful paſſages, equally ſtrong in 'ſentiment, and delicate in their turn and expreſ'ſion.' Such an elogium from ſuch a writer, is ſufficient to eſtabliſh the character of any author, above the reach of minor critics.

(10) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. iii. p. 431, 432.

[*C*] *Afterwards printed, and deſervedly admired.*] Before the publication of this ſermon, appeared another ſmall work of his, *viz.*

France in 1685, on which our author resolved to follow the advice of his friends, and retire into England, which accordingly he did, either in that or the following year. He met here with a most favourable reception, on account of his extensive learning, and more especially his singular knowledge in Ecclesiastical History, for which he was particularly esteemed (*g*). On his first coming, he applied very closely to learning our language, which he attained to a surprising degree of perfection, as appeared by a book he published in defence of the Christian religion, and which he dedicated to King James II. in very respectful terms, acknowledging at the same time, not only his personal obligations to that Prince (*h*), but also his kindness and charity to the distressed refugees in general, which is a very singular and remarkable piece of history [*D*]. He was very soon complimented here with the degeee of Doctor in Divinity, and in 1690 he had the treasurership of the Church of Salisbury (*i*) given him; but I do not find that he was ever Canon of Windsor, as is asserted in some foreign memoirs. It was proposed that he should have published here an authentic History of the Councils, for which laborious and important work unquestionably there never was any man better qualified; but by some accidents intervening, and for want of encouragement, this great and useful undertaking miscarried (*k*). He wrote and published, however, several Treatises relating to Ecclesiastical history, equally learned and entertaining, which were wonderfully well-timed, and very useful to the Protestant cause, which was then

(*g*) Oeuvres de Bayle, Vol. iv. p. 628.

(*h*) The title of this book was, Reflections on the Books of the Holy Scriptures, &c. London, 1686.

(*i*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 186.

(*k*) Nouvelles Literaires, ubi supra.

IX. Les Maximes du vrai Chrétien, *i. e. The maxims of a good Christian.* This was joined to another treatise, intitled, Bonnes & saintes pensees pour touts les jours du mois. Amsterdam 1687; *i. e. Good and holy thoughts, for all the days in the month.* He was, before this time, withdrawn from France, and therefore at liberty to send into the world in print, what, without danger to himself, and to his congregation, he could not have delivered at Charenton. This work was intitled,

X. L'Adieu de Saint Paul aux Ephesiens, Sermon sur les Versets 26, 27, 28, du xx Chapitre des Actes (11). Amsterdam 1688, 12*mo. i. e. St. Paul's farewel to the Ephesians, a sermon upon Acts* xx. 26, 27, 28. In this, he represents the necessity of supporting temporal and spiritual afflictions with patience and resignation, and the duty of professing the Faith, and adhering to it with constancy, in perilous as well as peaceable times.

(11) P. Niceron, Memoirs des Hommes illustres, tom. xxiv. p. 27.

[*D*] *A very singular, and remarkable piece of history.*] The title of this book, in the second edition, ran thus:

XI. *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion.* In Two Volumes, London 1688. This treatise we find licensed for the press by Dr. H. Maurice, Chaplain to Dr. William Sancroft, then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, January 12, 1687-8. There is a large extract from the first edition of the first volume of this work, and a good character given of it in a Literary Journal published jointly by Messieurs Le Clerc and La Croze (12). But the whole was completely published in English, on account of the countenance the author met with from King James, to whom he wrote the following dedication, which however is missing in some copies.

(12) Bibliotheque Universelle & Historique, tom. v. p. 305.

To the KING.

'Great Sir,

'THE gracious acceptance which your Majesty 'was pleased to allow the first volume of my 'reflections upon the Holy Scriptures, to establish the 'truth of the Christian religion, encouraged, and al'most necessitated me to the further presumption of 'laying these two volumes at this time at your Ma'jesty's feet. Your Majesty did me the honour to say, '*That you were pleased to see Divines apply themselves* '*to the clearing of subjects so important.* And after 'this judgment given by so great a Prince, which is 'so evident a demonstration of your zeal, for the 'fundamental truths of the Christian religion, it had 'been unpardonable in me, not to have gone on 'with the work; and I had reason then to conse'crate it wholly to your Majesty, who, I was as'sured, would approve of my intentions, and for 'that reason would pardon the imperfections of the 'performance. As your Majesty continues still to 'give such illustrious instances of your clemency and 'royal protection to those of our nation; so I con'fess, Sir, I thought myself under an obligation to 'lay hold upon this opportunity of publishing what 'all those, who find so sure a protection in your 'Majesty's dominions, feel and think as much as 'myself upon these new testimonies of your royal 'bounty. When your Majesty had taken us into 'your particular care, and had granted us several 'privileges, and so made us sharers in all the ad'vantages, which those who live under your go'vernment enjoy; your Majesty did yet something 'more, and inspired all your subjects with the same 'compassion towards us, with which your royal 'breast was already touched. You saw our miseries, 'and resolved to give us ease; and this generous 'design was executed, and your royal clemency dif'fused in the hearts of all your subjects. The whole 'world, Sir, which has received upon all its coasts, 'some remainders of our shipwreck, is filled with 'admiration of the unexampled effects of your Ma'jesty's clemency. There is no place so barbarous, 'where the renown of that mercy, which has been 'so gloriously extended towards us, has not been 'carried; and the resemblance will be ever dear to 'the remotest ages of posterity. We must, Sir, be 'wholly insensible, if we had not all of us the 'highest sense of so great a bounty; and we should 'justly appear to the whole world, to be unworthy of 'this your Majesty's paternal care; if notwithstanding 'that low condition, to which we are now reduced, 'we should not prostrate ourselves before your au'gust throne, with the humblest demonstrations of 'thankfulness. When God showers down the 'greatest blessings upon mankind, he requires this 'just tribute, which is also their greatest honour, 'by opening to them an access unto the throne of 'glory. And this sacred pattern we crave leave to 'follow, when we solemnly pay the like tribute to 'your Majesty, who can receive nothing from us 'again, that can answer the greatness, or the num'ber of those favours, which have so very much ex'ceeded all our desires. I could wish, Sir, that this 'work which I now present to your Majesty, might 'be so happy as to pass to posterity with this cha'racter of our acknowledgment: and that it might 'stand as a faithful record for ever, to perpetuate 'the memory of that lively sense of your bounty, 'which is imprinted on all our hearts. If this could 'be hoped for, it must be wholly owing to your 'Majesty's glorious name, which latest ages will re'ceive with reverence. But, Sir, though I dare 'not hope that these reflections can obtain that ho'nour, yet our age at least may see, that they bear 'these public marks of gratitude for all your Ma'jesty's royal favours. This, Sir, is my whole aim, 'in the dedication of this work to your Majesty; and 'may your sacred Majesty be pleased to approve of 'these poor testimonies of our thankfulness in ge'neral, and to look upon them as instances of mine 'in particular; and of that profound respect, with 'which I am,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

London, May 7, 1688.

and obedient subject and servant,

P. ALLIX.

attacked

attacked by the arts of Romiſh Prieſts, as well as by the arms of Popiſh Princes. Theſe pieces were remarkably well received, and Dr. Allix became in as great credit here, as ever he had been in France (*l*), for his ingenious and ſolid defences of the Reformed Religion, from reaſon and authority, from the practice of early ages [*E*], as well as the precepts of the Goſpel. In the year 1699, he wrote a very learned book in defence of the Trinity, which had very conſiderable effects, and has been always looked upon as a piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature [*F*]. He wrote, beſides the works already mentioned, ſeveral other learned and ingenious Treatiſes on curious and

(*l*) See an account of theſe Works in note [*E*].

[*E*] *From the practice of early ages.*] It appears plainly, that ſoon after Dr. Allix's coming over to England, he was acknowledged both here and abroad, for one of the ableſt writers in defence of the Proteſtant religion, that his country had produced; of which abundant proofs might be given, if the teſtimony of Bayle, and the authorities cited in the laſt note (where we report the elogia beſtowed on him) were not more than ſufficient. But the particular manner in which he galled the Roman Church, was by attacking her with her own weapons, and proving that, while ſhe treated others ſo freely with the opprobrious name of Heretics, ſhe had herſelf invented new articles of faith (13). In ſupport of this charge, he publiſhed the following treatiſe that had been ſent him from Paris.

(13) Nouvelles de Republique des Lettres, Vol. vi. p. 1226.

XII. Determinatio F. Joannis Pariſienſis de modo exiſtendi Corpus Chriſti in Sacramento Altaris, alio quam ſit ille quem tenet Eccleſia. Nunc primum edita ex MS. Cod. S. Victoris Pariſienſis; cui prefixa eſt Præfatio Hiſtorica de Dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis. Londini 1686, 8*vo*. i. e. *The determination of brother John Paris, Jacobin, as to the mode of our Lord's Body exiſting in the ſacrament of the altar; different from that held by the Church. Now firſt printed from a MS. at St. Victor's in Paris; to which is prefixed, an hiſtorical preface, as to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.* This hiſtorical preface, is entirely the work of our author, in which he inconteſtably proves, that this point of Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament, was quite unſettled in the earlieſt ages of the Chriſtian Church, and never conſidered as an article of faith, even in the Church of Rome, till declared ſo, for particular reaſons, by the council of Trent (14).

(14) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. vi. p. 1417.

XIII. *Some remarks upon the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the ancient Churches of Piedmont, by P. Allix, D. D.* London 1690. 4*to*. This treatiſe was licenſed for the preſs, *September* 23, 1689. by Dr. Z. Iſham, Chaplain to Dr. Henry Compton, Lord Biſhop of London. Our author dedicates this work to King William, and pays him very high compliments on his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; to ſupport and defend which, he tells him, God had raiſed his Majeſty up in that critical conjuncture. The deſign of this very learned and accurate performance was to refute what the Biſhop of Meaux had advanced on this ſubject, in his famous book, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the Variations of the Proteſtants in Matters of Faith* (15): a book that did then, and has ſince, done more hurt to the Proteſtants, than any thing elſe that has been publiſhed on that ſide. The aim of our author in this admirable performance (which contains twenty-eight chapters) was to ſhew the true ſtate of the caſe, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of doctrines, in ſeveral parts of Italy, but more eſpecially in the vallies of Piedmont from the ſecond century; which with great labour and induſtry he collected, and with laudable candour and ingenuity has publiſhed to the world, by which it plainly appears, that he did not intend to amuſe them with an affected diſplay of learning, but to vindicate the truth, by ſetting the Hiſtory of theſe Churches in its proper light. It was by doing this, that he has fully proved the Romiſh Prelate's book can affect none, but ſuch as do not inquire into the truth of the facts he reports; and proves farther, that all inquiries of this nature, are injurious to the Popiſh cauſe, in as much as they tend to render it evident, that the errors and power of the Romiſh Church, had in all ages, contrary to what they would perſuade the world, been detected and oppoſed. It was in proſecution of the ſame view, and to continue what he had ſo happily begun, that he ſent abroad

(15) This Treatiſe was penned to facilitate the Deſign of Lewis XIV. to oblige all his ſubjects to be, or ſeem to be, of one faith.

XIV. *Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenſes. By Peter Allix, D. D. Treaſurer of the Church of Sarum*, London 1692. 4*to*. This treatiſe the author dedicated to the Queen; *i. e.* to Queen Mary, daughter to his firſt patron King James; and in that dedication, he lays open the deſign of this treatiſe, and the reaſons of his ſubmitting it to her Majeſty's view, very fairly and freely. In the book itſelf, there is all the good ſenſe and ſound learning, that the ſevereſt critic could expect upon the ſubject. In it he very ſtrenuouſly and judiciouſly defends the Albigenſes from the charges of hereſy and ſchiſm, which the Biſhop of Meaux had brought againſt them, and with great force retorts upon him his own arguments; by ſhewing, that a conſtant and vigorous oppoſition of the power of the Church of Rome, founded not only on a diſavowal of her authority, but on a difference from her alſo in opinion, is far from proving either hereſy or ſchiſm in the opponents, but rather ſhews perſecution on one ſide, and a great zeal for truth on the other. He examines likewiſe, in the courſe of his remarks, abundance of curious and important queſtions, with much freedom, learning, and impartiality, traces the progreſs of the ſentiments maintained by the Albigenſes into Spain, and diſcovers how far, and in what degree, the ſame notions were diffuſed here in England, by the famous Wickliff and his diſciples. By way of appendix, there are added to this work, an extract of ſeveral trials of pretended heretics, taken from the regiſter of Sarum; which ſerve to confirm the facts laid down in the diſcourſe itſelf, as to the conformity of the religious ſentiments of the Albigenſes, with thoſe of the Lollards; a kind of reproachful term beſtowed on the Wickliffites here, as Hugonot was on the profeſſors of the Proteſtant Religion in France.

[*F*] *A piece of great value in reſpect to Hebrew literature.*] Our learned author having already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his excellent treatiſes, in ſupport of the Chriſtian Religion in general, and of the Proteſtant Religion in particular; now thought it highly requiſite to draw his pen in vindication of the Holy Trinity, againſt the Unitarians, which he did in that very learned work, of which we propoſe to give an account in this note.

XV. *The Judgment of the Ancient Jewiſh Church, againſt the Unitarians in the Controverſy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our bleſſed Saviour: With a Table of Matters and a Table of Texts of Scripture occaſionally explained. By a Divine of the Church of England*, London 1689. 8*vo*. In order to underſtand clearly the nature and deſign of this work, it is requiſite to obſerve, that the Unitarians, in anſwer to Biſhop Bull's learned vindication, had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes, in which they aſſerted that Juſtin Martyr, who lived 140 years after Chriſt, was the original author of the notion of our Saviour's divinity, and conſequently of the Trinity. To eſtabliſh this paradox, they maintained, I. That ſince the Jews had aſſerted the Meſſiah to be no more than man, as appears from the dialogue between Juſtin Martyr and Trypho the Jew, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that all the Jewiſh authors, cited by Dr. Bull, againſt the opinion of the Socinians, muſt have lived after the publication of the goſpel. II. That the Books of the Jews, which he cites againſt the Socinians, are the pious frauds of ſome Chriſtians, who have lived ſince Juſtin Martyr; and this is believed to be particularly true of the books of Philo the Jew, and of that of Wiſdom. III. That the Jews could not ſpeak of the Trinity, or of the Divinity of the Meſſiah, becauſe they knew nothing

and important ſubjects, ſo that he was for upwards of thirty years an active as well as illuſtrious member of the Republic of Letters, and a very able as well as affectionate defender of the eſtabliſhed Church. Some of theſe pieces expoſed him to very ſevere cenſures, and amongſt the reſt from Mr. Bayle (*m*), who had formerly complimented him ſo highly; but conſidering the ſubject, and the impoſſibility of writing about it with certainty, our author's miſtakes ought not to have drawn upon him any ſevere uſage, or contemptuous language [*G*]. One would have imagined that theſe curious and laborious works would at leaſt have done honour to the orthodoxy of their author, and have ſecured him from the opprobrious imputation of Hereſy: but the

(*m*) See article of BRAUNBOM (FREDERICK) in his Critical Dictionary. Note [*C*].

nothing of either; and therefore we muſt neceſſarily ſuppoſe, that whatever is found in their works, and which ſeems to favour theſe doctrines, muſt have been inſerted by Chriſtians, who lived after the time of Juſtin Martyr. IV. In fine, that if after all there be any thing, either in the Scripture, or in the writings of the ancient Jews, conformable to theſe doctrines, it very probably proceeded from the Platonics, from whoſe writings the Jews and Chriſtians borrowed many notions, which they mingled with the doctrines of the goſpel, in order to render them more acceptable to the Pagans. The great deſign therefore, of our author's book is, to refute theſe aſſertions; and not only ſo, but to examine the matter to the bottom, and to prove that the ancient Jewiſh Church had, with reſpect to the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Meſſiah, the very ſame ideas at the bottom, that the Chriſtian Church hath at this day, only leſs clear and leſs exact. This was a great undertaking, and required a moſt extenſive knowledge in Greek and Hebrew literature, which every body muſt allow our author has ſhewn, and managed this whole controverſy with equal perſpicuity and erudition (16). It ſeems he had before written in ſupport of Biſhop Bull, but without putting his name to the treatiſe; and, therefore, I have not been able to diſcover its title.

(16) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres par Barnard, Vol. ii. p. 518.

Theſe treatiſes created the doctor a great many enemies, and amongſt the moſt furious, Mr. Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead, who wrote an anſwer, in which, amongſt other things, he ſays what follows (17): 'If I have not here anſwered with all 'the reſpect and tenderneſs that I would, the doctor 'is to thank himſelf for it, as having given a pro'vocation that could not be diſſembled. He has 'now written two books, one after another, profeſ'ſedly againſt Mr. N. imputing to him ſeveral 'books, that were written not by Mr. N. but by 'Mr. S. and ſome others I could name, as has been 'all along known to ſeveral gentlemen, and to ſome 'bookſellers; and at the time that Dr. A. pub'liſhed *the Judgment*, it was ſo commonly known 'that his forwardneſs and raſhneſs in libelling and 'delating Mr. N. to the whole nation, and to his 'ſuperiors, as the undoubted author of them, admits 'no excuſe. Of ſo many, eminent for learning and 'dignity, as have written againſt thoſe books; 'though without doubt they had heard the cackle of 'report, concerning Mr. N. and other reputed au'thors of Mr. *Firmin*'s prints, as well as Dr. A. 'yet in their anſwers, none of them charged thoſe 'books on Mr. N. or the other ſuppoſed writers, '*ſave only this ſtranger*; who of a *Refugee* for re'ligion, was not aſhamed to turn *Informer*. He 'that will take on him the infamous character of an '*Informer*, is ready without doubt to go much far'ther, if circumſtances and opportunity invite him. 'Every body knows what *Name* is intended by Mr. 'N. Should not an adviſed and an honeſt man 'have firſt enquired, whether there be not more 'perſons of that name; that if perhaps there be, he 'might avoid doing wrong to innocent perſons, by 'an indefinite, uncertain ſignification, what parti'cular perſon he meant? When thoſe books to 'which Dr. A. points were written, there were no 'fewer than three Mr. N.'s clergymen, all of them 'beneficed within forty miles of London, and two 'of them acquaintances of Mr. *Firmin*. The In'formant therefore ſhould have ſome way notified, 'which of the Mr. N.'s he intended to accuſe, and 'wiſhed to ſee a public ſacrifice. I can tell him, 'there are divers witneſſes among the Socinians 'themſelves, that will at any time aſſure Dr. A. 'or any other, that neither of the Mr. N.'s friends 'of Mr. *Firmin*, were ever in the ſentiments of '*Socinus*. Though it be true alſo, that they diſ'approved, and oppoſed the Tritheiſm of ſome 'modern writers, that contended for a Trinity of 'diſtinct (infinite) *Beings*, *Minds*, and *Spirits*, which 'might bring on them the imputation of Socinianiſm, 'with a great number of other fooliſh calumnies, 'from their adverſaries, or from the Tritheiſtic 'party.

(17) Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, &c. p. 164.

'But when ſuch an imputation or report was up: 'I pray how would it recommend the books of 'Dr. A. to tell every body (or the whole nation) 'that they are written againſt Mr. N., more than if 'he had ſaid, they are written againſt ſome anony'mous pamphlets, that are gotten into too much 'credit and reputation?

'I have heard it confidently reported, that Dr. 'A. himſelf is author of one of Mr. Firmin's 'principal books: *The Defence of the brief Hiſtory 'of the Unitarians*: and ſome gentlemen of his na'tion (Refugees alſo for religion) ſay, Dr. A was 'always reputed a *Sabellian*. I believed both theſe 'reports, and ſo did many others: he has convinced 'me by the *Judgment*, it was a ſlander, or at beſt a 'miſtake; for he is a Tritheiſt. It will be a new 'warning to *me*, and ought to be to *him*, not to 'publiſh flying reports, for certain News; eſpe'cially to a whole nation, and to the poſſible pre'judice of perſons who never wronged me.'

[*G*] *Any ſevere uſage, or contemptuous language.*] In this note, we propoſe to give a ſuccinct account of the remaining pieces publiſhed by our author, in their natural order, which will afford us ample opportunity of explaining, proving, and juſtifying, what has been already delivered in the text, and particularly, allow us occaſion to ſhew how he came to loſe in ſome meaſure, the good graces of Mr. Bayle, though there never happened any open breach between them.

XVI. De Meſſiæ duplici adventu Diſſertationes duæ adverſus Judæos. Londini 1701, 12*mo. i. e. Of the two Advents of the* MESSIAH, *in as many Diſſertations againſt the Jews*. It was this treatiſe, that hurt the author with many people, on account of ſome extraordinary things that are advanced in it. He had, for example, mentioned ſome computations, according to which, the ſecond coming of Chriſt was fixed to the year 1720, or to 1736, at the lateſt: in this, no doubt, he was miſtaken, and deceived, but what then? Can it be truly aſſerted, that other learned men never err in their ſpeculations; or, if they do, is he bound to be more perfect, or exact? If mens failings in computations draw any imputation on the principles of ſcience, it may be doubtful, whether there be any certainty in the world. But in regard to our author, the apology for him is ſoon made. He did not pretend to prophecy, or revelation, he did not ſet up for new lights, or ſupernatural gifts, but proceeding on ſuch grounds as had been thought ſure by ſome as great men as ever this church or nation bred; he was ſo unlucky to apply their principles wrong, or miſtook for principles, what in reality were no more than conjectures, by which he came to advance, as things probable, what, in effect, experience has proved falſe. But does this ſmall fault affect his other learning? Muſt we ruin the fair ſtructure of his reputation, after all the pains he took to raiſe it, becauſe one ſtone is miſplaced? Shall we ſuppoſe he knew nothing, becauſe he did not know when the day of judgment was to come? No ſurely, this would be too hard meaſure. Let us admit he had weakneſſes, but let us ſtill be juſt to his known merits, and grateful for the ſervice he has done us in his other learned works.

The true cauſe why Bayle expreſſed ſome contempt on the ſubject of this treatiſe, was, his being engaged in a diſpute with M. Jurieu, who doubtleſs had uſed him very ill, and deſerved all the ſeverity he met with from him. This M. Jurieu, had ſet up for an expounder of prophecy, and even for a kind of Prophet, in which he notoriouſly failed. It was impoſſible for ſuch an adverſary as Bayle, to overlook an opportunity like this of triumph, and it was as

the fact is quite otherwiſe; for a vehement Engliſh writer charges him with Tritheiſm (*n*), and a collection of lives lately publiſhed abroad, leaves his memory under the reproach of Socinianiſm, than which, without queſtion, there never was a charge more groundleſs or incredible (*o*). Our learned author, however, continued ſteady and fixed to his principles, and was ſo well known to be a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Church of England on that ſubject, that the famous Mr. Whiſton thought proper to conſult him, when he firſt propoſed writing in ſupport of his own opinions, as appears by what himſelf delivers on this ſubject, in one of his moſt remarkable pieces (*p*). But our author conceiving this account of that converſation ſomewhat diſingenuous, thought it requiſite to give himſelf a ſhort relation of that affair, to which he adds many things equally curious and important (*q*) [*H*]. He enjoyed a very uncommon ſhare of health and ſpirits, as appears by his lateſt writings, in which there is not only all the erudition, but all the quickneſs and vivacity that appeared in his earlieſt pieces. Thoſe who knew him found the ſame pleaſure in his converſation, that the learned will always find in his productions; for with a prodigious ſhare of learning, he had a wonderful livelineſs of temper, and expreſſed himſelf on the dryeſt ſubjects with ſo much ſprightlineſs, and in a manner ſo out of the common road, that it was impoſſible to flag or loſe one's attention, to what was the ſubject of his diſcourſe. He was

(*n*) The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity, &c. by Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead, 8vo. 1701, p. 166.

(*o*) See his article in Moreri's Dictionary, edit. 1740, Vol. i. p. 316.

(*p*) Hiſtorical Preface, p. 8.

(*q*) Remarks upon ſome places of Mr. Whiſton's Books, by P. Allix, D. D. 8vo. 1711, p. 5.

impoſſible for him to uſe it, without involving, more or leſs, all, who by giving that turn to their ſtudies, ſeemed in any degree to countenance Jurieu. It was this that engaged him to write the article of Frederick Braunbom, a German enthuſiaſt, in order to have an opportunity of falling on Jurieu, and to avoid the glare of perſonal reflection, on almoſt all ſuch as had written on like ſubjects. Upon this occaſion he brings in our author, *notwithſtanding Jurieu's want of ſucceſs*, ſays he, *Dr. Allix has taken the field, to aſſure us, that Antichriſt will be extinct in* 1716, *in* 1720, *or, at the lateſt, in* 1736 (18). But to proceed with the catalogue of our author's writings.

(18) Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. ii. p. 125.

XVII. *Preface and Arguments on the Pſalms.* This was written in Engliſh, and the author of a critical Journal (19), tells us, our author found them to abound with prophecies, and diſapproved extremely ſuch as admitted two ſenſes, or what is called a double completion.

(19) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Vol. vi. p. 668.

XVIII. Nectarii Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitani Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Eccleſiam. Londini. 1702, 8*vo. i. e. Nectarius Patriarch of Jeruſalem, his Confutation of the Pope's Authority in the Church.* This was a tranſlation made by our author into Latin, from the Greek original printed in 1672, in Moldavia; it was a pretty large octavo, and contained abundance of curious facts, more eſpecially as to the claim made by both Churches, to the proof of their orthodoxy by miracles, which it is on both ſides ſuppoſed, God will never work in favour of any but the true Church (20).

(20) *Ibid.* Vol. viii. p. 113.

XIX. Auguſti Hermanni Francke Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ, edita ſtudio P. Allix. Londini 1706, 8*vo. i. e. Auguſtus Herman Francke's Introduction to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, publiſhed by Dr. Allix.* Our author only wrote a ſhort prefatory recommendation to this book, in order to make it known here in England, and to certify its uſefulneſs and worth.

XX. Diſſertatio de Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri anno & Menſe Natali. Londini 1707 & 1710, 8*vo. i. e. A Diſſertation on the Year and Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

XXI. *The Prophecies which Mr. Whiſton applies to the Times immediately following the Appearance of the Meſſiah, conſidered and examined. London,* 1707, 8*vo.*

XXII. Preparations a la Cene, 8*vo. i. e. Preparations for the Lord's Supper.* This practical piece was often printed at Geneva, and is commended as a very excellent performance in its kind.

[*H*] *Many things equally curious and important.*] This little treatiſe of our author, which is now become extremely ſcarce, bears the following title: XXIII. *Remarks upon ſome Places of Mr. Whiſton's Books, either printed or in Manuſcript. By P. Allix, D. D. Lond.* 1711, 8*vo.* The account he gives us of his converſation with Mr. Whiſton is very particular, and very worthy of the reader's notice; and therefore, as well as in regard to the ſcarceneſs of this tract, which is but a pamphlet, I will give the whole paſſage in the author's own words, eſteeming it a very entertaining part of his perſonal hiſtory (*). 'The late Dr. Payne, as Mr. Whiſton ſaith (for 'I think they both joined in the queſtion), having 'aſked me, Whether the Holy Spirit was addreſſed 'to in the public prayers of the primitive Church? 'I anſwered, that if they had ever read the works 'of St. Baſil the Great, they would have found a 'ſatisfactory anſwer to their queſtion; for that he 'had writ a large diſcourſe on that very ſubject, in 'which he not only ſuppoſes, that all their public 'prayers were directed to the Father by the interceſſion of the Son in the Holy Spirit; but proves 'likewiſe, that the Deity of the Spirit was generally ſuppoſed by the Church in that form, 'though it was not formally directed to him alone. 'I adviſed him to read that piece of St. Baſil, who 'had a natural occaſion of examining this matter, 'by the complaint which was made againſt him; 'that in the Doxology he uſed indifferently, theſe 'words: *Glory be to the Father, with the Son, and in*, or *with, the Holy Ghoſt*. And indeed, St. Baſil 'writing near fifty years after the riſe of Arianiſm, '(which gave the hint to Macedonius, Biſhop of 'Conſtantinople, to deny the Divinity of the Holy 'Ghoſt, and to do all he could to ſupport his hereſy) had ſolidly defended the ſenſe of the primitive Church, in all times and places, concerning 'the Deity of the Holy Spirit; and confuted all 'the arguments of the Macedonians. This is the 'ſubſtance of that converſation; and, I am ſure, 'the Divines, and Miniſters, who were there and 'then preſent, little thought, I had therein given 'any occaſion for ſuch a charge as Mr. Whiſton has 'now, at the diſtance of twelve or thirteen years, 'publicly brought againſt me. He has given me, 'indeed, the title of *The very learned Doctor*, &c. 'But, as he doubtleſs has his reaſons for what he 'does, I ſuppoſe, he might deſign, at the ſame 'time, that it ſhould ſerve for the juſtification of 'himſelf. *Timeo Danaos & Dona ferentes.* Some 'months ago, one of Mr. Whiſton's friends told 'me, he had heard from Mr. Whiſton, ſuch an 'account of that converſation, as he has ſince 'printed. I then told the gentleman the whole 'truth of the matter, and what then paſſed between 'us: but I thought it of ſo little importance, that 'though Mr. Whiſton came afterwards to viſit me, 'in company with ſome friends of his, I did not 'think it neceſſary to take any notice of it, after 'the explanation I had given his friends, and which 'in all probability came to his ears; eſpecially, 'ſince I could not have done it, without blaming 'him for his incivility, in making his own uſe of 'what I had ſaid, by changing the ſtate of the 'queſtion, and ſuppreſſing a part of my anſwer: 'an incivility ſo much the greater, becauſe I had 'referred them to St. Baſil's book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, for an account of my ſentiments about the 'queſtion they propoſed. I have had ſeveral opportunities of converſing with Mr. Whiſton, and 'I am ſatisfied he never looked upon me as one 'who inclined in the leaſt to his opinions. I 'thought him a ſtudious man, aud had a reſpect for 'him as ſuch; and he will do me the juſtice to 'acknowledge, that I always ſpoke my mind to 'him very freely and ſincerely; but that I never 'approved of the liberties he took, which indeed 'were more than could be well borne with.'

(*) See the Pamphlet before mentioned, p. 4, 5, 6.

conſulted

conſulted by the greateſt men of his age, on the deepeſt and moſt intricate parts of learning, and was acknowledged for a genius of the firſt order, by thoſe whom the world have eſteemed, not only the moſt capable but the moſt unbiaſſed critics (*r*) [*I*]. It was not any ſingle branch of literature, or a few related to each other, that could occupy his thoughts, but the whole circle of ſciences which fall under the cognizance of a general ſcholar and ſound Divine. All theſe he had not only taſted but digeſted, as appears by his excellence in different and almoſt oppoſite ſtudies. His ſermons ſhew him to have been an admirable orator, and at the ſame time a profound ſcholar. The ſeveral ancient authors he publiſhed teſtify his ſkill in criticiſm, and his perfect acquaintance with antiquity. His Treatiſes on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory diſcover a prodigious fund of reading, an exact comprehenſion of his ſubject, and his ſincere zeal for the Proteſtant religion. He laboured alſo to ſerve it by the tracts he reſcued from duſt and oblivion, to ſhew (as they effectually did) that the charge of novelty on which the Papiſts inſiſted ſo loudly, was not barely unreaſonable, but at the ſame time groundleſs. His thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, with whatever depends thereupon in Greek and other languages, was diſplayed in his laborious performance in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which his ſincerity is as conſpicuous as his learning. If in the proſecution of theſe deep and recondite ſtudies, he ſomewhat miſtook his way, and erred a little in his computations, it was no more than had befallen the greateſt men who have travelled this road before him, particularly Joſeph Mede, and Biſhop Lloyd; neither have theſe examples convinced other Ornaments of the Commonwealth of Letters that the roads are impaſſable, ſince the very learned Dean Prideaux, and the indefatigable Sir Iſaac Newton, have devoted many of their hours to like inquiries. Our author continued his application to the laſt, and having ſpun out the thread to an extraordinary extent, died at London, February 21, 1717, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of a man, equally aſſiduous in the right diſcharge of all the offices of public and private life, and every way as amiable for his virtues and ſocial qualities, as venerable from his uprightneſs and integrity, and famous for his various and profound learning.

(*r*) See the Teſtimonies cited from Bayle, Le Clerc, &c. in the notes.

[*I*] *Not only the moſt capable, but the moſt unbiaſſed critics.*] One need ſcarcely either conſult or quote on this occaſion any other than Mr. Bayle, who in all his pieces, public and private, does him the utmoſt juſtice, and applauds his learning, candour, and abilities, with a zeal, that evidently proves his commendations were ſincere, and proceeded entirely from the warmth of his heart. I may, I think, take the liberty of obſerving, that Bayle and he were in oppoſite ſentiments in regard to very many, or perhaps to moſt things; ſo that his applauding him was purely out of love to truth, and from that ſtrict regard to juſtice, which is incident to men of true ſcience. An accident happened in the beginning of our author's reputation, which afforded ſufficient teſtimonies of the eſteem and regard ſhewn towards him by other learned men. In the year 1683, came out at Amſterdam, a book with the following title, 'L'Ouverture de l'Epitre de St. Paul 'au Romains par l'explication du vers et 27 du 'chap. iii. & un Lettre en forme du Traité touchant 'la juſtification & la lecture des Peres, 12*mo.*' *i. e. An Opening of the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans, by the Explanation of chap.* iii. 27, *of that Epiſtle, together with a Letter in form of a Tract, on Juſtification and the reading of the Fathers.* Mr. Bayle, it ſeems, had been informed that Mr. Allix handed it to the preſs, on which he inadvertently mentioned him as its author. But the book giving great offence, Mr. le Clerc wrote to Mr. Bayle on the ſubject, who in his anſwer gives the higheſt character of our author, confeſſes his miſtake, and owns the work to have fallen from the pen of M. le Cene (21). In another letter to the celebrated Mr. Lenfant he ſays the ſame thing (22), which ſhews how uneaſy thoſe learned men were, for fear any imputation ſhould light on a character hitherto unſpotted. Mr. Bernard, in his Literary Journal, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of Dr. Allix; ſo does M. le Clerc in ſome pieces of the like kind, and ſo alſo does the learned Abbé Houtteville, in his copious diſcourſe on ſuch as have defended the Chriſtian Religion (23). It would be no difficult thing to add to theſe many more inſtances of the ſame nature, but that it ſeems to ſo little purpoſe, ſince the world will always ſee enough in his writings, to juſtify his learning, prudence, and application.

C.

(21) Oeuvres de Bayle, Vol. iii. p. 617.
(22) *Ibid.* p. 621.
(23) Diſcours Hiſtorique & Critique ſur la Methode des principaux Auteurs qui ont ecrit pour & contre la Chriſtaniſme depuis ſon origine, p. 189.

ALMARUS, ELMARUS, ELMERUS, ÆLMERUS, was Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Auſtin at Canterbury, at the time when Ælfegus, or as he is commonly called Alphage, the Archbiſhop, was barbarouſly murdered by the Danes, in the year 1011 (*a*). At this time, our hiſtorians report the city to have been betrayed, by one Elmerus an Archdeacon (*b*). As for our Almerus, the Danes ſuffered him to go at liberty, and in the year 1022, being, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the ſixth of King Canute's reign, Almerus became Biſhop of Sherburn (*c*)[*A*] in Dorſetſhire, which biſhoprick was afterwards transferred to Saliſbury. Godwin hath his name in his account of the Biſhops of that See, but he tells us, that beſides his name he knew nothing concerning him (*d*), which is highly probable, for he makes him to have ſat there in 1009, and cites no authority in ſupport of that date. Elmerus it ſeems did

(*a*) Chron. Sax. p. 141. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. apud X. Scriptor. p. 168.
(*b*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra. Act. Pontif. Cant. autor. Gervais, ap. X. Script. p. 1649.
(*c*) Chron. W. Thorn, ap. X. Script. p. 1782.
(*d*) De Præſul. edit. 1616, 4*to.* p. 386.

[*A*] *Almarus became Biſhop of Sherburn.*] The great Patron of this Biſhop was King Canutus, who though in his father's life-time, and even ſome years afterwards, he was fierce and cruel towards the Engliſh; yet when he was ſeated on the throne, and eſtabliſhed by force of arms, he endeavoured to gain the people's affections by a milder and more moderate behaviour. Inaſmuch as the cruel ſlaughter made at Canterbury, and eſpecially the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Alphage, had rendered the Danes odious; Canutus thought proper not only to tranſlate the body of the martyr, with all imaginable reſpect and magnificence, which he performed eleven years after his death (1), but alſo took the Monks at Canterbury under his ſpecial protection, which accounts for his extraordinary kindneſs to our Biſhop Almar. This parade of piety, however it might deceive the people of that age, is, not without cauſe, treated as downright hypocriſy by later hiſtorians; who, by comparing the actions of this Prince, have diſcovered moſt of his politic contrivances were gloſſed with ſuch ſanctified pretences; in ſpight of which, he remained ambitious and rapacious to the laſt (2). It ſhould ſeem

(1) Oſbern. Hiſt de Tranſlat. Corp. S. Elphegi ap Wharton, Angl. Sacra. Vol. ii. p. 143.
(2) See Milton, &c.

did not incline either to leave his Abbey, or to become a Biſhop: however, he was prevailed upon at laſt to take upon him that dignity, and when he had ſo done, he diſcharged it with great conſtancy and vigour, till ſuch time as it pleaſed God to render him quite blind. Upon this he reſigned his biſhoprick, much more readily than he had accepted it, and returning back again to his Abbey, lived there in a cell in the infirmary, in great innocency and devotion to his laſt hour (*e*). There is one thing very remarkable related of him, and it is this, One day as the boy who attended him was bringing him his dinner, a kite came ſuddenly down, and carried away the victuals in its talons. The boy amazed at ſo odd and unexpected an accident, firſt told Almerus, and then went back to the kitchen for more meat. Almerus reſolved within himſelf not to eat fleſh, unleſs the kite brought back the fleſh it had taken, ſuppoſing that this was a ſign of its being unlawful. The boy, who knew nothing of this, was ſurpriſed a ſecond time; for, before he got to the kitchen door, the kite ſtooping again, dropped the victuals into his platter; he returning, reported the thing to Almerus, who giving thanks to God, ſat down to his dinner without ſcruple. When he came to die, he directed that he ſhould be buried, not as a Biſhop, but as a Monk, which was accordingly done (*f*). He was interred in the church of the monaſtery, before the altar of St. John, and his memory held in great veneration, though our author tells us, that without the authority of the Holy See, they could not pay their devoirs to him as a ſaint (*g*).

(*e*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

(*f*) *Ibid.* & Chronol. Auguſtin. Cant. ad A. D. 1022.

(*g*) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

ſeem that our Biſhop had not very different thoughts, ſince he ſo unwillingly accepted ſo great a dignity, and ſo readily reſigned it, when his infirmity gave him an opportunity of ſo doing (3). His humility and greatneſs of ſoul ought to commend his name to poſterity, as a pious and worthy man, which is full as much to his honour, as if he had been a Romiſh Saint. C.

(3) Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1783.

ALPHERY (MIKEPHER) born in Ruſſia, and of the Imperial line (*a*). When that country was torn to pieces by inteſtine quarrels, in the latter end of the XVIth century, and the Royal Houſe particularly was ſo ſeverely perſecuted by impoſtors (*b*), this gentleman and his two brothers were ſent over to England, and recommended to the care of Mr. Joſeph Bidell, a Ruſſia merchant. Mr. Bidell, when they were of age fit for the univerſity, ſent them all three to Oxford, where the ſmall-pox unhappily prevailing, two of them died of it. We know not whether this ſurviving brother took any degrees or not, but it is very probable he did, ſince he entered into Holy Orders, and, in the year 1618 (*c*), had the Rectory of Wooley in Huntingtonſhire, a living of no very conſiderable value, being rated at under ten pounds in the King's books (*d*). Here he did his duty with great cheerfulneſs and alacrity, and notwithſtanding he was twice invited back to his native country, by ſome who would have ventured their utmoſt to have ſet him on the throne of his anceſtors; yet he choſe rather to remain with his flock, and to ſerve God in the humble ſtation of a pariſh Prieſt. Yet, in 1643, he underwent the ſevereſt trials from the rage of the Fanatics, who, not ſatisfied with depriving him of his living, inſulted him in the moſt barbarous manner. For having procured a file of muſqueteers to pull him out of his pulpit, as he was preaching on a Sunday, they turned his wife and ſmall children out into the ſtreet, into which alſo they threw his goods. The poor man in this diſtreſs raiſed him a tent under ſome trees in the church-yard, over-againſt his houſe, where he and his family lived for a week. One day having gotten a few eggs, he picked up ſome rotten wood and dry ſticks, and with theſe made a fire in the church-porch in order to boil them; but ſome of his adverſaries, to ſhow how far they could carry their rage againſt the Church, for this poor man was ſo harmleſs they could have none againſt him, came and kicked about his fire, threw down his ſkillet, and broke his eggs (*e*). After this, having ſtill a little money, he made a ſmall purchaſe in that neighbourhood, built him a houſe, and lived there ſome years. He was encouraged to this by a Preſbyterian Miniſter who came in his room, who honeſtly paid him the fifth part of the annual income of the living, which was the allowance made by parliament to ejected miniſters, treated him with great humanity, and did him all the ſervices in his power. It is a great misfortune that this gentleman's name is not preſerved, his conduct in this reſpect being the more laudable, becauſe it was not a little ſingular. Afterwards, probably on the death or removal of this gentleman, Mr. Alphery left Huntingtonſhire, and came and reſided at Hammerſmith, till the Reſtoration put him in poſſeſſion of his living again. He returned on this occaſion to Huntingtonſhire, where he did not ſtay long, for being upwards of eighty, and withal very infirm, he could not perform the duties of his function. Having, therefore, ſettled a curate, he retired to his eldeſt ſon's houſe at Hammerſmith, where ſhortly after he died, full of years and of honour (*f*). It muſt be owned that this article is very imperfect; but the ſingularity of a Ruſſian Prince's being a country Miniſter in England, will, we hope, atone for thoſe deficiencies, which it was not in our power to prevent [*A*]. C.

(*a*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 183.

(*b*) Introduct. a l'Hiſtoire D' Europe par Puffendorf, Vol. iv. p. 411. edit. 1732, 12*mo*.

(*c*) Walker's Sufferings, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Liber Valor. & Decim. edit. 1728, p. 179.

(*e*) From a Letter written by the Rev. Mr. Peter Phelips, Miniſter of Wooley, to Mr. Clavel.

(*f*) From Mr. Phelips's farther account of Mr. Alphery, delivered at a Viſitation.

[*A*] *Which it was not in our power to prevent.*] [Mrs. Alphery, the laſt deſcendant of the family, married one Mr. Johnſon a cutler at Huntingdon. She was living in 1764, and had eight children. By her the facts contained in the preceding article were confirmed to Lord Sandwich, and they were likewiſe known to be true by old people in the neighbourhood. His Lordſhip informed Dr. Campbell, that ſuch was the reſpect paid this woman on account of her illuſtrious deſcent, that no perſons, let their ſtation be what it would, choſe to be ſeated in her preſence, if ſhe was ſtanding. On the contrary, they roſe, and remained ſo, till ſhe had taken her chair (1).]

(1) Communicated by Mr. Wharton, from hints of a converſation which the late Dr. Campbell had with the Earl of Sandwich in 1764.

ALREDUS, ALFREDUS, or ALUREDUS, of Beverley, an ancient Engliſh hiſtorian: he is ſaid to have had his education in the univerſity of Cambridge, where he acquired not only great ſkill in divinity, but became alſo an able Philoſopher, and a good Hiſtorian (*a*). He returned afterwards into his own country of Yorkſhire, where he became a ſecular Prieſt, one of the Canons, and Treaſurer of the church dedicated to St. John of Beverley (*b*). Bale, and after him, Pits, poſitively affirm, that he flouriſhed under King Stephen, and that he continued his Annals to the year 1136 (*c*). Voſſius, though a foreigner, comes nearer the truth; he tells us that he flouriſhed in the reign of Henry I. and that he died in the year 1126, in which year alſo, according to him, he ended his Annals (*d*). The hiſtory he wrote however agrees with none of theſe, it ends in the twenty-ninth of Henry I. and conſequently he died, in all probability, in the year 1128, or 1129 (*e*). He was, as we may gather from the preface to his work, a man devoted to his ſtudies, and rather in narrow circumſtances than rich. He intended at firſt no more than an abridgment of the Britiſh hiſtory, that is, the hiſtory of the ancient Britons, which was at that time much talked of, and ſome time afterwards publiſhed more at large by Jeffrey of Monmouth. But when our author had gone through this, a deſire of purſuing the thread of his ſtory led him to add the Saxon, and then the Norman hiſtory, ſo that at length he brought it down to his own times (*f*). This, for any thing that appears, was the only piece he wrote, notwithſtanding a crowd of great authorities, which aſſert him to have been the author of four other books; a groſs miſtake, as we hope to prove to the ſatisfaction of every reader, in the notes [*A*]. This abridgment of our hiſtory from Brutus to Henry I. is one of the moſt valuable pieces that has eſcaped the rage of time, and the indiſcretion of the firſt Reformers. It is written in a conciſe, elegant, Latin ſtyle, with great perſpicuity, and a more than ordinary attention to dates and authorities. One may, without ſtraining the compliment, call Alured of Beverley our Engliſh Florus, his plan being nearly the ſame, neither is he leſs happy in its execution. One may juſtly wonder that ſo judicious a perſon as Leland, did not give him a place amongſt the Britiſh writers, eſpecially ſince it appears from another work of his, that he had ſeen our author's hiſtory (*g*). The true reaſon ſeems to have been, that Leland conſidered him only as the author of an abridgment of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory, which miſtake (for the greateſt men may ſometimes miſtake) was owing to the hurry with which he read this book. Otherwiſe he could not but have ſeen, that our author is not a bare tranſcriber of the Britiſh Hiſtory; and ſecondly, that he went much farther than the author he is ſaid to have copied. After all it is very doubtful, notwithſtanding the poſitive aſſertions of ſo many great men, whether Alured ever ſaw that verſion of the Britiſh Hiſtory, which we now have of Jeffrey of Monmouth, many circumſtances making it probable, that it was not publiſhed before our author wrote his Compendium, as will be ſhewn in

(*a*) Pits de Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. p. 204.
(*b*) Baleus de Script. cent. ii. No. LXXIV.
(*c*) Bale, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.
(*d*) De Hiſt. Lat. edit. 1674, p. 393.
(*e*) Alured Beverl. p. 152.
(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 3.
(*g*) Collectan. T. ii. p. 223.

[*A*] *To the ſatisfaction of every reader in the notes.*] As we are greatly obliged to Biſhop Bale for his collections concerning Britiſh writers, notwithſtanding they are very full of errors, ſo we ought certainly to be very careful how we charge him with greater defects than really are in his writings. As to our author, we ſhall ſtate the caſe fairly, and with many circumſtances, omitted even by the induſtrious Mr. Hearne, who was not aware that Bale had given more than one account of Alfred of Beverley. The firſt edition of this writer's hiſtory of Britiſh authors, was printed in 4*to.* in 1548, and therein his account of Alfred of Beverley is very ſhort; all he ſays of his works being compriſed in the following lines, which I cite, becauſe the book is extremely ſcarce, in his own words. 'De variis eventibus, continuaque ſucceſſione ab origine Britannorum ad ſuum 'Ætatem uſque contexuit, Hiſtoriam perpulchram, 'Lib. 1. de Naturis Rerum, Lib. 1. De cæteris 'nihil ex aliorum Scriptis comperiri potui, quamvis id ſedulo tentarim; *i. e. He wrote an elegant 'hiſtory of the various events, and of the ſeveral ſucceſſions from the origin of the Britons to his own times, 'in one book. Of the Nature of Things, one book; 'as to the reſt of his writings I have been able to learn 'nothing, though I have made a ſtrict enquiry* (1).' He farther tells us, that he ſuppoſed him to have flouriſhed in the reign of William the Conqueror, about the year 1086. But afterwards, as if from better informations, he gives us the following catalogue of his works: 'Defloratione Galfredi, 'Lib. v. Brytannia major, quæ nunc Anglia. 'De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, Lib. 1. Finito Regno 'Brytonum, Brytanniæ. De geſtis Regum Brytanniæ, Lib. 1. Aggreſſus ſum Laborem, itaque 'mihi. Hiſtoriam ampliorem, Lib. 1. in Diebus 'ſilentii noſtri occur. Vitam D. Joannis Archiepiſcopi, Lib. 1. & alia quædam; *i. e. Extracts from 'Geoffrey, five books, beginning Brytannia major, '&c. Of the Acts of the Kings of England, one book. 'Of the Acts of the Kings of Britain, one book. A 'larger hiſtory in one book. The Life of Archbiſhop 'John, in one book, and ſome others* (2).' Pits tranſcribes this account verbatim (3); and therefore, if we can account for Bale's miſtake, we account for his at the ſame time, as alſo for Mr. Joſcelin's, mentioned in the text, who likewiſe tranſcribes Bale exactly (4). In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that ſo much of Alfred's work as relates to the Britons, is compriſed in five books; but that theſe were called by the author himſelf, extracts from Jeffrey, is impoſſible; becauſe though he mentions Cæſar, Trogus Pompeius, Eutropius, Lucan, Beda, and many others, yet he never mentions Jeffrey, but calls the book from whence he took the facts he ſets down, the Britiſh Hiſtory, which, without doubt, is the ſame that Jeffrey tranſlated, though our author adds many things from other writers; but the firſt words of this treatiſe, properly ſpeaking, are, *Primus in Britannia regnavit Brutus* (5). The ſixth book in Mr. Hearn's edition begins with the words, Bale aſſigns for the beginning of the hiſtory of the Engliſh Kings, *viz. Finito Regno Britonum, Britanniæ Regnum ad Anglos eſt tranſlatum* (6), which plainly ſhows that it is in fact the ſame treatiſe. As to the third book mentioned by Bale, it is certainly the ninth of the annals, of which our author ſpeaking in his preface, makes uſe of theſe words, *Aggreſſus ſum itaque laborem mihi quidem difficilem*, &c. (7), which therefore Bale makes the beginning of it. The larger hiſtory is nothing more than a ſhort preface, which Alfred ſet before his work, in order to ſhow the occaſion of his writing it, which begins with, *In Diebus Silentii noſtri*, &c. (8); ſo that here, all theſe four different works are fairly ſhewn to be no more than ſeveral parts of Alfred's Annals, as we have it now in print, and as for the remaining book mentioned by Bale, it will be accounted for in the next note.

(1) Bale de Script. fol. 73.
(2) Cent. ii. No. LXXIV. in the other editions.
(3) De Illuſtr. Scrip. p. 204.
(4) Append. ad Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.
(5) Alured Bever. p. 10.
(6) *Ibid.* p. 77.
(7) *Ibid* p. 3.
(8) *Ibid.* p. 1.

another place (*b*). If he had, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon, why he ſhould not mention his author, ſince in this reſpect he is very exact in other places, and even here he calls it the Britiſh Hiſtory, and ſays very candidly at the concluſion, that he only tranſcribed what he met with therein, and that he could not pretend to account for the ſilence of the Latin writers, and even of the Engliſh ones, concerning the acts of King Arthur, who fought not only againſt the Pagans in Britain, but alſo againſt the Romans themſelves in Gaul (*i*). If this had really been Jeffrey of Monmouth's tranſlation, why ſhould he have concealed it, rather than Henry of Huntington who abridges the ſame hiſtory, and adding it by way of Appendix to his own, doth not diſſemble whence he took it? The manuſcripts of this work were always ſcarce, and very few who mention it had ſeen it. Mr. Joſcelin, in his catalogue of the writers of Engliſh hiſtory whoſe works he had met with, gives us ſome account of him; but then it appears plainly that he truſted to Bale, and did not conſult the MS. itſelf (*k*), which he aſſures us was in the hands of Mr. Netleton. I do not find that the induſtrious Stowe had ever met with this hiſtory, otherwiſe I think he would certainly have quoted it, as would later compilers of our general hiſtory, if at any time it had come to their hands. The MS. from which Mr. Hearne publiſhed it at Oxford in 1716, belonged to the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; (*l*) and Mr. Hearne himſelf acknowledges, that it was the only one he ever ſaw. The title he gave it was, *The Annals of Alured of Beverley*, to which I conceive he was inclined, on account of his books being quoted by this title by ſome ancient writers, and indeed the title is proper enough, though the book is not divided after the manner of the Abbey Chronicles; but inaſmuch as dates are conſtantly preſerved, and as the latter part is particularly exact, as to the years of the Kings reigns in which the facts therein recited fell out, it may well enough be ſtyled Annals. John Withamſted, a very ancient writer, ſpeaking of our author, ſays, that he wrote a Chronicle of what happened from the ſettlement of Brutus, to the time of the Normans, in which alſo he treated of the cities anciently founded in this kingdom, and ſet down the names by which London, Canterbury, and York, were called in old times, when the Britons inhabited them (*m*). This authority is much to the honour of our hiſtorian; for Withamſted flouriſhed in the XVth century, and was a man of a critical turn, as appears by his attacking the hiſtory of Jeffrey of Monmouth. This teſtimony agrees exactly with the book as we now have it, and therefore I make no queſtion, but that this piece, with the hiſtory of St. John of Beverley, are all that fell from the pen of our author. As to this hiſtory of St. John of Beverley, it is alſo in being, and it is a loſs to the learned world that we have it not printed [*B*]. To this edition Mr. Hearne has added ſome notes, and a very complete index. He has alſo prefixed a preface, wherein he vindicates his author from the charge of plagiariſm, under which he has ſo long laboured (*n*). To this there are ſome objections made by Mr. Aaron Thompſon, in his Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory (*o*), to which, as alſo to ſome remarks of Biſhop Nicolſon (*p*), we have given anſwers in their proper place [*C*]. On

(*b*) See note [*C*].

(*i*) Alured Beverl. p. 76.

(*k*) In Append. Rob. de Aveſ. p. 276.

(*l*) Prefat. ad Alured Beverl.

(*m*) Ap. Voſſium, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Preſat p. 22.

(*o*) Preface, p. 23.

(*p*) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, p. 57.

[*B*] *It is a loſs to the learned world it is not printed.*] We have no account at all of this piece of our author's, farther than the ſhort title above mentioned, either in Bale, Pits, or Mr. Hearne's preface to our author's hiſtory; yet the book itſelf is in the Cotton Library, though not ſet down in the catalogues as being contained in a volume of tracts. I ſhall ſet down the title at large, in which the reader will perceive, that this is quite a different thing from what he might expect, which will ſerve to ſupport what has been advanced in the former note, concerning the careleſſneſs of Bale and his tranſcribers. 'Libertates Eccleſiæ S. Johannis de Beverlik, cum 'Privilegiis Apoſtolicis, & Epiſcopalibus, quas 'Magiſter Alueredus Sacriſta ejuſdem Eccleſiæ, de 'Angiico in Latinum tranſtulit. In hoc tractatulo 'dantur Cartæ Saxonicæ R. R. Adelſtani, Eadwardi Confeſſoris, & Willelmi, quas fecerunt 'eidem Eccleſiæ, ſed ab imperito Exſcriptore mendoſe ſcriptæ; *i. e. The Liberties of the Church of 'St. John of Beverley, with the Privileges granted 'by the Apoſtolick See, or by Biſhops, tranſlated out of 'Saxon into Latin, by Maſter Alured, Sacriſt of the 'ſaid Church. In this Treatiſe are contained the 'Saxon Charters of the Kings Adelſtan, Edward 'the Confeſſor, and William (the Conqueror) granted 'by them to this Church, but through want of Skill 'in the Tranſcriber, are full of Miſtakes* (9).' Thus it appears, that this is not a life of St. John of Beverley, but a collection of records.

(9) Biblioth. Cotton OTHO c. xvi. cod. Chartaceus, 4to.

[*C*] *We have given anſwers in their proper place.*] Mr. Thompſon, out of zeal for the credit of Jeffrey of Monmouth, maintains that our Alfred, according to the common opinion, really tranſcribed his book, or abridged it. But foreſeeing the dates were againſt him, all ancient authors placing Jeffrey later in point of time than our author, he ventures to aſſert, that Jeffrey's hiſtory was publiſhed ſome time between the years 1123 and 1128, becauſe, ſays he, Alfred copied it in this laſt year (10). By this method a man may prove any thing; for, in ſhort, he does nothing more than ſuppoſe what he ſhould prove to be true, and then offers his ſuppoſition as a proof to his readers. I will, in few words, ſhow firſt, that his ſuppoſition is groundleſs, and ſecondly, that there is good authority to prove (11), our author was not thought a tranſcriber, by writers, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward III. Henry of Huntingdon publiſhed his hiſtory late in the reign of Henry I. yet it is confeſſed he did not meet with Jeffrey's book till after that publication (12). William of Malmeſbury, who alſo wrote before Jeffrey, as Jeffrey himſelf confeſſes, is not ſaid to have publiſhed his hiſtory ſo early as Mr. Thompſon places the publication of Jeffrey's. We know that Malmeſbury wrote a ſequel to his hiſtory, which begins in the twenty-ſixth year of Henry I. that is, in 1125, and before this time, it is certain, that Jeffrey's book had not ſeen the light (13). Beſides, Jeffrey was made Biſhop of St. Aſaph in 1150, or 1151 (14): is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his friends were ſo long before they thought of him, when his book had been in vogue 20 or 30 years? Add to this, that Jeffrey himſelf plainly overturns this ſuppoſition, by the compliment he pays to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, in his dedication, which I ſhall tranſcribe from Mr. Thompſon's own tranſlation (15): 'To 'you, therefore, Robert Earl of Glouceſter, this 'work humbly ſues for the favour of being ſo cor-'rected by your advice, that it may not be thought 'the poor offſpring of Jeffrey of Monmouth, but 'when

(10) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 30.

(11) Ran. Higd. in Polychron.

(12) See the Preface to his works.

(13) See Camden's Collection.

(14) Preface to Jeffrey of Monmouth, p. 29. Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 306.

(15) Jeffrey of Monmouth's Britiſh Hiſtory, p. 2, 3.

On the whole, if ever any epitome of Britiſh Hiſtory deſerved particularly well of the Public in general, and of readers of a nice taſte in particular, we may ſafely ſay this hiſtory of Alfred's is it. For though Huntingdon, Hoveden, Malmeſbury, and other writers, have prefixed ſummaries of ancient hiſtory to the accounts they have left us of their own times; yet are none of them, either in point of accuracy or elegancy, to be compared with this hiſtory, which well deſerves to be tranſlated, and if it might be hoped for, continued with the ſame ſpirit down to later times.

' when poliſhed by your refined wit and judgment, ' the production of him who had Henry the glorious ' King of England for his father, and whom we ' ſee an accompliſhed ſcholar, and philoſopher, as ' well as a brave ſoldier, and expert commander; ' ſo that Britain with joy acknowledges, that in ' you ſhe enjoys another Henry.' Does not this paſſage clearly intimate that King Henry was then dead? Now that Prince deceaſed in 1135 (16), and our author finiſhed his hiſtory in 1128. So much for Mr. Thompſon's ſuppoſition. Ralph Higden in his Polychronicon, cites Jeffrey ſometimes, Alfred ſometimes, and ſometimes he quotes them both together (17). Would he have done this, if he had thought Alfred a mere tranſcriber, and if he was not thought ſo almoſt 400 years ago why ſhould we think him ſo now? Biſhop Nicolſon ſays, that probably all the four treatiſes aſcribed to our Alfred might well be ſtyled, Defloratione Galfredi; *i. e. Extracts from Jeffrey* (18); but this was only that Prelate's gueſs, who had a mighty knack at characterizing authors he never ſaw, and we have fully proved that he gueſſed wrong; and to do him juſtice, what he afterwards ſays, fully proves that he much doubted whether Alfred ever ſaw Jeffrey's book at all, and for this good reaſon, becauſe he was as early a writer as himſelf (19). This the Biſhop ſuſpected, and we apprehend is now put out of queſtion by Mr. Hearne's publication of his work. C.

(16) Stowe, Holingſhed, &c.

(17) XX. Script. à Thoma Gale edit. p. 179.

(18) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, P. 57.

(19) *Ibid.*

ALSOP (VINCENT) a Northamptonſhire man, educated in St. John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*a*). He received Deacon's orders from a Biſhop, after which he went down into Rutlandſhire, and ſettled at Oakham, where he was an aſſiſtant to the maſter of the free-ſchool. As he was a man of a ſprightly pleaſant wit, he fell there into indifferent company, but was reclaimed by the frequent admonitions of the reverend Mr. Benjamin King (*b*). He afterwards married that gentleman's daughter, and becoming a convert to his principles received ordination in the Preſbyterian way, not being ſatisfied with that which he had from the Biſhop [*A*]. He was ſettled at Willbee in the county of Northampton, whence he was ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity (*c*). After this he ventured to preach ſometimes at Oakham, and at Wellingborough where he lived, and was once ſix months in priſon for praying by a ſick perſon (*d*). A book he writ againſt Dr. Sherlock in a humorous ſtyle, made him well known to the world, and induced Mr. Cawton, an eminent Nonconformiſt in Weſtminſter, to recommend him to his congregation for his ſucceſſor. On receiving this call, he quitted Northamptonſhire and came to London, where he preached conſtantly, and wrote ſeveral pieces which were extremely well received by the Public (*e*). His living in the neighbourhood of the court, expoſed him to many inconveniences: however, he had the good fortune to eſcape impriſonment and fines, by an odd accident, which was, the informers not knowing his Chriſtian name, which for this reaſon he ſtudiouſly concealed. Wood, who mentions him more than once, took his name to be Benjamin, probably from the ſameneſs of *Ben* and *Vin*, in their ſound. His ſufferings, however, ended with the reign of Charles II. or at leaſt in the beginning of the next reign, when Mr. Alſop's ſon engaging in treaſonable practices was freely pardoned by King James (*f*). After this our Divine went frequently to court, and is generally ſuppoſed to have been the perſon who drew the addreſs to that Prince, for his general indulgence [*B*]. After the Revo-

(*a*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 487. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 743.

(*b*) Calamy, *ibid.*

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *With that which he had from the Biſhop.*] As this is a very remarkable paſſage, it may not be amiſs to cite Dr. Calamy's account, in his own words. ' I have been informed, *ſays he*, by a very ' worthy perſon, that he had it from Mr. Benjamin ' King of Okeham in Rutland (who was Mr. ' Alſop's father-in-law), that the ſaid Mr. Alſop was ' ordained by a Biſhop; and not being ſatisfied ' with that ordination, was afterwards ordained by ' Preſbyters. I cannot queſtion the truth of this ' paſſage, when I conſider the way of its conveyance; and therefore I ſuppoſe the reaſon of it ' muſt be this: That the Biſhop only admitted ' him into Deacons Orders, and upon this ſuppoſition, he might think that ordination defective, ' ſo as to need ſomething farther, in order to his being capacitated for ſome miniſterial acts, which ' Deacons are not called to. And yet, at the ſame ' time, I am very ſenſible, that ſome of the ejected ' miniſters had no other ordination than that, ' and thought it to be ſufficient. Allowance may be ' very well made for different ſentiments in ſuch ' things as theſe, among perſons of worth and eminence (1).'

(1) Life of Baxter, Vol. iv. p. 634.

[*B*] *Drew the addreſs to that Prince for his indulgence.*] This addreſs is now become ſo ſcarce, as to be a kind of curioſity; and therefore I think it cannot be amiſs to reprint it here from an authentic copy. It was preſented by the following miniſters: Mr. Hurſt, Mr. Cheſter, Mr. Slater, Mr. Cox, Mr. Roſwell, Mr. Turner, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deal, and Mr. Reynolds. The title was, *The Humble Addreſs of the Preſbyterians*; and thus it ran:

' *May it pleaſe your Moſt Sacred Majeſty,*

' TO believe the thankfulneſs of our hearts, beyond any expreſſions of our lips or pens, for ' your moſt gracious declaration of liberty for us, in ' the worſhip of God, which we truſt we ſhall ever ' value above our property, as that, without which ' we could enjoy nothing which we could call our ' own, without the greateſt uneaſineſs imaginable: ' But your Majeſty having in the ſame declaration ' alſo ſecured that unto us both by your royal word ' and act: What could your Majeſty have done more ' for us? Or what is left for us further to aſk of the ' King? And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed your moſt ' excellent majeſty, to give this ſafe port to your poor ' ſubjects, ſo long toſſed with tempeſts, and juſtly to ' believe that loyalty is not entailed to a party, as ' we hope we ſhall ever juſtify the credit which your ' majeſty's charity in that point hath given us; ſo we ' ſhall not ceaſe to bow our knees to the God whom ' we ſerve, and by whom Kings reign, beſeeching ' him to recompenſe this royal favour to your ma' jeſty, with length of days, uninterrupted health,

' felicity

Revolution, Mr. Alſop gave very public teſtimonies of his affection for the government; yet upon all occaſions he ſpoke very reſpectfully of King James, and retained a very high ſenſe of his clemency, in ſparing his only ſon (*g*). The remainder of his life he ſpent in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, preaching once every Lord's Day; beſides which he had a Thurſday Lecture, and was one of the Lecturers at Pinner's-hall. He lived to be a very old man, and preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt [*C*]. On grave ſubjects he wrote with a becoming ſeriouſneſs; but where wit might properly be ſhewn, he diſplayed his to great advantage (*b*). Anthony Wood indeed repreſents him as a man of mean parts, and meer pretender to genteel raillery (*i*). But Dr. South, who was full as good a judge of men as Wood, underſtood wit and language much better, and was by no means partial to the Nonconformiſts, allows our author his due praiſe (*k*). Mr. Alſop died full of days, on the eighth of May 1703 (*l*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. Slater, and his memory will be always preſerved by his own learned and elegant writings. Of theſe the moſt remarkable are, 1. *Antiſozzo:* in vindication of ſome great truths oppoſed by Dr. William Sherlock, 8*vo*, 1675. 2. *Melius inquirendum:* in anſwer to Dr. Goodman's *Compaſſionate Enquiry*, 8*vo*, 1679. 3. *The Miſchief of Impoſitions:* in anſwer to Dr. Stillingfleet's *Miſchief of Separation*, 1680. 4. *Duty and Intereſt united in Praiſe and Prayer for Kings*, September 8, 1695. 5. *Practical Godlineſs, the Ornament of Religion*, 8*vo*, 1696. 6. *God in the Mount:* A Sermon on the wonderful Deliverance of his Majeſty from Aſſaſſination, and the Nation from Invaſion. 7. *A Sermon preached at Weſtminſter on the Public Faſt*, December 19, 1701. 8. *A Sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners.* 9. *A Faithful Reproof to a Falſe Report, with reference to the Differences among the United Miniſters in London*, 8*vo*. With ſeveral Sermons in the *Morning Exerciſe*.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

(*b*) See his Antiſozzo, in anſwer to Dr. Sherlock.

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. iv. p. 634.

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 489.

' felicity in your royal relations, ſucceſs in your ' great councils and affairs, and finally, with the ' moſt glorious liberty of the ſons of God, heartily ' crying, as with one voice, Let the King live for ' ever. Subſcribed on the behalf of ourſelves and ' the reſt of our perſuaſion.'

The King's Anſwer.

' *Gentlemen*,

' I Have already found two good effects of my de- ' claration; the eaſing and pleaſing my ſubjects ' you ſpake of, and my reſtoring to God, the empire ' over conſcience: it has been my judgment a long ' time, that none has, or ought to have, any power ' over the conſcience but God. I underſtand, there ' are ſome jealouſies among my ſubjects, that I have ' done this in a deſign: But you look like gentle- ' men of too great ingenuity to entertain any ſuch ' ſuſpicion. Gentlemen, I proteſt before God, and ' I deſire you to tell all manner of people of all per- ' ſuaſions, as you have opportunity to converſe with ' them, that I have no other deſign than that I have ' ſpoke of. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to ſee ' the day, when you ſhall as well have Magna ' Charta for the liberty of conſcience, as you have ' had for your properties. And now, gentlemen, ' do you ſo preach to your hearers as they may be ' good Chriſtians, and then I do not queſtion but ' they will be good ſubjects (2).'

[*C*] *Preſerved his ſpirits to the laſt.*] We owe alſo this particular to Dr. Calamy, who delivers himſelf in theſe words: ' I was very ſtrictly examined by ' him before my ordination; at which time it falling ' to my lot to make and defend a Latin Theſis, upon ' this queſtion (which he himſelf gave me), *An Chriſ- ' tus, Officio Sacerdotali fungatur in Cælis tantum?* ' He (for argument's ſake, as in the way of the ' ſchools) oppoſed me with all the vigour, ſmart- ' neſs, and fluency of a young man, though he was ' then conſiderably advanced in years. This was in ' the year 1694, when Mr. Joſeph Bennet, Mr. ' Tho. Reynolds, Mr. Joſeph Hill, Mr. Ebenezer ' Bradſhaw, Mr. Joſhua Bayes, Mr. King of Rum- ' ford, and I, were publicly ordained, in the diſ- ' ſenting place of worſhip by Little St. Helen's: ' The perſons who aſſiſted in, and carried on the ſo- ' lemnity, being Dr. Samuel Anneſley, Mr. Richard ' Stretton, Mr. Vincent Alſop, Mr. (afterwards ' Dr.) Daniel Williams, Mr. Matthew Silveſter, ' and Mr. Thomas Kentiſh, and this was the firſt ' public ordination among the Diſſenters in the city, ' from the time of the taking place of the act of ' Uniformity (3).' C.

(2) See Biſhop Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 510. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 488.

(3) Life of Baxter, Vol. iv. p. 635.

AMBROSE (Isaac), a noted Preſbyterian Teacher in the times of the Uſurpation, and author of ſeveral pieces [*A*], was a Clergyman's ſon, and deſcended from the *Ambroſes* of *Ambroſe-Hall*, in Lancaſhire. In the beginning of the year 1621 he was admitted a Batteler of Brazen-Noſe-College in Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards he took Holy Orders, and officiated in ſome little cure in his own country. Being in very low circumſtances, he was often obliged to the bounty of William, Earl of Bedford, for the relief of himſelf and his family;

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] 1. Prima, Media, *and* Ultima, *or, The Firſt, Middle, and laſt Things; wherein are ſet forth*; I. *The Doctrine of Regeneration, or the New Birth.* II. *The Practice of Sanctification, in the Means, Duties, Ordinances, both private and public, for Continuance and Increaſe of a godly Life.* III. *Certain Meditations of Man's Miſery, in his Life, Death, Judgment, and Execution; as alſo of God's Mercy in our Redemption and Salvation.* The *Prima* and *Ultima* were printed at London in 1640, in quarto. The *Media*, taken chiefly out of the writings of the moſt eminent practical Divines, was firſt printed at London (with the *Prima* and *Ultima*) in 1650, in quarto; and afterwards in 1659, in quarto. To which is added, a Sermon on *Redeeming the Time*, preached at Preſton, January 4, 1657, at the funeral of Lady Margaret Houghton. The authors, whom he abridges in the *Media*, were moſtly Separatiſts. The book was licenſed by Mr. Charles Herle, and recommended to the world by John Angier, Thomas Johnſon, and John Waite, B. D. in their reſpective epiſtles prefixed to it. At length, all three were printed together at London in 1674, in a large folio, with a print of the author, aged fifty-nine. The book was reprinted in 1682, and again in 1689, both editions in folio. 2. *Looking upon Jeſus. A View of the everlaſting Goſpel, or the Soul's eyeing of Jeſus as carrying on the great Work of Man's Salvation.* London, 1658, 4*to*. In the penning of which piece, Mr. Wood tells us, he took great delight, it being a ſubject, as the author himſelf complains, almoſt wholly neglected by others. 3. *War with Devils, Miniſtration of, and Communication with, Angels*; printed with the former. At the end of this treatiſe are ſubjoined two letters, the firſt written by Richard Baxter, dated London, November 29, 1661; and the other by William Cole, dated Preſton, October 8, 1661 (1). B.

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

and

and Mr. Wood thinks, that Lord procured him to be inſerted in the liſt of his Majeſty's preachers appointed for the county of Lancaſter. Afterwards, upon the change of the times in 1641, he left the Church of England, and went over to the Preſbyterian party, took the *Covenant*, and became a preacher of the Goſpel at Garſtang, and afterwards at Preſton in his own country. He was very zealous and very active againſt the Clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church; eſpecially when he was appointed Aſſiſtant to the commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they then called *ſcandalous and ignorant Miniſters and School-maſters*. It is ſaid, he died ſuddenly of an apoplexy (*a*). B.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 334, 335.

AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS (*a*), or AURELIUS AMBROSIUS (*b*), a famous General of the ancient Britons, and afterwards King, was of Roman extraction [*A*], and commonly ſuppoſed to be ſon of one of the Kings, elected by the Britons after the Romans had left the iſland (*c*). He was educated at the court of Aldroen King of Armorica; who, at the requeſt of the Britons, ſent him over (*d*), at the head of ten thouſand men, to aſſiſt them againſt the Saxons, whom Vortigern their King had invited into Britain. Ambroſius's ſucceſs againſt the Saxons was ſo conſiderable, that the Britons choſe him for their King (*e*), obliging Vortigern to yield to him all the weſtern part of the kingdom, divided by the Roman highway called *Watling Street*. Some time after, the Britons being diſcontented with Vortigern, and having withdrawn their allegiance from him, that unhappy Prince retired to a caſtle in Wales; where being beſieged by Ambroſius, and the caſtle taking fire, he periſhed in the flames (*f*), and left his rival ſole Monarch of Britain (*g*), who now took upon him the Imperial Purple after the manner of the Roman Emperors. Geoffrey of Monmouth pretends (*b*), that Ambroſius built *Stone-henge* near Saliſbury in Wiltſhire [*B*], in memory of three hundred Britiſh Lords, who were maſſacred by the Saxon General

(*a*) Gildæ Hiſt. de excidio & conqueſtu Britanniæ, ſect. 25, 26. & Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. l. i. c. 16.
(*b*) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 1.
(*c*) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Lond. 1685, p. 319.
(*d*) About the year 457.
(*e*) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 2.
(*f*) Id. ibid.
(*g*) An. 470.
(*b*) Ubi ſupra, c. 12.

[*A*] *He was of Roman extraction.*] 'Common 'opinion (ſays Mr. Milton) but grounded chiefly on 'the Britiſh fables, makes this Ambroſius to be the 'younger ſon of that Conſtantine, whoſe eldeſt was 'Conſtance the Monk: who both loſt their lives 'abroad uſurping the empire. But the expreſs words 'both of Gildas and Bede aſſure us, that the parents 'of this Ambroſius, having here borne regal dignity, 'were ſlain in the Pictiſh wars and commotions in the 'iſland (1).' Gildas's words here referred to are theſe: 'Duce Ambroſio Aureliano viro modeſto '(qui ſolus fortè Romanæ gentis tantæ tempeſtatis 'colliſioni, occiſis in eadem parentibus purpura ni'mirum indutis, ſuperfuerat ——) vires capeſſunt '(2); *i. e. They recover ſtrength under the command 'of Ambroſius Aurelianus, a man of great virtues, 'who perhaps was the only ſurviving Prince of Ro'man extraction; his parents, who bore the ſove'reign character, having been ſlain during the com'motions of thoſe times.*' Bede has borrowed theſe words with a ſlight variation. *Utebantur eo tempore Duce Ambroſio Aureliano, viro modeſto, qui ſolus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempeſtati ſuperfuerat, occiſis in eadem parentibus regium nomen & inſigne ferentibus* (3).

(1) Milton's Hiſtory of England, B. iii. an. 446.
(2) Gildæ Epiſt. de excidio, &c. Britanniæ, ſect. 25.
(3) Bede, Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 16.

[*B*] *It is ſaid, Ambroſius built Stone-henge near Saliſtury in Wiltſhire.*] Geoffrey of Monmouth fables, that Ambroſius, coming to a monaſtery near Kaercaradoc, now Saliſbury, where the three hundred Britiſh Lords maſſacred by Hengiſt lay buried, and reſolving to perpetuate the memory of this action by ſome remarkable building, ordered his workmen to prepare a large quantity of ſtones and other materials. But having, at the inſtigation of Tremounus Archbiſhop of Caer-leon, conſulted the famous Merlin, that magician adviſed him to ſend over to Ireland for certain great ſtones, which were called Chorea Gigantum; *i. e. The Giant's Dance*, and which were to be found placed in a circle on a hill called *Killair*; having been brought thither by certain giants from the fartheſt borders of Africa, at the time when that country was inhabited by giants. Whereupon Uther Pendragon, Ambroſius's brother, and a body of forces, were ſent into Ireland to fetch theſe ſtones; but were oppoſed in their attempt by Gillomanius King of the country, who at firſt derided the folly of the Britons in undertaking ſo ridiculous an expedition, but afterwards reſolved to fruſtrate their deſign. Nevertheleſs the Britons, having vanquiſhed that Prince in battle, found means to bring away the ſtones, though not without great difficulty, and through the direction and aſſiſtance of Merlin, who had accompanied them. Theſe wonderful ſtones, by order of Ambroſius, were placed over the graves of the Britiſh Lords, and are what is now called Stone-henge (4). Alexander Neham celebrates this fable in the following verſes (5):

Nobilis eſt lapidum ſtructura, chorea gigantum:
Ars experta ſuum poſſe peregit opus.
Quod ne prodiret in lucem ſegnius, artem
Se, vireſque ſuas conſuluiſſe reor.
Hoc opus adſcribit Merlino garrula fama;
Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
Illa congerie fertur decorata fuiſſe
Tellus, quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves.
Hinc tantum munus ſuſcepit Hibernia gaudens:
Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla ſatis.
Nam reſperſus aquis magnam transfudit in illas
Vim, queis curari ſæpius æger eget.
Uther Pendragon molem tranſvexit ad Ambrî
Fines, de victo victor ab hoſte means.
O quot nobilium, quot corpora ſacra virorum
Illic Hengiſti proditione jacent!
Intercepta fuit gens inclyta, gens generoſa;
Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta nimis.

Giraldus Cambrenſis mentions this Britiſh fable: 'Juxta Britannicam hiſtoriam *(ſays he)* lapides iſtos 'Rex Britonum Aurelius Ambroſius, divina Merlini 'diligentia, de Hibernia in Britanniam advehi pro'curavit; & ut tanti facinoris egregium aliquod 'memoriale relinqueret, eodem ordine & arte quâ 'prius, in loco conſtituit, ubi occultis Saxonum cul'tris Britanniæ flos cecidit, & ſub pacis obtentu, ne'quitiæ telis, male tuta regni juventus occubuit (6). '——*According to the Britiſh hiſtory, Ambroſius 'King of the Britons, by the advice and aſſiſtance of 'the enchanter Merlin, procured theſe ſtones to be 'brought from Ireland into Britain; and that he might 'leave ſome remarkable monument of ſo baſe an action, 'he ranged them in the ſame order, in which they had 'been diſpoſed before, on the very ſpot, where the 'flower of the Britiſh youth, not ſuſpecting any trea'chery, fell by the concealed daggers of the Saxons, un'der the pretence of peace and friendſhip.*' Polydore Vergil aſſigns another origin of Stone-henge. He tells us, it was erected by the Britons as a monument to their General Ambroſius, on the place where he fell in battle, to perpetuate the memory of his glorious actions, and ſervices done to his country. *Britannus duci ſuo Ambroſio de republica bene merito magnificum poſuit ſepulchrum, factum ad formam coronæ, ex magnis quadratis lapidibus, eo loco ubi pugnando ceciderat; ut tanti ducis virtus ne oblivione eorum, qui tunc erant, aut reticentia poſterorum inſepulta eſſet* (7). And in John of Tinmouth (8), the place, which is now called Stone-henge, is ſtyled 'Mons Ambroſii, *Ambroſius's Hill.*' I ſhall only obſerve, that both theſe ſtories are rejected by our beſt antiquarians, though they are by no means agreed as to the true origin of that famous piece of antiquity.

(6) Girald. Cambrenſ. Topograph diſtinct. 2. c. 18.
(7) Polyd. Vergil. Anglic. Hiſt. l. 3. p. 78. Lugd. Batav. 1651.
(8) Joan. Tinmuthenſ. in vit. Dubricii.

(4) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Reg. Brit. l. viii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.
(5) In Poemate De diviñæ Sapientiæ laudibus.

Hengiſt. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly by his valour and conduct againſt the enemies of his country [C]; and took occaſion to regulate the affairs of the Church [D], which were in extreme diſorder occaſioned by thoſe wars (i). The Monmouth hiſtorian, who gives this Prince a very advantageous character [E], tells us, he was poiſoned at Wincheſter by one Eopa a Saxon, diſguiſed as a Phyſician, and hired for that purpoſe by Paſcentius one of the ſons of Vortigern (k): but the generally received opinion is, that he was killed in a battle, which he loſt, in the year 508, againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals [F].

(i) Galfrid. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(k) *Ibid.* c. 14.

AMES

[C] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct againſt the enemies of his country.*] Some time after the ravage and burning of the iſland, the Saxons gave over purſuing the Britons, and marched back to their head-quarters. But, the enemy being out of ſight, the Britons began to recover their ſpirits, to peep out of their hiding-places, and draw into a body. And having reſolved upon an attempt to recover their country, they unanimouſly, in the firſt place, implored the protection of heaven: then, under the conduct of Ambroſius, they marched up into the country, gave the enemy battle, and providentially defeated them. After this victory, the fortunes of the Britons and Saxons were various, and ſeemed to hang in ſuſpenſe, until the battle of Banneſdon near Bath, in which the Saxons were entirely routed, about forty-four years after their arrival in Britain. *At ubi hoſtilis exercitus, exterminatis diſperſiſque inſulæ indigenis, domum reverſus eſt, cæperunt illi paulatim vires animoſque reſumere, emergentes de latibulis quibus abditi fuerant, & unanimo conſenſu auxilium cæleſte precantes, ne uſque ad internecionem uſquequaque delerentur. —— Hoc ergo duce (ſc.* Ambroſio Aureliano) *vires capeſſunt Britones, & victores provocantes ad prælium, victoriam ipſi, Deo favente, ſuſcipiunt. Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hoſtes vincebant, uſque ad annum obſeſſionis Badonici montis, quando non minimas eiſdem hoſtibus ſtrages dabant, quadrageſimo circiter & quarto anno adventus eorum in Britanniam* (9).

(9) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[D] *He regulated the affairs of the Church.*] After the Britons had defeated the Saxons, and obliged them to retire a good way Northward, Ambroſius is ſaid to have convened the Princes and great men at York; where he gave orders for repairing the churches deſtroyed by the Saxons, and reſtoring the exerciſe of religion to its former luſtre (10). This, though reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of no great credit; yet, in the opinion of the learned Dr. Stillingfleet (11), is agreeable enough to probability. Beſides, it is confirmed by Matthew of Weſtminſter (12), who highly applauds the great zeal of Ambroſius in repairing the churches, encouraging the clergy, and reſtoring the honour of religion. The Monmouth hiſtorian adds (13), that, in a council of the Britons, Ambroſius gave directions for two metropolitans to ſupply the vacancies of York and Caer-leon, Sampſon being promoted to the former, and Dubricius to the latter. Hector Boethius likewiſe tells us (14), that Ambroſius reſtored the churches, recalled the clergy, and eſtabliſhed the exerciſe of true religion; that he broke in pieces the images of the Heathen gods, and ſeverely puniſhed their Prieſts. And he adds, that ſome of the Saxons, whom this Prince had permitted to remain in Britain, though they outwardly profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, yet continued privately to offer ſacrifice to their idols; which thing being diſcovered, their Prieſts were ſeized, and ſcourged, and all of them without pity burnt at the ſtake. *Chriſti Templa Ambroſi piâ operâ reſtituta; Pontifices Sacerdoteſque ſuas ſunt vocati in ſedes; vera religio undique culta; deorum gentilium ſtatuæ effractæ; qui gentilitatis ſacerdotes inventi in Britannia, diris ſuppliciis affecti. —— Verum Saxonum nonnulli in Britannia Ambroſio permittente remanentes, Chriſtianum ementientes religionem, clam idolis litabant: quâ re compertâ, capti ſacrificuli, cæſi loris, ullâ ſine commiſeratione ad unum ſunt cremati.* Here may be inſerted the following unpoliſhed verſes of Gotfrid of Viterbo (15), in which, at the ſame time that he celebrates Ambroſius for reſtoring peace to his country, and regulating affairs both in Church and State he accuſes him of a perſecuting ſpirit, and of favouring Jews and Heretics, particularly the Manichæans.

(10) Galfr. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 9.

(11) Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, c. 5.

(12) Flores Hiſtor. An. 488.

(13) *Ibid.* c. 12.

(14) Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

(15) Chron. part. xviii. apud Uſſerii Brit. Eccl. Antiq Lond. 1687, p. 243.

Aurelius primogenitus, regnique monarchus,
Sic Pacis ſancita facit, ſic proſpicit actus;
Ut reparet patriæ gaudia lata quies.
Confovet optima, diſſipat horrida, regia norma;
Prælia deprimit, abdita rejicit, apta reformat:
Rex erat, imò pater, geſta paterna patent.
Attamen admiſſa patris feritate patrizat:
Nam prius inflixa renovat tormenta remiſſa,
Et tenet erroris dogmata plena dolis.
Æmulus ipſe Dei, populi fit tutor Hebræi,
* Atria ſcripta vehit, ſic tamque fovet Manichæi; (*) Al. Aria,
Catholicique rei prorſus habentur ei.
Poſt annos paucos, poſt multa pericula rerum,
Suſcipit Aurelius fatum finemque dierum;
Juſtus apud proceres, ſed reus ante Deum.

[E] *Geoffrey of Monmouth gives Ambroſius a very advantageous character.*] Let us cite that hiſtorian's words: 'Tanta virtus & audacia viro inerat; quod 'cum Galliarum partes frequentaret, non erat alter 'qui cum illo congredi auderet. Nam ſi congreſſum 'feciſſet, vel hoſtem ex equo proſternebat, vel haſtam 'in fruſta confringebat. Præterea largus erat in 'dandis, ſedulus in divinis obſequiis, modeſtus in 'cunctis, & ſuper omnia mendacium vitans. Fortis 'pedes, fortior eques, & ad regandum exercitum 'doctus (16).——*He was a man of ſuch bravery* 'and courage, that, when he was in Gaul, no one 'durſt enter the liſts with him: for he was ſure to 'unhorſe his antagoniſt, or to break his ſpear into 'ſhivers. He was moreover generous in beſtowing, 'careful in the performance of religious duties, mode-'rate in all things, and more eſpecially abhorred a lie. 'He was ſtrong on foot, ſtronger on horſeback, and 'perfectly qualified to command an army.'

(16) Galf. Monumeth. ubi ſupra, c. 3.

[F] *He was killed in a battle, which he loſt —— againſt Cerdick, one of the Saxon Generals.*] This battle was fought near a place, thence called by the Saxons *Cerdick's-ford*, afterwards *Cerdeford*, and now by contraction *Chardford*. Here the Britons and Saxons engaged; and the former giving ground, Ambroſius, now grown old and infirm, endeavoured in vain to rally them; and in the fury of his deſpair, threw himſelf into the midſt of the enemy, where his glorious life was crowned with an honourable death (17). Upon this occaſion the hiſtorians give Ambroſius the name of Nazaleod or Natanleod. It is true, this appellation has induced many to believe, that Ambroſius is not here meant, but ſome other Britiſh King. But the opinion of Camden (18), and other good authors, who make Ambroſius and Nazaleod to be the ſame, is to be preferred. For it is agreed by the beſt hiſtorians, that this Prince was ſlain in fight. But, from the beginning of his reign, we find no battle, in which a Britiſh Monarch was killed, but that of the year 508, in which Ambroſius fell. And this Prince was too remarkable for hiſtorians to neglect mentioning his death, if it happened on any other occaſion. B.

(17) H. Hunt. Hiſt. l. ii. apud Scriptores poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 312, 313.

(18) Britannia, laſt edit. Vol. i. col. 133.

[The ingenious Mr. Whitaker, in his hiſtory of Mancheſter, hath related ſeveral particulars concerning Ambroſius, which are very different from ſome of thoſe given in the preceding article; and, in all probability, upon the whole, better founded. According to this learned antiquary, on information from the Romans of their deſign immediately to withdraw their forces from the iſland, the Monarchs of the tribes convened, and wiſely determined to elect a Pendragon (19), and concentrate all the military power of the provinces under one Monarch. Two perſons *ſeem* to have been propoſed for the office, Vortigern, the Sovereign of the Dimetæ, and Ambroſius Aurelianus, ſon to the King of the Damnonii. The latter was half a Roman by deſcent, and naturally ſupported by the Roman intereſt. The former was entirely a Briton, and as naturally

(19) The Pendragon was a kind of Dictator among the Britons, or Commandant of the King's. Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, Book the 1ſt. Vol. ii. p. 206, 8vo Edition.

turally ſeconded by the original Britons. The native intereſt of the country prevailed, and Vortigern was nominated the Pendragon of the Britons; by which nomination he was not made, as his predeceſſors had been, merely the Commandant of a few tribes, but became the Sovereign of the five provinces, and the firſt general Monarch of South Britain, his dominions extending from the Channel to the Friths (20). But though Ambroſius was diſappointed of his election for the Pendragonſhip, he afterwards generouſly ſubmitted to ſerve under his rival, and was appointed Commander of the Northern army againſt the Saxons, in which ſituation he was ſeveral times defeated by Ochta, a younger ſon of Hengiſt (21). When Vortigern abdicated the Pendragonſhip, Ambroſius, already the Sovereign of the Damnonii by the death of his father, was recalled from the North, raiſed to the ſupremacy, and inſtantly took charge in perſon of the war carrying on againſt the Saxons in Kent (22). Arthur, who had been trained up to war under the auſpices of Ambroſius, was ſent by this monarch to ſtop the progreſs of the Saxons among the Northern Britons, in which he was remarkably ſucceſsful. Some of the exploits performed by Arthur have been attributed to Ambroſius (23). Of Ambroſius's deceaſe and character, Mr. Whitaker, in his detail of Arthur's tranſactions, hath given the following relation: 'The dictatorſhip became va-
'cant by the death of Ambroſius in 508, the Na-
'tanleod of the Damnonii, Nathan Leod or the
'chief of the people (24), and Rex maximus or
'Pendragon of the provinces. This Hero, grown
'grey in the ſervice of his country and the varying
'ſcenes of war, united all the forces of the Britons
'againſt the combined troops of the Saxons, and put
'the long conteſt on the iſſue of a general engage-
'ment. And though now advanced beyond the
'eightieth year of his age, the renowned warrior at-
'tacked the right wing of the enemy with all the
'impetuoſity of twenty, and drove it before him
'out of the field with great ſlaughter. This native
'fire of Ambroſius, which neither the chilling hand
'of ſo many years of age, nor the reſtraining expe-
'rience of ſixty of war, had been able to ſubdue or
'regulate, was the cauſe probably of many of the
'preceding calamities. It was now the occaſion of
'a great one to himſelf and his country. For the
'other wing of the Saxons took advantage of the in-
'diſcretion, attacked the purſuing monarch vigor-
'ouſly in the rear, and laid him and five thouſand
'of his men dead upon the field. Thus fell the
'gallant and worthy Ambroſius; and his ſon ſuc-
'ceeded him in the ſovereignty of the Damnonii,
'and his grandſon Conſtantine poſſeſſed it in the
'days of Gildas. Thus he fell, and Arthur was
'nominated to the Pendragonſhip (25).'

We are ſurpriſed that it did not occur to Mr. Whitaker, that the youth of Ambroſius forms a ſtrong objection to the ſuppoſition of his having been a competitor with Vortigern for the Pendragonſhip. He could not, at that time, have been twenty years of age; and, therefore, it was not likely that, in a period ſo critical and dangerous, he ſhould have been ſet up in oppoſition to a man of Vortigern's reputed abilities, weight, and experience.] K.

(20) Hiſt. of Manch. Book ii. Vol. ii. p. 9—16, 17, 4to Edition.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 24, 25.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 25. 29.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 34, 35. 38. 41.

(24) So Noitheach, Nodh, and Nathan ſignify in Iriſh, and Nodol in Welſh. And we have alſo a Naethan King of the Picts, Bede, l. 5. c. 21. *ilid.* 59.

(25) *Ibid.* p 58.

AMES (WILLIAM) a Divine in the reigns of King James and King Charles I. famous for his caſuiſtical and controverſial writings; but much more ſo abroad, than in his native country; for he lived many years in foreign parts, and there ended his days: yet as foreigners, who have endeavoured to give account of him and his works, have done it imperfectly, and Bayle among the reſt, we ſhall attempt to ſay ſomething of him more complete. He was deſcended from the ancient family of that name, which remains in Norfolk and Somerſetſhire, and was born in the year 1576. He was educated at Chriſt-Church-college in Cambridge, under the famous Mr. William Perkins, who died in 1602; from whom, probably, imbibing ſome Calviniſtical tenets, he became afterwards very diſtinguiſhable for maintaining the ſame; inſomuch that he gave ſome diſguſt to certain perſons in that univerſity, while he reſided there Fellow of the college aforeſaid. One inſtance of this is given us by Dr. Fuller (*a*), who informs us, 'That about the year 1610-11, this Mr. Ames, preaching at St. Mary's, or, to uſe
'his own expreſſion, having the place of a *Watchman* for an hour in the *Tower* of the
'univerſity (*b*), took occaſion to inveigh againſt the liberty taken at that time; eſpe-
'cially in thoſe colleges which had *Lords of Miſrule*, a Pagan relique; which, he ſaid,
'as Polydore Vergil has obſerved (*c*), remains only in England. Hence he proceeded
'to condemn all playing at cards and dice; affirming, that the latter in all ages was
'accounted the device of the Devil; and that as God invented the one and twenty
'letters, whereof he made the Bible, the Devil, ſaith an author (*d*), found out the one
'and twenty ſpots on the die; that Canon Law forbad the uſe thereof, ſeeing, *Inventio*
'*Diaboli, nullâ conſuetudine poteſt validari* (*e*). His ſermon, continues our author, gave
'much offence to many of his auditors; the rather becauſe in him there was a con-
'currence of much Nonconformity; inſomuch that to prevent an expulſion from Dr.
'Val. Cary, the Maſter, he fairly forſook the college, which proved unto him neither
'loſs nor diſgrace; being, not long after, by the States of Frieſland, choſen Profeſſor
'of their univerſity.' It may not be improbable, that upon the rigour with which Archbiſhop Bancroft preſſed Conformity on the Puritans, for their ſeparation from the Church, many learned men of them retired into the Low Countries; where Engliſh churches were erected after the Preſbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. But that 'the reverend and learned Dr. William Ames, one of the moſt
'acute controverſial writers of his age,' as a late author ſtyles him (*f*), ſettled with the Engliſh Church at the Hague, before that Archbiſhop's death; or, as he writes more expreſsly in another place, that he fled from the perſecution of that Archbiſhop, and became Miniſter of the Engliſh Church there (*g*), does not ſtrictly ſort with chronology; becauſe the Archbiſhop appears by his monumental inſcription (*h*), to have died ſome months before that ſermon above was preached by Mr. Ames, at St. Mary's. And Bayle ſays, he publiſhed his book in favour of Puritaniſm the ſame year in England. It might not, however, be long after, that he went to the Hague; for in 1613, his diſpute with Grevinchovius, Miniſter at Rotterdam, appeared in print. From thence we are told, he was invited by the States of Frieſland, to the Divinity Chair in the univerſity of Franeker; which he filled with univerſal reputation for many years. He

(*a*) Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 159.

(*b*) Letter from W. Ames to a friend, MS.

(*c*) Lib. v. c. 2.

(*d*) Antonius.

(*e*) Lange ruchius in Speculo.

(*f*) Dan. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, &c. Vol. ii. 1733, p. 47.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 295.

(*h*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 790.

He was at the Synod of Dort in 1618, and informed King James's Ambaſſador, from time to time, of the debates of that aſſembly (*i*). After he had been at leaſt twelve years in the Doctor's Chair at Franeker, he reſigned his Profeſſorſhip, and accepted of an invitation to the Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too ſharp for him, who was troubled with ſuch a difficulty of breathing, that he concluded every Winter would be his laſt. Beſides, he was deſirous of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had diſuſed for many years. He held many public diſputes, publiſhed many learned books, and was a very popular man in all this time; but as his writings were publiſhed abroad, and it is difficult to come at the firſt editions, ſo as to mention them diſtinctly, according to the courſe of publication, we ſhall caſt them in a note together at the latter end. Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, but lived not to publiſh it himſelf; for his conſtitution was ſo ſhattered, that the air of Holland did him no ſervice, upon which he determined to remove to New England; but his aſthma returning, at the beginning of the Winter, put an end to his life at Rotterdam; where he was buried on the fourteenth of November N. S 1633 (*). In the Spring following his wife and children embarked for New England, and carried with them his valuable library of books, which was a rich treaſure to that country at that time. He was a very learned Divine, concludes my laſt cited author; a ſtrict Calviniſt in doctrine, and of the perſuaſion of the Independents, with regard to the ſubordination and power of Claſſes and Synods (*k*). The ſame year he died, his *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies* was publiſhed, we ſuppoſe at Rotterdam, for no place is mentioned. The editor informs us, that 'with the coming forth of this 'book into the light, the learned and famous author, Dr. Ames, left the light, or 'darkneſs rather, of this world. And though his name, in this controverſy, was 'hitherto concealed, yet that which was generally but imagined before (that the '*Reply*, and this *Freſh Suit*, to Dr. Burgeſs's *Rejoynder*, were his work), is now certainly 'known to be his. It pleads truth ſuccinctly and perſpicuouſly, as indeed his vein in all 'his writings and diſcourſes did moſt admirably lead him to do. Concluding, that he 'ſhewed himſelf a pattern of holineſs, a burning and ſhining light, a lamp of learning 'and arts, a champion for truth, eſpecially while he was, for the ſpace of twelve 'years at leaſt, in the Doctor's Chair at Franeker, *&c.* (*l*)' After this advertiſement follows a copper print of him, in a little black ſilk cap, thin piqued beard, ruff about his neck, and a cloak over his ſhoulder. The inſcription round it mentions him to be fifty-ſeven years of age, in the year of his death. On the back of this picture is a teſtimony by S. O. aſſerting, 'That the Doctor's books are famous in all Europe; 'upon which many have come to him out of Hungary, Poland, Pruſſia, and Flan-'ders, to be educated; as ſundry ſtudents in our land can teſtify: and I myſelf, and 'divers others have heard them affirm, they would not have ſtayed there, but for the 'liking they had of him.' Of theſe works, there is alſo in this book a catalogue; which, becauſe ſhort and imperfect, we ſhall, in a note below, enlarge [*A*]; and conclude

(*i*) Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*) Henning Witte, in his Diarium Biographicum, places his death erroneouſly ſix years later.

(*k*) D. Neal, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Dr. Ames's Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies, &c. 4*to.* 1633, in Advertiſement to the Reader.

[*A*] *In a note below enlarge.*] 1. *Sermons* preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge, *&c.* when, or whether printed, we know not. 2. *Puritaniſmus Anglicanus*, 8*vo.* 1610, and in Engliſh, at London, 4*to.* 1641, containing the chief doctrines of the Puritans. 3. *Diſceptatio Scholaſtica* inter *Nic. Grevinchovium* & *Gul. Ameſium*, *&c.* 8*vo.* Amſt. 1613, concerning Arminius's opinions of election, *&c.* 4. *Diſput. inter Ameſium & N. Grevinchovium*, *&c.* Roterd. 8*vo.* 1615, Lugd. Bat. 1617, 1633, *&c.* about reconciliation by the death of Chriſt, *&c.* 5. *Coronis ad Collationem Hagienſem*, 12*mo.* Lugd. Bat. 1618, 1628, 1630, confuting the anſwers given by the Arminians to the Dutch paſtors. 6. *Medulla Theologica*, 12*mo.* Franek. 1623. Amſt. 1627, 1628, 1634, 1641; alſo in Engliſh, Lond. 12*mo.* 7. *Explicatio Utriuſque Epiſtolæ S. Petri*, 12*mo.* Amſt. 1625, 1635; the ſame in Engliſh, Lond. 4*to.* 8. *De Incarnatione Verbi*, 8*vo.* Franek. 1626; againſt the Socinians. 9. *Bellarminus enervatus*, *&c.* 8*vo.* Amſt. 1627, 1628. Oxon. 1629. Lond. 1633, *&c.* 10. *De Conſcientia*, *&c.* 12*mo.* Amſt. 1630, 1631, 1643; and in Engliſh with this title; A Treatiſe on Conſcience, with the Power and Caſes thereof, Lond. 4*to.* 1643. 11. *Antiſynodalia*, *&c.* 12*mo.* Franek. 1629. Amſt. 1633; againſt the Remonſtrants. 12. *Demonſtratio Logicæ veræ*, 12*mo.* Lugd. Bat. 1632. 13. *Diſputatio Theologica*, ibid. againſt Metaphyſicks. 14. *Technometria*, *&c.* Amſt. 8*vo.* 1632, or the purpoſe and Bounds of Arts. 15. *A Reply to Biſhop Morton* (*). 16. *A Freſh Suit againſt Human Ceremonies in God's Worſhip; or, a Treplication upon Dr. Burgeſs's Rejoinder for Dr. Morton*, 4*to.* 1633. 17. *A firſt and ſecond Manuduction.* 18. *Reſcriptio ad Reſponſum Grevinchovii de Redemptione Generali*, 8*vo.* Lugd. Bat. 1634. 19. *Chriſtianæ Catecheſeos Sciographia*, 8*vo.* Franek. 1635. 20. *Lectiones in omnes Pſalmos Davidis*, *&c.* 8*vo.* Amſt. 1635, & Lond. 1647. Beſides ſome Prefaces, *&c.* to the writings of others; as before a book compiled by Dr. W. Twiſſe (1); and a few other ſcattered pieces, not mentioned in any catalogue of his books. His Latin works were reprinted in an uniform edition, with a preface by Matthias Nethenus (2). A year after his death, John Canne, the leader of the Engliſh Browniſts at Amſterdam, publiſhed a treatiſe, in anſwer to Dr. Ames, Mr. Daryl, and Mr. Bradſhaw (3). But ſeveral other books there are in print, which maintain the Doctor's tenets, and build themſelves much on his authority; as that, publiſhed the ſame year by Caſpar Streſo, intitled, *Reſponſ. pro Ameſio, ad Diſputationem J. Bodſacci* (4); and more particularly another, written not long after his death, by an Engliſh preacher at Amſterdam, in reply to ſome approver of promiſcuous baptiſm; where much diſtinction ſeems paid to Dr. Ames, for his not allowing of it; alſo ſhewing his fitneſs for the paſtoral office; his judgment of the power by which the Church ought to be governed, and his opinion of ſynods and claſſes: with which the ſaid author confirms his own arguments. Herein is alſo ſome juſtification of Dr. Ames, for his removal from Franeker to the Engliſh aſſembly at Rotterdam; and an account of what works he was author of: which, had it been now at hand, might perhaps have improved the catalogue we have given.

['The Lectures in Pſalmos Davidis of this author, 'were printed at Amſterdam, in 1635, and dedi-'cated by Hugh Peters to the Magiſtracy of Rotter-'dam. In an "Hiſtorical and critical Account of "Hugh

(*) To his *Defence of three Ceremonies*, *&c.* the Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, 4*to.* 1610. The *Reply* was printed 4*to.* 1622, which ſeems to have produced *Duplicatio Adverſus Replicam Mortoni*, 8*vo.* *Col.* 163 . ., and this to have been followed by the *Freſh Suit*, or *Treplication*, next mentioned.

(1) Vindiciæ Gratiæ, Poteſtatis, ac Providentiæ Dei, h. e. Reſponſio ad Examen, lib. Perkinſiani de Predeſtinatione, à Jac. Arminio inſtitutum, lib. iii. Amſt. fol. 1632.

(2) Amſt. 5 Tom. 8*vo.* 1658.

(3) The Neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the principles of the Nonconformiſts, &c. 4*to.* 1634.

(4) Octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1634.

clude with mentioning two or three authors more of the name, to prevent their being confounded with him [*B*].

" Hugh Peters," London, 1751, an octavo pamphlet, is a quotation from a piece of his, in theſe words: " Learned Ameſius breathed his laſt into " my boſom, who left his profeſſorſhip in Friezeland to live with me, becauſe of my Church's independency at Rotterdam. He was my colleague, " and choſen brother to the Church where I was an " unworthy Paſtor (*)."]

(*) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 199. Note. 8vo Edition.

[*B*] *To prevent their being confounded with him.*] One of them, named alſo William Ames, was a Divine and publiſher of ſome tracts; but, indeed, later in time; he was a Maſter of Arts, and in 1651, preached a ſermon before the Lord Mayor of London, John Kendrick, which was ſoon after printed (5). Whether this was ſon of the former, we are not poſitive; nor whether he was the ſame with that William Ames, who was a Quaker, at Amſterdam, and publiſher of many books; from 1657, to 1677, and after; fourteen of which written in Dutch, may be more particularly ſeen in the author who has taken the pains to preſerve their titles (6). Another of this ſurname, was Edward Ames, ſtiled Biſhop of Cork and Roſs, and author of two ſermons, called The Proteſtant Peace-maker; with a Poſtſcript or Notes on Mr. Baxter's, and ſome other late writings for peace, 4*to*. Lond. 1682 (7). But that he was Biſhop of the ſaid See at the date of that work, does not clearly appear in the ſucceſſion of Iriſh Biſhops: for Dr. Edward Wetenhall is ſaid to have held the ſame, from 1678 to the year 1699, and then was ſucceeded by Dr. Dive Downes (8). O.

(5) Intitled, The Saint's Security againſt Seducing Spirits: preached at St. Paul's before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1651. By W. Ames, M. A. 4*to*. Lond. 1652.

(6) John Whiting's Catalogue of the *Friends* books, 8*vo*. Lond. 1708, p. 217, &c.

(7) Catal. Impreſſ. Libror. Bibliоth. Bodleianæ. fol. Oxon. 1738, tom. i. p. 41.

(8) Sir James Ware's Antiq. of Caſhel, p. 37. & Hiſt. of Ireland, edit. fol. 1714, under the Archbiſhops

[AMHURST (NICHOLAS), a Poet and a political writer of the preſent century, was ſo much talked of for a time, and ſo cloſely connected with the leaders of the grand oppoſition to Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, that, notwithſtanding we have but few materials with regard to the circumſtances of his life, he cannot be entirely omitted. He was born at Marden in Kent, but in what year is uncertain (*a*). Under the protection and care of his grandfather, who was a Clergyman, he received his grammatical education at Merchant-Taylor's ſchool in London; and from thence he was removed to St. John's College, Oxford, where his behaviour was ſuch as occaſioned his expulſion (*b*). What the particular and ſpecific charges againſt him were, we are not informed; but, in general, he is ſaid to have been expelled for the libertiniſm of his principles, the irregularity of his conduct, and ſome offence which he had given to the head of the college (*c*). From his own account of the matter, in the dedication of his poems to Dr. Delaune, Preſident of St. John's, and in his Terræ Filius, we may collect that he wiſhed to have it underſtood, that he was ſolely perſecuted for the liberality of his ſentiments, and his attachment to the cauſe of the Revolution and of the Hanover ſucceſſion; but he had probably been guilty of real miſbehaviour [*A*]. Whatever were the cauſes of his expulſion, his reſentment, on the account of it, was very great. He made it, therefore, his buſineſs to ſatirize the learning and diſcipline of the Univerſity of Oxford, and to expoſe the characters of ſeveral gentlemen who were deemed a part of its moſt reſpectable members (*d*). This he did in a Poem, publiſhed in 1724, called Oculus Britanniæ, and in his Terræ Filius, a work in which there is a conſiderable portion of wit, intermixed with much abuſe and ſcurrility [*B*]. Soon after Mr. Amhurſt quitted Oxford, he ſeems to have ſettled

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. P. 335.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* New General Dictionary, Vol. xii. p. 9.

(*d*) New General Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *From his own account of the matter, &c.*] Mr. Amhurſt's relation of the cauſes of his expulſion, in his Dedication to Dr. Delaune, is entirely ironical, (as is the whole dedication) and is as follows:

'You'll pardon me, good Sir, if I think it neceſſary for your Honour to mention the many 'heinous crimes for which I was brought to ſhame. 'None were indeed publicly alledged againſt me at 'that time, becauſe it might as well be done afterwards; ſure old Engliſhmen can never forget that 'there is ſuch a thing as hanging a man firſt, and 'trying him afterwards: ſo fared it with me; my 'proſecutors firſt proved me, by an undeniable argument, to be no Fellow of St. John's College, 'and then to be ——— the Lord knows what.

'My indictment may be collected out of the 'faithful annals of common fame, which run thus:

'Advices from Oxford ſay, that on the 29th of 'June, 1719, one Nicholas Amhurſt of St. John's 'College was expelled for the following reaſons:

'Imprimis, for loving foreign turneps and Preſbyterian Biſhops.

'*Item*, For ingratitude to his benefactor, that 'ſpotleſs martyr, William Laud.

'*Item*, for believing that ſteeples and organs are 'not neceſſary to ſalvation.

'*Item*, For preaching without orders, and praying without a commiſſion.

'*Item*, For lampooning prieſtcraft and petticoat 'craft.

'*Item*, For not lampooning the Government and 'the Revolution.

'*Item*, For prying into ſecret hiſtory.

'My natural modeſty will not permit me, like 'other apologiſts, to vindicate myſelf in any one 'particular; the whole charge is ſo artfully drawn 'up, that no reaſonable perſon would ever think 'the better of me, ſhould I juſtify myſelf till 'Doomeſday.' Towards the cloſe of the Dedication, he takes occaſion to complain of ſome ſeverities uſed againſt him, at the time of his being excluded the College. 'But I muſt complain of one 'thing, whether reaſonable or not, let the world 'judge. When I was voted out of your college, 'and the nuiſance was thereby removed, I thought 'the reſentments of the holy ones would have proceeded no further; I am ſure the cauſe of virtue 'and ſound religion I was thought to offend, required no more: nor could it be of any poſſible 'advantage to the Church, to deſcend to my private affairs, and ſtir up my creditors in the univerſity to take hold of me at a diſadvantage, before 'I could get any money returned; but there are 'ſome perſons in the world, who think nothing unjuſt or inhuman in the proſecution of their implacable revenge (1).' In the 45th number of the Terræ Filius, he gives a ſerious account of the cauſes of his expulſion; and expreſsly aſcribes it to his attachment to the conſtitution, and the principles of civil and religious liberty. It will be apparent, however, from an attentive conſideration of even his own hiſtories of the affair, that he had been guilty of imprudencies and irregularities which furniſhed very oſtenſible, and, we doubt not, ſtatutable reaſons for his being excluded from the college. The ſentence for expelling him was not unanimous. Out of fourteen fellows who were preſent, four expreſſed their diſſent. And it is repreſented that theſe gentlemen were afterwards ſeverely perſecuted, for having given a conſcientious vote in Mr. Amhurſt's favour (2).

(1) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. v. P. 335—337.

[*B*] *Intermixed with much abuſe and ſcurrility.*] The whole title of the work is, 'Terræ Filius; or, 'the ſecret Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Oxford; in 'ſeveral

(2) Terræ Filius, Vol. ii. p. 247—253.

ſettled in London as a writer by profeſſion. He publiſhed a volume of Miſcellanies, which had principally been written at the Univerſity. Theſe Miſcellanies are upon a variety of ſubjects, both ſacred and profane. They are partly originals, and partly paraphraſes, imitations, and tranſlations; and conſiſt of tales, epigrams, epiſtles, love-verſes, elegies, and ſatires. They begin with a beautiful paraphraſe on the Moſaic account of the Creation, and end with a very humorous tale upon the diſcovery of that uſeful utenſil, a bottle-ſcrew (*e*). Mr. Amhurſt was the author, likewiſe, of "An Epiſtle to Sir John Blount, Bart." one of the Directors of the South-Sea Company in 1720 (*f*); of "The Britiſh General, a Poem ſacred to the memory of his "Grace John Duke of Marlborough;" and of "Strephon's Revenge, a ſatire on the "Oxford Toaſts (*g*)." Our poet, who had a great enmity to the exorbitant demands and domineering ſpirit of the High-Church Clergy, and who had early, at Oxford, diſplayed his zeal againſt prieſtly power, diſcovered this particularly in a poem, intitled The Convocation, in five cantos; which is a kind of ſatire againſt all the writers who had oppoſed Biſhop Hoadly, in the famous Bangorian Controverſy (*h*). He tranſlated, alſo, Mr. Addiſon's Reſurrection, and ſome other of his Latin poems (*i*). But the principal literary undertaking of Mr. Amhurſt was, his conducting the celebrated political paper, called The Craftſman, which was written againſt Sir Robert Walpole's miniſtry, and was carried on for a number of years, with great ſpirit and ſucceſs. This paper was more read and attended to than any production of the kind which had hitherto been publiſhed in England. Ten or twelve thouſand were ſold in a day (*k*); and the effect which it had in raiſing the indignation of the people, and in controlling the power of adminiſtration, was very conſiderable. This effect was not entirely, or chiefly, owing to the abilities of Mr. Amhurſt. He was aſſiſted by Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney, and probably by other leaders of the oppoſition. Their fame, and their writings, were the grand ſupport of the Craftſman. Nevertheleſs, Mr. Amhurſt's own papers are allowed to have been compoſed with ability and ſpirit; and he conducted the Craftſman, in the very zenith of its proſperity, with no ſmall reputation to himſelf. On the 2d of July 1737, there appeared in that publication, an ironical letter, written in the name of Colley Cibber, the deſign of which was to ridicule the act that had juſt paſſed for licenſing plays. In this letter, the laureat propoſes himſelf to the Lord Chamberlain to be made ſuperintendant of the *old plays*, as ſtanding equally in need of correction with the *new ones*; and produces ſeveral paſſages from Shakeſpeare, and other poets, in relation to Kings, Queens, Princes, and Miniſters of State, which, he ſays, are not now fit to be brought on the ſtage. The printer, &c. having been laid hold of by order of Government, Mr. Amhurſt voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf in their ſtead; and, after having been kept in cuſtody ten days, was obliged to bring his Habeas Corpus for his liberty, before he could obtain it; becauſe he refuſed to give bail for his *good behaviour*, as well as his *appearance*. The Miniſtry, we believe, prudently dropped the proſecution (*l*). Notwithſtanding Mr. Amhurſt's merit with his party, he was totally neglected by them, when they made their terms with the Crown; and he died ſoon after, of a fever, at Twickenham. His death happened on the 27th of April, 1742 (*m*); and his diſorder was probably occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by the ill uſage he had received. Mr. Ralph, in his Caſe of Authors, ſpeaks with a juſt feeling and indignation upon the ſubject. 'Poor Amhurſt! after having been the drudge of his party for the beſt part 'of twenty years together, was as much forgotten in the famous compromiſe of 1742, 'as if he had never been born! And when he died of what is called a broken heart, 'which happened a few months afterwards, became indebted to the charity of a book-'ſeller for a grave; not to be traced *now*, becauſe *then* no otherwiſe to be diſtinguiſhed, 'than by the freſhneſs of the turf, borrowed from the next common to cover it (*n*).' A very late writer, in the character of Mr. Pulteney, expreſſes himſelf concerning the treatment of Mr. Amhurſt, in the following terms: 'But if the Earl of Bath had his 'liſt of penſioners, how comes it that Amhurſt was forgotten? The fate of this poor 'man is ſingular: He was the able aſſociate of Bolingbroke and Pulteney, in writing 'the celebrated weekly paper, called *The Craftſman*. His abilities were unqueſtion-'able; he had almoſt as much wit, learning, and various knowledge, as his two 'partners; and when thoſe great maſters choſe not to appear in public themſelves, 'he ſupplied their places ſo well, that his Eſſays were often aſcribed to them. Am-'hurſt ſurvived the downfal of Walpole's power, and had reaſon to expect a reward

(*e*) Cibber, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Catalogue at the end of Terræ Filius.

(*h*) Cibber, ubi ſupra, Terræ Filius, Vol. ii. p. 249.

(*i*) Cibber, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Cibber, ubi ſupra. New General Dictionary, *ibid.*

(*l*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. vii. p. 430. 573.

(*m*) Cibber, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Ralph's Caſe of Authors, by Profeſſion or Trade, ſtated, p. 32.

'ſeveral Eſſays. To which are added, Remarks 'upon a late Book, intitled, *Univerſity Education*, 'by R. Newton, D. D. Principal of *Hart Hall*.' 2 Vol. 12*mo*. printed for R. Francklin, 1726. Amidſt all the malignity and exaggeration with which the Terræ Filius abounds, it contains ſome curious anecdotes relative to the principles, manners, and conduct, of ſeveral members of the Univerſity, for a few years after the acceſſion of King George I. It had been an ancient cuſtom in the Univerſity of Oxford, at public acts, for ſome perſon, who was called Terræ Filius, to mount the roſtrum, and divert a large crowd of ſpectators, who flocked to hear him from all parts, with a merry oration in the *Feſcennino* manner, interſperſed with ſecret hiſtory, raillery, and ſarcaſm, as the occaſions of the times ſupplied him with matter (3). Wood, in his Athenæ, mentions ſeveral inſtances of this cuſtom; and from hence it was that Mr. Amhurſt took the title of his work. It was originally written in 1721, in a periodical paper, which came out twice a week, and conſiſts of fifty numbers.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 1.

'for his labours. If we excuſe Bolingbroke, who had only ſaved the ſhipwreck of his 'fortunes, we ſhall be at a loſs to juſtify Pulteney, who could with eaſe have given 'this man a comfortable income.——The utmoſt of his generoſity to Amhurſt, that 'I ever heard of, was a hogſhead of claret!—He died, it is ſuppoſed, of a broken 'heart; and was buried at the charge of his honeſt printer, Richard Francklin (*o*).' Mr. Amhurſt was probably one of thoſe imprudent and extravagant men, whoſe irregularities, in ſpite of their talents, bring them, at length, into general diſeſteem and neglect. But this does not excuſe the conduct of his employers. His want of purity in morals (if *that* was his real character) was no objection to their connection with him, when he could ſerve their purpoſe. And they ought to have ſo far provided for him, as to have placed him above neceſſity, during the remainder of his days. The ingratitude of the great, to the ingenious perſons whom they make uſe of as the inſtruments of their ambition, ſhould furniſh an inſtruction to men of abilities in future times; and engage them to build their happineſs on the foundation of their own perſonal integrity, diſcretion, and virtue.] K.

(*o*) Lord Cheſterfield's Characters reviewed, p. 42—44. Francklin was the publiſher of all Mr. Amhurſt's Works.

[AMORY (THOMAS), a learned Divine, and a writer of conſiderable note among the Proteſtant Diſſenters, in the preſent century, was born at Taunton in Somerſetſhire, on the 28th of January 1700-1 (*a*). His father was a reputable grocer in that town, and both his parents were perſons of eminent integrity, piety, and benevolence. The ſon was early diſtinguiſhed by the ſame turn of mind, and by his inclination for literary improvements. His claſſical learning he acquired at his native place, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Chadwick, a Diſſenting Clergyman, who had the ſatisfaction of educating many miniſters and gentlemen of good reputation in the Weſt of England (*b*). From Taunton he was removed for a time to Exeter, that he might be inſtructed in the French language by the Rev. Mr. Majendie, a refugee Miniſter in that city, grandfather of the worthy Dr. Majendie, Canon of Windſor, who has had the honour of being Preceptor in the Engliſh tongue to her preſent Majeſty. After young Amory had obtained the knowledge of the French language, he returned to the care of Mr. Chadwick, where he had for his ſchool-fellow Mr. Micaiah Towgood, who has ſince been much diſtinguiſhed among the Diſſenters, as their ableſt advocate in the points of controverſy which occaſion their ſeparation from the Church of England. At Lady-day 1717, they were both of them put under the academical inſtruction of the Rev. Mr. Stephen James, and the Rev. Mr. Henry Grove, who during the reign of Queen Anne, had been joint tutors at Taunton, for bringing up young perſons to the Miniſtry; but upon the paſſing of the Schiſm Bill, had deſiſted from that employment, till King George the Firſt was well eſtabliſhed in the throne. Under theſe Preceptors, Mr. Amory went through the uſual preparatory learning; and in the Summer of 1722, was examined and approved of, as a candidate for the miniſtry [*A*]. However, being deſirous of ſtill farther improvement, he removed, in the November following, to London, and attended a courſe of experimental philoſophy, under Mr. John Eames, an eminent Tutor among the Diſſenters [*B*]. Upon his return to Taunton, he preached alternately at ſeveral places in the neighbourhood, till, upon Mr. James's death in 1724 or 1725, and Mr. Grove's being choſen to ſucceed him as Paſtor of the congregation at Fullwood, Mr. Amory was fixed as a ſtated aſſiſtant preacher, once a month, to the Rev. Mr. Darch of Hull-Biſhops; beſide which, he had one monthly turn at Lumbrook near South-Petherton, and another at Weſt Hatch, four miles from Taunton. At the ſame time, he was requeſted by his uncle, Mr. Grove (*c*), to take a part in the inſtruction of the pupils, in the room of Mr. James, with which requeſt he complied. The buſineſs aſſigned him he diſcharged with great ability and diligence; being well qualified for it by his knowledge in, and taſte for, the fineſt Grecian and Roman claſſics, and by his thorough acquaintance with the beſt and lateſt improvements in ſound philoſophy. In 1730, he was ordained at Paul's

(*a*) The materials of this article are drawn from the Communications of the Rev. Meſſ. Haſkoll and Toulmin of Taunton, the Rev. Dr. Flexman of Rotherhithe, the Rev. Mr. Pope of London, Dr. Amory's own family, and from perſonal knowledge.

(*b*) Particularly Mr. Henry Grove, Vide his Article.

(*c*) Mr. Amory's mother was Mr. Grove's ſiſter.

[*A*] *Examined and approved of, as a candidate for the miniſtry.*] When young men, among the Diſſenters, have paſſed through, or nearly finiſhed their academical courſe, they undergo an examination either of the truſtees and tutors of the ſeminaries in which they have been educated, or of ſome other miniſters fixed upon for that purpoſe. Upon theſe occaſions, they uſually deliver a ſermon, maintain a theſis, and ſubmit to ſuch exerciſes beſides as are thought needful and proper. If their qualifications and moral characters be approved of, they receive a teſtimonial ſignifying that approbation, accompanied with a recommendation of them to thoſe ſocieties among whom they may be called to officiate. This method of proceeding may be conſidered as anſwering, in a great meaſure, to the conferring of Deacon's orders in the Church of England.

[*B*] *An eminent Tutor among the Diſſenters.*] Mr. Eames was many years firſt an aſſiſtant, and then the principal tutor of an academy in London. He was a man of extenſive learning in general; and particularly excelled in claſſical literature, and in a profound knowledge of mathematics and natural philoſophy. He was alſo a very valuable and diſtinguiſhed member of the Royal Society; and was held in peculiar eſteem by Sir Iſaac Newton, to whom he was ſingularly uſeful on a number of occaſions. With all theſe qualifications, Mr. Eames was remarkable for a diffidence and baſhfulneſs which greatly overſhaded and concealed his talents. The indiſpoſition of a friend hath prevented our being able to give a more particular account of this gentleman, which may poſſibly appear in its proper place.

Meeting

Meeting in Taunton, by Mr. Batſen, Mr. Grove, Dr. Milner of Yeovil [*C*], Mr. Berry of Wellington, Mr. Strong of Ilminſter, and other miniſters (*d*). From this time he was united, in the congregation at Taunton, with Mr. Batſen; but that gentleman keeping the whole ſalary to himſelf, ſeveral of the principal perſons in the ſociety were ſo diſpleaſed with him, that, early in the Spring of 1732, they agreed to build another Meeting-Houſe, and to chooſe Mr. Amory for their Paſtor. In the beginning of the year 1738, upon the death of Mr. Grove, he became chief Tutor to the Academy at Taunton, and conducted the buſineſs of it with the ſame abilities, and the ſame candid and enlarged views, which had been diſplayed by that eminent man. He had the advantage of the lectures and experience of his excellent uncle, added to his own; and he was animated by an equal ſpirit of integrity and zeal, and an equal deſire of cultivating and improving every intellectual and moral qualification in the young perſons committed to his charge. Many pupils were formed under them, of great worth and diſtinguiſhed literary improvements, ſome few of whom will be mentioned in the note [*D*]. In the year 1741, he married Miſs Mary Baker, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Baker, a Diſſenting Miniſter in Southwark; an excellent lady, who ſurvived him, and with whom he lived in the greateſt affection and harmony. By this lady he had ſeveral children, four of whom are ſtill living [*E*]. During his reſidence in Taunton, he was held in the greateſt eſteem, not only by his own ſociety, but by all the neighbouring congregations and miniſters; by all, at leaſt, who had any moderation of temper, or candour of ſentiment. Nay, the moſt bigotted, and thoſe who differed the moſt from him in private opinions, could not avoid paying a tribute of reſpect to the integrity and excellence of his character. He was much reſpected, likewiſe, by the gentlemen and clergy of the eſtabliſhed church. He was particularly honoured, when very young, with the friendſhip of the ingenious Mrs. Rowe, and kept up a correſpondence with her by letters [*F*]. One inſtance of the reſpect entertained for him, and of his own liberal and honourable conduct, cannot be omitted. When ſome of the principal perſons of the Baptiſt Society in Taunton, owing to the diſguſt they had received at their then Paſtor, would have deſerted him, and communicated to Mr. Amory their intention of becoming his ſtated hearers, he generouſly diſſuaded them from the execution of their deſign, as a ſtep which would prove highly injurious to the reputation, members, and intereſt of the congregation they intended to leave. Mr. Amory was ſo happy with his people at Taunton, and ſo generally reſpected and beloved both in the town and the neighbourhood, that, perhaps, it may be deemed ſtrange that he ſhould be induced to quit his ſituation. This, however, he did, in October 1759, at which time he removed to London, to be afternoon preacher to the Society in the Old Jewry, belonging to the eminent and learned Dr. Samuel Chandler (*e*). But the grand motive, beſides the hope of more extenſive uſefulneſs, ſeems to have been, that he might advantageouſly diſpoſe of his children, in which reſpect he ſucceeded. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that he did not, in the metropolis, meet with all that acceptance and popularity, as a preacher, to which he was entitled by his real merit. His delivery was clear and diſtinct, and his diſcourſes excellent; but his voice was not powerful enough to rouſe the bulk of man-

(*d*) The Rev. Mr. William Corniſh, who afterwards ſettled at Sherborne in Dorſetſhire, and died there ſeveral years ſince, was ordained at the ſame time. This gentleman was author of an Inquiry into the Nature and Deſign of Baptiſm, publiſhed for Waugh, in the year 1757, without his name. In his zeal for Infant Baptiſm, he has advanced ſome tenets, which will ſcarcely be found tenable.

(*e*) Vide article Chandler.

[*C*] *Dr. Milner of Yeovil,*] Dr. Milner removed afterwards from Yeovil to Peckham, near London, where he lived and died in great reputation. He was an excellent preacher, and publiſhed a number of occaſional ſermons, which abound with good ſentiment, and are written in a neat, pure, and elegant ſtyle. He was, likewiſe, the author of a Greek and a Latin Grammar, and of one or two ſchool-books, which ſufficiently diſplay his grammatical and claſſical knowledge. He kept, with much credit, a boarding ſchool for young gentlemen; and, at one time, he had Mr. afterwards the celebrated Dr. Goldſmith, for an Uſher. Dr. Milner, who had the ſagacity to diſcern the greatneſs of Mr. Goldſmith's genius, urged him to the cultivation of it; and adviſed him to quit a ſtation which was unfavourable to the exertion of his fine talents.

[*D*] *Will be mentioned in the note.*] In a liſt of the pupils now before us, we find the names of the Reverend Mr. May, Miniſter in London; the Reverend Mr. Pope, ditto; Iſrael Mauduit, Eſq; ſo well known by his political writings, and his literary connections; — Halliday, Eſq; Member for Taunton; Robert Webb, Eſq; ditto; the late Right Hon. Hugh Lord Willoughby of Parham, Preſident of the Antiquarian Society, Vice Preſident of the Royal Society, and a Truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum; the Reverend Dr. William Harris, the writer of the Critical Lives of James the Firſt, Charles the Firſt, Oliver Cromwell, and Charles the Second; Dr. Cotton, a Phyſician at St. Albans, and author of a very pleaſing poem, called the *Fireſide*, and of viſions, in verſe, for the inſtruction of younger minds; John Halliday, Eſq; the preſent member for Taunton; Francis Webb, Eſq; Deputy Searcher at Graveſend; the Reverend Joſeph Jeffries, LL.D. Profeſſor of Civil Law in Greſham College; and the Reverend Mr. Toller of London. To theſe might be added the names of many other gentlemen and miniſters, who have been, or who are, very reſpectable and uſeful in their ſeveral ſituations.

[*E*] *By this lady he had ſeveral children, &c.*] Dr. Amory, who had a very tender heart, was deeply affected with the death of a ſon at between ſix and ſeven years of age; and afterwards with the loſs of his eldeſt daughter, a moſt amiable woman, who was married to a reſpectable and worthy citizen of fortune, and who died in child-birth. But though the Doctor felt powerfully on theſe occaſions, his grief did not prevent his exerciſing a perfect acquieſcence in the will of heaven, from his full perſuaſion of the wiſdom, rectitude, and benevolence of the Divine Diſpenſations, and from his firm belief in a future ſtate. He had, at the ſame time, great ſatisfaction in the excellent character and ſucceſsful proſpects of his ſurviving children.

[*F*] *And kept up a correſpondence with her by letters.*] In Mrs. Rowe's miſcellaneous works, are three letters from her to Mr. Amory, in which ſhe expreſſes her high reſpect for him, notwithſtanding their difference in ſome religious opinions. 'And for 'your peculiar notions, ſays ſhe, I am ſo far from 'blaming your frankneſs and ſincerity, that it ap-'pears to me a beauty in your character (1).'

kind,

(1) Mrs. Rowe's Miſcel. Works, Vol. ii. p. 240. Second edition.

kind, who are ſtruck with noiſe and parade: and his ſermons, though practical, ſerious, and affecting to the attentive hearer, were rather too cloſe, judicious and philoſophical for the common run of congregations. To this it muſt be added, that the liberality of his ſentiments was not calculated for the vulgar, who are, for the moſt part, devoted to bigots and enthuſiaſts. But Mr. Amory had, what he valued much more, the attention and regard of the intelligent and rational Diſſenters; he enjoyed a general reſpect; and he received every mark of diſtinction which is uſually paid, in London, to the moſt eminent miniſters of the Preſbyterian denomination. In 1767, he was choſen one of the truſtees to the charities of Dr. Daniel Williams, of which an account will be given in its proper place (*f*). In 1768, the Univerſity of Edinburgh, in conſideration of his acknowledged learning and merit, conferred upon him, by diploma, the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and in the ſame year, he was elected one of the ſix Tueſday Lecturers at Salter's Hall, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Jabez Earle deceaſed [*G*]. It ought to have been mentioned, that, previous to theſe laſt events, he was choſen, at the death of Dr. Chandler, in 1766, a Paſtor of the Society at the Old Jewry; and the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel White, from Leeds in Yorkſhire, was ſoon united with him as joint Paſtor. In this ſituation Dr. Amory continued till his deceaſe. In 1770, he became Morning-preacher at Newington Green, and colleague with the Rev. Dr. Richard Price, ſo well known by ſome late publications, and whoſe excellent character will be acknowledged by all who have the happineſs of being acquainted with him, whatever they may think of his political opinions. When the Diſſenting Miniſters, in 1772, formed a deſign of endeavouring to procure an enlargement of the Toleration Act, Dr. Amory was one of the Committee appointed for that purpoſe; and none could be more zealous for the proſecution of the ſcheme; none could be leſs diverted from it by political conſiderations, or artificial reaſonings. He thought that the petition to parliament was right in itſelf; that it was founded on the principles of natural juſtice, and of true Chriſtianity; and, therefore, he was for having it urged with a manly vigour and fortitude [*H*]. Dr. Amory had the felicity of having his uſefulneſs, and his capacity for public ſervice, continued nearly to the laſt. On the 16th of June 1774, he was ſeized with a ſudden diſorder which left him nearly in a ſtate of inſenſibility till his death, which happened on the 24th of that month, and in the 74th year of his age. He was interred in Bunhill Fields, on the fifth of July; and his funeral was attended by a reſpectable number of miniſters and gentlemen. The diſcourſe, on the occaſion of his death, was preached in the Old Jewry, on the 10th of the ſame month, by the Rev. Dr. Roger Flexman of Rotherhithe, who had been connected with him in an intimate friendſhip for more than 40 years; which friendſhip, Dr. Flexman aſſures us, had never once been interrupted by diſtaſte, or darkened with a frown (*g*).

(*f*) Vide article Williams.

With regard to Dr. Amory's character, it was excellent in every view. It ſeems to have been formed upon that of his uncle, Mr. Grove, with whom he had been cloſely connected from his infancy, and his connection with whom, he conſidered as the principal felicity of his life (*h*). His piety was equally rational and fervent. It was founded on the moſt enlarged ſentiments concerning the Divine Providence and Government; and was, therefore, diſplayed in a ſpirit of chearful devotion, love, and confidence. It was a principle that influenced his whole behaviour; a principle which rendered him ſtrictly virtuous in every reſpect, and

(*g*) Vide Dr. Flexman's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Amory, p. 32.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 33.

[*G*] *In the room of the Reverend Dr. Jabez Earle, deceaſed.*] Dr. Jabez Earle, who was a native of Kent, had been a noted Diſſenting Miniſter in London, between ſixty and ſeventy years; and during a life protracted to the age of ninety-two, had not experienced a moment's ill health. He would ſcarcely have known what pain was, had it not been for an accident he once met with, of breaking his arm. He preached to the laſt Sunday of his life, and died ſuddenly in his chair, without a groan or ſigh. All his faculties continued in great perfection, excepting his eye-ſight, which failed him ſome time before his death. He was remarkable for a vivacity and chearfulneſs of temper, which never forſook him to his lateſt breath; and he abounded in pleaſant ſtories. He had publiſhed in his earlier days ſeveral occaſional ſermons, a Treatiſe on the Sacrament, and a ſmall collection of poems, in Latin and Engliſh. His chief excellence, as a ſcholar, was in claſſical learning. When he was above ninety years old, he would repeat, with the greateſt readineſs and fluency, a hundred verſes or more from Homer, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, or others of the ancient poets, upon their being at any time occaſionally mentioned. As an inſtance of his chearful turn of mind, we ſhall give a ſmall copy of verſes which he ſent to a friend, Dr. William Harris of Crutched Friars, upon their both of them having received Diplomas from one of the univerſities of Scotland:

Since dunces now are Doctors made
As well as men of ſkill,
What does the title ſignify?
I'll tell thee, honeſt Will:
The ſame as trappings to a horſe,
Which, be he fleet or jade,
Not for his own but rider's ſake,
So wond'rous fine is made.
So when our univerſities
Doctorial honours give,
'Tis not *our* merit to declare,
But *their* prerogative.

[*H*] *With a manly vigour and fortitude.*] Dr. Amory had from his youth been averſe to every degree of impoſition upon the conſciences of men. He totally diſapproved of ſubſcriptions to human formulas. The requiſition of them by the Church of England was one of the principal reaſons of his ſeparating from her. Though by the terms of the Toleration Act, he was required to ſubſcribe a great number of doctrinal articles, he had not ſubmitted to the doing of it, and was determined never to do ſo. Hence he was naturally ſolicitous that himſelf and his brethren ſhould obtain a legal exemption from the penalties to which they were ſubject for their non-compliance.

peculiarly amiable in all the relations of life. None could excel him as a huſband, a father, a maſter, and a friend. He was diſtinguiſhed for his general benevolence and humanity; and as a companion, he was remarkably pleaſing and engaging. He abounded with a number of ſhort ſtories, drawn from an extenſive knowledge of books and men, which, while they were entertaining, were calculated and deſigned to convey inſtruction. In ſhort, taking him in the whole of his private character, he was allowed by his intimate acquaintance to have been one of the worthieſt men they had ever known.

In his public character, as a teacher of religion, Dr. Amory was greatly reſpectable. The devotional part of worſhip was conducted by him with admirable propriety, ſeriouſneſs, and fervour. His ſermons were cloſe, accurate, ſolid, and affectionate. The topics he chiefly inſiſted upon were the perfections and providence of God; the veneration, love, truſt, and obedience we ſhould ever exerciſe towards him; the evidences of a future ſtate; the truth and excellency of the Goſpel; the great duties of the Chriſtian life; the account we muſt give hereafter; and the important conſequences of that account. He never devoted the pulpit to trifling ſubjects. If any thing diſputable was ever introduced by him, it was to expoſe the doctrines of rigid Calviniſm, which he much diſapproved, as giving very narrow and unworthy ideas of the Supreme Mind. His ſentiments, with regard to both natural and revealed religion, nearly agreed with thoſe of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and of the eminent Divines who were Coadjutors with that great man. Dr. Amory did not, therefore, fall in with the Socinian principles, which, of late, have been ſo warmly defended: neither did he reject the natural evidences of a life to come, or the notion of a ſeparate ſtate, as ſeveral ingenious moderns have done. How far his general ſyſtem of opinions was right, we pretend not to determine; our buſineſs being only, as hiſtorians, to relate the matter of fact. Whatever his ſentiments were, he maintained them with the utmoſt candour, and retained the ſincereſt regard for thoſe who differed from him. As to his learning, it was ſolid, judicious, and extenſive. He was well acquainted with every part of theology, and diligently ſtudied the Holy Scriptures. He was, likewiſe, much converſant with ethics, natural and experimental philoſophy, and the beſt Ancients, eſpecially their moral writings. Nor was he above amuſing himſelf with hiſtory, books of travels, poetry, and other entertaining ſpecies of compoſition. But his general application was to thoſe more ſerious and important parts of ſtudy, that were immediately ſuited to his profeſſion. This will appear from his works; the account of which, as given by Dr. Flexman, at the end of his Funeral Sermon for Dr. Amory, together with an addition or two of our own, to render it more complete, will be inſerted in the note below [*I*].] K.

[*I*] *In the note below.*] A chronological and particular account of the writings of the Reverend Thomas Amory, D. D.

SERMONS.

I. Chriſt the light of the world; or the principal improvements made in religion by Chriſtianity; at the young men's lecture in Exeter, September 9, 1735, at the aſſembly of the united proteſtant diſſenting miniſters of Devon and Cornwall, publiſhed at the requeſt of the young gentlemen, and of a great number of miniſters preſent. John viii. 12. — This diſcourſe was part of a ſett of ſermons on the evidences of the Chriſtian religion. The preface exhibiteth the plan of the reaſoning in which that important argument was treated; and particularly repreſents the doctrines and precepts which the goſpel hath added to natural religion, which though reaſon could not eaſily and fully diſcover, yet are ſuitable to the ſtate of man, worthy of the perfections of God, and highly advantageous for us to know and practiſe. This judicious and laboured diſcourſe met with ſuch a general reception, that the whole impreſſion was ſoon diſpoſed of. It was republiſhed in 1758, in a volume of eighteen ſermons, ſold by J. Buckland, in Pater-noſter-Row, 8*vo*. Dr. Thomas Morgan, the author of a book entitled, 'The 'Moral Philoſopher,' thought fit to make objections to ſome principles advanced in this ſermon, as repugnant to his ſcheme of infidelity, which being ſent in manuſcript to the author, he made a proper reply to them in a brief confutation.

II. The character and bleſſedneſs of thoſe to whom to live is Chriſt, and to die gain; at Ilminſter, in the county of Somerſet, May 25, 1738, on occaſion of the death of the Reverend Mr. James Strong, Ætat. 53. 8*vo*. Republiſhed in the volume of eighteen ſermons, 1758. Philippians i. 21.

III. The nature of ſound doctrine, and the encouragements to preach it; a charge delivered at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. William Harris, at Wells, in the county of Somerſet, April 15, 1741. Publiſhed at the requeſt of the miniſters preſent, and the principal hearers. Titus ii. 1. —— Publiſhed with the ſermon on that occaſion by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Billingſley, intitled, 'The character 'of St. Paul as a preacher conſidered and recom-'mended.' 2 Corinthians iv. 5.

IV. Self-dedication to God explained and recommended, in two ſermons, with a particular view to the new year; with a prefatory addreſs to young perſons, inculcating various conſiderations and motives to determine them to devote themſelves to God. Dec. 25, 1742. 12*mo*. — A ſecond edition of theſe diſcourſes was publiſhed 1751.

V. The prayer of King Jehoſophat conſidered and applied to the ſtate of the nation; at Taunton, December 18, 1745, on occaſion of the faſt on account of the war and the unnatural rebellion. Publiſhed at the requeſt of the audience. 8*vo*. 2 Chron. xx. 5—13. — A ſecond edition of this ſermon was publiſhed ſoon after the firſt.

VI. Daily devotion aſſiſted and recommended in four ſermons; repreſenting the principal inſtances of the providence and goodneſs of God, which every morning and evening offer to our thoughts, and the uſe we ſhould make of them, 1747. 8*vo*. Pſalm iii. 5. Pſalm xcii. 2. — In a ſecond edition, 1770, Dr. Amory added ſome forms of prayer for a family, for morning and evening.

VII. Eight ſermons on a future general judgment; repreſenting the great events introductory to the coming of Chriſt to judgment, and the end of the world;—the certainty, ſolemnity, and conſequences of that deciſive ſeaſon;—the perſons who are to be judged;—and the talents and actions for which

which they muſt give an account. Dedicated to the congregation at Taunton, the author's paſtoral charge, who earneſtly deſired the publication, 1749. 8*vo*. Matthew xxv. 31, 32. 2 Cor. v. 10. — Theſe diſcourſes were republiſhed in the volume of eighteen ſermons.

VIII. The character and bleſſedneſs of thoſe who die in the Lord; at Bridgwater, Jan. 6, 1748, on occaſion of the death of the Reverend John Moore, M. A. Ætat. 76. — Republiſhed in the volume of eighteen ſermons. Rev. xiv. 13.

IX. Miniſters not lords over the faith of Chriſtians, but helpers of their joy; at Lewin's-Mead, Briſtol, at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. William Richards, May 22, 1751. 8*vo*. Publiſhed with the charge delivered on that occaſion, by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Billingſley, intituled, 'The rule of 'conduct for chriſtian miniſters repreſented.' 1 Timothy iv. 16.

X. Our times in the hand of God; at Culliton, in the county of Devon, March 8, 1752, on occaſion of the death of Mrs. Mary Slater, wife of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Slater, Ætat. 30. 8*vo*. Pſ. xxxi. 15.

XI. Six ſermons on Contentment, and two ſermons on the reaſonableneſs of religion and the advantages of prayer, 1753. Phil. iv. 11. Job xxi. 15. — Theſe diſcourſes were alſo republiſhed in the volume of eighteen ſermons.

XII. The ſhortneſs and frailty of human life repreſented and accounted for, on occaſion of the death of John Halliday, Eſq; member of parliament for Taunton, June 9, 1754, Ætat. 44. 8*vo*. Job xiv. 2.

XIII. The care which miniſters ſhould take of themſelves, and of their doctrine, recommended; a charge delivered at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Wright, at Lewin's-Mead, Briſtol, May 31, 1759. 1 Tim. iv. 16. —— Publiſhed together with the queſtions propoſed on that occaſion by the Reverend Mr. William Richards and Mr. Wright's anſwers, and the ſermon entitled, 'Preach-'ing the goſpel a more effectual method of Salva-'tion, than human wiſdom and philoſophy,' by the Reverend Samuel Chandler, D. D. 8*vo*. 1 Cor. i. 21.

XIV. Habitual religion explained and recommended, in three ſermons; at Taunton, September, 1759. 8*vo*. Pſal. xvi. 8.

XV. God crowneth the year with his goodneſs; at St. Thomas's, Jan. 1. 1769, for the benefit of the charity-ſchool in Gravel-lane, Southwark. Publiſhed at the requeſt of the managers of the ſchool. 8*vo*. Pſal. lxv. 11.

XVI. The motives and obligations to love and good works repreſented; at the ordination of the Reverend Mr. Edward Harwood, of Briſtol, and the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Davis, of Marlborough, at the Old Jewry, October 16, 1765. Hebrews x. 24. — To which are annexed the queſtions propoſed to Mr. Harwood on that occaſion by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Billingſley, and Mr. Harwood's anſwers, and his confeſſion of faith; together with the charge, by the Reverend Samuel Chandler, D. D. 8*vo*. 2 Tim. ii. 15.

XVII. Dying in faith explained; and the happineſs of it, repreſented: on occaſion of the death of the Reverend Samuel Chandler, D. D. who died May 8, 1766, Ætat. 73, at the Old Jewry, May 18. Heb. xi. 13. — To which are added the ſpeech at his Interment, and a catalogue of Dr. Chandler's writings. N. B. In the year 1758 were collected into one volume and republiſhed, — Eighteen ſermons, No. I. VII. VIII. and XI.

XVIII. Twenty-two ſermons on the following ſubjects: 1, 2, 3. The divine goodneſs explained, and proved, and illuſtrated in various inſtances. Pſal. cxlv. 9. — 4, 5. . . . In the creation of Man, and various laws of the human conſtitution. Pſal. viii. 5. — 6, 7. The goodneſs of divine Providence to mankind. Matth. v. 45. — 8, 9. The grace of God in the redemption of man by Jeſus Chriſt. Epheſ. ii. 5. — 10. The principal properties of the divine benevolence. Pſal. cxxxvi. 1. —— 11. Of moral evil; and that the permiſſion of it is conſiſtent with the divine goodneſs. 12. The objection of the abundance of moral evil farther urged and illuſtrated. James i. 13, 14. — 13. Natural evil, and the puniſhments threatened in ſcripture, not inconſiſtent with the goodneſs of God. Heb. xiii. 10. — 14, 15, 16. Doctrinal and practical inferences from the divine benevolence, Matth. vii. 11. — 17, 18. The evidences for a future ſtate. — 19. The neceſſity there is that we do the work of God. — 20. The diſpoſitions with which we ſhould enquire the way to eternal life. Mark x. 17. — 21, 22. Chriſt the beſt guide to eternal life; and the directions given by him for attaining it. 8*vo*. 1766. John vi. 68, 69. Sold by Mr. Buckland, in Pater-noſter-Row.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I. A letter to a friend; ſuggeſting proper reflexions to remove the difficulties that often perplex ſerious minds engaged in the ſtudy and practice of religion, on account of the many diſputes and objections that ſeem to weaken the evidences of important truths, and the oppoſition from inclinations, &c. to the practice of religion and virtue. This letter, in anſwer to one from his friend and relation Mr. Theophilus Rowe, editor of the poſthumous works in proſe and verſe of Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, December 26, 1727, was publiſhed in the Literary Journal, or, a Continuation of the Memoirs of Literature, January, &c. 1731. 8*vo*.

II. A dialogue on devotion, after the manner of Xenophon; in which, the reaſonableneſs, pleaſure, and advantages of it are conſidered. To which is prefixed, a converſation of Socrates on the being and providence of God; tranſlated from the Greek, 8*vo*. 1733, without his name. In a ſecond edition, 1746, Dr. Amory acknowledges, that having received the remarks of ſome ingenious friends on the dialogue, he had made his advantage of them for correcting and improving it; and added two hymns, one for the morning, the other for the evening, formed on the principles illuſtrated in it. — The late reverend and learned Dr. William Wiſhart, who was miniſter of the Scots church at Founder's-Hall, Lothbury, afterwards Principal of the univerſity of Edinburgh, and one of the miniſters in that city, in a letter to Dr. Amory, took occaſion to ſtate ſome objections to the grounds and reaſons of prayer, as repreſented in the dialogue; which introduced an epiſtolary correſpondence between theſe judicious writers, managed with great propriety of argument and temper. Dr. Wiſhart's obſervations were apparently the reſult of an early and zealous attachment to the tenets of the celebrated Calvin, in favour of predeſtination, terminating in the doctine of *fate*; which the Reverend Dr. Robert South, prebendary of Weſtminſter, canon of Chriſt-Church, and public orator of the univerſity of Oxford, aſſerts, was derived from the ſyſtem of the Stoics, by the ſchool of the Phariſees.

III. Forms of devotion for the cloſet, 1763, 8*vo*. Theſe were added to the family prayer-book, the fourth edition, which was publiſhed the ſame year. *N. B.* The prayer at the end of thoſe forms, proper to be uſed after attending on the Lord's ſupper, was ſelected from the diſcourſe concerning the nature and end of that religious ſervice by the Reverend Mr. Henry Grove.

IV. In the year 1740, Dr. Amory publiſhed an account of the life, writings, and character of Mr. Grove, in a large preface to the four volumes of his poſthumous ſermons and tracts. 8*vo*. — From this account the life of Mr. Grove, given in the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica, was taken.

V. And a preface to two additional volumes of Mr. Grove's ſermons, printed from the manuſcripts of that excellent author, 1742. 8*vo*.

VI. He alſo publiſhed, 1747, in four volumes, with a preface, a collection of all the ſermons, diſcourſes, and tracts, publiſhed by Mr. Grove in his lifetime. 8*vo*.

VII. In 1749, he gave to the Public, in two volumes 8*vo*. from the unfiniſhed manuſcript, Mr. Grove's ſyſtem of moral philoſophy, reviſed, corrected, and improved in various parts; to which were prefixed, obſervations on the principles and reaſonings of that valuable performance; and in order to complete that work, Dr. Amory prepared and annexed ſeven chapters on reſtitution, diſtributive juſtice, relative duties, the original and extent of government, and the power of the magiſtrate; the meaſures of ſubmiſſion, and the love of our country; univerſal benevolence, forgiveneſs of enemies; of piety, and the duties we owe to God; and ſelf-improvement, and the advantages derived from revelation in the ſtudy and practice of morality.

VIII.

VIII. In 1764, he publiſhed memoirs of the life, character, and writings of the Reverend Dr. George Benſon, prefixed to that learned writer's poſthumous work, entitled, the Hiſtory of the Life of Jeſus Chriſt.

IX. He was the editor of four volumes of the poſthumous ſermons, on various ſubjects, of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Chandler; and prefixed ſome account of the life of that learned and judicious writer.

X. Dr. Amory was alſo the author of ſome poetical pieces, ſacred and moral; and in the year 1724, publiſhed a poem on the praiſes of Taunton, the place of his birth.

A volume of ſermons has been publiſhed ſince Dr. Amory's death; and there are ſome miſcellaneous pieces of his in manuſcript, which might deſerve to ſee the light. K.

ANDERSON (Sir EDMUND) is ſaid by the Oxford antiquary, to have been a younger brother of a genteel family, in the pariſh of Broughton in Lincolnſhire (*a*). Another writer ſays, it was at Flixborough in Lincolnſhire (*b*). However, the family, which was originally from Scotland, had firſt retired into Northumberland, and from thence paſſed into Lincolnſhire (*), where Thomas Anderſon, Eſq; father to our Edmund, muſt have been poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable eſtate, ſince he left this younger ſon of his a thouſand pounds to begin the world with, which in thoſe days was a very conſiderable ſum (*c*). After perfecting his grammatical ſtudies in the country, he ſpent ſome time at Oxford, in Lincoln-college, from whence he removed to the Inner Temple, where he read law with great aſſiduity, and in due time became a Barriſter. In the ninth of Queen Elizabeth, he was both Lent and Summer reader; and in the ſixteenth of the Queen, Double reader (*d*); notes of which readings are yet extant in MS (*e*). In the nineteenth of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed the Queen's Serjeant at Law. Some time after, but the date I no where find, he became Judge, or, as I take it, one of the Juſtices of Aſſize. For, in 1581, he went the Norfolk circuit, and at Bury exerted himſelf againſt the famous Browne, who was the author of thoſe opinions, which were afterwards maintained by a ſect, called from him Browniſts. For this conduct of Judge Anderſon, Dr. Edmund Freke, then Biſhop of Norwich, wrote a letter to the Treaſurer Burleigh, deſiring that the ſaid Judge might receive the Queen's thanks, which it is very probable he had, becauſe our Judge ever afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee, in the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed Church (*f*). In the Spring of the year 1582, he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and took his place there, on the fourth day of May, in a manner ſo particular, that one cannot doubt the reader's being pleaſed with the account of it, inſerted in the notes [*A*]. In the year following he received the honour of knighthood. In 1586, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for trying Mary, Queen of Scots, and on the 12th of October the ſame year, he ſat in judgment upon her, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, he ſat again in the Star chamber, when ſentence was pronounced againſt that Queen (*g*). In 1587, he ſat in the Star-chamber on Secretary Daviſon, who was there charged with iſſuing the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's command, and without her knowledge. After the cauſe had been heard, Sir Roger Manwood then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave his opinion firſt, wherein he extolled the Queen's clemency, which he the ſaid Daviſon had inconſiderately prevented; wherefore he was for fining him ten thouſand pounds, and impriſonment during the Queen's pleaſure. Our Chief Juſtice, who ſpoke next, ſaid that Daviſon had done *Juſtum non Juſte*, that is, *He had done what was right, not in a due manner*; otherwiſe he thought him no bad man (*h*). As this was a very buſy reign, and as our Chief Juſtice was held one of the moſt learned ſages of the law, he had much employment; it being the peculiar policy of Queen Elizabeth's adminiſtration, to do all things with the greateſt form, and where the matter would admit

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 328, edit. 1721.

(*b*) *Anglorum Speculum*: or, England's Worthies, p. 460. Lond. 1684, 8vo.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 803, Lond. 1670, ſecond edit. 8vo.

(*d*) E. Regiſtro Hoſpicii Interior. Templi, fol. 149, 150, 165.

(*e*) See note [*D*].

(*f*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 16.

(*g*) Camdeni Annal. 1586.

(*h*) Camd. A D. 1587. Lloyd, p. 803. England's Worthies, p. 460.

(*) Ex Stem. penes Dom. Edm. Anderſon, Bar.

[*A*] *Inſerted in the notes.*] This account is taken from a letter, written by Fleetwood, Recorder of London, to the Lord Treaſurer (Burleigh): that part of it which relates to our Sage in the law, run thus: 'On Saturday in the morning, my Lord 'Chancellor did a while ſtand at the Chancery bar, 'on the ſide of the hall. And ſoon after that the 'Juſtices of the Common-Pleas were ſet, his Lord-'ſhip came to the Common-Pleas, and there ſat 'down. And all the ſerjeants ſtanding at the bar, 'my Lord Chancellor called Anderſon by name, 'declared unto him her Majeſty's good-likings and 'opinion of him, and of the place and dignity her 'Majeſty had called him unto. And then my Lord 'Chancellor made a ſhort diſcourſe, what the duty 'and office of a good Juſtice was. And in the end 'his Lordſhip called him up into the midſt of the 'court; and then Mr. Anderſon kneeling, his com-'miſſion was read; and that done, his Lordſhip 'took the patent into his hand; and then the clerk 'of the crown, Powle, did read him his oath. And 'after, he himſelf read the oath of Supremacy, and 'ſo kiſſed the book. And my Lord Chancellor 'took him by the hand, and placed him upon the 'bench. And then Father Benloos, becauſe he 'was ancient, did put a ſhort caſe. And then Ser-'jeant Fleetwood put the next. To the firſt, my 'new Lord Chief Juſtice did himſelf only argue. 'But to the next that Fleetwood put, both he and 'the reſidue of the Bench did argue. And I aſſure 'your Lordſhip, added the Recorder, he argued very 'learnedly; and with great facility delivered his 'mind. And this one thing was noted in him, that 'he diſpatched more orders, and anſwered more dif-'ficult caſes in that one forenoon than were diſpatch-'ed in a whole week in the time of his predeceſſors.' The Recorder farther remarks in this letter, another ſingularity in theſe words: 'My Lord, under *Bene-'dicite*, there runneth a marvellous ſpeech over all 'London, that greater ſums of money were offered (to 'whom I know not) than I may well write of, by 'one of the Exchequer; and all was for this office of 'Lord Chief Juſtice. If it were true, the party did 'not well; if it were not true, the firſt reporters were 'much to blame, to ſcandalize ſuch an officer of her 'Majeſty; by which means he is grown into a greater 'diſcredit, than may be in a ſhort time eaſily forgot-'ten.' Adding (to the Lord Treaſurer's honour) 'That it was almoſt in every man's mouth, that his 'Lordſhip, after that he had underſtanding of the of-'fering of ſuch a maſs of money, was the means of 'keeping him from that cuſhion;' concluding, 'Truly, my Lord, it was well done (1).'

(1) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 139.

of it, with all the countenance from the law that could be given. For this reaſon, in the proceedings againſt thoſe, who endeavoured to ſet up the Geneva diſcipline, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon was frequently made uſe of; and as he diſcharged his truſt with great zeal, ſo in the caſe of Udal, a Puritan Miniſter, who was confined in the year 1589, tried and condemned the year following, our Judge is ſeverely cenſured by Mr. Pierce (*i*), as one who endeavoured to trick that worthy man out of his life; with what reaſon the reader will judge from the account given in the note [*B*]. It is highly probable, that the Judge himſelf was ſenſible of the ill-will his proceedings againſt theſe ſort of people drew upon him; but it does not appear that it gave him any great pain; ſince, in 1596, we have an account of his going the northern circuit, wherein he behaved exactly in the ſame way [*C*], declaring in his charges, that ſuch perſons as oppoſed the eſtabliſhed Church, oppoſed her Majeſty's authority, who was Supreme in

(*i*) Vindication of the Diſſenters, Lond. 1717, 8vo. p. 129.

[*B*] *From the account given in the note.*] We ſhall, as it is our duty, ſet down the whole of this matter fairly, and in our author's own words: On the 13th of January, 1589-90, Mr. Udal appeared at the Lord Cobham's houſe, before the Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurſt, Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, Dr. John Young, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Mr. Forteſcue, Mr. Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor; Dr. Aubery, and Dr. Lewin. I am careful to ſet down their names, that they may be remembered as they deſerve. The Biſhop aſked him whether he had the allowance of the Biſhop of the dioceſe to go to Newcaſtle? Udal told him, there was no Biſhop at that time in that dioceſe. Then, ſays the Biſhop, you ſhould have gone to the Archbiſhop; but ſays Udal, there was no Archbiſhop at York neither. This matter then dropped; though afterwards Mr. Forteſcue, thinking he would cramp him, brought it about again. You are, ſays he, very cunning in the law; I pray you, by what law did you preach at Newcaſtle, being forbidden at Kingſton? To which Udal anſwered, he knew no law againſt it, ſeeing it was the official Dr. Hone, who ſilenced him, whoſe authority reached not out of his Archdeaconry. And ſo there was an end of that matter, which was too impertinent to have been ſtarted; but only as they would have been glad of any occaſion of worrying him. Then the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon told him, he was called thither to anſwer concerning certain books, thought to be of his writing. He told them, if it was any of Martin's books (as my Lord Chamberlain's letters imported) he had cleared himſelf at Lambeth a year and a half before, from being the author of them. Then was he queſtioned, whether he was the author of the Demonſtration, or the Dialogue; to which he refuſed to anſwer. When he was aſked why he would clear himſelf of Martin and not of theſe: he ſaid, becauſe he would not be thought to handle the cauſe of diſcipline as Martin did; but he thought otherwiſe of the books now mentioned, and cared not, though they ſhould be fathered upon him. He ſaid likewiſe, he thought the author, for any thing he knew, did well; and he knew he was enquired after to be puniſhed, and therefore he thought it his duty to hinder the finding him out, which he could not better do than this: for if every one ſuſpected denyed it, the author at length muſt needs be found out. The Lord Anderſon then urged him, Why dare you not confeſs it, if you be the author of it? Dare you not ſtand to your own doings? to this he thus anſwered: I profeſſed before that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them; but whether I made them or no, I will not anſwer: neither if any other book of that argument whatſoever, goeth without name, if you ſhould aſk me for the reaſons alledged before. Beſides that, if I were the author, I think that by law, I need not anſwer. That is true, ſays Anderſon, if it concerned the loſs of your life. Oh barbarous wickedneſs! to urge and ſcrew him by ſuch arts as theſe to witneſs againſt himſelf, and to inſinuate the matter did not touch his life, when the deſign was to try him for his life, as they afterwards did and condemned him. Well, Udal anſwered him thus: I pray your Lordſhip, doth not the law ſay generally: No man ſhall be put to anſwer without preſentment before juſtices, or matter of record, or by due proceſs, and writ original, *&c. A.* 42. *Edw.* 3. *cap.* III. that is law, ſays Anderſon, and it is not law. I underſtand you not, my Lord, ſays Udal: 'tis a ſtatute which is in force, if it be not repealed; and ſo that Lord's mouth was ſtopped for a while, and he was relieved by ſome of his auxiliaries (2).

(2) Pierce's Vindication, Part i. p. 129, 130.

All that is ſaid above is taken from Udal's trial, which was publiſhed by himſelf or his friends, and therefore it might be queſtioned, whether this be ſtrict evidence againſt the Chief Juſtice. But admit it were ſo; he ſat here as one of the Queen's commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and therefore, what he ſays muſt be conſidered as ſaid in that capacity. The anſwer, with reſpect to the ſtatute, is very obſcure. Another writer, who pretends to tranſcribe Mr. Pierce (3), tells us, the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, *That is law if it be not repealed*; this is clear and plain, and in favour of the priſoner. As to the exclamation in the foregoing account, it ſeems to be not altogether well founded; and, without breach of charity, one may venture to ſay, that it has no foundation at all. For it ſtands on this ſuppoſition: that the Chief Juſtice then knew, that there was an intention to try Udal for his life; a thing altogether improbable. This examination was in January, and he was not tried till the 24th of July following. Mr. Neal indeed, would help this matter a little better out; for he, inſtead of Pierce's exclamation, inſerts this reflection: *And yet the Juſtice tried and condemned him for his life* (4), which is a direct falſehood, inaſmuch as the Judges who tried him, were Baron Clerke and Serjeant Puckering; neither was he condemned when he was convicted, but at the Lent aſſizes following; and then by Serjeant Puckering, and not Sir E. Anderſon; ſo that on the whole, though this caſe may prove that our Chief Juſtice was a vehement man againſt Puritans, yet it proves nothing as to his endeavouring to take away Udal's life.

(3) Mr. Neal in his Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 509.

(4) Ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Behaved himſelf exactly in the ſame way.*] After the buſineſs of Hacket and Coppinger, which in thoſe days was thought the firſt ſtirrings of rebellion, in favour of the Geneva diſcipline, the Judges were very ſevere upon Separatiſts; and our Chief Juſtice, to whom the law was a guide in all things, certainly carried this matter pretty far. We have ſtill remaining the following account of his proceedings at Lincoln aſſizes, which, as a proof of our impartiality, we ſhall ſet down at large. 'Since my Lord Anderſon hath obtained to ride this circuit, the miniſtry is grown into intolerable contempt; which is univerſally imputed unto him, both by thoſe that would, and thoſe that would not have it ſo. I am not ignorant how dangerous it is to ſpeak the truth of mighty men, and how unlawful it is, by the word of God, to malign the rulers of the people. Neither, I thank God, have I any affection to blot paper with depraving words; and therefore, I will report to you what is done and no further. My Lord Anderſon, in his firſt and ſecond charge at Lincoln, inſinuated with wonderful vehemency, that the country is troubled with Browniſts, with Diſciplinarians, as he called them; and erectors of Preſbyteries. I ſpeak the truth to you, Sir, having been at Alford theſe fourteen years, I never heard of any Browniſt, but only one Thomas Man, who preſently fled upon his ſchiſm: nor do know any miniſter or other in all this country, that doth ſo much as favour the erecting of a preſbytery. Neither are the people made acquainted with the controverſy of diſcipline, in all Lindſey coaſt, that I can perceive. For men have enough to do, to ſtand by that religion which her bleſſed Majeſty hath approved unto us, by her expreſs laws. Nevertheleſs, the ill affected people, upon the occaſion of theſe two charges, do think all religion will be made Browniſm. And this judge, with

in cases as well ecclesiastical as civil, and were, in that light, enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace; wherefore of such he directed the grand juries to enquire, that they might be punished (*k*). He was, indeed, a very rigid lawyer, one who governed himself entirely by statutes, and thought only that to be right which was law. This appeared very signally in his conduct at the trial of Henry Cuffe, who was Secretary to the Earl of Essex, where the Attorney-General charging the prisoner syllogistically, and Cuffe answering him in the same style, L. C. J. Anderson said smartly, *I sit here to judge of Law, and not of Logick*, and directed Mr. Attorney to press the statute of Edward III, which was that on which Mr. Cuffe was indicted (*l*). His sternness made him more feared than loved. However, as an able lawyer, and a Judge of great experience, he kept his post, in the execution of which he was reputed severe and strict in the observation of what was taught in courts, and laid down as law by Reports: but this ought to be considered as a vulgar opinion, only grounded on his known attachment to the constitution, and his high notions of the reasonableness of our laws; for otherwise we have his express declaration to the contrary, and that he neither expected precedents in all cases, nor would be bound by them where he saw they were not founded upon justice, but would act as if there were no such precedents (*m*) [*D*]. His steadiness was so great, that he valued no interest at court, nor would be driven from what he thought right, by any authority whatever, as manifestly appeared in the case of Cavendish, wherein he defied the powerful Earl of Leicester, and got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative (*n*) [*E*]. Neither was it in his own case alone that he shewed this firmness; but in concurrence with his brethren, he remonstrated boldly

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iv. p. 267.

(*l*) Camd. Am. A. D. 1600. England's Worthies, p. 460. Lloyd, p. 805.

(*m*) Goldesborough's Reports, p. 96.

(*n*) Le Neve's MS. Vol. iii. p. 359.

with so much wrath, so many oaths, and such reproachful revilings upon the bench, carrieth himself, that there is offence taken at it by persons of principal credit and note, throughout all the circuits. If he take information from covert Papists of the state of the Church there, how lamentable shall our case be. There have been assays given to extend the statute of recusancy, to those that go to hear sermons elsewhere, though at other times they frequent their own church, and hear divine service most dutifully. In his charge this last time, he called the preachers knaves; saying that they would start up in the pulpit, and speak against every body. And whereas, there was the last Lent obtained by Lord Clinton, and the Deputy-lieutenants, for those parts, with other Justices, the Bishop's allowance, with certain conditions for a meeting to be held at Lowth, to spend the whole day in the hearing of the Word, wherein men might fast if they would; and thereupon certain preachers being moved by them, preached there; he urged thereupon, the statute for conventicles, and animated the grand jury accordingly; affirming that he would complain to her Majesty of any (though never so great) which should shew themselves discontented with the jury for any such matter. The demeanor of him and the other judge, as they sit by turns upon the jail is quite opposite. And those who are maliciously affected, when Mr. Justice Clinch sitteth upon the jail, do labour to adjourn their complaints (though they be before upon the file) to the next assize. And the gentlemen, in the several shires, are endangered by this means to be cast into a faction. The best is, that there is little faction likely to grow among the ministers hereby. For howsoever they differ otherwise, they hold this to be the common cause; and do heartily wish a more christian proceeding. Now the reason why a faction is like to grow in the one and not in the other, is very evident; and that is this; that there are very few in the ministry which are Papists in their hearts. And the most must needs love the common cause of religion: for the other sort you are wise enough to consider the difference.' These passages are taken from a letter, written by a person unknown of the clergy to a person of quality (5). Mr. Neal, in his history of the Puritans, citing a passage from this letter, quotes Strype simply in his margin (6), which must naturally mislead the reader, because there is not one word said of its being only a citation in Strype. This is a material thing. For if the Chief Justice was violent on the one hand, this letter-writer is no less partial on the other; and therefore it was necessary to distinguish, that this was a charge brought against the Chief Justice, and not any conclusion of Mr. Strype's, founded on hearing the evidence on both sides.

(5) Strype's Annals, Vol. iv. p. 267.
(6) History of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 587, 588.

[*D*] *Would act as if there were no such precedents.*] This fact we learn from the Reports in his time, published by Mr. Goldesborough. 'The case of the Resceit was moved again; and *Shuttleworth* said, 'that he cannot be received, because he is named 'in the writ, and said that he had searched all the 'books, and there is not one case, where he which 'is named in the writ, may be received. *Anderson.* 'What of that? Shall not we give judgment be'cause it is not adjudged in the books before? We 'will give judgment according to reason, and if 'there be no reason in the books, I will not regard 'them (7).'

(7) Goldesborough's Report, 4to. 1653, p. 96.

[*E*] *Got the better of Queen Elizabeth in a point of prerogative.*] The case was this: one Mr. Cavendish, who was a creature of the Earl of Leicester's, had procured by his interest the Queen's letters patents, for making out writs of Supersedeas upon Exigents in the court of Common-Pleas, and a message was sent to the Judges to admit him to that office, with which, as they conceived the Queen had no right to grant any such patent, they did not comply. Upon this, Mr. Cavendish, by the assistance of his patron, obtained a letter from the Queen to quicken them, which however did not produce what was expected from it. The courtier, however, pursued his point, and obtained another letter under the Queen's signet and sign manual, conceived in the following terms: 'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you 'well: Whereas we granted to our trusty and well'beloved servant *Richard Cavendish*, Esq; by our 'letters patents, under our great seal of England, 'the making, and writing of all Supersedeas's upon 'Exigent, issuing out of our court of Common'Pleas, and have divers times sent unto you for his 'admittance into the said office, as well by message 'delivered by persons near about us, as otherwise, 'which nevertheless hath been neglected; in consi'deration whereof, we, for that our said servant 'was to depart into the Low Countries for a sea'son, gave commandment for the sequestration *de les profits* of the said office, until our further pleasure 'therein should be declared, wherefore for that we 'look for some more dutiful regard to be had by you 'of our prerogative royal, we have thought good 'to signify our further pleasure unto you in this be'half, which is, that our said servant be no longer 'withholden from the benefit and use of our said 'grant: and these are therefore to will and com'mand you, and every of you, that immediately, 'upon the sight thereof, without any further delay, 'you cause present payment to be made unto him, 'or to his assign, of all the aforesaid profits, since 'the day of our said grant upon bond, with condi'tion, that if, from time of his admission into the 'said office, he, his deputy or deputies, shall by 'virtue of our said grant, hold and enjoy the same, 'without lawful eviction or recovery thereof, out of 'the hands of him or his deputy or deputies, by any 'other pretended title to the making and writing 'the said writs, that then the said obligation to be void,

boldly againſt ſuch acts of power as were but too common in thoſe days, and that too with effect, as appears by that memorable remonſtrance recorded by him in his Reports, and which ought to claim a place in our hiſtory [*F*]. On the acceſſion of King James I, he was continued in his office by that Monarch (*o*), and held it in all upwards of twenty-four years, to the time of his death, which fell out at London, Auguſt 1, 1605 (*p*). His body was interred on the fifteenth of September following, at Eyworth in Bedfordſhire, with great funeral pomp; and in his office he was ſucceeded by Sir Francis Gawdy (*q*). His works are ſtill, and have been always, eſteemed by lawyers; and therefore an account is given of them in a note [*G*]. Our Chief Juſtice married (*r*) Magdalen, daughter of Nicholas Smith of Annables in Hertfordſhire, by whom he was remark-

(*o*) Patent. 1 Jacob. p. 24.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials. Vol. ii. p. 141.
(*q*) Dugdale's Chronic. Series, p. 162.

(*r*) Ex Stem. prædict. pen. Dom. Edmond. Anderſon.

'void, &c. And furthermore our will and pleaſure 'is, and thereunto we will and command you, that 'upon our ſaid ſervant offering of himſelf unto you 'in our ſaid court, this next term, you preſently, 'without any further delay, admit him unto the uſe, 'execution, and profits, of the ſaid office, according 'to our ſaid grant, for that we be nothing ignorant, 'that if any of your clerks have any ſuch title or 'intereſt as they pretend, both our laws lie open 'for their remedy, and alſo they be perſons both for 'wealth and ſkill, able to recover their own right if 'any ſuch be: in conſideration whereof, we look 'that you and every of you ſhould thankfully fulfil 'our commandment therein, and then our letters 'ſhall be your warrant, &c. Given under, &c. 'the twenty-firſt day of April, 1587, *ann.* 29 Eliz.' This letter was delivered in the preſence of the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Leiceſter, in the beginning of Eaſter term in the ſaid year, and the Judges deſired time to conſider of it, and then anſwered, that they could not comply with the letter, becauſe it was inconſiſtent with their duty, and to their oaths of office. The Queen upon this appointed the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Queen's Bench, and the Maſter of the Rolls, to hear this matter, and the Queen's Serjeant having ſet forth her prerogative, it was ſhewn by the Judges, that they could not grant offices by virtue of the Queen's letters, where it did not appear to them that ſhe had a power to grant; and that as the Judges were bound by their oaths of office, ſo her Majeſty was reſtrained by her coronation oath, from ſuch arbitrary interpoſitions, with which her Majeſty was ſatisfied (8).

(8) Anderſon's Reports, P. i. p. 152—158.

[*F*] *Claim a place in our hiſtory.*] The Chief Juſtice tells us in his Reports, that many people being committed to different priſons without good cauſe, and being releaſed by the courts of King's Bench and Common-Pleas, notwithſtanding the endeavours of great men to the contrary, it was reſolved to endeavour the obtaining ſome remedy, and with this view the Judges drew up the following paper: 'We her 'Majeſty's Juſtices of both the benches, and Barons 'of the Exchequer, deſire your Lordſhips, that by 'ſome good means, ſome order may be taken, that 'her Highneſs's ſubjects may not be committed nor 'detained in priſon by commandment of any Noble-'man or Counſellor, againſt the laws of the realm, 'either elſe to help us to have acceſs to her Majeſty, 'to the end to become ſuitors to her for the ſame.

'For divers have been impriſoned, for ſuing ordi-'nary actions and ſuits at the common law, until 'they have been conſtrained to leave the ſame againſt 'their wills, and put the ſame to order, albeit judg-'ment and execution have been had therein to their 'great loſſes and griefs.

'For the aid of which perſons, her Majeſty's writs 'have ſundry times been directed to divers perſons, 'having the cuſtody of ſuch perſons unlawfully im-'priſoned, upon which writs no good or lawful 'cauſe of impriſonment hath been returned or cer-'tified: whereupon, according to the laws, they have 'been diſcharged from their impriſonment.

'Some of which perſons ſo delivered, have been 'again committed to priſon in ſecret places, and not 'to any common or ordinary priſons, or lawful offi-'cer, as Sheriff, or other lawfully authorized, to 'have, or keep a gaol; ſo that upon complaint 'made for their delivery, the Queen's courts can-'not learn to whom to direct her Majeſty's writs, 'and by this means juſtice cannot be done.

'And moreover divers officers, and Serjeants of 'London, have been many times committed to priſon, 'for lawfully executing her Majeſty's writs, ſued 'forth of her Majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, and 'thereby her Majeſty's ſubjects and officers ſo terri-'fied, as they dare not ſue, or execute her Majeſty's 'laws, her writs and commandments.

'Divers others have been ſent for by Purſuivants 'and brought to London from their dwellings, and 'by unlawful impriſonment have been conſtrained, 'not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but have 'alſo been compelled to pay the Purſuivants ſo 'bringing ſuch perſons, great ſums of money.

'All which upon complaint, the Judges are bound 'by office and oath, to relieve and help, by and ac-'cording to her Majeſty's laws.

'And where it pleaſed your Lordſhips to will di-'vers of us, to ſet down in what caſes a perſon ſent 'to cuſtody by her Majeſty, her council, ſome one or 'two of them are to be detained in priſon, and not 'delivered by her Majeſty's Courts or Judges, we 'think that if any perſon be committed by her Ma-'jeſty's commandment from her perſon, or by order 'from her Council-board; or if any one or two of 'her council commit one for high treaſon, ſuch per-'ſons, ſo in the caſe before committed, may not be 'delivered by any of her courts without due trial by 'the law, and judgment of acquittal had.

'Nevertheleſs the Judges may award the Queen's 'writs, to bring the bodies of ſuch perſons before 'them, and if upon return thereof, the cauſes of their 'commitment be certified to the Judges as it ought 'to be, then the Judges in the caſes before ought not 'to deliver him, but to remand the priſoner to the 'place from whence he came.

'Which cannot conveniently be done, unleſs no-'tice of the cauſe in generality, or elſe eſpecially, 'be given to the keeper or gaoler that ſhall have 'the cuſtody of ſuch priſoner.

'All the Judges and Barons, &c. did ſubſcribe 'their names to theſe articles, Eaſter Term 34 Eliz. 'and deliver one to the Lord Chancellor, and one 'other to the Lord Treaſurer, after which time, 'there did follow more quietneſs than before, in the 'cauſes before mentioned (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* P. i. p. 297.

[*G*] *An account is given of them in a note.*] As to the writings of this great lawyer, beſides his readings, which are yet in manuſcript, and were a little more than thirty years ago in a public ſale, his printed works are theſe: 1. Reports of many principal caſes argued and adjudged in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the common bench, London 1644, folio. 2. Reſolutions and judgments on the caſes and matters agitated in all the courts of Weſtminſter, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Publiſhed by John Goldeſborough, Eſq; prothonotary of the Common Pleas, London 1653, *4to*. C.

[Mr. Granger very properly obſerves, that Sir Edmund Anderſon's diſtinction in the caſe of Secretary Daviſon, "that he had done *juſtum, non juſte*," 'was excellent logic for finding an innocent man 'guilty. It was drawn from the ſame mood and 'figure with the Queen's Order and No-order 'for Daviſon's ſigning the warrant. The Lord 'Chief Juſtice, who was otherwiſe no bad man him-'ſelf, was obliged to find him guilty, upon pain of 'being deprived of his office (10).' The fear of loſing an office is but a very inſufficient excuſe for the violation of integrity. If, on this account, a Judge muſt be obliged to condemn an innocent perſon, there would, in critical times, be an end of all ſecurity and juſtice among men. The beſt extenuation of Sir Edmund Anderſon's conduct (ſo far as it will admit of being extenuated) muſt be ſought for in the general character of the age, and the arbitrary ſpirit of the Princes of the Houſe of Tudor. Theſe Princes ſeem to have gained ſuch an aſcendancy

(10) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. i. p. 235, note.

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remarkably happy in his iſſue, which were three ſons, Edward, Francis, William; and ſix daughters, two of which died young. Of thoſe that ſurvived, Elizabeth married Sir Hatton Farmer, Knt. anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Pontefract; Griſelda eſpouſed Sir John Shefeld, Knt. from whom deſcended the late Duke of Buckinghamſhire. Catherine became the wife of Sir George Booth, Bart. anceſtor to the Earls of Warrington; and Margaret, by Sir Thomas Monſon, Bart. eſtabliſhed the family of the Lords Monſon. As for the ſons, Edward the eldeſt died without iſſue. Francis the ſecond ſon was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and his youngeſt ſon by his ſecond wife, Sir John Anderſon, of St. Ives, in the county of Huntington, was created Baronet in 1628 (*s*). William, the Chief Juſtice's youngeſt ſon, left one ſon Edmond, who was created Baronet by King Charles II., and his family ſtill flouriſhes at Kilnwick Piercy, in the eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire (*t*). Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir of Stephen Anderſon, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Francis Anderſon before mentioned, was likewiſe raiſed to the dignity of a Baronet, in the ſixteenth of Charles II., and his honour was lately poſſeſſed by his direct deſcendant, Sir (*u*) StephenAnderſon, of Broughton in Lincolnſhire, and Eyworth in Bedfordſhire (*w*).

(*s*) See the funeral Certificate Book of William Camden, Eſq; Clarencieux in the College of Arms, marked I. 16 fol. 212.

(*w*) The Title is now extinct.

(*t*) By information from the Rev. Mr. Wilkinſon.

(*u*) By information from the family.

over the *minds* of the ſervants of the Crown, that they ſcrupled nothing, where the intereſt and will of the Sovereign were concerned. An entire ſubmiſſion to that intereſt and will appears even to have entered into their ideas of duty. The compliances of men, otherwiſe the moſt reſpectable, were ſo numerous and aſtoniſhing, that they can ſcarcely be accounted for on the merely ſelfiſh principle of keeping a poſt of honour and profit. Sir Edmund Anderſon tranſgreſſed with almoſt every other perſon in a public ſtation and office. We do not mean, by this remark, to vindicate his conduct. It cannot poſſibly be vindicated; and he appears beſides, in his general behaviour as a Magiſtrate, to have been ſo unamiable, harſh, and ſevere a man, that we do not wonder at his being complained of by the Puritan writers. The wretched ſtate of diſtributive juſtice, eſpecially in all caſes where the crown was to be gratified, is a feature of peculiar deformity in the portrait of the times concerning which we are ſpeaking. The ſituation of England, with regard to the incorruptibility of its Judges, and the maintenance of equal right between the Prince and the people, hath, ſince the era of the Revolution, been incomparably happy.] K.

ANDREWS (LANCELOT), an eminent Divine, and Biſhop of Wincheſter in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., was born at London, in 1565, in the pariſh of All Hallows Barking, being deſcended from the ancient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk (*a*) [*A*]. He had his education in grammar-learning, firſt in the Coopers free-ſchool at Ratcliff under Mr. Ward; and afterwards in Merchant Taylors ſchool at London, under Mr. Mulcaſter. Here he made ſuch a proficiency in the learned languages, that Dr. Watts, Reſidentiary of St. Paul's and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who had lately founded ſome ſcholarſhips (*b*) at Pembroke hall in Cambridge, ſent him to that college, and beſtowed on him the firſt of thoſe exhibitions. After he had been three years in the univerſity, his cuſtom was to come up to London once a year, about Eaſter, to viſit his father and mother, with whom he uſually ſtayed a month; during which time, with the aſſiſtance of a maſter, he applied himſelf to the attaining ſome language or art, to which he was before a ſtranger: and by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and ſciences, and acquired a competent ſkill in moſt of the modern languages. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college [*B*]. In the mean time Hugh Price, having built Jeſus-college in Oxford, and hearing much of the fame of young Mr. Andrews, appointed him one of his firſt Fellows (*c*) on that foundation. Having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, in the knowledge of which he greatly excelled; inſomuch that, being choſen Catechiſt in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the Ten Commandments every Saturday and Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the univerſity, and even out of the country, duly reſorted to Pembroke chapel, as to a Divinity lecture. At the ſame time, he was eſteemed ſo profound a Caſuiſt, that he was often conſulted in the niceſt and moſt difficult caſes of conſcience. And now his reputation being ſpread far and near, Henry Earl of Huntington prevailed upon him to accompany him into the North, of which he was Preſident; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he uſed a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted ſeveral Recuſants, Prieſts as well as others, to the Proteſtant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir Francis Walſingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth (*d*). That Miniſter, who was unwilling ſo fine a genius ſhould be buried in the obſcurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him Reader of controverſies in the univerſity of Cambridge, aſſigned him for his maintenance the leaſe of the parſonage of Alton in Hampſhire (*e*), and afterwards pro-

(*a*) Mr. Iſaacſon's Life of Biſhop Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, Lond. 1651.

(*b*) Since called Greek Scholarſhips.

(*c*) Mr. Wood calls them Honorary or Titular Scholars. Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 122.

(*d*) Life of Biſhop Andrews, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) His Funeral Sermon, by the Biſhop of Ely, ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of his ſermons, in 1631, p. 18.

[*A*] *He was deſcended from the ancient family of the Andrews's in Suffolk.*] His father, who had ſpent moſt part of his life at ſea, was, on the decline of his years, choſen maſter of the Trinity-houſe at Deptford (1).'

[*B*] *He was, upon a vacancy, choſen fellow of his college.*] There being at that time but one vacant fellowſhip, and Mr. Dove (afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough) being then a ſcholar of the houſe, and well approved of by the ſociety; the maſter and fellows put the two young gentlemen to a trial before them in ſome Academical exerciſes: upon the performance of which they preferred Mr. Andrews, and elected him into the fellowſhip. However, being unwilling to loſe Mr. Dove, for whom they had a great eſteem, they made him an allowance for his preſent maintenance, under the title of *Tanquam Socius* (2).

(1) Mr. Iſaacſon's Life of Bp. Andrews, apud Fuller's Abel Redivivus, London, 1651.

(2) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

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cured for him the Vicarage of St. Giles's Cripplegate, in London. Afterwards he was choſen a Prebendary and Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, as alſo Prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at St. Paul's, in term time. Upon the death of Dr. Fulke, he was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall, of which he had been Scholar and Fellow: a place of more honour than profit, ſince he ſpent more upon it than he received from it, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that college [*C*]. He was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who took ſuch delight in his preaching, that ſhe firſt made him a Prebendary of Weſtminſter, in the room of Dr. Richard Bancroft promoted to the See of London; and afterwards Dean of that church, in the room of Dr. Gabriel Goodman deceaſed (*f*). Dr. Andrews ſoon grew into far greater eſteem with her ſucceſſor King James I., who not only gave him the preference to all other Divines as a preacher, but likewiſe made choice of him to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies [*D*]. That King promoted him to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, to which he was conſecrated November 3, 1605 (*g*). At the ſame time he made him his Lord Almoner; in which place of great truſt he behaved with ſingular fidelity, diſpoſing of the royal benevolence in the propereſt manner, and not making thoſe advantages to himſelf that he might legally and fairly have done (*h*). Upon the vacancy of the Biſhoprick of Ely, he was advanced to that See, and conſecrated September 22, 1609 (*i*). He was nominated one of his Majeſty's Privy Counſellors of England; and afterwards of Scotland, when he attended the King in his journey to that kingdom. After he had ſat nine years in that See, he was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Wincheſter, and Deanery of the King's chapel, February 18, 1618 (*k*); which two laſt preferments he held till his death. There is a pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the *Life of Mr. Waller* the Poet [*E*]. This great Prelate was in no leſs reputation and eſteem with King Charles I., than he had been with his predeceſſors. At length he departed this life, at Wincheſter houſe in Southwark, September 25, 1626, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age; and was buried in the pariſh-church of St. Saviour's, Southwark; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaſter, on which is an elegant Latin inſcription [*F*], written by one of his Chaplains. Beſides the *Tortura Torti* already mentioned (*l*), Biſhop Andrews

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol i. col. 122. and Life of Biſhop Andrews, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. p. 58. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Le Neve, *ib.* p. 70. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Le Neve, *ibid.* p. 287. and Life, &c. ubi ſupra.

(*l*) See the remark [*D*].

[*C*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to Pembroke-Hall.*] When he firſt became maſter of that college, he found it in debt, being then of a very ſmall endowment: but, by his care and management, he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treaſury, towards improving the college eſtate. By his laſt Will and Teſtament, he left to that college one thouſand pounds, to purchaſe lands for two fellowſhips, and other uſes; three hundred volumes in folio to the library, of ſuch books as were not there before; and laſtly, a gilt cup, baſon, and ewer, exactly like thoſe given three hundred years before to the college by the pious foundreſs (3).

(3) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *King James ——— made choice of him to vindicate his ſovereignty againſt the virulent pens of his enemies.*] His Majeſty having, in his *Defence of the Rights of Kings* (4), aſſerted the authority of Chriſtian Princes over cauſes and perſons eccleſiaſtical, Cardinal Bellarmin, under the name of Matthew Tortus, attacked him with great vehemence and bitterneſs. The King ſet Biſhop Andrews to anſwer the Cardinal; who did it, with great ſpirit and judgment, in a piece entitled, Tortura Torti: ſive, ad Matthæi Torti Librum Reſponſio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam Sereniſſimi Potentiſſimique Principis Jacobi, Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro Juramento Fidelitatis, *i. e. Tortus put to the Torture: Or, An Anſwer to Matthew Tortus's Book lately publiſhed againſt the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, written by the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince James by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.* It was printed at London by Roger Barker, the King's printer, in 1609, in quarto, containing 402 pages, and dedicated to the King. The ſubſtance of what the Biſhop advances in this treatiſe, and with great ſtrength of reaſon and evidence evinces, is, that Kings have power both to call Synods and confirm them; and to do all other things, which the Emperors heretofore diligently performed, and which the Biſhops of thoſe times willingly acknowledged of right to belong to them. *Ut conſiſtat adhuc poteſtas ſua regibus, qua & Synodos convocare & confirmare poſſent; & obire reliqua omnia, quæ & olim qui Imperatores diligenter obierunt, & qui tum epiſcopi libenter agnoverunt* (5). Caſaubon (6) gives this book of Biſhop Andrews's the character of being written with great accuracy and diligence. *Exactiſſimæ fidei & diligentiæ ſcriptum.*

(4) Printed among his Works, p. 427.

(5) Tortura Torti, p. 177.

(6) In Epiſt. ad Frontonem Ducæum.

[*E*] *A pleaſant ſtory related of him, while he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the Life of Mr. Waller the Poet.*] That gentleman going to ſee the King at dinner, overheard a very extraordinary converſation between his Majeſty and two Prelates, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Dr. Neale, Biſhop of Durham, who were ſtanding behind the King's chair. 'His Ma-'jeſty aſked the Biſhops; *My Lords, cannot I take my 'ſubjects money when I want it, without all this for-'mality in Parliament?* The Biſhop of Durham 'readily anſwered; *God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould; 'you are the breath of our noſtrils.* Whereupon the 'King turned, and ſaid to the Biſhop of Wincheſter; '*Well, my Lord, what ſay you?* Sir, replied the Bi-'ſhop, *I have no ſkill to judge of Parliamentary 'caſes.* The King anſwered; *No put offs, my Lord; 'anſwer me preſently. Then, Sir,* ſaid he, *I think it 'lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for 'he offers it.* Mr. Waller ſaid, the company was 'pleaſed with this anſwer, and the wit of it ſeemed 'to affect the King. For a certain Lord coming in 'ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, *O my Lord, they 'ſay you* LIG *with my Lady. No, Sir,* ſays his Lord-'ſhip in confuſion; *but I like her company, becauſe 'ſhe has ſo much wit. Why, then,* ſays the King, '*do not you* LIG *with my Lord of Wincheſter 'there* (7)?

(7) Life of Mr. Waller, prefixed to his Works.

[*F*] There is on his monument, *An elegant Latin inſcription.*] It is as follows:

LECTOR,
Si Chriſtianus es, ſiſte:
Moræ pretium erit,
Non neſcire te, qui vir hic ſitus ſit.
Ejuſdem tecum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Membrum,
Sub eadem felicis Reſurrectionis ſpe,
Eandem D. Jeſu præſtolans Epiphaniam,
Sacratiſſimus Antiſtes LANCELOTUS ANDREWS,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiæ,
AulæPembroch. Alumnorum,Sociorum,Præfectorum,
Unus, & nemini ſecundus.
Linguarum, Artium, Scientiarum,
Humanorum, Divinorum omnium
Infinitus Theſaurus, ſtupendum Oraculum:

drews wrote *A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and *A Manual of Directions for the Viſitation of the Sick*; beſides *Sermons* [G], and ſeveral *Tracts* in Engliſh and Latin, publiſhed after his death [H]. He had a ſhare in the tranſlation of the *Pentateuch*, and the hiſtorical Books from *Joſhua* to the *Firſt Book of*

Orthodoxæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ
Dictis, Scriptis, Precibus, Exemplo,
Incomparabile Propugnaculum:
Reginæ Elizabethæ à Sacris,
D. Pauli London. Reſidentiarius,
D. Petri Weſtmonaſt. Decanus,
Epiſcopus Ciceſtrenſis, Elienſis, Wintonienſis,
Regique Jacobo tum ab Eleemoſynis,
Tum ab utriuſque Regni Conſiliis,
Decanus denique Sacelli Regii.
Idem ex
Indefeſſa opera in ſtudiis,
Summa ſapientia in rebus,
Aſſidua pietate in Deum,
Profuſa largitate in Egenos,
Rara Amœnitate in ſuos,
Spectata probitate in omnes,
Æternum admirandus.
Annorum pariter & publicæ famæ ſatur,
Sed bonorum paſſim omnium cum luctu denatus,
Cælebs hinc migravit ad Aureolam cæleſtem,
Anno
Regis Caroli II, Ætatis ſuæ LXXI°,
Chriſti M DC XXVI°.
Tantum eſt (Lector) quod te mœrentes poſteri
Nunc volebant, atque ut ex Voto tuo valeas, Dicto
Sit Deo Gloria.

i. e. 'Reader, if thou art a Chriſtian, ſtay; it will be 'worth thy tarrying, to know how great a man lies 'here. A member of the ſame Catholic Church with 'thyſelf; under the ſame hope of a happy reſurrec-'tion; and in expectation of the ſame appearance 'of our Lord Jeſus: the moſt holy Biſhop LANCE-'LOT ANDREWS; born at London; educated at 'Cambridge; one of the Scholars, Fellows, and 'Maſters of Pembroke-Hall, and inferior to none: 'an infinite treaſure, an amazing oracle, of lan-'guages, arts and ſciences, and every branch of 'human and divine learning: an incomparable bul-'wark of the Orthodox Church of Chriſt, by his 'converſation, writings, prayers, and example. He 'was chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth; 'Reſidentiary of St. Paul's in London; Dean of St. 'Peter's Weſtminſter; Biſhop, firſt of Chicheſter, 'then of Ely, and laſtly of Wincheſter; Almoner to 'King James, Privy-Counſellor of both kingdoms, 'and Dean of the Royal Chapel. He merits eter-'nal admiration, for his indefatigable application 'to his ſtudies, his conſummate experience and ſkill 'in affairs, his conſtant piety towards God, his li-'berality and charity to the poor, his uncommon 'affability and humanity to thoſe about him, and 'his unſhaken integrity towards all. Full of years 'and reputation, to the regret of all good men, he 'died a bachelor, and exchanged this life for a 'crown of glory; in the ſecond year of King Charles, 'the ſeventy-firſt of his age, and that of Chriſt '1626. Reader, farewel, and give glory to God.'

[G] *His ſermons.*] In the volume of his ſermons, dedicated to King Charles I. there are ſeventeen on the Nativity, preached on Chriſtmas-day; eight upon Repentance and Faſting, preached on Aſhwed-neſday; ſix preached in Lent; three on the Paſ-ſion, preached on Good-Friday; eighteen on the Re-ſurrection, preached upon Eaſter-day; fifteen on the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt, preached upon Whit-ſunday; eight preached on the fifth of Auguſt; ten on the fifth of November, and eleven on ſeveral oc-caſions. They were publiſhed by the direction of his Majeſty, and under the care and inſpection of Dr. William Laud, then Biſhop of London, and Dr. John Buckeridge, Biſhop of Ely; the latter of whom preached Biſhop Andrews's funeral ſermon. 'When 'the author died *(ſay theſe editors in their dedica-'tion to the King)*, your Majeſty thought it not fit his 'ſermons ſhould die with him. And though they 'could not live with all that elegance, which they 'had upon his tongue, yet you were graciouſly 'pleaſed to think a *paper-life* better than none. 'Upon this, your Majeſty gave us a ſtrict charge, 'that we ſhould overlook the papers (as well Ser-'mons as other *Tractates)* of that reverend and 'worthy Prelate, and print all that we found per-'fect. Had they not come perfect, we ſhould not 'have ventured to add any limme unto them, leſt 'mixing a pen farre inferior, we ſhould have diſ-'figured ſuch complete bodies. Your Majeſty's firſt 'care was for the preſſe, that the work might be 'public. Your ſecond was for the work itſelf, that 'it might come forth worthy the author; which 'could not be, if it came not forth as he left it. 'In purſuance of theſe two, we have brought the 'work to light, and we have done it with care and 'fidelity: for as the ſermons were preached, ſo are 'they publiſhed. When he preached them, they 'had the general approbation of the court, and they 'made him famous for making them. Now they 'are printed, we hope they will have the general 'liking of the church, and enlarge and endeare his 'name to them that knew not him.' Dr. Fuller tells us, Biſhop Andrews *was an unimitable preacher in his way, and ſuch plagiaries who have ſtolen his ſermons could never ſteal his preaching, and could make nothing of that, whereof he made all things as he deſired. Pious and pleaſant Biſhop Felton* (he adds) *his contem-porary and colleague, endeavoured in vain in his ſer-mons to aſſimulate his ſtyle, and therefore ſaid merrily of himſelf:* '*I had almoſt marred my own natural trot by* '*endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble* (8).' But however admired Biſhop Andrews's ſermons were in that age, they are not in ſuch eſteem with the critics of the preſent. For, notwithſtanding the learning and good ſenſe with which they abound, yet the affectation in the ſtyle, and compoſition, makes them no longer read with pleaſure. Even a contemporary author (9) cenſured them as *affected and ſurcharged with verbal alluſions.* And a modern writer tells us, that 'Biſhop Andrews, and the moſt 'eminent Divines in the beginning of the laſt cen-'tury, reduced preaching to punning, and the elo-'quence of the chair to the buffoonery of the 'ſtage (10).'

(8) Worthies of England, Lond. p. 206, 207.

(9) Bayley, in his Laudenſium de-tocatacitica.

(10) Mr. Old-mixon, Art of Logic and Rhe-toric, p. 20.

[H] *Several tracts, publiſhed after his death.*] 1. Reſponſio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam ſereniſſimi ac potentiſſimi principis Jacobi, &c. om-nibus Chriſtianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Or-dinibus inſcriptam; *i. e. An Anſwer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately publiſhed againſt the Monitory Preface of the moſt ſerene and potent Prince King James*, &c. *addreſſed to all Chriſtian Monarchs, Princes, and States.* 2. *Tortura Torti* (11). 3. Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris; *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divi-nity.* 4. Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuarienſis Provinciæ ad Divi Pauli; *i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's.* 5. Concio Latine habita coram regia Majeſtate quinto Auguſti MDC VI, in Aula Grenvici, quo tem-pore venerat in Angliam, Regem noſtrum inviſurus, ſereniſſimus potentiſſimuſque princeps Chri-ſtianus Quartus Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex; *i. e. A La-tin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, Auguſt* 5, 1606, *at the time when the moſt ſerene and powerful Prince Chriſtiern* IV. *King of Den-mark and Norway, was come into England to viſit our King.* 6. Concio Latine habita coram regia Ma-jeſtate decimo tertio Aprilis MDC XIII, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectiſſima ſua conjuge, diſceſſurus erat Gener Regis, ſereniſſimus potentiſſi-muſque princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhe-num; *i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at Greenwich, April* 13, 1613, *when the King's Son-in-law, the moſt ſerene and potent Prince Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, was about to de-part with his deareſt Conſort.* 7. Queſtionis, nun-quid per jus divinum magiſtratui liceat à reo juſju-randum exigere? & id quatenus & quouſque liceat? Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ menſe Julii Anni 1591; *i. e.*

(11) See the re-mark [D].

A Theo-

of Chronicles exclusively (*m*). The character of Bishop Andrews, both public and private, was in every respect great and singular. The author of his *Life*, so often referred to, celebrates, in particular, his great zeal and piety [*I*], his charity and compassion [*K*], his fidelity and integrity [*L*], his gratitude and thankfulness [*M*], his munificence and bounty [*N*], his hospitality [*O*], his humanity and affability [*P*], his

(*m*) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. ii. B. viii. p. 693.

A Theological Determination of the question, Whether the Civil Magistrate has a Right by the Law of God, 'to require an Oath of an accused Person, and how far it may be lawful'; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the Month of July, 1591. 8. De Usuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ; *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Usury, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge.* 9. De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ. *i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge*; 10. Responsiones ad Petri Molinæi Epistolas tres, una cum Molinæi Epistolis; *i. e. Answers to three Letters of Du Moulin's, with Du Moulin's Letters.* 11. Strictura: *Or, A Brief Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the first Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to King James his Answer, written by Mr. Casaubon in Latin.* 12. *An Answer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply*, &c. 13. *A Speech, delivered in the Star-Chamber, against the two Judaical Opinions* (12) *of Mr. Traske.* 14. *A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning vows, in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Case* (13). These pieces were printed at London, after the author's death, by Felix Kyngston, in *4to*, 1629, and dedicated to King Charles I. by the Bishops of London and Ely. There are extant, besides, 15. *The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular*; published by John Jackson, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. Ἀπομνημόνευτα Sacra: *Or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St. Paul's and St. Giles's Cripplegate church.* London, 1657, fol.

(12) 1. That Christians are bound to abstain from meats prohibited in Leviticus. 2. That they are bound to observe the Jewish Sabbath.

(13) That lady was convicted of disobedience for refusing to answer or be examined, on pretence she had made a solemn vow to the contrary.

[*I*] *His great zeal and piety.*] These were distinguishable in his private and secret devotions, in which he daily spent many hours; and in his public prayers with his family. His chapel, in which he had monthly communions, was so decently and reverently adorned, and the behaviour of himself and his family so pious and exemplary, that many, who came thither (even through accident) in the time of divine service, were greatly affected therewith, and excited to the like reverend deportment; and some even desired to end their days in Bishop Andrews's chapel (14).

(14) Life, &c. ubi supra.

[*K*] *His charity and compassion.*] These he practised even before he came to great preferments, extending his charity in a liberal manner to the relief of poor parishioners, and prisoners; besides his constant Sunday alms in his parish of St. Giles's. But when his means became greater, his charity increased in a large proportion. And one thing in his manner of relieving the distressed, is remarkable, that he always gave strict charge to his servants, whom he entrusted with the distribution of his bounty, not to acknowledge from whence the relief came, but give it as from a benefactor unknown. His private alms alone, in his last six years, amounted to upwards of 1300 *l.* Nor did his charity end with his life: for by his last Will, he left 4000 *l.* to purchase 200 *l. per annum*, in land, to be distributed quarterly in the following manner: to aged and decayed poor men, especially sea-faring men, fifty pounds; to poor widows, the wives of one husband, fifty pounds; to the binding of poor orphans apprentices, fifty pounds; and to the relief of poor prisoners, fifty pounds. He left besides, to be distributed presently after his death, among maid-servants of honest report, and who had served one master or mistress seven years, the sum of two hundred pounds. Lastly, a great part of his estate, which remained after the expences of his funeral and his legacies were discharged, he left to be distributed among his poor servants (15).

(15) *Ibid.*

[*L*] *His fidelity and integrity.*] He was ever careful to keep in good repair the houses of all his spiritual preferments, and spent much money that way; as, upon the vicarage-house of St. Giles's, the prebendal and deanery houses of Westminster. He expended upon the episcopal palace of Chichester above 420 *l.* upon that of Ely above 2440 *l.* and upon that of Winchester 2000 *l.* But his fidelity and integrity were most discoverable in his pastoral care and government of his dioceses. He filled the vacant preferments, which were in his own gift, with the ablest and best men; and often conferred benefices on men of character and learning, who stood in need of them, without any solicitation or request on their part. So that what was once said of St. Chrysostom, may be fitly applied to Bishop Andrews: *In administratione Episcopatus præbuit se fidelem, constantem, & vigilantem Ministrum Christi.* Nor was he less faithful in the discharge of those temporal offices, with which he was vested. Not to mention here his conduct as head of Pembroke-hall (16), his regulation of Westminster college and school sufficiently speak for him. To which may be added, that, whereas by virtue of his deanery of Westminster, his mastership of Pembroke-hall, and his Bishoprick of Ely, the election of scholars into the school of Westminster, and from thence to the two Universities, as also of many scholars and fellows in Pembroke-hall, some in Peterhouse, and some in Jesus-college, was in his power and his disposal; he waved all letters of recommendation from great persons; and, setting aside all favour and affection, chose only such as in his judgment were fittest (17).

(16) See the remark [*C*].

(17) *Ibid.*

[*M*] *His gratitude and thankfulness.*] Of this virtue there were several instances. Among the rest, he gave the living of Waltham in Hampshire to Dr. Ward, son of his first schoolmaster. And he always retained so high an esteem for his other schoolmaster Mr. Mulcaster, that he used to place him at the upper end of his table; and, after his death, caused his picture to be hung up over his study-door. After much enquiry concerning the kindred of Dr. Watts, who had bestowed on him his first scholarship at Pembroke-hall, he found but one; to whom, being a scholar, he gave preferments in that college; and at his death ordered, by his Will, that out of the scholarships of Dr. Watts's foundation, the two fellowships, which he himself had founded at Pembroke-hall, should be supplied, if such scholars should be found qualified for them (18).

(18) *Ibid.*

[*N*] *His munificence and bounty.*] After he became a Bishop, he never visited either of the Universities, but he left fifty or an hundred pounds to be distributed among poor scholars. And when King James honoured the university of Cambridge with his presence in 1617, Bishop Andrews, who was present with his Majesty at the Philosophy-Act, sent, at his departure, to four of the disputants, forty pieces of gold, of two and twenty shillings a piece, to be divided equally among them. To these instances may be added, the magnificent entertainment he gave his said Majesty at Farnham Castle, where in the space of three days he spent three thousand pounds (19).

(19) *Ibid.*

[*O*] *His hospitality.*] His table, which was always plentifully and elegantly furnished, was open to all persons of quality and worth, especially scholars and strangers. And his behaviour to his guests was so courteous, and his discourse so gravely facetious, that those whom he entertained would often profess they never came to any man's table, where they received better satisfaction; and that in respect to the plenty they found there, his Lordship kept Christmas all the year (20).

(20) *Ibid.*

[*P*] *His humanity and affability.*] These were conspicuous, not only in his behaviour towards his guests (as mentioned in the last remark) but in his general conversation; for which he was justly admired by the most famous scholars both at home and abroad: such as (to omit those of our own nation) Casaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, Grotius, Du Moulin, Erpenius, and others (21).

(21) *Ibid.*

modeſty [Q], his diligent application to ſtudy [R], and his talents as a preacher and a writer [S]. He generally hated all ſorts of vices, but more eſpecially three, which were, uſury, ſimony, and ſacrilege [T]. King James had ſo great an awe and veneration for him, that, in his preſence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himſelf at other times (*n*). What opinion my Lord Clarendon had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he remarks, that 'if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop Andrews, or any man 'who underſtood and loved the Church, that infection would eaſily have been kept out, 'which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled (*o*).' Our great Poet Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death (*p*). His ſtyle and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the beſt critics of the preſent (*q*).

(*n*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, B. xi. § 46.

(*o*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. i. p. 88, edit. in 8vo. Oxford, 1721.

(*q*) See the remark [G].

(*p*) *Paradiſe Regained*, &c. Lond. 1725, 12mo. p. 286. Milton was but 17, when he wrote that poem.

[Q] *His modeſty.*] This was ſo great, that, though the whole world took notice of his deep and profound learning, yet he was ſo far from acknowledging it, that he would often complain of his defects, profeſſing that he was but *inutilis ſervus*, nay *inutile pondus*. Being promoted to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, he was ſo ſenſible of his inſufficiency to undergo ſuch a charge, that he cauſed to be engraven about the epiſcopal ſeal theſe words of St. Paul, 'Et ad hæc 'quis idoneus? *i. e. And who is ſufficient for theſe* 'Things?' 2 Cor. ii. 16. (22)

(22) *Ibid.*

[R] *His diligent application to ſtudy.*] This can ſcarcely be paralleled, if we conſider him from his childhood to his old age. Never any man ſpent ſo much time in ſtudy as this reverend Prelate. From the hour he roſe (his private devotions finiſhed) to the time he was called to dinner, which was not till twelve o'clock at the ſooneſt, he kept cloſe to his books, nor would be interrupted by any that came to ſpeak with him, or upon any occaſion, public prayer excepted. And he was ſo diſpleaſed with ſcholars, who attempted to ſpeak with him in a morning, that he would ſay, he doubted they were no true ſcholars that came to him before noon. He would ſpend two or three hours after dinner, in converſing with his gueſts, or in diſpatching his own temporal affairs, or thoſe belonging to his epiſcopal juriſdiction; and having got rid of theſe and the like avocations, he would return to his ſtudy, where he uſually ſpent the reſt of the afternoon until bed-time. Nor was he leſs diligent in his application to ſtudy even at that time of life, when it might be expected he would have taken ſome reſpite from his former pains (23).

(23) *Ibid.*

[S] *His talents as a preacher and a writer.*] He had ſuch a dexterity at preaching, that ſome would ſay of him, he was quick again as ſoon as delivered: ſo that he was truly ſtyled *Stella Prædicantium*, and an angel in the pulpit (24). And as to his acuteneſs and profundity in controverſial writing, he ſo excelled all others of his time, that neither Bellarmin, nor any other of the Romaniſts, were ever able to anſwer what he wrote (25): ſo that, as his ſermons were inimitable, his writings were unanſwerable (26).

(24) See more of his character as a Preacher in the remark [G].

(25) See the remark [D].

(26) *Ibid.*

[T] *He hated three vices more eſpecially, Uſury, Simony, and Sacrilege.*] With reſpect to the firſt of theſe vices, he was ſo far from it himſelf, that, when his friends ſtood in need of ſuch money as he could ſpare, he lent it them freely without intereſt. As to Simony, it was ſo deteſtable to him, that for refuſing to admit ſeveral perſons to livings, whom he ſuſpected to be ſimoniacally preferred, he ſuffered much by ſuits of law; chooſing to be compelled, againſt his will, by the law, to admit them, rather than voluntarily to do that which his conſcience made a ſcruple of. So that what was ſaid of Robert of Winchelſea, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, may be applied to Biſhop Andrews: 'Beneficia eccleſiaſtica nunquam niſi 'doctis contulit; precibus & gratia nobilium fretos '& ambientes ſemper repulit; *i. e. He never conferred* 'eccleſiaſtical preferments on any but men of learning, 'and always rejected thoſe who ſought for them by 'the favour and recommendation of great men.' His abhorrence of Sacrilege appeared from hence, that when the Biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Ely were offered him upon terms favouring that way, he utterly rejected them. And when he was Biſhop of Wincheſter, he refuſed ſeveral large ſums for the renewing of ſome leaſes, becauſe he conceived ſuch renewal would be prejudicial to his ſucceſſors (27). B.

(27) *Ibid.*

[Dr. Andrews had a ſhare in the Tranſlation of the Pentateuch, and in the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament, down to the end of the ſecond book of Kings (28). The great corruption of the oratory of the pulpit, in the opinion of Dr. Birch, may be aſcribed to him; his high reputation, on other accounts, having given a ſanction to the vicious taſte which he introduced ſeveral years before the death of Queen Elizabeth. However, it was the pedantry of King James the Firſt's court which completed the degeneracy of true Eloquence (29). There is, in the General Dictionary, a large extract from one of Biſhop Andrews's ſermons, in which, though there is much diſplay of learning (which the ſubject and the occaſion called for), we ſee nothing of the punning and falſe wit uſually charged upon him (30).—This excellent prelate is an inſtance of how little advantage the greateſt abilities and learning will be, to conſtitute a ſolid and permanent literary reputation, if not united with a juſt taſte in compoſition. The ſubjects, likewiſe, upon which ſeveral of his works were written, though very important at the time he lived in, do not now excite a great attention. Singularly happy are thoſe authors who treat upon matters which are always intereſting, and who do it in a manner that will for ever pleaſe. Such writers, in every age, conſiſt but of a ſmall number.] K.

(28) General Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary, fol. Vol. i. p. 702.

(29) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 21.

(30) Gen. Dict. ubi ſupra, p. 696—698, note [D].

ANDREWS, or as himſelf wrote it, ANDREWE (EUSEBIUS) a gentleman of a good family ſeated in Middleſex (*a*). He was, when young, brought into the family of Lord Capel, to whom he was afterwards Secretary. By the direction of his patron he applied himſelf to the Law, and became a Barriſter of Gray's-Inn, as many authors tell us (*b*), though there ſeems to be good authority to prove his being of Lincoln's Inn (*c*). However, in the year 1642, he quitted the gown, in order to take up arms for his Majeſty King Charles I., whom he ſerved in the honourable poſt of a Colonel, with great loyalty and courage, till the ſurrender of Worceſter in 1645; when, ſuppoſing the King's affairs not capable of being retrieved, he returned privately to London, in order to take ſome care of his own (*d*). He practiſed for ſome time privately, and it ſeems was a man of ſuch capacity, and of ſo ſteady a loyalty, that the Parliament, or rather thoſe who directed it, cauſed ſpies to be placed upon him, from almoſt his firſt coming to town, to the day of his death, or at leaſt of his apprehenſion (*e*). But theſe ſpies finding nothing to report of Colonel Andrewe, but his good affection to the royal cauſe, it was thought proper to puſh him, and ſeveral others, ſince they

(*a*) See Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. ii. p. 136.

(*b*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers, for King Charles I. p. 561. Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 686, a.

(*c*) His dying Speech, printed for John Clowes, 1650, 4to.

(*d*) See Col. Andrewe's Narrative in the State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 325.

(*e*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra. Bates, Elench. Mot. P. ii. p. 82.

they would not do it of themſelves, to take methods for their own ruin [*A*]. With this view, in the Spring of the year 1649, one Mr. John Barnard, who had been Major to Colonel Andrewe's regiment, and who, for his ſober behaviour and great parts, had been much in his favour (*f*), informed the Colonel, that ſome of the Reformadoes, that is, reduced officers in the Parliament's ſervice, were ſorry for what they had done, and inclined to return to their duty, and promote, as far as lay in their power, the ſervice of King Charles II. The ſame perſon brought to the acquaintance of Colonel Andrewe, Captain Holmes, and one Mr. John Benſon, who were in the ſame ſituation with himſelf (*g*). When they were together, Major Barnard propoſed an attempt upon the Iſle of Ely, which he knew Colonel Andrewe had formerly meditated, when in the ſervice of King Charles I. At the ſame time, he told the Colonel, that Sir John Gell, who had been formerly a Colonel in the Parliament ſervice, and who was known to have a great intereſt in his country, would aſſiſt in ſuch a deſign. After ſome diſcourſe, the eighteenth of October was mentioned as a proper day for the enterprize, becauſe it was the fair day (*h*). Some time after this, Captain Holmes brought inſtructions from Sir John Gell, to draw a petition for the payment of his arrears, which Mr. Andrewe performed. Soon after he had a conference with Sir John, whereby he found all that had been reported to him of that gentleman, true. This gave him a greater confidence in the people who had hitherto tranſacted with him, inſomuch that he ventured to make a journey into Cambridgeſhire, on purpoſe to ſee how far his ſcheme of ſurprizing the Iſle of Ely, might be practicable upon a proper occaſion (*i*). On his return, however, finding the ſteps taken by his confederates no way anſwerable to their promiſes, or his own expectations, and finding alſo that he was within the compaſs of a new law, which required all ſuch as had not taken the Proteſtation, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, or ſubſcribed a late engagement, to quit the kingdom by a day prefixed, he turned his thought ſolely to the providing for his retreat, which was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an exile (*k*). With this view he entered into a treaty with Sir Edmund Plowden, who was proprietor of New Albion, reſolving to fix himſelf in that plantation. But on Saturday the ſixteenth of March, Major Barnard, and Captain Benſon, came to make him a viſit, wherein they told him in general terms, that there was a great deſign on foot, and that he ſhould have immediately very conſiderable advantages, if he would go over to the King in Holland, and manage what was neceſſary there for the ſervice of thoſe concerned. To this the Colonel aſſented, provided the money that was promiſed appeared to be ready (*l*). Not long after, the ſame perſons came again, aſſuring him, that there were ſeveral perſons of quality and great eſtates, in the counties of Kent, Buckingham, and Dorſet, who would draw near the town in order to further the deſign, provided thoſe they were to treat with entered into an engagement, which engagement, according to their inſtructions, and at their requeſts, he drew, and promiſed to move Sir John Gell to ſign and ſeal it, as he himſelf did (*m*) [*B*]. Colonel Andrewe accord-

(*f*) State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 325.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

(*h*) *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 327.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 325.

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 327.

[*A*] *Since they would not of themſelves take methods for their own ruin.*] This practice of ſetting on foot plots, in order to take off ſuch perſons as are eſteemed dangerous to any government, might have been in danger of wanting a proper name, if we had not been informed, that at this time it was called in England, TREPANNING. The author who tells us this, tells us alſo, the import of this phraſe: *Trepan*, ſays he, *was a word newly heard in England, being a denomination of a lewd ſort of people, who proſtitute ſtrumpets under pretence of their being their wives; and having apprehended perſons of eſtates, by a ſign given in the faſt, proſecuted them at law, to the recovery of great damages* (1). Thus we ſee the original of this term, and how it came to be applied in a political ſenſe. Colonel Andrewe, in a petition preſented by him to parliament, gives us ſo very juſt a deſcription of his caſe, that it will be proper to make uſe of his own words. After the ſtyle of the petition he proceeds thus: 'That your 'petitioner hath been by a confederate pack of ſet-'ters wrought into actions, which, abſtracted from 'their circumſtances, render him liable to your 'juſtice; and this done not without their further 'hope, that your petitioner, as they ſuppoſed, had 'intereſt to have drawn divers perſons of quality 'and fortune into the ſame entanglement. That 'failing of that part of their aim, the ſaid confede-'rates did betray your petitioner to the Council of 'State, &c. (2).' A very intelligent perſon aſſures us, that Bernard and Pits, two of the witneſſes againſt Mr. Andrewe, were ſuborned by Serjeant Bradſhaw, and Sir Henry Mildmay (3). But if theſe were all calumnies, there is a clear proof of the truth of this fact, which ariſes thus: Colonel Andrewe, who was a man of ſpirit and ſpoke freely, fairly charged it upon Bradſhaw at one of his examinations; who, inſtead of denying it, pretended to juſtify it by the example of other States (4). Yet was this no better than an evaſion; for under no legal government was there ever men employed to make plots, though ſpies have been encouraged to deteſt them. This policy, however, was found of ſuch uſe to that government, that it was practiſed as long as it ſubſiſted: what the fate was of the perſon principally employed in decoying Colonel Andrewe, the reader will ſee at the end of this article; and if he inclines to be better acquainted with the whole affair, he may meet with a very circumſtantial account of it, written by Mr. Beaukley, who aſſiſted Colonel Andrewe in his impriſonment, in the State Trials (5). There is beſides a paſſage in a book written by a perſon too honeſt to deceive, and too well informed to be himſelf miſled, I mean Dr. Bates who was Phyſician to O. Cromwell; there is, I ſay, a paſſage in a work of his, which too nearly concerns this matter to be omitted: for having related the various means made uſe of to weaken the Royaliſts, he ſays, 'There were alſo, a kind of *Duckoys* 'and *Trepans*, of all men the moſt accurſed, whoſe 'chief ſtudy was to teaze the moſt hot-headed and 'choleric, and who drew them thereby into capital 'ſnares, and when they had thus caught them, in-'formed againſt them, that they might be brought 'to a trial, or oppreſſed them with ſecret calumnies. 'Colonel Andrewe thus circumvented loſt his head: 'nor was the preſident Bradſhaw aſhamed openly 'to declare in court, that, by counterfeit letters, he 'had correſponded with him in the name of the 'King (6).'

(1) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(2) State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 329.

(3) Hiſtory of Independency, p. 29—34.

(4) State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 328.

(5) Vol. vii. p. 324.

(6) Elench. Met. P. ii. p. 70.

[*B*] *To move Sir John Gell, to ſign and ſeal it as he himſelf did.*] The judicious reader will eaſily perceive, that thoſe who ſet this matter on foot, had more in view than the bare deſtruction of Colonel

accordingly mentioned it to Sir John, who abſolutely refuſed to comply with his deſire; but told him in general, that he was well affected to the King, and begged him to tell his Majeſty as much, in caſe he went over to Holland (*n*). On Monday following, Major Barnard appointed the Colonel to meet the gentlemen of the ſeveral counties beforementioned, at a certain place; but when the Colonel came there, he found nobody but Major Barnard, who produced to him certain letters, written as from the aforeſaid gentlemen, and requiring him, the Major, to come to them immediately. Thus from time to time they trifled with the Colonel, in hopes of gaining by his means Sir John Gell's ſubſcription, and actually drew Mr. Andrewe as far as Graveſend, upon an aſſurance, that if he did not receive two hundred pounds there, he ſhould have his ſubſcription delivered up to him. But waiting for the performance of theſe fair promiſes, he was, on the twenty-fourth of March, apprehended at Graveſend, by Major Parker, who brought him priſoner to London (*o*). The next day he was examined by the Lord Preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Thomas Scott, Eſq; who were a Committee from the Council of State. The queſtions they put to him were ſo nice and particular, that the Colonel ſaw he was betrayed, and that they knew every ſtep he had taken for four years together. He told them as much, and they did not deny it, but preſſed him to make a full and free confeſſion. Accordingly he drew a narrative of the whole affair, and laid it before them, which did not hinder their committing him on Sunday the thirtieth of March, to the Tower, for high-treaſon (*p*). From that time forwards he petitioned them frequently, but to no purpoſe, continuing a cloſe priſoner for three months complete, notwithſtanding he alſo preſented a petition to Parliament (*q*). In the beginning of Auguſt 1650, he was brought before the High Court of Juſtice, where he was proſecuted upon his own narrative before Bradſhaw, at whoſe inſtance he had drawn it. The Attorney General, Prideaux, treated him with very bad language, nor was it without ſome difficulty that he procured leave to offer any thing to the court; but he could not obtain permiſſion to put in his anſwer in writing, which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes (*r*) [*C*]. After this he offered to put in a ſecond and a third anſwer of the ſame date, but not being permitted, he made a noble defence by

(*n*) Loyalty of the Preſbyterians Vindicated, p. 95.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 270.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 324.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 329.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 329, 330.

Andrewe, and therefore it is neceſſary to explain a little what that deſign was. It is, in the firſt place, to be remarked, that immediately after the murder of the King, the affairs of the parliament were in a very doubtful poſture, and grew worſe for ſome time. The Scots had actually owned King Charles II. and were preparing to reſtore him: Sir Thomas Fairfax had laid down his commiſſion in diſcontent; but that which gave them moſt pain, was the general defection of the Preſbyterians, who had ſhown a general abhorrence of the proceedings againſt the King, and many of their miniſters had given broad indications of their wiſhing well to the King of Scots. This plot, therefore, was laid, to deſtroy the wiſeſt and warieſt of that party: Sir John Gell, whom it was preſumed Colonel Andrewe might draw in, and then, as Major Barnard actually told the Colonel, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir John Curſon, Sir Thomas Whitmore, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction would join them, on Sir John Gell's firſt motion. If, therefore, this plot had taken, the whole Preſbyterian intereſt had been undone (7). As it was, the impriſonment of Sir John Gell, and the forfeiture of his eſtate, intimidated his friends, and made way for an event, thoſe who projected this plot, never thought of; the turning out of the parliament by Cromwell, to whoſe power Bradſhaw was as great an enemy, as ever he had been to the King's, and actually ſerved, as far as he could, ſuch of the Royaliſts as eſcaped the high court of juſtice, when power fell into other hands (8).

(7) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 34.

(8) See Berwick's Life, p. 160.

[*C*] *Which is exactly tranſcribed in the notes.*]

The Humble Anſwer of Euſebius Andrewe, Eſq; in his Defence, to the Proceeding againſt him, before the Honourable High Court of Juſtice, preſented the 16th Day of Auguſt, 1650.

'THE ſaid reſpondent (with the favour of this honourable court) reſerving, and praying to be allowed the benefit and liberty of making further anſwer; offereth to this honourable court. Firſt, that by the ſtatute or charter, ſtiled Magna Charta, which is the fundamental law, and ought to be the ſtandard of the laws of England, confirmed above thirty times, and yet unrepealed; it is in the 29th chapter thereof, granted and enacted, 1. That no freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeiſed of his freehold or liberties, or free cuſtom, or to be outlawed, or exiled, or be any otherwiſe deſtroyed; nor will we paſs upon him, or condemn him, but by a lawful judgment of his peers, and by the laws of the land. 2. We ſhall ſell to no man, nor defer to any man juſtice or right. Secondly, that by the ſtatute of 42 of Edward III. cap. 1. — 1. The great charter is commanded to be kept in all points; and 2. It is enacted, that if any ſtatute be made to the contrary, that ſhall be holden for none; which ſtatute is unrepealed. The reſpondent obſerveth, that by an act of the 26th of March, 1650, entitled, an act for eſtabliſhing an high court of juſtice; power is given to this court, to try, condemn, and cauſe execution of death to be done upon the freemen of England; according as the major number of any twelve of the members thereof ſhall judge to appertain to juſtice. And thereupon the reſpondent doth humbly infer, and offereth for law: that the ſaid act is diametrically contrary unto, and utterly inconſiſtent with, the ſaid great charter, and is therefore by the ſaid recited ſtatute, to be holden for none. That it can with no more reaſon, equity, or juſtice, hold the value and reputation of a law (the ſaid ſtatutes before recited, being in force), than if contrary to the ſecond clauſe in the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, it had been alſo enacted, that juſtice and right ſhall be deferred to all freemen, and ſold to all that will buy it. Thirdly, that upon premiſing by the petition of right, 3 Car. That contrary to the great charter, trials and executions had been had and done againſt the ſubjects, by commiſſions, martial, &c. It was therefore prayed, and by the commiſſion enacted; that, 1. No commiſſion of the like nature might be thenceforth iſſued, &c. And that done, 2. To prevent, leſt any of the ſubjects ſhould be put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the Land. The reſpondent humbly obſerveth, and affirmeth, that this court is, (though under a different ſtyle) in nature, and in the proceeding hereof, directly the ſame with the commiſſion martial; the freemen thereby, being to be tried for life, and adjudged by the major number of the commiſſioners ſitting (as in courts of commiſſioners martial was practiſed, and was agreeable to their conſtitution), and conſequently againſt the petition of right; in which he and all the freemen of England (if it be granted there be any ſuch) hath, and have right and intereſt, and he humbly

by word of mouth, grounded chiefly on the illegality of the court, and which may perhaps be ſtyled, as eloquent an oration as is to be met with in our own, or any foreign language. To all which, Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux made the following ſhort anſwer, viz. *That the Court was not at leiſure to take notice of his law caſes, but of his confeſſion. That he had an affection to act, though nothing acted, which was ſufficient treaſon, and for that affection he deſerved death* (s). On this the Court pronounced ſentence againſt him, that he ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Colonel, upon this, offered his reaſons at large againſt ſuch a proceeding, but to no purpoſe; and the only favour granted him was this, that, upon his petition, the parliament paſſed an act, authorizing the High Court of Juſtice to iſſue their warrant for their beheading him according to his petition (t). This was accordingly executed on a ſcaffold on Tower-hill, upon the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, 1650. He died with great reſolution, as appears by the ſpeech he made to the people, of which the reader will find an extract in the notes [D]. He left behind him an only daughter, Mavilda Andrewe, to whom he bequeathed a great deal of good advice, and a very narrow fortune (u). At his condem-

(s) *Ibid.* p. 339. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 561. Heath's Chron. p. 270.

(t) State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 339, 340.

(u) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

' humbly claims his right accordingly. Fourthly, ' that by the remonſtrance of the 15th of December, ' and the declaration of the 17th of January, 1641, ' the benefit of the laws and ordinary courts of juſ- ' tice, are the ſubjects birth-rights. By the declara- ' tions of the 12th of July, and 16th of October, ' 1642, the preſervation of the laws, and the due ad- ' miniſtration of juſtice, are owned to be the juſti- ' fying cauſe of the war; and the ends of the parlia- ' ment's affairs, managed by their ſwords and coun- ' cils: and God's curſe is by them imprecated, in ' caſe they ſhould ever decline thoſe ends. By the ' declaration of the 17th April, 1646, promiſe was ' made not to interrupt the courſe of juſtice in the ' ordinary courts thereof. By the ordinance or votes ' of non-addreſſes, January 1648, it is aſſured on ' the parliament's behalf, that though they lay the ' King aſide, yet they will govern by the laws, and ' not interrupt the courſe of juſtice, in the ordinary ' courts thereof. And thereupon the reſpondent ' humbly inferreth, and affirmeth, that the conſti- ' tution of this court, is a breach of that public ' faith of the parliament, exhibited and pledged in ' the declarations and votes to the freemen of Eng- ' land. And upon the whole matter, the reſpon- ' dent (ſaving as aforeſaid) doth humbly affirm for ' law, and claim as his right. 1. That this court, ' in defect of the validity of the act, by which ' it is conſtituted, hath not power againſt him, or ' to preſs him into a further anſwer. 2. That by ' virtue of Magna Charta, the petition of right, and ' the before-recited remonſtrance and declarations, ' he ought not to be proceeded againſt by this court ' but by an ordinary court of juſtice, and to be ' tried by his peers. And prays that this preſent an- ' ſwer and ſalvo may be accepted and regiſtered, and ' that he may be tried by his peers accordingly (9).

' Euſ. Andrewe.'

(9) State Trials, Vol. vii. p. 329, 330.

The intent of tranſcribing this paper, is to ſhow the temper and ſpirit of Colonel Andrewe, whoſe reaſons were fatal to the high court of juſtice, though of no ſervice to him. For upon publication of them, and the concurring judgment of all lawyers, this court grew to be ſo univerſally deteſted, and the grounds of its illegality were ſo openly diſcuſſed, that the powers then in being, found it abſolutely neceſſary to lay it aſide.

[D] *The reader will find an extract in the notes.*] Colonel Andrewe was attended in his laſt moments by Dr. Swadling, the ſequeſtered miniſter of St. Botolph Aldgate, who had been permitted to viſit him for three days before, in which ſpace he had ſeen ſo much of the Colonel's diſpoſition; that immediately before he ſuffered, the doctor told him, he had been rather his ſcholar than his inſtructor, and gave thanks for the many Chriſtian diſcourſes they had had together (10). Mr. Andrewe, after he had been ſome time on the ſcaffold, turned to the people and made a long ſpeech, ſome paragraphs of which deſerve the reader's notice (11). ' As for my ' accuſers, ſaid he, or rather betrayers, I pity, and ' am ſorry for them. They have committed Judas ' his crime; but I wiſh and pray for them Peter's ' tears, that by Peter's repentance, they may eſcape ' Judas his puniſhment, and I wiſh other people ſo ' happy, they may be taken up betimes, before they ' have drunk more blood of Chriſtian men poſſibly ' leſs deſerving than myſelf. It is true, there have ' been ſeveral addreſſes made for mercy, and I will ' put the obſtruction of it, upon nothing more than ' my own ſin, and ſeeing God ſees it fit (I have ' not glorified him in my life) I might do it in my ' death, which I am content to do. I profeſs, in ' the face of God, particular malice to any one ' of the ſtate or parliament, to do them a bodily in- ' jury, I had none. For the cauſe in which I had ' a great while waited, I muſt needs ſay, my en- ' gagement or continuance in it, hath laid no ſcru- ' ple upon my conſcience, it was on principles of ' law: the knowledge whereof I profeſs, and on ' principles of religion, my judgment ſatisfied, my ' conſcience rectified, that I have purſued thoſe ways ' for which I bleſs God, I find no blackneſs upon ' my conſcience, nor have I put it into the bead- ' roll of my ſins. I will not preſume to decide con- ' troverſies; I deſire God to honour himſelf in pro- ' ſpering that ſide that hath right with it, and that ' you may enjoy peace and plenty, when I ſhall ' enjoy peace and plenty, beyond all you poſſeſs ' here. In my converſation in the world, I do not ' know where I have an enemy with cauſe, or that ' there is ſuch a perſon to whom I have a regret; ' but if there be any, whom I cannot recollect un- ' der the notion of Chriſtian men, I pardon them, ' as freely as if I had named them by name; I ' freely forgive them, being in free peace with all ' the world, as I deſire God for Chriſt's ſake to ' be at peace with me. For the buſineſs of death, ' it is a ſad ſentence in itſelf, if men conſult with ' fleſh and blood. But truly, without boaſting I ſay ' it, or if I do boaſt, I boaſt in the Lord, I have ' not to this minute, had one conſultation with the ' fleſh, about the blow of the ax, or one thought ' of the ax more than as my paſſport to glory. ' I take it for an honour, and I owe thankfulneſs ' to thoſe under whoſe power I am, that they have ' ſent me hither, to a place however of puniſhment, ' yet of ſome honour to die a death, ſomewhat ' worthy of my blood, anſwerable to my birth and ' qualification; and this courteſie of theirs, hath ' much helped towards the pacification of my mind. ' I ſhall deſire God, that thoſe gentlemen in that ' ſad bead-roll, to be tried by the high court of ' juſtice, that they may find, that really there is ' that is nominal in the act, an high court of juſtice, ' a court of right juſtice, hath in its righteouſneſs, ' though not in it's ſeverity, no more clouded with ' the teſtimony of thoſe who ſell blood for profit. ' Father, forgive them, and forgive me, as I for- ' give them. I deſire now that you will pray for ' me, and not give over praying till the hour of ' death, not till the minute of death, for the hour ' is come already; that as I have a very great load ' of ſins, ſo I may have the wings of your prayers, ' to help thoſe angels that are to convey my ' ſoul to Heaven; and I doubt not, but I ſhall there ' ſee my Saviour, my gallant maſter the King ' of England, and another maſter whom I much ' honoured, my Lord Capel; hoping this day to ' ſee Chriſt in the preſence of the Father, the King ' in the preſence of him, and my Lord Capel in ' the preſence of them all, and myſelf there to re- ' joice with all other ſaints and angels forevermore.'

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 562.

(11) Theſe are taken from the original Speech, printed in 4to by John Clowes, Lond. 1650.

—He

condemnation, one of his judges was heard to ſay, *Alas poor Innocent!* As for the reſt of the perſons concerned with him, they met with different fates. Sir John Gell had behaved ſo wiſely, that they could not touch his life. However, they condemned him to perpetual impriſonment, and to loſe all his eſtate (*w*). Captain Aſhley was ſentenced to be beheaded, but was pardoned by the Parliament. Captain Benſon was ſentenced to be hanged, and was accordingly executed on the ſeventh of October 1650 (*x*). Major Barnard, the evidence who had drawn all theſe gentlemen into this ſnare, had for his reward three hundred pounds in money, and a troop of horſe (*y*). But this did not hinder his receiving a more proper gratification four years afterwards, when, for robbing Colonel Winthorp's houſe at Weſtminſter, he ſuffered an infamous death at Tyburn (*z*).

(*w*) Whitlock's Memorial, p. 437.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 474.

(*y*) Hiſt. of Independency, p. 29—34.

(*z*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 563.

—He gave the executioner three pounds, being all he had. Before he lay down upon the block, he ſpoke again to the people thus: *There is not one face that looks upon me, though many faces, and perhaps different from me in opinion and practice, but (methinks) hath ſomething of pity in it, and may that mercy which is in your hearts, fall into your own boſoms when you have need of it; and may you never find ſuch blocks of ſin to ſtand in the way of your mercy, as I have met with. I beſeech you join with me in prayer.* Then he prayed (leaning on the ſcaffold) with an audible voice for about a quarter of an hour; having done, he had ſome private conference with Dr. Swadling, then taking leave of the Sheriffs, his friends, and acquaintances, ſaluting them all with a courteous valediction, he prepared himſelf for the block, kneeling down ſaid, *let me try the block*, which he did, after caſting his eyes up, and fixing them very intentively upon Heaven, he ſaid, "when I ſay *Lord Jeſus receive me*, executioner, do thine office." Then kiſſing the ax he laid down, and with as much undaunted and yet Chriſtian courage as could be in man, did expoſe his throat to the fatal ax, his life to the executioner, and commended his ſoul into the hands of God, as into the hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious paſſion of a gracious Redeemer. Saying the forementioned words, his head was ſmitten off at one blow. C.

ANNAND (William), Dean of Edinburgh in Scotland, the ſon of William Annand, Miniſter of Air, the Head-burgh royal of the ſhire of Air, in the dioceſe of Glaſgow, was born at Air in 1633. Five years after, his father was obliged to quit Scotland with his family, on account of their loyalty to the King, and adherence to the epiſcopal government eſtabliſhed by law in that country. In 1651, young Annand was admitted a ſcholar in Univerſity-college in Oxford; and though he was put under the care of a Preſbyterian tutor, yet he took all occaſions to be preſent at the ſermons preached by the loyal Divines in and near Oxford. In 1656, being then Bachelor of Arts, he received Holy Orders from the hands of Dr. Thomas Fulwar, Biſhop of Ardfert, or Kerry, in Ireland, and was appointed Preacher at Weſton on the Green, near Biceſter, in Oxfordſhire, where he met with great encouragement from Sir Francis Norris, Lord of that manor. After he had taken his degree of Maſter of Arts, he was preſented to the Vicarage of Leighton-Buzzard in Bedfordſhire; where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his edifying manner of preaching, till 1662, when he went into Scotland, in quality of Chaplain to John Earl of Middleton, the King's High-Commiſſioner to the Church of that kingdom. In the latter end of the year 1663, he was inſtituted to the Tolbooth church, at Edinburgh, and from thence was removed ſome years after to the Trone church of that city, which is likewiſe a Prebend. In April 1676, he was nominated by the King to the Deanery of Edinburgh; and in 1685, he commenced Doctor of Divinity in the univerſity of St. Andrews. He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly thoſe mentioned below [*A*]. Dr. Annand died the 13th of June 1689, and was honourably interred in the Grey-Friers church in Edinburgh (*a*) [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 832, 833.

[*A*] *His works.*] 1. Fides Catholica, or *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in eighteen grand Ordinances, referring to the word, ſacraments, and prayer, in purity, number, and nature, catholically maintained, and publicly taught againſt heretics of all ſorts.* Lond. 1661-2, 4*to*. 2. *Solutions of many proper and profitable queſtions, ſuitable to the nature of each ordinance*, &c. printed with the *Fides Catholica*. 3. Panem Quotidianum, or *A ſhort Diſcourſe tending to prove the legality, decency, and expediency, of ſet forms of prayers in the Churches of Chriſt, with a particular Defence of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.* Lond. 1661, 4*to*. 4. Pater Noſter; *Our Father; or The Lord's Prayer explained, the ſenſe thereof, and duties therein, from ſcripture, hiſtory, and the Fathers, methodically cleared, and ſuccinctly opened.* London, 1670, 8*vo*. 5. Myſterium Pietatis, or *The Myſtery of Godlineſs*, &c. Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 6. Doxologia, *or Glory to the Father, the Church's hymn, reduced to glorifying the Trinity.* Lond. 1672, 8*vo*. 7. Dualitas, or *A twofold ſubject diſplayed and opened, conduceable to godlineſs and peace in order: firſt*, Lex loquens, *the honour and dignity of magiſtracy, with the duties thereupon*, &c. *Secondly*, Duorum Unitas, or *The agreement of magiſtracy and miniſtry at the election of the honourable magiſtrates at Edinburgh, and opening of the Dioceſan Synod of the Reverend Clergy there.* Edin. 1674, 4*to*.

[*B*] *He died the 13th of June*, 1689, &c.] As his life was pious and devout, ſo his ſickneſs and death afforded great conſolation to thoſe, who attended him in his laſt moments. He received the communion from the hands of Dr. Alexander Monro, principal of the college of Edinburgh, aſſiſted by Dr. Strachan profeſſor of Divinity; at which time he lamented with tears the overthrow of their Church, ſaying, *he never thought to have outlived the Church of Scotland, yet hoped others would live to ſee it reſtored.* He was buried without a funeral ſermon, which was not permitted by the Preſbyterians in whoſe hands the magiſtracy then was (1). B.

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ANNESLEY (Arthur) Earl of Angleſey, and Lord Privy-Seal, in the reign of King Charles II. He was the ſon of Sir Francis Anneſley, Baronet, Lord Mount Norris, and Viſcount Valentia in the kingdom of Ireland; by his firſt wife Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Phillips, of Picton caſtle in Pembrokſhire (*a*). He was born

(*a*) Peerage of England by Arth. Collins, Vol. ii. p. 338, edit. 1741.

born on the 10th of July 1614, in Fiſh-Shamble-Street in the city of Dublin, and was publickly chriſtened on the 20th of the ſame month, in the pariſh church of St. John in the ſame city, the Lord Chicheſter, then Deputy of Ireland, being his godfather, from whom he received the name of Arthur (*b*). He continued in Ireland till he was ten years old, and was then removed into England, where he remained about ſix years, after which he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford. There he became a Fellow-Commoner in Magdalen college, where he was placed under the care of an experienced tutor, in 1630. He purſued his ſtudies in this place three or four years, enjoying, during that ſpace, the friendſhip and converſation of Dr. Frewen, then Preſident of that college, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, the celebrated Dr. Hammond, and ſeveral other eminent perſons, himſelf being always conſidered as a young man of great hopes, and an honour to his college (*c*). Sir Peter Pett affirms, in a book addreſſed to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, that he performed his exerciſe for a Degree in that univerſity with general applauſe (*d*); but of this Anthony Wood takes no notice. In 1634 he was removed to Lincoln's-Inn, where he ſtudied the law with great ſucceſs, till his father thought fit to ſend him to travel (*e*). He made the tour of Europe, and continued ſome time at Rome, whence he returned into England in 1640 (*f*). He was elected Knight of the ſhire for the county of Radnor, in that parliament, which ſat at Weſtminſter the third of November, in the ſame year, but he quickly loſt his ſeat by a vote of the Houſe that Charles Price, Eſq; was duly elected for that county. In the beginning of the civil war, Mr. Anneſley inclined to the royal cauſe, and actually ſat in the parliament held at Oxford, 1643 (*g*); but afterwards he reconciled himſelf ſo effectually to the parliament, as to be taken into their favour and confidence; his eſtate and quality, but above all, his great abilities, and general reputation, rendering him every way fit for the offices with which they entruſted him. The firſt of theſe was his going as Commiſſioner into Ulſter in the year 1645, by authority, under the Great Seal of England (*h*). It was certainly a very difficult taſk, that Mr. Anneſley and his fellow Commiſſioners undertook, conſidering that the Scotch forces, under General Monroe, had been long in poſſeſſion of thoſe parts, and had brought the Engliſh intereſt very low. However, Mr. Anneſley, who was not then much above thirty years of age, managed all things ſo dexterouſly, and with ſo perfect a judgment, both in civil and military affairs, that the great rebel Owen Roe O'Neil was diſappointed in his deſigns, both on this province and that of Connaught. The Popiſh Archbiſhop of Tuam, who was the great oracle of his party, and whoſe councils had hitherto been very ſucceſsful, was not only taken priſoner, but his papers ſeized, and his foreign correſpondence diſcovered, by which all the deſigns of the rebels were broken, and vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt (*i*) [*A*]. The parliament had ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the Marquis of Ormond, for the delivery up of Dublin, though without

(*b*) The Happy Future State of England, by Sir Peter Pett, Lond. 1688, fol. p. 3.

(*c*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 189.

(*d*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 3.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 340.

(*f*) Happy Future State of England, p. 4.

(*g*) Liſt of the Members of the Long Parliament 1640, as alſo of the Oxford Parliament 1643.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 535.

(*i*) The Happy Future State of England, p. 4. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 535.

[*A*] *Vaſt advantages accrued to the Proteſtant intereſt.*] It ought not to be aſcribed to any defection from his loyalty, that Mr. Anneſley accepted of this commiſſion. In thoſe times of confuſion, a deſire of rendering ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and to the Proteſtants of Ireland, might well induce a man to do any thing within the bounds of his duty, to anſwer ſo laudable a purpoſe. How well, in ſo nice a conjuncture, he fulfilled all that could be expected from his fidelity to the parliament, and this without wounding in the leaſt his duty to his Majeſty, King Charles I. appears ſufficiently from the public hiſtories of thoſe times (1); but never ſo pathetically as in his own words, in a paper addreſſed to King Charles II. in anſwer to a complaint of the duke of Ormond's. Having taken notice, that the Duke had, in his paper, maliciouſly inſinuated, that they were of oppoſite parties in the Iriſh wars, he goes on thus: 'The Earl (for 'Mr. Anneſley was then Earl of Angleſey) was (under the authority his late Majeſty had entruſted both 'houſes of parliament with, for ordering and governing the affairs in Ireland, after the horrid rebellion 'began) inſtrumental there, to preſerve the Britiſh 'and Proteſtant intereſt, countries, and garriſons, 'from being ſwallowed up by Owen O'Neill's barbarous army; or falling into the bloody Iriſh 'hands. He alſo held correſpondence with, and 'offered aſſiſtance to the then Marquis of Ormond, 'to preſerve the Engliſh and ſave the city of Dublin, and other Engliſh garriſons and quarters, 'from the treacherous Iriſh, who broke all faith with 'the Marquis. He likewiſe ſent to the Marquis, 'the late King's Majeſty's poſitive prohibition in 'writing, againſt making any peace, or having at 'all further dealing with the Iriſh; and uſed his 'moſt earneſt perſuaſions herein, foreſeeing it would 'be deſtructive to the Engliſh, and miſchievous to 'the late King; and ſtill offered aſſiſtance to the 'Marquis, to encourage him in vigorouſly oppoſing 'the Iriſh, and to enable him to diſappoint their 'treachery, and the conſequence of their Faith-'breaking (2).' As to that letter of the King's, it was dated the 11th of June 1646, and was tranſmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, incloſed in a letter from Mr. Anneſley, General Monro, and Colonel Beale, dated the 22d of June. To this letter the Marquis of Ormond wrote the following anſwer, which ſhews how early a diſtaſte he had to Mr. Anneſley, and on what cauſes.

(1) Hiſt. of the execrable Iriſh Rebellion, by Dr. Borlace, Lond. 1680, fol. p. 151.

(2) True Account of the whole proceedings betwixt his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, Lond. 1682, fol. p. 9.

'WE do acknowledge the receipt of a letter from 'you, dated the 22d of June laſt, which 'came to us by the conveyance of Sir Theophilus 'Jones, Knt. not long after the date thereof; and 'in the ſaid letter, we found encloſed one ſigned by 'his Majeſty, bearing date the 11th of June; as 'alſo one directed to the Lord Folliott. To that 'ſigned by his Majeſty, our anſwer had been long 'ſince ſent; but that as well by your ſeveral letters '(wherein you declare in effect, that no diſpatch 'from us ſhall be permitted to paſs by you to his 'Majeſty, unleſs you be made acquainted therewith) 'as by other printed papers, and ſeveral concurring 'circumſtances, we find ſo little hope of receiving 'his Majeſty's free pleaſure, touching his affairs 'and ſervants here, that we have great cauſe to fear, 'even the ſafety of any meſſengers of truſt we ſhould 'ſend. But as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to afford 'us clear and uninterrupted ways of addreſs to his 'Majeſty, we hope to give him fitting accounts of 'all his commands, directed to us his Lieutenants, 'which title (by the way we hold fit to obſerve unto 'you) his Majeſty is pleaſed to give us, though you 'in the ſeveral letters directed by you unto us, are 'not pleaſed ſo to ſtyle us. The letter to the Lord 'Folliot was delivered to him unbroken open, as we 'believe

without ſucceſs. But the ſtate of affairs rendering it neceſſary to renew their correſpondence with him, they made choice of a ſecond Committee, conſiſting of men, who in their judgment were more agreeable to him, and at the head of this Commiſſion Mr. Anneſley was placed (*k*). Theſe Commiſſioners landed at Dublin on the 7th of June 1647, and were ſo ſucceſsful in their negociations, that in a few days a treaty was concluded between them and the Lord-Lieutenant: it was ſigned on the 19th of that month, and very ſoon after, Dublin was put into the hands of the parliament. This was certainly a very ſignal ſervice, not only to thoſe who employed him, but to the whole Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, which was then on the very point of being extinguiſhed. However, after the Commiſſioners aſſumed the ſupreme power, he was not able to hinder them from doing many things againſt his judgment; and, therefore, ought not to be blamed for thoſe irregularities, which were ſuch as the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe (*l*) [*B*]. Mr. Anneſley, not liking his ſituation, returned

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion in Ireland, p. 71.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 603.

‘ believe he would have told you before you re-
‘ ceive theſe our letters: though we conceive we
‘ might in all reſpects have juſtified the peruſal
‘ thereof, better than any ſubject (not authoriſed in
‘ that behalf by his Majeſty) can juſtify the at-
‘ tempting to look into the contents of any diſ-
‘ patches ſent to his Majeſty, and better than we
‘ could juſtify the imparting ſuch our diſpatches to
‘ you. And ſo we remain; from his Majeſty's
‘ caſtle of Dublin, the 18th of July, 1646 (3).

ORMOND.’

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. iii. p. 590.

[*B*] *As the times ſeemed to require, though they could not excuſe.*] Mr. Thomas Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, tells us, that by this treaty the Proteſtants were to be ſecured in their eſtates; all who had paid contribution to be protected in their perſons and fortunes, all who had a mind to go with the Marquis out of Ireland, to have paſſes; and the Popiſh recuſants who had not adhered to the rebels, to be encouraged to continue in their habitations, and in enjoyment of their eſtates, in confidence of the favour of the parliament, according as they ſhould demean themſelves in the preſent ſervice. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Marquis ſhould receive the ſum of 13877 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* which he had borrowed for the uſe of the garriſon. Of this, 3000 *l.* was to be paid down, and bills of exchange were to be given him for the reſt, drawn on ſufficient men in France or Holland: one moiety at fifteen days after ſight, and the other at ſix months. But the Hiſtorian ſays, the commiſſioners were not ſo exact in this reſpect as they ought to have been. 3000 *l.* in money was not brought, and the Marquis was forced to leave his Lady in Dublin to receive it, and diſcharge the debts to which they were aſſigned. Bills were indeed brought for the reſt, but not accepted; and he was forced to ſend Theodore Schout and Peter Wybrants, two Dublin Merchants, to Holland, to ſee the firſt accepted and paid. The commiſſioners indeed paſſed their words, that he ſhould be no ſufferer for want of acceptance of the bills, and that he might depend upon the honour and faith of the parliament. He acquieſced with a ſeeming readineſs in theſe aſſurances, but found by experience, that bodies of men are not the moſt religious obſervers of their word. The bill for the firſt half was indeed paid; but the treaſurers of Goldſmiths hall, who had drawn the ſecond on their correſpondent in Holland, had, before it was preſented, taken care by letters of advice, to forbid the acceptance of it; ſo that it was returned proteſted. In vain were the parliament, and the committee of Derby-houſe ſolicited by the Marquis himſelf, during near ſix months ſtay that he made in England, and by Sir George Lane and others afterwards. They paid only ſome part of it at laſt to Mr. Maule, a friend of Sir John Clotworthy's, and others of his creditors, who had an intereſt in them, without his conſent; but after all that they did in this reſpect out of regard to others, 1515 *l.* ſtill remained, and was never paid in any manner. The Marquis of Ormond had put off the delivery of the Regalia till July 28, in hopes of getting time to receive from England a permiſſion to carry men into foreign ſervice, and to take meaſures for their levies and tranſportation. The commiſſioners did not care he ſhould continue there ſo long; and to make his ſtay uneaſy, they, on July 14, placed guards on Lord Taaffe, Col. John Barry, and Miles Power, and iſſued orders for apprehending Sir Edmond Verney, the Colonels George Vane, Edward Hammond, and others. When the Marquis complained of this breach of the articles, they did not offer to aſſign a reaſon for their proceeding, but told him, they were competent judges, and would allow no body elſe to judge of their actions. On the 16th, they gave him notice to remove with his family from the caſtle, and deliver the Regalia within four days. He found that they were uneaſy whilſt the caſtle continued in his poſſeſſion, and was guarded by his own ſoldiers, purſuant to the ſtipulation in that behalf; and therefore, as his removal at that time was inconvenient, he accommodated the buſineſs with them, by conſenting to leave immediately the ſecuring of the caſtle to them, and deferring the ceremonial part of quitting the ſword till the ſet time (4). We have an account ſomewhat different from this, in the paper referred to in the former note, which it will be likewiſe neceſſary for the reader to ſee, as it contains abundance of curious particulars, and relates ſtrictly to the perſonal hiſtory of this illuſtrious nobleman: After

(4) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 603—606.

‘ the peace made by the Lord Lieutenant (not-
‘ withſtanding the informations beforementioned)
‘ with the Iriſh confederate rebels, and their ſhame-
‘ ful and treacherous breach of it, with deſign and
‘ endeavour to ſurprize the Marquis, and all the
‘ Engliſh garriſons in Leinſter: and after they had
‘ ſo handled their buſineſs, as to get the commiſ-
‘ ſioners of parliament to be rejected and ſent away
‘ by the Marquis; he the ſaid Earl, (then Mr.
‘ Anneſley) upon a ſecond invitation of the Marquis
‘ to the parliament, (upon the Iriſh rebels con-
‘ tinued breaches and treacheries) went again for
‘ Ireland, after he had uſed all his intereſt to per-
‘ ſuade them to ſend again, though they were very
‘ unwilling; and it was much oppoſed by reaſon
‘ of the former unexpected diſappointment; and
‘ was the chief employed in commiſſion from the
‘ parliament, with an army of horſe and foot, fur-
‘ niſhed with all things neceſſary to deliver the
‘ Marquis and Engliſh from the Iriſh treacheries and
‘ deſigns, and to receive the city of Dublin, and
‘ other garriſons, into the parliament's cuſtody,
‘ who were truſted, and able to preſerve the ſame
‘ for the Crown, if we could agree upon articles
‘ for that purpoſe, which, by the bleſſing of God,
‘ the Earl did to the Marquis, and the late Lord
‘ Chancellor, Euſtace, (whom the Marquis chiefly
‘ truſted therein) their great ſatisfaction, as well as
‘ his own, and the Engliſh and Proteſtants. And
‘ after he and the reſt of the commiſſioners had re-
‘ ceived the city of Dublin, and other garriſons,
‘ and conveyed the Marquis, with the honour due to
‘ his quality, to the ſea-ſide, to take ſhipping for
‘ England, as the articles gave leave; and had
‘ ſpent ſome time to lay the foundations, which after
‘ happily ſucceeded, for the total reduction of the
‘ Iriſh, and breaking their curſed confederacy, and
‘ powerful treachery, and final ſubduing them to
‘ the crown of England, with the forfeiture of all
‘ their eſtates, for the ſatisfaction of adventurers and
‘ ſoldiers, and the vaſt increaſe of the revenue of the
‘ crown; the Earl returned for England, as he had
‘ leave to do, before he went. Where by his inte-
‘ reſt in parliament, he ſecured to the Marquis the
‘ 13,000 *l.* *&c.* agreed by the articles for the ſur-
‘ render of Dublin, *&c.* to be paid to him, though
‘ much endeavour was uſed by the Lady Viſcounteſs
‘ Moore, and others, upon legal pretences to de-
‘ prive

returned ſpeedily home, where he found all things in confuſion, the government being on the very point of diſſolution, which however did not diſcourage him from doing all that lay in his power to ſerve his country; and though he did this without effect (*m*), yet ſure it is very unjuſt to charge him with it as an offence, as Wood does, who repreſents him as an abſolute time-ſerver (*n*), though he was one of the ſecluded members, and as eminent for oppoſing the illegal things done after the murder of the King, as any man in the nation, who had not born arms in his ſervice. After the death of Cromwell, when the Rump reſumed their old power, Mr. Anneſley, though he doubted whether the parliament was not diſſolved by the death of the King, reſolved to get into the Houſe if it were poſſible; in which good deſign he got ſeveral worthy gentlemen to concur with him, but with little ſucceſs, though the ſcheme was managed with great wiſdom and ſpirit, ſuch as ſufficiently declared what his real ſentiments were, and how much he had the reſettling the conſtitution at heart (*o*). In the confuſions which followed, he had little or no ſhare, as being too well known to be truſted either by the Rump or the army; and beſides, he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected of knowing at leaſt of Sir George Booth's inſurrection, if not of being concerned in it. But when things began to take a better turn, by the reſtoring of the ſecluded members to their ſeats, February 21, 1660, Mr. Anneſley began again to make a figure, and to appear in his old character, that of a true patriot (*p*). In this he appeared with ſuch luſtre, that he was choſen Preſident of the new Council of State, having at that time a correſpondence with his Majeſty, King Charles II., then in exile; which coſt him the life of his dear brother, who was drowned ſtepping into a packet-boat with letters for his Majeſty (*q*) [C]. Soon after the Reſtoration, viz. on the twentieth of April 1661, he was raiſed to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Anneſley of Newport Pagnel, in the county of Bucks; as alſo of an Earl by the ſtyle of * * * * * * * which ſome little time afterwards was changed for that of Angleſey (*r*). In the preamble of the patent, notice is expreſsly taken of the ſignal ſervices rendered by him in the King's Reſtoration (*s*): nay, ſome tell us, that his Lordſhip might then have been Prime-Miniſter, if he had not declined it (*t*) to avoid envy. However, he had always a conſiderable ſhare in the King's favour; and was heard with great attention at Council, and in the Houſe of Lords. He certainly ſhewed his extreme deteſtation of the King's murder, by his ſitting in judgment on the Regicides at Hicks's-Hall, and the Old-Bailey, though the Oxford

(*m*) See the Vindication of the ſecluded Members by Wm. Prynne. Hiſtory of Independency, firſt three parts. England's Confuſion, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England. Heath's Chronicle. Memoirs of Col. Legg, a MS. in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Dartmouth.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 419.

(*p*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion by the Earl of Clarendon. Hiſt. of Independency, P. iv. p. 39. Heath's Chronic. P. iv. p. 437.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 439.

(*r*) As the author of this article has been informed by a late learned Antiquary.

(*s*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 479. Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 340.

(*t*) Happy Future State of England, p. 5.

(5) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, p. 9, 10.

'prive him of it: ſo that he loſt not one penny of 'it, and then the ſaid Marquis thought, and held 'the ſaid Earl his real friend, and a punctual per-'former of public faith (5).'

[C] *With letters for his Majeſty.*] It cannot be ſuppoſed, that theſe diſpatches were of ordinary importance, which were committed to the care of young Mr. Anneſley; and beſides, whoever conſiders the cautiouſneſs of Monk, and the little weight that declared royaliſts had at the time of the diſſolution of the Rump, muſt be perſuaded that ſuch as were then entruſted with the executive part of the government, muſt have had a conſiderable, if not the largeſt, ſhare in compleating that work. However, let us hear what Mr. Wood ſays. After taking notice of Mr. Anneſley's going to Ireland, he proceeds thus. 'He returned into England, complied 'with the parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and his 'party, took the oath called the Engagement, as 'before he had the Covenant: but when he ſaw 'that King Charles II. would be reſtored to his 'kingdoms, he then, when he perceived it could 'not be hindered, ſtruck in, and became inſtru-'mental in the recalling of him home, as many of 'his perſuaſion did, and thereupon they ſoothed 'themſelves up, and gave it out publickly, that 'they were as inſtrumental in that matter, as the 'beſt of the royal party; nay, they ſtuck not to ſay, 'that if it was not by their endeavours, his Majeſty 'would not have been reſtored. At that time, he 'was made a Privy Councellor, and to ſhew his 'zeal for his Majeſty's cauſe, he procured himſelf 'to be put in among the number of thoſe Juſtices, 'or Judges, to ſit firſt at Hicks's Hall, and after-'wards at the Old Baily, on the Regicides, where 'one of them, named Adrian Scrope, did reflect 'upon him, as it was by all there preſent ſuppoſed, 'and on others too, as having before been miſled, 'as well as himſelf (6).' The falſhood of almoſt every fact advanced in this charge, might be demonſtrated from the moſt authentic pieces publiſhed at that very time, ſuch as the pamphlet entitled, *England's Confuſion: Or, a true and impartial Relation of the late Traverſes of State in England, written by one of the few Engliſhmen that are left in England:* in which, among other things, there is a very warm letter to William Lenthall, Speaker to the Rump, from Mr. Anneſley, expoſtulating with him, on account of his being excluded the Houſe, for not taking the Engagement (7), which Wood affirms he had taken. Clement Walker, in his four parts of the Hiſtory of Independency, gives a large account of Mr. Anneſley's active endeavours againſt the uſurped powers, when they were in the zenith of their authority. His very ſitting in judgment on the Regicides, which Mr. Wood ſo baſely miſrepreſents, was an act of the greateſt loyalty. He foreſaw, that ſome of thoſe unhappy men would plead the authority of parliament, to juſtify that execrable action; and indeed, General Harriſon did ſo, upon which Mr. Anneſley roſe up, and in an excellent ſpeech, ſhewed all who were preſent, the vanity of that pretence; explained the nature of the quarrel between King and Parliament at the beginning, and the difference between ſubjects ſtruggling for their juſt liberties, and wickedly depoſing, or murdering their lawful Prince, which he proved no parliament could ſanctify; and alſo that, in the preſent caſe, this infamous action was not abetted by an eighth part of the Houſe of Commons, the Houſe of Lords being ejected, ſo that the odium of it could not, with any colour of reaſon, be thrown on that Parliament which began the war (8). The Earl of Clarendon, in his hiſtory, hath done right to this noble perſon, as far as his knowledge extended. But, perhaps, the reader will be beſt ſatisfied with what the Earl of Angleſey himſelf ſaid, of his tranſactions in thoſe times, in the memorial to King Charles II., which has been more than once mentioned. He therein affirms, the part he acted was, 'To preſerve the Church in its 'legal eſtabliſhment to the laſt, to defend the King 'and the Laws againſt Uſurpation and arbitrary 'Government, to adventure his Eſtate and Life, to 'ſave his from execrable Murder, and never to ſit 'ſtill, till he and his friends, His late Majeſty's, 'and Your faithful ſubjects, had compaſſed your 'Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, with the apparent 'and imminent Hazard of their Lives; whereof 'the ſaid Duke, *i. e.* Ormond, had vaſt Benefits 'without Danger (9).'

(7) Page 131

(8) Heath's Chronicle, p. 436.

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 789.

(9) Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Angleſey, p. 11.

hiſtorian

hiſtorian reflects upon this, inſinuating that he had been as deep in thoſe matters as the perſons then tried, which is a palpable falſity (*u*). Many reflections of this ſort he bore in his life-time with great conſtancy, or rather indifference, being deſirous of diſcharging his duty to his King and country without hurting others, and without being ſolicitous of making great advantages to himſelf; yet as he ſerved a generous maſter, he received from him offices both of profit and truſt. In 1667 he was made Treaſurer of the Navy; and on the fourth of February 1671-2, his Majeſty in Council was pleaſed to appoint the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Angleſey, the Lord Holles, the Lord Aſhley, and Mr. Secretary Trevor, or any three of them, to be a Committee, to peruſe and reviſe all the papers and writings concerning the ſettlement of Ireland, from the firſt to the laſt, and to make an abſtract of the ſtate thereof in writing (*w*). And accordingly, on the twelfth of June 1672, they made their report at large, which was the foundation of a commiſſion, dated the firſt of Auguſt 1672, to Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, Earl of Angleſey, Lords Aſhley and Holles, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Thomas Chichley, to inſpect the ſettlement of Ireland, and all proceedings in order thereunto. And this was followed by another commiſſion of the ſeventeenth of January 1672-73, to Prince Rupert, &c. whereunto the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Shaftſbury, and the Lord Treaſurer Clifford, were added to inſpect the affairs of Ireland, viz. the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and the execution of them, and the diſpoſing of forfeited lands, and the ſtate of his Majeſty's revenue, &c. After which, by reaſon of his ſingular prudence and fidelity, the Earl of Angleſey had the great office of Lord-Privy-Seal conferred on him, the twenty-ſecond of April 1673 (*x*), and all this, notwithſtanding a great variety of attempts made to prejudice him, as well in the King's, as in the public opinion; all which he not only effectually defeated by clearly expoſing them, and manifeſting his own innocence, but alſo turned them to his advantage, ſo as to riſe more by the intrigues of his enemies, than by any art of his own (*y*). The long experience his Lordſhip had of men and things, rendered him ſo true a judge of merit, that he could diſcover it in men of all perſuaſions, and his freedom from prejudice was ſuch, that he could hate it in none, how different ſoever from himſelf they might be in religious or political opinions (*z*). This noble diſpoſition rendered him liable to a formidable attack, during the time of the Popiſh plot; when to have behaved with decency towards the Roman Catholicks of any rank, was ſufficient to ſtigmatize the ſincereſt Proteſtant, with the dangerous character of being a favourer of Papiſts. One Dangerfield, whoſe name will be tranſmitted to late poſterity, as a diſcoverer of plots, true and falſe, on the twentieth of October 1680, charged his Lordſhip, in an information delivered upon oath, at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, with endeavouring to ſtifle evidence, with relation to the Popiſh plot, and to promote the belief of a Preſbyterian one, with many other things alike probable, or rather alike improbable, yet ſo far credited at that time as to receive countenance from the Houſe (*a*). The trouble he received from this baſe attack, did not hinder him from ſpeaking his opinion freely of thoſe matters in the Houſe of Lords, particularly in relation to the Iriſh plot, of which he declared his abſolute diſbelief, when few durſt own they ſuſpected it (*b*), notwithſtanding the apparent marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it [*D*]. His charity for men of all religions did not, however, abate either his zeal for the Proteſtant cauſe, or his affection for the true intereſt of his country. The Earl of Caſtlehaven

(*u*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 340, 341.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 341.

(*y*) See note [*D*].

(*z*) Happy Future State of England, p. 164.

(*a*) See his Narrative of the ſame date, publiſhed by order of the Houſe of Commons.

(*b*) Happy Future State of England, p. 205.

[*D*] *Marks of impoſture in the accounts given of it.*] The Houſe of Commons voted *nem. con.* that there was an Iriſh plot, and in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of Angleſey, was the ſingle Lord who diſſented from a vote to the ſame purpoſe. His ſenſe of things at that time expoſed this noble Lord to great inconveniences: for the Houſe of Commons ordered Dangerfield's information of the 20th of October 1680, to be printed, wherein the Earl was charged with encouraging Dugdale to recant what he had ſworn, and promiſing to harbour him in his houſe, and that his Lordſhip's Prieſt ſhould accompany and watch him (10). If this was true, then the Earl of Angleſey was a Papiſt, which is not over credible, for many reaſons; and amongſt others, for this, that the very witneſs he is here ſworn to have tampered with, had before ſworn in his narrative, concerning the Popiſh plot, that if the deſigns of the Papiſts had ſucceeded, Sir William Gage was to have been Lord Privy-Seal (11). So that we muſt ſuppoſe, not only that the Earl of Angleſey conſpired againſt the King and the Conſtitution, but alſo againſt himſelf; and that while he, as a Papiſt, was doing all this for the Papiſts, they were contriving to give his poſt to another, who could do nothing for them at all. But this was not all; for the zealous Earl of Eſſex charged him in the Houſe of Lords, with being prayed for by name, in the maſs-houſes in Ireland; to which the Earl of Angleſey anſwered, that he believed it was not ſo; but if the Jews in their Synagogues, or the Turks in their Moſques, would pray for him unaſked, he ſhould be glad to be the better for their devotion (12). This ſpleen againſt the Earl roſe at laſt ſo high, that Sir William Jones, when he was propoſing to the Houſe of Commons attacking ſeveral of the King's Miniſters, was pleaſed to glance at Angleſey, in theſe words: 'There is another in 'the council, a Nobleman too, among the King's 'Miniſters, and a Lawyer, but if we cannot reach 'him do not impeach him (13).' Theſe were ſtrange times to live in, when the then Earl of Halifax, who always oppoſed Popiſh councils, was judged an enemy to his country for promoting them; and the Earl of Radnor was thought to decline in his zeal for the Proteſtant religion, merely becauſe he could not ſwallow all the abſurdities which were grafted on the Popiſh plot (14). It was, however, particularly hard on the Earl of Angleſey, to be ſuſpected as a favourer of Popery, ſince he was before in diſgrace with the warm church-men, on ſuſpicion of his favouring the Nonconformiſts. Beſides, in all his conduct both before and after the Reſtoration, he manifeſted a high diſlike of the Papiſts, as a party, though he was very kind and civil to ſuch as he judged worthy men amongſt them; nor did he alter his conduct, even after all this clamour, but perſiſted in his old opinion, that there might be

(10) The Happy Future State of England, p. 35.

(11) See Dugdale's Narrative.

(12) Happy Future State of England, p. 266.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 267.

(14) *Ibid.*

good

Caſtlehaven thought fit, in the year 1680, to write his Memoirs, in which he took a great deal of pains, to repreſent the general rebellion in Ireland, in the lighteſt colours poſſible, and as if it had been far from univerſal at firſt; and that it was made ſo, at leaſt as much by the meaſures purſued by ſuch as ought to have ſuppreſſed them, as by any ill intention of the Catholicks concerned in it (*c*). The Earl of Angleſey having received theſe Memoirs from their author, thought fit to write ſome animadverſions upon them, which he did in a letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein he takes notice of abundance of remarkable paſſages in thoſe diſtracted times; and, as his ſubject led him, delivered his opinion freely in reſpect to the Duke of Ormond, and his management of affairs in that kingdom (*d*). This letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven was written in Auguſt 1680, but was not publiſhed till 1681. The Duke of Ormond, about a year afterwards, expoſtulated with the Lord Privy-Seal, on this ſubject, by letter, to which the Earl replied; and there the matter reſted, as the reader will be informed in the notes [*E*]. In 1682, when the nation was in a high ferment, the Earl drew up a very particular remonſtrance, dated April the twenty-ſeventh, the ſame year, and preſented

(*c*) Memoirs concerning the Wars of Ireland, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Caſtlehaven, Lond. 1680, 12mo.

(*d*) The title of his book was, A Letter from a Perſon of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven; being Obſervations and Reflections upon his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland. London: Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1681.

good men among the Papiſts, though in that reſpect they were not good Papiſts; and this he labours hard to prove, in that book which goes under the title of his Memoirs. Sir P. Pett informs us, that the Earl, when Mr. Anneſley diſobliged the Popiſh party exceſſively, by the pains he took to defeat their ſchemes, and to ſecure the perſon of General Lambert, one of the King's Judges, and who oppoſed to the laſt, the return of King Charles II., and yet was at the bottom a jeſuited Papiſt, of which one circumſtance appeared: for being condemned to perpetual impriſonment, a little before the Popiſh plot broke out, an application was made to the King for procuring his diſcharge, and an eminent Popiſh Peer offered to be ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour (15). However this matter might be, certainly, if the whole tenor of a man's life and conduct could prove any thing, it ought to be believed, that the Earl of Angleſey was any thing rather than a Papiſt. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a man of ſo much moderation, as to be in the good graces of no party, though in the time of their diſtreſs, he was tender towards the ſufferers of all parties.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 28.

[*E*] *As the reader will be informed in the notes.*] As theſe letters are very curious, and yet are not to be met with in the large account of the diſpute between theſe two noble perſons; the reader will be doubtleſs well pleaſed to meet with them here. That from the Duke to the Earl of Angleſey, was dated from Dublin, November 12, 1681, and ran thus:

My Lord,

'IT is now, I think, more than a year, ſince I 'firſt ſaw a little book, written by way of letter, 'called Obſervations and Reflections on my Lord 'of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs: wherein, though there 'are ſome things that might lead the reader to be- 'lieve that your Lordſhip was the author, yet there 'were many more I thought impoſſible ſhould come 'from you; for it affirms many matters of fact 'poſitively, which are eaſily and authentically to 'be diſproved; and from thoſe matters of fact, 'groſsly miſtaken, it deduces conſequences, raiſes 'inferences, and ſcatters glances, injurious to the 'memory of the dead, and the honour of ſome 'living. Among thoſe that, by the bleſſing of 'God, are yet living, I find myſelf worſt treated. 'Twenty years after the King's Reſtoration, and 'forty after the beginning of the Iriſh Rebellion, as 'if it had been all that while reſerved for me, and 'for ſuch times as theſe we are fallen into, when 'calumny (though the matter of it be never ſo 'groundleſs and improbable) meets with credulity; 'and when liberty is taken to aſperſe men, and re- 'preſent them to the world, under the monſtrous 'and odious figures of Papiſts, or popiſhly affected; 'not becauſe they are ſo thought, by thoſe that 'employ the repreſenters, but becauſe they are 'known to be too good Proteſtants, and too loyal 'ſubjects, to join in the deſtruction of the Crown 'and Church: beſides, the treatiſe came forth, and 'muſt have been written, when I had but newly 'received repeated aſſurances of the continuance of 'your friendſhip to me; wherein, as in one of your 'letters you are pleaſed to ſay, you had never made 'a falſe ſtep; for theſe reaſons, I was not willing 'to believe that book to be of your Lordſhip's com- 'poſing, and hoped ſome of the ſuborned libellers 'of the age, had endeavoured to imitate your Lord- 'ſhip, and not you them: But I was, in a while 'after, firſt by my ſon Arran, and afterwards by 'the bearer, Sir Robert Reading, aſſured your 'Lordſhip had owned to them, that the piece was 'your's, but profeſſed the publication to be with- 'out your order; and that you did not intend to 'do, or think that you had done, me any injury, 'or prejudice: if your Lordſhip really thought ſo, 'the publication might have been owned, as well 'as what was publiſhed; but then let the world 'judge, whether pen, ink, and paper, are not dan- 'gerous tools in your hands? When I was thus 'aſſured your Lordſhip was the author, it coſt me 'ſome thoughts how to vindicate truth, my maſter 'the late King, myſelf, my actions, and family, 'all reflected on, and traduced by that pamphlet: 'I found myſelf engaged in the ſervice of our pre- 'ſent King, and that in a time of difficulty and 'danger, and in ſuch times, for the moſt part, it 'has been my lot to be employed in public affairs; 'and though I had not been ſo taken up, yet I well 'knew that writing upon ſuch occaſions is no more 'my talent, than it is my delight; and, to ſay 'truth, my indiſpoſition to the exerciſe, might 'help to perſwade me, that the book, though ho- 'noured with your Lordſhip's name, would, after 'it had performed its office in coffee-houſes, and 'ſerved your Lordſhip's deſign in that conjuncture, 'expire, as writings of that nature and force uſually 'do: and herein I reſted without troubling myſelf, 'or any body elſe, with animadverſions on your 'Lordſhip's miſtakes, which are ſo many, and ſo 'obvious, that I wonder how you could fall into 'them. I will add to this, that I have been in 'expectation, that by this time your Compleat Hi- 'ſtory would have come forth; wherein, if I may 'judge by the pattern, I have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, 'that neither the ſubject, or myſelf, will be more 'juſtly dealt with, than in that occaſional eſſay; and 'I would have been glad to have ſeen all my work 'before me, in caſe I ſhould think fit to make a 'work of it. The delay of your publiſhing that 'hiſtory, and the conſideration of your Lordſhip's 'age and mine, are the occaſions of this letter; 'whereby I inform you, that as no man now alive 'is better able than I am to give an account of the 'principal tranſactions during the Rebellion in Ire- 'land; ſo no man is poſſeſſed of more authentic 'commiſſions, inſtruments, and papers, all which, 'or tranſcripts of them, you might have command- 'ed before you ſet forth your reflections. But, poſ- 'ſibly, to have ſtayed for them, might have loſt you 'a ſeaſonable opportunity of publiſhing your ab- 'horrence of the Iriſh Rebellion, and your zeal 'againſt Popery: what your Lordſhip might then 'have had, you may yet have, becauſe I had rather 'help to prevent than detect errors; but then I 'muſt firſt know to what particular part of your 'hiſtory you deſire information, and how you de- 'liver thoſe parts to the world and to poſterity. If 'after this offer, your Lordſhip ſhall proceed to the 'concluſion and publication of your hiſtory, and not

sented it to his Majesty. It was very warm and very loyal; and yet it was far from being well received, for reasons of which the reader will be able to judge, from the extracts

' accept of it, I must, beforehand, appeal from you ' as from an incompetent judge of my actions, and ' a partially engaged and unfaithful historian.

ORMOND.'

The Earl of Anglesey's answer was as follows:

My Lord,

' YOUR Grace's of the 12th of November, I received towards the end of that month, and was ' not a little surprised, after being threatened above ' a year with your Grace's answers to the Observations and Reflections on my Lord Castlehaven's ' Memoirs, which your Grace takes notice you had ' seen above a year before, to find them only most ' satyrically burlesqued, and my intentions in the ' writing of them most unnaturally misinterpreted ' and misjudged, without giving instance of any one ' particular, which could so much transport your ' Grace, or interest you to judge of a letter of mine ' to another with so invective heat and mistake. ' Your Grace's letter therefore, consisting only of ' generals, I can no otherwise adapt my answer, ' (after a most serious revision of my book upon this ' occasion) but by giving the reverse of your Grace's ' strained and erroneous affirmatives, by my plain ' and true negatives; till your Grace shall administer occasion, by communicating the particular ' animadversions, your Grace hath been so long (as ' I hear) about. The reasons leading your Grace to ' believe it impossible I could be the author of that ' discourse, I cannot admit, though they import a ' fair opinion of me; and that in the beginning of ' your letter, your Grace had better thoughts than ' when your hand was in and heated. I do therefore ' absolutely deny, that I affirm any matter of fact ' positively in that book which are easily or authentically (or at all) to be disproved. Or that, from ' those matters of fact, grosly mistaken, it deduces ' consequences, raises inferences, and scatters glances ' injurious to the memory of the dead, and the honour of some living; among which, your Grace finds ' yourself worst treated. This being so, your Grace's ' unjust inferences from the time of its writing, ' and the misjudging the design of the author, ' give no countenance or occasion to your Grace's ' rhetorical character of the times, though I join in ' all, but the opinion your Grace seems to have ' taken up, that there is a plot (other than that of ' the Papists) to destroy the Crown and Church; a ' discovery worthy the making, if your Grace knows ' and believes what you write; but how I am concerned to have it mentioned to me, I know not, ' your Grace can best tell what you intend to insinuate thereby. These are your Grace's reasons, ' why you were not willing to believe that book of ' my composing; yet you cannot leave me without ' a sting in your expressing the hopes which succeeded them, viz. That some of the suborned libellers ' of the age had endeavoured to imitate me, and ' not I them. Whether I should imitate suborned ' libellers, or they me, would be all one for my reputation; because I were grosly criminal in the ' first, and must have been so before in your Grace's ' opinion, or they could not imitate me in the second: ' your Grace will want instances in both, except ' this of your own making; and therefore, there ' must be some other reason why your Grace did ' not believe (if really you did not) that discourse ' to be of my composure. But this admitted for ' truth, (as it is undoubtedly) your Grace, in the ' next place, calls the world to judge, whether pen, ' ink, and paper, are not dangerous tools in my ' hands. I remember the times, when they were ' serviceable to the King's Restoration, and constant service of the crown, or craved in aid by ' your Grace, that you did not account them so: ' and it is much to my safety, that they are not so ' in your Grace's hands, though I find them as sharp ' there as in any man's alive. Your Grace being at ' length assured I was the author, your next care ' was to spend some thoughts to vindicate truth, the ' late King, yourself, your actions, and family, all ' reflected upon and traduced (as your Grace is pleased ' to fancy) by that pamphlet. But your Grace had ' no cause to trouble your thoughts with such vindications, unless you could shew, where in that ' book they are reflected upon and traduced, no ' such thing occurring to me (upon the strictest revisal), nor ever shall be objected to me with justice ' and truth. After your Grace hath brought it to ' the Coffee-Houses (where I believe it never was, ' till your Grace preferred it to that office), and ' where you have doomed it to expire, as writings ' of that nature and force use (you say) to do, (for ' which I shall not be at all concerned) you rested, ' without troubling yourself or any body else with ' animadversions upon my mistakes, which your ' Grace is pleased to say, are so many and so obvious ' (though you name none, nor do they occur to ' others) that you wonder how I could fall into them. ' If your Grace believes yourself in this, you seem ' to have forgot the long time you spent in considering and animadverting upon that despicable ' pamphlet, with your labours whereon I was ' threatened by some of your Grace's relations, for ' many months; and your Grace hath redeemed the ' delay, by the virulent general reflections you have ' now sent me, which yet I doubt not will evaporate or shrink to nothing, when your Grace shall ' seek for instances to back them, whereof if you ' can find any, I claim in justice they may be sent ' me. Your Grace adds, that you have been in expectation, that by this time my complete History would have come forth, wherein (if you may ' judge by the pattern) your Grace saith, you have ' just cause to suspect, that neither the subject, nor ' yourself, will be more justly dealt with than in ' that occasional Essay; and therefore, offer me all ' the helps of authentic commissions, transactions, ' and papers, your Grace is possessed of, whereof ' you inform me none hath more. This is an anticipating jealousy, which no man living can have ' ground for, and when my history shall be compleated (which is now delayed for those assistances ' your Grace is so well able, and so freely offers to ' afford me), though my weakness may be exposed, ' my integrity and impartiality shall appear, and ' your unjust suspicion will, I doubt not, cease, if truth ' may be welcome to you, and not accounted one ' of the dangerous instruments in my hand; by which ' having incurred your anger and enmity in the first ' Essay, I have slender hopes to be more acceptable ' in the second; though I resolve to hold to the ' first approved law of a good and faithful historian, ' which is, that he should not dare to say any thing ' that is false; and that he dare not but say any ' thing that is true; that there be not so much as ' suspicion of favour or hatred in his writing. And ' this might give a supersedeas to your Grace's unreasonable appeal before a Gravamen, though I never intended, by relating the truth of things past, ' to become a judge of your Grace's or any other ' man's actions, but barely *Res gestas narrare*, for ' the information, correction, and instruction of this ' age and posterity. Your Grace desiring to know, ' to what particular parts of my history I would have ' information, I shall at present only mention these. ' The intrigues of the cessation and commissions for ' them, and the two peaces of 1646 and 1648, ' forced upon the King by the rebellious Irish. The ' grounds and transactions about depriving Sir William Parsons from being one of the Lords Justices, ' and then dismissing him; Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treasurer; Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls; ' Sir Robert Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, ' &c. from the council table. The mystery of Glamorgan's peace and his punishment, the several ' ungrateful expulsions of your Grace, by the confederate Roman Catholics. The passages concerning the parliament's present of a jewel to your ' Grace. The battles, reliefs, sieges, and chief encounters, in your Grace's time. The proceedings ' between your Grace and the Roman Catholic Assembly of the clergy in 1666, with the commission for their sitting. The plot for surprising the ' castle of Dublin, in which Warren and others

extracts we have made out of that piece (e) [F]. It was not, however, thought proper to remove him from his high office on this account; and, therefore, in the month of June 1682, the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was prevailed upon to exhibit a charge againſt the Lord Privy-Seal, on account of his reflections on the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This produced a ſharp diſpute between thoſe two Peers, which ended in the Earl of Angleſey's loſing his place of Lord Privy-Seal, though it certainly raiſed his reputation; his very enemies being forced to confeſs, that he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated (f) [G]. After this misfortune, which happened in Auguſt 1682, his Lordſhip remained pretty much at his country-ſeat at Blechingdon, in Oxfordſhire, where he devoted his time to his ſtudies, and meddled very little with

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 341.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 789. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 521.

' were concerned, with the examinations and what ' offenders were executed, &c. and any thing elſe ' your Grace judgeth of import, to have conveyed ' to poſterity. Other parts of the hiſtory ſhall be ' propoſed to your Grace in my progreſs, and be- ' fore I put my laſt hand to it, with a reſolution, ' that though I may have been ſometimes miſtaken ' in judgment, yet as I never did promote the re- ' port of a matter of fact, which I knew to be falſe, ' ſo I never would. Which I am induced the rather ' to mention, becauſe your Grace ſaith, you had ' rather help to prevent than to detect errors (16).

ANGLESEY.'

(16) Tranſcribed from a Collection of State Papers belonging formerly to John Lord Somers.

[F] *From the extracts we have made out of that piece.*] This Memorial was entitled, *The Account of Arthur Earl of Augleſey, Lord Privy-Seal to your moſt excellent Majeſty, of the true State of your Majeſty's Government and Kingdoms*, April 27, 1682. In one part of this he ſays, The fatal cauſe of all our miſchiefs preſent, or apprehended, and which, if not by wiſdom antedated, may raiſe a fire, which may burn and conſume to the very foundations, is the unhappy perverſion of the duke of York (the next heir to the crown) in one point of religion; which naturally raiſes jealouſy of the power, deſigns, and practices of the old enemies of our religion and liberties, and undermines and emaſculates the courage and conſtancy, even of thoſe and their poſterity, who have been as faithful to, and ſuffered as much for, the crown, as any the moſt pleaſed, or contented in our impending miſeries can pretend to have done (17); and concludes in theſe words: Though your Majeſty is in your own perſon above the reach of law, and ſovereign of all your people, yet the law is your maſter and inſtructor how to govern; and your ſubjects aſſure themſelves, you will never attempt the enervating that Law by which you are King, and which you have not only by frequent declarations, but by a ſolemn oath upon your Throne, been obliged in a moſt glorious preſence of your people to the maintenance of; and that therefore you will look upon any that ſhall propoſe or adviſe to the contrary, as unfit perſons to be near you; and on thoſe who ſhall perſuade you it is lawful, as ſordid flatterers, and the worſt and moſt dangerous enemies you and your kingdoms have. What I ſet before your Majeſty, I have written freely, and like a ſworn faithful Counſellor; perhaps not like a wiſe man, with regard to myſelf, as they ſtand; but I have diſcharged my duty, and ſhall account it a reward, if your Majeſty vouchſafe to read, what I durſt not but write, and which I beſeech God to give a bleſſing to (18).

(17) Page 16.

(18) Tranſcribed from the collection before-mentioned.

[G] *That he was both hardly and unjuſtly treated.*] The Earl of Angleſey himſelf cauſed a diſtinct narrative of the whole affair, relating to his diſpute with the Duke of Ormond, before the Privy-Council, and his being thereupon deprived of the Privy-Seal, to be printed for the ſatisfaction of the world. The ſum of the matter was this: On the 17th of *June*, 1682, James Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Steward, repreſented to his Majeſty in Council, the injuries he ſuppoſed to be done him by the Lord Privy-Seal, in his book publiſhed againſt the Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. This repreſentation being read openly before the Council, then ſitting at Hampton-Court, his Majeſty declared, that he would hear the matter thereof in Council, and did order that a copy of the ſaid repreſentation ſhould be delivered to Angleſey, and that he appear and make anſwer thereunto, at a Council to be holden at Whitehall, on the 23d of the ſaid month. In obedience to this, Angleſey, though much troubled with the gout, appeared, made a ſhort ſpeech to his Majeſty, in vindication of himſelf, bandied the matter with Ormond, and then put in his anſwer to Ormond's repreſentation, or complaint againſt him. Theſe things being done, another Council was held *July* 13, at which time, Ormond delivering a paper to the board, containing ſeveral charges againſt him, it was then ordered, that a copy of it ſhould be ſent to Angleſey, and that he return an anſwer thereunto on the 20th of the ſaid month at Hampton-Court. But no Council being then held (notwithſtanding Angleſey had made anſwer to Ormond's particular charges againſt him the next day) the matter was deferred till the 27th of the ſaid month. Another Council being, therefore, held there the ſame day, the charges and anſwers were debated; which done, and the Lords concerned being withdrawn, this reſolution paſſed by the Council on Angleſey's letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, viz. That it was a ſcandalous libel againſt his late Majeſty, againſt his now Majeſty, and againſt the Government. When the parties, or Lords concerned were called in again, the Lord Chancellor only told Angleſey, that the King conceived him faulty in the clauſe, p. 32, of the ſaid letter to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, wherein the Committees of the parliament of Ireland were mentioned, as having been in the intrigues of the Popiſh faction at Court. After which a farther hearing was appointed, to be on the 3d of *Auguſt* following; but Angleſey continuing extremely ill of the gout, and finding himſelf prejudged by the reſolution of the Council, on the 27th of *July*, he wrote a letter, on the 2d of *Auguſt*, to his Majeſty; which being openly read in Council the next day, he did in ſome manner (as it was ſaid) reſent it, for ſome paſſages therein, yet nothing appeared inferred to be done thereupon. Afterwards the Earl of Caſtlehaven (James Touchet) was called in ſeveral times, and queſtioned about his Memoirs; which he acknowledging to be his, the ſaid book in concluſion, was by his Majeſty and Council judged to be a ſcandalous libel againſt the Government. On the 9th of the ſaid month of *Auguſt* 1682, the Privy-Seal, by command from his Majeſty, was taken away from Angleſey, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, without any farther hearing, and was given to George Marquis of Halifax (19). From theſe circumſtances, even Wood could collect that this noble Earl was hardly treated; yet he could not prevail upon himſelf to ſay as much, but ſets it down as a report, *he was moved many thought unjuſtly*. A more candid and much better informed writer, who as ſeldom allows his hero to be wrong as any man living, hath, nevertheleſs, upon this occaſion, ſwayed by the weight of evidence, told the ſtory fairly and plainly as we have given it. Lord Angleſey had for many years enjoyed the poſt of Lord Privy-Seal, a poſt much envied, and which the Earl of Halifax, Mr. Edward Seymour, (who was thought to ſtand faireſt for it) and others, thought very convenient for themſelves. The King did not care to remove an old ſervant without ſome pretence; ſo that when the duke of Ormond came over, the affair of the letter was revived, and a complaint was preſented againſt the author of it to the Council. The matter was there examined, ſo far as it affected the memory of the late King; for nothing perſonal to the Duke of Ormond ever came under their conſideration. As the expediency of the ceſſation in 1643, was the chief ſubject of the debate; and as that matter has been fully cleared up in this hiſtory, we have no occaſion to enter farther into the diſpute, which ended in what was probably reſolved before, the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Angleſey from the Council board, and removing him from the charge of the Privy-Seal (20).

(19) See the Proceedings between the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Angleſey. Alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 790.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 521.

public

public affairs: yet did he not entirely abandon buſineſs, much leſs diſcover any pique or diſreſpect towards the Royal Family, on account of what he had ſuffered; but behaved with ſo much temper and duty, that, without betraying or even diſſembling his principles, he recovered the favour of King James II.; ſo that it is generally believed he would very ſpeedily have been declared Lord Chancellor of England (*g*), if this had not been prevented by his death, which happened April the ſixth, 1686, at his houſe in Drury-Lane, without any long ſickneſs, by a quinſy, in the ſeventy third year of his age. He left behind him a numerous poſterity (*h*) [*H*]. It is not eaſy to ſay any thing worthy of ſo great a man's character, and yet ſomething is neceſſary to complete the deſign of this life, and to give the reader ſome idea of his mind, as well as his fortune. As he had an excellent and univerſal education, becoming the heir of a noble family, ſo he was always remarkably prone to learning, and to the encouragement of learned men. He was well read in the Claſſicks, and perfectly verſed, not only in the Greek and Roman hiſtory, but in the ſpirit and policy of theſe famous nations. His intercourſe, however, with foreign writers, did not hinder him from retaining a ſuperior paſſion for all the branches of learning, which had any reſpect to his own country. He had ſtudied the laws with ſuch diligence, as to be ſtyled and eſteemed a lawyer, even by the moſt conceited lawyers of his time (*i*). In hiſtory he was a very great critic, and with reſpect to records, and whatever elſe fell under the conſideration of a judicious antiquary, no man of his time deſerved greater reputation than he. He was, alſo, well verſed in the civil and canon law, underſtood Church hiſtory perfectly, and was a great Divine. His writings, which are extant, will fully ſupport all that has been hitherto ſaid; and the world would have had ſtill higher proofs of his Lordſhip's great learning and abilities, if the largeſt and moſt valuable of all his works had not been unluckily loſt, or, as ſome ſay, injuriouſly deſtroyed (*k*). However, as Anthony Wood, who never ſpeaks well of this nobleman, but againſt his will, allows that he had a ſmooth, ſharp, and keen pen, we preſume no body will doubt it (*l*) [*I*]. As to the aſperſions

(*g*) See Sir P. Pett's Dedication of the Earl of Angleſey's Memoirs, to the Lord Altham, his Lordſhip's ſon.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 343.

(*i*) Happy Future State of England, p. 267.

(*k*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 342.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 789.

[*H*] *Leaving behind him a numerous poſterity.*] His lordſhip married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir James Altham, of Oxey in the county of Hertford, Knight, one of the Barons of the court of Exchequer, a Lady of exemplary prudence and piety, who died April 12, 1692; and by her he had ſeven ſons, and ſix daughters; of the ſons, four died young. James ſucceeded his father in his honours. Altham, was created Baron of Altham in the Kingdom of Ireland, by patent dated 14 Feb. 1680. Richard the third ſon ſucceeded to the title of Altham, by the demiſe of his brother without iſſue. For the daughters, Dorothy married Richard Power, Earl of Tir-oen in the kingdom of Ireland. Elizabeth became the wife of Alexander Macdonald, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Antrim in the kingdom of Ireland. Frances, the third daughter, was married to Francis Windham, Eſq; of Felbridge in the county of Norfolk, and afterwards to John Thompſon, Baron of Haverſham in the county of Bucks; Philippa, the fourth daughter, was firſt the wife of Charles Lord Mohun, and afterwards to Thomas Coward, Eſq; Serjeant at Law. Lady Anne, the fifth daughter, married Mr. Baker; and Lady Bridget died young (21).

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 343.

[*I*] *We preſume no body will doubt it.*] The reader may judge himſelf of this, from the extracts we have given him. His Lordſhip publiſhed in his lifetime the following pieces: 1. *The Truth unveiled, in behalf of the Church of England; being a Vindication of Mr. John Standiſh's Sermon, preached before the King, and publiſhed by his Majeſty's Command*, London, 1676, 4*to*. To which is added, *A ſhort Treatiſe on the ſubject of Tranſubſtantiation.* 2. *A Letter from a Perſon of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Caſtlehaven, being Obſervations and Reflections on his Lordſhip's Memoirs, concerning the Wars of Ireland*, London, 1681, 8*vo*. 3. *A true Account of the whole Proceedings between James Duke of Ormond, and Arthur Earl of Angleſey, before the King and his Council, &c.* London, 1682, *Folio*. 4. *A Letter of Remarks upon Jovian*, London, 1683, 4*to*. Beſides theſe, he wrote many other things, ſome of which were publiſhed after his deceaſe; as, 5. *The Privileges of the Houſe of Lords and Commons, argued and ſtated in two Conferences between both Houſes, April 19th and 22d*, 1671. To which is added, *A Diſcourſe, wherein the Rights of the Houſe of Lords are truly aſſerted. With learned Remarks on the ſeeming Arguments, and pretended Precedents, offered at that time againſt their Lordſhips: Written by the Right Honourable Arthur Earl of Angleſey, Lord Privy-Seal.* Theſe conferences were principally managed by the Earl, and were concerning a bill for impoſitions on merchandiſe, &c. and a reſolution, the Commons in a conference communicated to the Lords, that there is a fundamental right in that houſe alone, in bills of rates and impoſitions on merchandiſe, as to the matter, the meaſure, and time. Whereupon the Lords in parliament, on full conſideration thereof and of the whole conference, came to this reſolution, *nem. con.* That the power exerciſed in the Houſe of Peers, in making the amendments and abatements in the bill entitled, An act for additional impoſition on ſeveral foreign commodities, and for encouragement of ſeveral commodities and manufactures of this kingdom, both as to matter, meaſure, and time, concerning the rates and impoſitions on merchandiſe, is a fundamental, inherent and undoubted right of the Houſe of Peers, from which they cannot depart. This reſolution produced another conference, which the Earl began, and in which he aſſerted the right of the Houſe of Lords, in learned remarks on the ſaid two conferences. (6) *The King's right of indulgence in ſpiritual matters, with the equity thereof aſſerted.* London 1688, 4*to*. This was publiſhed by Henry Care, the year before that in the title-page. (7) *Memoirs, intermixt with moral, political, and hiſtorical obſervations by way of diſcourſe, in a letter to Sir Peter Pett*, London 1693, 8*vo*. This was written in anſwer to a book we have often cited, entitled, *The happy future State of England*, penned by way of letter to the Earl of Angleſey by the ſaid Sir Peter Pett, who was Advocate-General of England, a very learned perſon and a great admirer of our noble author. [The title, *Memoirs*, ſays Mr. Walpole, has no kind of relation to the work, which is a ſort of rambling eſſay, attempting at once to defend a Popiſh King and the Proteſtant religion. The genuineneſs of theſe Memoirs was diſputed by his ſon-in-law Lord Haverſham *.] Beſides theſe, ſome very valuable pieces have been loſt, particularly, *The hiſtory of the late Commotions and Troubles of Ireland, from the Rebellion in* 1641, *till the Reſtoration of the King in* 1660, which contained all the treaties, negociations, ſieges, battles, and other memorable tranſactions during that time. His Lordſhip wrote alſo in his younger years, certain large and learned diſcourſes againſt the errors of Popery, which many of his friends would have perſuaded him to have publiſhed at the time of the Popiſh plot; but this, by the advice of Sir P. Pett, he declined. [His Lordſhip is ſuppoſed to have digeſted Whitlocke's Memoirs (22).]

* Royal and noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 74, 75.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 77.

thrown on his memory, by a reverend Prelate his contemporary, they would have deſerved a more particular conſideration, if it had been uſual for that writer to have given good characters of his acquaintance, or to have avoided characterizing ſuch as he had little or no acquaintance with. However, as this work ought not to contain either apologies or panegyricks, the words of that author (*m*) are ſet down in the notes, with only a few remarks, ſubmitted to the cenſure of the peruſer [*K*]. We will conclude our account of this noble perſon, with obſerving, that he was one of the firſt Engliſh Peers, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by collecting a fine library, which he performed with great care, as well as at a large expence; and as he was deſirous that ſo valuable a collection might not be quickly diſſipated, but remain in his family, he cauſed it to be diſpoſed in a manner ſuitable to its worth, in a particular apartment in Angleſey houſe (*n*). But theſe precautions proved fruitleſs, as his Lordſhip's good intentions likewiſe did; his books within a few months after his deceaſe being expoſed to public ſale by Mr. Millington, a famous auctioneer (*o*). Yet this ſale was attended with an accident, which will hinder its being ever forgotten. We mean the diſcovery of the Earl's famous Memorandum in the blank leaf of an Εικων Βασιλικη, or the pourtraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his ſolitudes and ſufferings, in order to diſabuſe the world as to the true author of that book, who, according to that memorandum, was not King Charles I. but Biſhop Gauden, which produced a long controverſy managed by various hands, and in ſeveral books. To enter into a particular detail of ſo perplexed an affair, would take up too much room; but the reader will find the original memorandum, and ſome remarks upon it, which are not to be met with elſewhere, in the notes [*L*]. James, the ſecond Earl of Angleſey, who ſucceeded his father in 1686, died in 1690, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James, who married her Grace the late Dutcheſs

(*m*) Bp. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 97.

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 791. Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 342.

(*o*) A true Account of the Author of a book, entitled, Eikon Baſilike, by Dr. Walker, Lond. 1692, 4*to*. p. 23.

[*K*] *Submitted to the cenſure of the peruſer.*] The character referred to in the text, is to be found in the Biſhop of Saliſbury's hiſtory of his own times, where it runs thus: 'Another man very nearly of the ſame ſort, 'who paſſed through many great employments, was 'Anneſley advanced to be Earl of Angleſey; who had 'much more knowledge (than Shaftſbury) and was 'very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the fa-'culty of ſpeaking indefatigably upon every ſub-'ject; but he ſpoke ungracefully; and did not 'know that he was not good at raillery, for he was 'always attempting it. He underſtood our govern-'ment well, and had examined far into the origi-'nal of our conſtitution. He was capable of great 'application; and was a man of a grave deport-'ment; but ſtuck at nothing, and was aſhamed of 'nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any 'man on any ſide; and he ſeemed to have no re-'gard to common decencies; but ſold every thing 'that was in his power; and ſold himſelf ſo often, 'that at laſt the price fell ſo low that he grew uſe-'leſs.'—His Lordſhip afterwards adds, 'Theſe five 'whom I have named laſt, *viz.* Shaftſbury, Angleſey, 'Hollis, Manchеſter, Radnor, had the chief hand 'in engaging the nation in the deſign of the Reſto-'ration. They had great credit chiefly with the 'Preſbyterian party, and were men of much dex-'terity. So the thanks of that great Turn was 'owing to them: and they were put in great poſts 'by the Earl of Clarendon's means. By which he 'loſt moſt of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the 'ſeeing ſuch men ſo highly advanced, and ſo much 'truſted (22).' It ſeems that in the Biſhop's opinion this noble Lord was a man of great parts, deep knowledge in the law, and was perfectly acquainted with our conſtitution. It is likewiſe owned that he had a large ſhare in the King's Reſtoration, and for that reaſon, the Earl of Clarendon thought it neceſſary he ſhould have a large ſhare in the adminiſtration. Theſe conceſſions, without farther help, deſtroy the probability, and indeed I think in a good meaſure, the poſſibility, of the cruel reflections contained in the character having any grounds in fact. For how can it be imagined, that a bad man, bad to ſuch a degree as to preſerve no regard for decency, ſhould preſerve the King's confidence and the higheſt employments for two and twenty years together, and at laſt riſe in reputation by being removed? Is it poſſible to believe that Parliaments which went ſuch lengths, and upon ſuch ſlight grounds as they did againſt the Earl of Danby, and other miniſters, ſhould not attack a man who minded nothing but getting, without any reſpect to virtue or even to appearances! can it be ſuppoſed that if this was really the caſe, the Rev. Prelate could not have added inſtances to his accuſation, or ought we in juſtice or charity to give any credit to what he ſays without them? But after all, this is capable of being refuted by better authority. He charges the Earl with being a corrupt man. Now, he had two offices in which this muſt have appeared. He was Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland for many years, and at laſt a committee was appointed to inſpect the management of the treaſury in that kingdom, with a deſign, if poſſible, to fix a charge upon this very nobleman; and yet they were forced to acquit him, as his antagoniſt the Duke of Ormond informs us in a repreſentation he made to the King, in which alſo he ſuggeſts, that from the ſatisfaction his Majeſty received from this enquiry, as to the honour and integrity of the Earl of Angleſey, he was induced to truſt him in the high office of Lord Privy-Seal (23). In this office again if he had been really a man inclined to corruption, he muſt certainly have had great opportunities; and yet, when his enemies had gained credit enough to ſtrip him of it, we have ſeen what a poor pretence was made uſe of for that purpoſe; when, if the Biſhop's ſtory had been true, they muſt have had many juſt and even legal cauſes to have aſſigned for his removal, in their power. Then again, as to his being inconſiderable before his death, Anthony Wood, who cared as little for the Earl of Angleſey as Biſhop Burnet, owns that he ſtood well with King James II.; and that in this particular he was not miſinformed, I can prove from a paſſage in the Earl's own diary: 'March 8, 1685, 'Spent moſt at home in buſineſs and duty (*i. e.* 'prayer); in the evening was private with the Lord 'Sunderland, my good friend; and then was with 'the King a full hour at Mr. Chiffinche's, who was 'very kind, free, and open in diſcourſe, ſaid he 'would not be prieſt-ridden: Read a letter of the 'late King, ſaid I ſhould be welcome to him (24).' In ſhort, from the Reſtoration to the day of his death, the Earl of Angleſey was barely four years out of employment, moſt of which he ſpent in retirement, and died, when every body expected he ſhould have been Chancellor, the higheſt office to which the King could raiſe him, and yet the good Biſhop tells us, he was fallen ſo low as to be both contemptible and uſeleſs (25).'

(22) Bp. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 97, 98.

(23) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume p. 85.

(24) Tranſcribed from the Earl's Diary in the cuſtody of Mr. Ryley, June 17, 1693.

(25) Obſervations on the Characters inſerted in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, communicated to the author of this article.

[*L*] *Which are not to be met with elſewhere, in the notes.*] To begin this note regularly, we muſt produce the paper itſelf, which Mr. Millington ſhewed to ſome people, and which ran in theſe words: 'King Charles II. and the Duke of York, did both '(in the laſt ſeſſions of Parliament, 1675,) when I 'ſhewed them in the Lord's houſe, the written copy 'of this book, wherein are ſome corrections and 'alterations (written with the late King Charles I.'s 'own hand), aſſure me, that this was none of the ſaid 'King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden Biſhop 'of Exeter; which I here inſert, for the undeceiving 'others in this point, by atteſting ſo much under my 'hand (26).'

ANGLESEY.'

(26) Walker's True Account of the Author of the Eikon Baſilike.

Dutcheſs of Buckinghamſhire. He died in the beginning of the year 1702, and was ſucceeded by his brother John Earl of Angleſey, who was Vice-Treaſurer, Receiver-General,

On the firſt publiſhing of this memorandum, it made a very great noiſe, and, as we ſay in the text, abundance of books were written about it. It would take up more room than we have to ſpare to examine the whole of this controverſy; but one branch of it ſeems particularly to require our notice, *viz.* Whether this memorandum ought to be eſteemed genuine? againſt which ſeveral arguments have been produced. Firſt, it is to be obſerved, that this was written while the Earl of Angleſey was Lord Privy-Seal, and it was his cuſtom to ſubſcribe Angleſey P. S. C. The King and the Duke of York were living, and therefore in decency he would have written his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs. If to this it be replied, that he uſed Charles II. and Duke of York for the ſake of exactneſs, this can never be admitted, becauſe he ſtyles Dr. Gauden, Biſhop of Exeter, though he died Biſhop of Worceſter. Add to this, that the memorandum itſelf is not dated, though it muſt have been written either in 1675 or 1676 (27). There is, however, another circumſtance, which has never yet been taken notice of with reſpect to this memorandum, and which ſeems to affect the credit of it in a very ſenſible manner. It has been ſhewn before, how Sir Peter Pett came to write ſo long a letter to the Earl of Angleſey. In this very letter Sir Peter hath this paſſage: 'My 'Lord, there is another kind of power inherent in 'you, and that you cannot part with, ſuch a power 'as King Charles I. in his Eikon Baſilike affixes 'to the character of his favourite, when he ſays 'he looked on the Earl of Strafford as a gentle-'man whoſe great abilities might make a Prince 'rather afraid than aſhamed to employ him in the 'greateſt affairs of ſtate. Your very reputation for 'power is power, for that engageth thoſe to adhere 'to you, who want protection (28).' Though this book was publiſhed two years after the Earl of Angleſey's death, yet it was printed long before, and the Earl had it in his ſtudy. He, alſo, wrote an anſwer to it, which he deſigned ſhould have been printed and bound up with it, and in this anſwer he takes particular notice of a very remarkable paſſage in the letter, freely differing from Sir Peter in many of his ſentiments, and ſometimes correcting his miſtakes, as for inſtance in the following paſſage of the Earl's anſwer. 'It here occurs to me to ob-'ſerve to you, that after an *erratum* of the preſs in 'p. 38 of your Diſcourſe: Namely, where you are 'referred to p. 325 in the *Advocate of Conſcience 'Liberty*, inſtead of p. 225, you make the laſt 'letter of D'Oſſat's to be from Rome, *Anno* 1596, 'and I ſuppoſe you happened to do ſo, by caſting 'your eye on the old date of the laſt letter but one, 'printed in the volume of his letters in folio of the 'Paris edition, *Anno* 1625, and finding it to be '*Anno* 1596. But it came not into your mind 'then, to obſerve that the laſt of his letters as they 'are ranged in order was the 199th and in the end 'of book 9th, and which was to Villeroy from 'Rome, March 6th, *Anno* 1604, and in which year 'he died, as you rightly refer to his epitaph to ſhew '(29).' Yet as nice and circumſpect as this ſhews the Earl to have been, we find no notice at all taken of this paſſage cited from the King's book; but his friend is left in his error if it was one, though he ſets him right in twenty things of leſs conſequence in his anſwer to his letter, which takes up 350 pages in octavo. There are only two things that can be ſaid in anſwer to this, *viz.* That either Lord Angleſey had acquainted his friend with this before, and therefore a repetition was needleſs, or elſe that the Earl thought it inexpedient to publiſh ſuch a thing to the world. But whoever conſiders the matter a moment, will diſcern that neither of theſe excuſes can be admitted. For if Sir P. Pett knew or believed the book not to be the King's, his citation and application of the character of the Earl of Strafford from thence would have been impertinent. On the other hand, who can heſitate at believing that the Earl would as ſoon have publiſhed this fact, having ſo fair an opportunity in his printed letter to Sir P. Pett, as leave it in a memorandum, when that memorandum was deſigned for the undeceiving of others in that point? To ſuch as are unacquainted with the books cited in this note, there may appear ſome deficiency in this argument; but whoever takes the pains to read the folio letter and the octavo anſwer, will gain ſo thorough an acquaintance with the temper and diſpoſition of the writers, as will convince him that on ſuch a point as this, one or other of them could not have been ſilent, if the facts mentioned in the memorandum had fallen within the compaſs of his knowledge. It is very true that Biſhop Burnet tells pretty nearly the ſame ſtory; for he affirms, that, in 1673, the Duke of York told him the book was not his Father's, but was written by Dr. Gauden, who after the Reſtoration brought the Duke of Somerſet and the Earl of Northampton to the King and himſelf, and vouched their knowledge of its being of that Doctor's writing, and this the Biſhop tells us was the reaſon that Gauden obtained the biſhoprick of Exeter, notwithſtanding he had taken the Covenant, and was oppoſed by Biſhop Sheldon and others for that reaſon (30). It happens unluckily for this ſtory, that the Duke of Somerſet, after a long illneſs, was at reſt in his grave before Dr. Gauden was made a Biſhop; and it is alſo obſervable, that the Earl of Southampton was dead too, before the ſtory was told by the Duke of York to the Biſhop. Beſides this, there are two other unlucky circumſtances, one that the Biſhop did not himſelf believe the Duke, becauſe having enquired of the Earl of Louthian, a zealous Preſbyterian, who knew king Charles I. very well and loved him very little, about this very matter, the Earl told him he was ſure it was the King's book, becauſe he had often heard his Majeſty deliver periods of it in his diſcourſe (31). The other unlucky circumſtance is, that the Biſhop has hinted a reaſon why no body elſe ought to believe the Duke, and which would deſtroy the credit of the Earl of Angleſey's memorandum if it were really his; for the Rev. Prelate informs us, that the Duke of York told him this ſtory of Dr. Gauden, on his preſſing him with paſſages againſt Popery out of his father's book. If theſe brothers were both Papiſts, as the greateſt part of the world ſuppoſes they were, then is there no great reaſon to wonder they ſhould deſire the book in queſtion to be aſcribed to any body rather than King Charles I. But we may be left to wonder after all, how the Earl of Angleſey ſhould forget that Dr. Gauden was Biſhop of Worceſter, as well as Exeter; when there is good reaſon to believe, that it was in conſequence of this noble Earl's ſolicitations that Dr. Gauden was tranſlated from this Biſhopric to that (32). C.

[It muſt be acknowledged, that, in the preceding article, every thing is ſaid for Lord Angleſey which can poſſibly be urged in his favour. He was undoubtedly a nobleman of great abilities: in many caſes he appears to have acted with integrity, and with a regard to the public welfare; and our worthy and able predeceſſor hath certainly been ſucceſsful in removing ſome of the charges which have been brought againſt him. It hath been ſhewn, we think, with ſufficient evidence, that Wood and Biſhop Burnet have been too ſevere in their cenſures. But ſtill we ſearch in vain for a perfect conſiſtency in the Earl of Angleſey's character. A man who began with appearing for King Charles I. and then was zealous for the parliament; who was Preſident of the Republican Council of State, and ardent for the reſtoration of monarchy; who could maintain his poſts for twenty-two years of ſuch a reign as that of Charles II. and afterwards manage matters ſo as to be thought of for Lord High Chancellor to King James II., muſt have been of a very accommodating turn of mind. If we except the remonſtrance mentioned in the text, and in the note [*F*], it is to no purpoſe that we look into the records of hiſtory for any great exertions of his patriotiſm, at a ſeaſon which afforded ſo many reaſons for it as Charles II.'s reign. When the grand ſtruggle was made in the Houſe of Lords, in 1675, againſt a moſt tyrannical teſt (33), we do not find the name of Lord Angleſey among the noble debaters and proteſters in the cauſe of liberty. However,

(27) See the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. 4to, 1711.

(28) Happy Future State of England, p. 24.

(29) Angleſey's Memoirs, p. 346.

(30) Bp. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 50.

(31) *Id. ibid.*

(32) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 366, in the notes.

(33) Kennet, Vol. iii. p. 332, 333. Lords Proteſts, Vol. i. p. 90—96. Locke's Letter to a perſon of Quality in his Works, Vol. iv.

General, and Paymaſter of the forces in Ireland. He was ſucceeded, at his death, 1710, by his brother Arthur, who, while he ſat in the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the weight and eloquence of his ſpeeches, and was always heard, after his acceſſion to the title of Earl of Angleſey, with the utmoſt attention and reſpect in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. On the death of Queen Anne, he was appointed, by King George I. one of the Lords Juſtices till he arrived from Hanover; after which, he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, and on the third of January 1714-15, (with Henry Hyde, then Earl of Rocheſter) made Joint-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Treaſurer at War. On the death of the Duke of Mancheſter, he was, on the ninth of February 1721-22, in full ſenate, unanimouſly elected High Steward of the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he had his education. He had been one of their repreſentatives in three ſeveral parliaments, whilſt he was a Commoner. He died on the thirty-firſt of March 1737, and was ſucceeded in his title by his couſin Lord Altham, of the kingdom of Ireland (*p*). [The ſtate of this family, for the laſt forty years, hath been very peculiar; having given riſe to ſome remarkable events, and to ſeveral extraordinary claims and litigations, which have employed the courts of juſtice in Ireland, and demanded the attention of the Houſes of Peers both in Ireland and in England. But a relation of theſe facts belongs more properly to a Peerage than to the preſent work.]

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 344.

ever, he appears to have been uſeful as a man of buſineſs in general, which he conducted with great ability. In the Houſe of Peers particularly, he ſeems to have taken an active part in law matters, for which he was well qualified; and ſome of his proteſts are, in this view, worthy of notice (34). He did not ſcruple, when he was not ſatisfied with the reſolutions of the Peers, to enter his proteſtation ſingly (35). His diſſenting, alone, from the vote of the upper Houſe, in the caſe of the Iriſh plot, notwithſtanding the calumny to which he knew he muſt be expoſed, is an inſtance both of his integrity and diſcernment. His conduct was equally remarkable in a parliament of a totally different temper. When, in 1685, a bill was brought in for reverſing the attainder of the Lord Viſcount Stafford, the Earl of Angleſey was the ſole Peer who proteſted againſt it, upon the queſtion's being put, whether the bill with the amendments ſhould be engroſſed: And he and the earl of Clare were the only Lords who entered their proteſts upon the paſſing of the act (36).

(34) Lords Proteſts, Vol. i. p. 70. 76. 83. 89. 99. 105. 107. 109. 117.
(35) *Ibid.* p. 89, 100, 101. 103, 104. 112. 117.
(36) *Ibid.* 117. 119.

The ingenious Mr. Walpole, in his uſual lively manner, hath made ſeveral remarks on the character of Lord Angleſey, and upon the account of him in the preceding article, which merit attention (37). We agree with Mr. Walpole, that it is not probable that the Earl of Angleſey ſhould decline being Prime Miniſter to avoid envy. Indeed, it is not at all likely that any ſuch offer ſhould have been made to him at or a little after the Reſtoration; ſince no perſon could at that time ſtand in competition, in this reſpect, with Lord Clarendon. We farther agree with Mr. Walpole, that the Earl of Angleſey's ſitting in judgment upon the regicides, is not ſo honourable to him as hath been repreſented, though he certainly had no concern in the King's death; and that his being employed for 22 years by King Charles II. is but an inſufficient proof of his not having been a bad man. It is certainly an improbable ſuppoſition, as Mr. Walpole juſtly remarks, that the Earl ſhould be thought of for Lord Chancellor by King James II. when he had a Chancellor ſo moulded to his purpoſes as Jefferies. If the fact were true, inſtead of being an honour to Lord Angleſey, it would reflect the greateſt diſgrace on his character.

(37) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii. p. 65—77.

It is from the preceding account of the Earl of Angleſey in particular, that Mr. Walpole hath taken occaſion to make a ſevere ſtricture on our work, by ſaying, that notwithſtanding its ſingular merit, he cannot help calling it Vindicatio Britannica, or a Defence of every body (38). But in anſwer to this remark, it may be obſerved, *1ſt*, That the cenſure, ſo far as it is juſt, can only be applied to a few articles. *2dly*, That in an undertaking of this kind, which is not intended to be the vehicle of ſcandal, or of petulant criticiſm, but to do juſtice to ability and merit, of whatever religious or political principle, party and profeſſion, it is ſafeſt to err on the candid ſide. *3dly*, That the removal of particular charges which have been haſtily or groundleſsly brought againſt eminent men, falls, with peculiar propriety, within the compaſs of our deſign. And *4thly*, That if we have been guilty of an exceſs of gentleneſs, we muſt guard, for the future, againſt this amiable error. It will behove us, for inſtance, when we come to the Life of Sir Robert Walpole, to take care that we be not too *milky*. However, we hope it will be the glory of this work, to treat every character with all the candour which is conſiſtent with truth. The queſtion concerning the author of the Eikon Baſilike, is conſidered in the life of Biſhop Gauden.] K.

(38) *Ibid.* p. 68, 69.

ANNESLEY or ANELEY (SAMUEL), a very eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſter. He was the ſon of John Aneley, of Hareley, in Warwickſhire; where his family were poſſeſſed of a pretty good eſtate (*a*) [*A*]. He was born about the year 1620, and his father dying when he was four years old, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was a very prudent and religious woman (*b*). In Michaelmas term 1635, he was admitted a Student in Queen's-college at Oxford (*c*), where, at the uſual times, he took the degrees of Bachelor, and Maſter of Arts (*d*). While, he was in the Univerſity, he was particularly remarkable for temperance and induſtry. He commonly drank nothing but water, and though he is ſaid to have been but of ſlow

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 966.

(*b*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, Vol. iii. p. 65.
(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.
(*d*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Poſſeſſed of a pretty good eſtate.*] It was the misfortune of this gentleman, to live in ſuch times, as, generally ſpeaking, engage men to become of ſome party or other, which is ſure to expoſe them to the hatred of all parties except that of which they are. This is the true reaſon why there is ſcarcely a fact which relates to him uncontroverted. In the firſt place there is no ſmall doubt about his name. Certain it is that he himſelf wrote it Anneſley (1); and Dr. Calamy aſſures us, that Arthur Anneſley, the firſt Earl of Angleſey, was his relation (2). Yet the Oxford Antiquary tells us, that he was entered of the univerſity of Oxford by the name of Samuel Aneley (3), the ſon of John Aneley, and he cites the regiſter in ſupport of this (4). He adds, that our author wrote himſelf afterwards, and was called by the name of Anneſley, becauſe it was a noble name (5). In order to have given ſome light into this matter, I have enquired after the Family of Aneley, but I cannot find that there is ſuch a one in Warwickſhire, or at leaſt if there be ſuch a one it can be of no great note; neither to ſay the truth, do I find that there is any family of the Anneſley's ſettled there (6). Yet after all, as Mr. Wood allows our author to have been a man of probity, I cannot but ſuppoſe he wrote his name as it ſhould be.

(1) See the certificates in the third Vol. of Calamy, and the Doctor's Will in note [*E*].
(2) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. iii. p. 73.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col 966.
(4) Lib. Matric. PP. fol. 95. b.
(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 66.
(6) See the ſecond edition of Dugdale's Warwickſhire.

parts,

parts, yet he ſupplied this defect in nature, by prodigious application (*e*). He was from his youth inclined to the Miniſtry, and his deſires we are told were much fortified by a dream of his, which was, that being a Miniſter, he was ſent for by the Biſhop of London, who condemned him to be burnt for a Martyr (*f*). In all probability this dream which he had in his childhood, might be owing to his reading the writings of John Fox, which in thoſe days were put into moſt young people's hands. There is ſome diſpute as to his receiving Holy Orders, that is to ſay, whether he had them from a Biſhop, or according to the Preſbyterian way, and as there is authority on both ſides, the point muſt be diſcuſſed in a note [*B*]. In 1644 he became Chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, then Admiral of the Parliament's fleet (*g*). In proceſs of time his own behaviour, and the great intereſt he had with ſuch as were then in power, procured him a very good eſtabliſhment at Cliffe in Kent (*h*). Here he ſucceeded Doctor Griffith Higges, who was ejected for his loyalty. This was a very conſiderable living, having not only a revenue of between three and four hundred pounds *per annum*, but being alſo a Peculiar, a great juriſdiction belonged to the incumbent, who therefore holds a court, wherein all things relating to wills, marriage contracts, *&c.* are decided (*i*). The people of the pariſh were, it ſeems, extremely fond of Dr. Higges, and therefore treated his ſucceſſor but very roughly, whereupon Mr. Anneſley told them, 'That 'if they conceived him to be biaſſed by the value of ſo conſiderable a living, they 'were exceedingly miſtaken; that he came amongſt them with an intent to do good 'to their ſouls, and that he was reſolved to ſtay, how ill ſoever they uſed him, till he 'had fitted them for the reception of a better miniſter; which, whenever it happened, 'he would leave them, notwithſtanding the great value of the living (*k*).' On the twenty-ſixth of July 1648, he preached the faſt ſermon before the Houſe of Commons, which by their order was printed (*l*) [*C*]. About this time alſo, he was honoured with the title of Doctor of Laws, by the Univerſity of Oxford (*m*), which has given occaſion to ſome very ſevere reflections [*D*]. The ſame year, viz. the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, he went to ſea with his Patron the Earl of Warwick, who was employed in giving chaſe to that part of the Engliſh navy which went over to the then Prince, afterwards King Charles II. (*n*). The Doctor continued at ſea till the tenth of December in the ſame year, when he returned to London (*o*). Some time after this, he quitted his Kentiſh living, much againſt the will of his pariſhioners, that he might keep the promiſe he had made them, when they were in another diſpoſition (*p*). In 1657 he was nominated by Oliver Lord-Protector, Lecturer at St. Paul's (*q*), and afterwards, viz. in 1658, was preſented by Richard Lord-Protector, to the Vicarage of St. Giles's Cripplegate (*r*). But this preſentation growing quickly uſeleſs, he, in 1660, procured another from the truſtees for the maintenance of Miniſters (*s*), being alſo a Commiſſioner for the approbation and admiſſion of Miniſters of the Goſpel, after the Preſbyterian manner (*t*). His ſecond preſentation growing as much out of date as the firſt, he, before the end of the year, viz. Auguſt the twenty eighth, 1660, obtained a third preſentation of a more

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Calamy, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

(*h*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 39.

(*i*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 967.

(*k*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 47.

(*l*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 66.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, P. i. p. 176. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter, Vol. iii. p. 67.

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

(*p*) Calamy, Vol. ii. p. 47.

(*q*) Calamy, Vol. iii. p. 68.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 69.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(*t*) See the Ordinance of Parliament.

[*B*] *Muſt be diſcuſſed in a note.*] We have it on the authority of Mr. Wood, that our author took holy orders from a Biſhop (7). Doctor Calamy informs us, that he had Preſbyterian ordination, and he proves it by a certificate dated the 18th of December, 1644, ſubſcribed by ſeven Preſbyterian Miniſters. By this certificate it appears, that the intent of his ordination was, that he might officiate as a Chaplain in a Man of War called the Globe (8). At firſt ſight theſe facts ſeem to be directly oppoſite, yet I cannot avoid informing the reader that it is not abſolutely impoſſible both may be true. I ſay this, becauſe there were in thoſe days inſtances of perſons, who, notwithſtanding their being ordained by Biſhops, deſired to be re-ordained by Preſbyters. Yet I cannot think that this was our author's caſe, for this plain reaſon, that he was but juſt of age to receive orders when he took this certificate.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. c. 967.

(8) Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

[*C*] *Which by their order was printed.*] It was this ſermon that raiſed Dr. Anneſley ſo many enemies, who have purſued him even beyond the grave. His text was Job xxvii. 5. 6. *God forbid that I ſhould juſtify you: Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt and will not let it go, my heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live* (9). In this ſermon he inveighed againſt the King, then a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, excited the Parliament to do juſtice upon him inſtead of treating with him any more, and at the ſame time highly extolled the Covenant. It is plain that the Houſe were very well pleaſed with his diſcourſe, by their ordering it to be printed; neither can it be denied, that Dr. Anneſley took the Engagement, and went all the lengths with the party, which are the grounds of Mr. Wood's bitterneſs againſt him (10).

(9) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(10) Expreſſed in every thing he ſays of him in his Hiſtory of Oxford Writers.

[*D*] *Some very ſevere reflections.*] Mr. Wood ſays that our author had the degree of Doctor of Laws to qualify him the better for holding his courts as Rector of Cliffe in Kent (11). Dr. Calamy gives quite another reaſon: he ſays, that the Earl of Warwick, having ſeveral chaplains who were Doctors, was deſirous that Mr. Anneſley ſhould be a Doctor too (12). As they diſagree in this, ſo they do in every thing elſe; for Wood aſſerts, that Dr. Anneſley's contemporaries in Queen's Coll. looked upon the giving him this degree as the moſt ſcandalous thing in nature, becauſe they knew he was utterly unacquainted with law: nay, he tells us that ſome of the graveſt fellows there, particularly Dr. Barlow, ſaid often in his hearing, that if this gentleman could then have told what the Pandects were, he ſhould freely have had their vote to go out Doctor of Laws. But ſo it was, continues Wood, that for his money, and favour of thoſe in authority, he had that degree conferred upon him, as others then had degrees in other faculties that knew little or nothing of learning, to the great diſgrace of the univerſity (13). The Oxford Antiquary was ſo fond of this ſtory, that he put it not only into his hiſtory of Oxford writers, but alſo into his account of the graduates of Oxford (14), and it has been tranſcribed by Dr. Walker, without loſing any of his circumſtances (15). Dr. Calamy complains heavily of this; though he has paſſed a ſevere cenſure on Dr. Higges, the Doctor's predeceſſor at Cliffe, with as little reaſon (16). The truth of the matter is, that this degree was beſtowed at the command of Philip Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the univerſity, who acted there with boundleſs authority, and therefore theſe are uſually ſtyled the Pembrokian Creations, and, as Wood ſays, were in general ſcandalous enough.

(11) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(12) Vol. iii. p. 67.

(13) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(14) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 66.

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, P. i. p. 142. P. ii. p. 39.

(16) Vol. ii. p. 48.

legal

legal ſtamp from King Charles II. (*u*). Yet even this did not keep him there long; for in 1662 he was ejected for Non-conformity (*w*). It is ſaid that the Earl of Angleſey, who was his near relation, took ſome pains to perſuade him to conform, and even offered him a conſiderable preferment in the Church, in caſe he would have complied with his requeſt (*x*); but the Doctor refuſed, and continued to preach privately during that King's reign, and ſo long as King James II. ſat on the throne. His Non-conformity, we are told, created him troubles, but no inward uneaſineſs (*y*). His goods were diſtrained for keeping a Conventicle; but Dr. Calamy remarks it as the judgment of God, that a Juſtice of Peace died, as he was ſigning a warrant to apprehend him (*z*). As he had a very ſtrong conſtitution, ſo he laboured earneſtly in the work of his miniſtry for no leſs than fifty-five years (*a*). At laſt, in the year 1696, he was attacked by a painful diſtemper, which, after ſeventeen weeks intolerable torture, put an end to his life the laſt day of that year (*b*). He had the reputation of being a warm pathetic preacher, as well as a pious, prudent, and very charitable Divine, laying by the tenth part of his income, whatever it was, for the uſe of the poor [*E*]. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. Daniel Williams, and as to his writings they are mentioned in the notes [*F*].

(*u*) Calamy, Vol. iii. p. 71.

(*w*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 967.

(*x*) Calamy, Vol. iii. p. 73.

(*y*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 515.

(*z*) Calamy, Vol. ii. p. 48.

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

[*E*] *For the uſe of the poor.*] Dr. Calamy's character of him is ſo full, that it deſerves to be tranſcribed (17), *He had*, ſays he, *a large ſoul and a flaming zeal, and his uſefulneſs was very extenſive. He had the care of all the churches upon him, and was the chief inſtrument in the education and ſubſiſtence of ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe uſeful labours the church had otherwiſe wanted. He was the main ſupport of the morning lecture, for which ſo many have cauſe to be thankful to God, and after the death of old Mr.* Care, *he took the care of it upon himſelf; in the laſt* 30 *years of his life, he had great peace of mind from the aſſurance of God's covenant love. For ſeveral years indeed before that, he walked in darkneſs and was diſconſolate, which is no unuſual thing with ſuch as are converted in their childhood, whoſe change being not ſo remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be queſtioned, but in his laſt illneſs, he was full of comfort.* To this character of Dr. Calamy, let us add our author's Will, becauſe it is very ſhort, and at the ſame time very remarkable (18).

(17) *Id. ibid.*

(18) Turner's remarkable Providences, ch. 143.

In the name of God, Amen. I Dr. Samuel Anneſley of the Liberty of Norton Folgate, in the County of Middleſex, an unworthy Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, being through mercy in health of body and mind, do make this my laſt will and teſtament concerning my earthly pittance. For my ſoul I dare humbly ſay, it is, through Grace, devoted unto God otherwiſe than by legacy, when it may live here no longer: And I do believe that my body, after it's ſleeping a while in Jeſus, ſhall be re-united to my Soul, that they may both be for ever with the Lord.

Of what I ſhall leave behind me, I make this ſhort diſpoſal: My juſt debts being paid, I give to each of my children one ſhilling, and all the reſt to be equally divided between my ſon Benjamin Anneſley, my daughter Judith Anneſley, and my daughter Ann Anneſley, whom I make my Executors of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, revoking all former, and confirming this with my hand and ſeal this 29th day of March, 1693.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY.

[*F*] *They are mentioned in the notes.*] He hath not left much in print. He publiſhed a ſermon before the Houſe of Commons in 1648. Two Sermons he preached at St. Paul's about *Communion with God*, in 1655. A Sermon at St. Laurence Jewry, to the Gentlemen Natives of Wiltſhire, Nov. 9, 1654. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe* at St. Giles's, *on the Covenant of Grace*. He publiſhed the *Morning Exerciſe* at Cripplegate in 1661: and hath a Sermon there which begins the whole; upon *being univerſally and exactly conſcientious*. He alſo publiſhed and prefaced the *Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe* at Cripplegate, *anno* 1674, and begins it with a Sermon upon *Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds*. He hath alſo a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe againſt Popery, againſt Popiſh Pardons and Indulgences*. He afterwards publiſhed and prefaced *the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe Queſtions*, in 1683; and begins it with a Sermon ſhewing *how the adherent Vanity of every Condition, is moſt effectually abated by ſerious Godlineſs:* And in 1690, he publiſhed and prefaced the fourth Volume of *Caſuiſtical Morning Exerciſes*; which he begins with a Sermon ſhewing, *how we may give Chriſt a ſatisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Miniſtry of the Word*. He wrote likewiſe the Life of Mr. Thomas Brand, which was publiſhed with his Funeral Sermon; a Funeral Sermon for Mr. William Whitaker; and beſides all theſe, he wrote a Preface to Mr. Richard Allein's *Inſtructions about Heart Work:* And joined with Dr. Owen in a Preface to Mr. Eliſha Coles's *Practical Diſcourſe of God's Sovereignty*. C.

[It hath juſtly been remarked to us, by a moſt valuable correſpondent, that the Commons may have been pleaſed with Dr. Anneſley's Faſt Sermon, preached before them in 1648; but that no proof of this ariſes from their having ordered it to be printed. Cudworth's Sermon, in the preceding year, was printed by their order; and yet its doctrine could not have been pleaſing. The ſame correſpondent hath obſerved, with regard to the ſtory of the Juſtice of Peace dying, as he was ſigning a warrant to apprehend Dr. Anneſley, that it is preſumptuous to ſay what are the judgments of God; and that, as the Juſtice purſued the poſitive direction of an act of Parliament, it was not his buſineſs to determine concerning the propriety of the Act ordering commitment. Indeed, if he had been ever ſo averſe to a perſecuting law, it would have been out of his power to refuſe a warrant to a legal information. Nothing is more diſgraceful to hiſtory, or is a greater indication of a party-ſpirit, than the aſcribing the calamities of our adverſaries to the Divine Judgments.] K.

ANSELM, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I., was an Italian by birth, being born in the year 1033, at Aoſt, a town at the foot of the Alps, belonging to the Duke of Savoy. He was deſcended of a conſiderable family: his father's name was Gundulphus, and his mother's Hemeberga (*a*). After he had gone through a courſe of ſtudies, and travelled for ſome time in Burgundy and France, he took the monaſtic habit in the abbey of Becc in Normandy, of which Lanfranc, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*), was then Prior. At that time Anſelm was no more than twenty-ſeven years of age. Three years after, when Lanfranc was made Abbot of Caen, Anſelm ſucceeded him in the Priory of Bece; and when Herluin, Abbot of that monaſtery, died, Anſelm was promoted to the Abbacy. About the year 1092, Anſelm came over into England, being invited thither by Hugh Earl

(*a*) Baron. Annal. tom. ii. an. 1093.

(*b*) Lanfranc was Anſelm's immediate predeceſſor in that ſee.

of Cheſter, who requeſted his aſſiſtance in his ſickneſs. Soon after his arrival, William Rufus, falling ſick at Glouceſter, and being preſſed to fill up the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant above four years [*A*], thought fit to nominate Anſelm; who with much difficulty was prevailed upon to accept that dignity [*B*]. Before his conſecration, he gained a promiſe from the King for the reſtitution of all the lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of that See in Lanfranc's time. And thus having ſecured the temporalities of the Archbiſhopric, and done homage to the King, he was conſecrated with great ſolemnity on the fourth of December 1093 (*c*). Soon after his conſecration, the King intending to wreſt the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, and endeavouring to raiſe what money he could for that purpoſe, Anſelm made him an offer of five hundred pounds; which the King thinking too little refuſed to accept, and the Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure [*C*]. About that time, he had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London, touching the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe (*d*) [*D*]. The next year, the King being ready to embark for Normandy, Anſelm waited upon him, and deſired his leave to convene a national Synod, in which the diſorders of the Church and State, and the general diſſolution of manners, might be remedied: but the King refuſed his requeſt, and even treated him very roughly; upon which the Archbiſhop and his retinue withdrew from court (*e*) [*E*]. Another cauſe of diſcontent

(*c*) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuar. Hiſtor. Novor. Lond. 1623. lib. i. p. 20.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *The See of Canterbury had been vacant above four years.*] Archbiſhop Lanfranc died in May 1089, and Anſelm ſucceeded him in December 1093. During the vacancy of the See, the profits were returned into the Exchequer. The King, it ſeems, at that time, was much influenced by one Ranulph, a Clergyman, who, though a Norman and of mean extraction, had a great ſhare in the King's favour, and at laſt roſe to the poſt of Prime Miniſter. This man, having gained the King's ear by flattering his vices, miſled him in the adminiſtration, and put him upon ſeveral arbitrary and oppreſſive expedients. Among others, one was, to ſeize the revenues of a church, upon the death of a Biſhop or Abbot; allowing the Dean and Chapter, or Convent, but a ſlender penſion for maintenance (1). But the King falling ſick, began to be touched with remorſe of conſcience, and to recollect the miſmanagements of his reign. Among other oppreſſions, he was particularly afflicted for the injury he had done the Church and kingdom in keeping the See of Canterbury, and ſome others, vacant. The Biſhops and other great men took this opportunity to entreat the King to fill up the vacant Sees; and Anſelm, who then lived in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, being ſent for to court, to aſſiſt the King in his illneſs, was pitched upon by the King as a proper perſon, and accordingly nominated to the See of Canterbury (2).

(1) Orderic. Vital. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. viii. p. 678.

(2) Eadmer. Hiſtor. Nov. l. i. p. 16.

[*B*] *He was with much difficulty prevailed upon to accept that dignity.*] He expreſſed great uneaſineſs at this promotion; and when he was hurried into the King's preſence, to receive inveſtiture by delivery of the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, he made all the decent oppoſition imaginable. The Biſhops expoſtulated with him upon his refuſal, telling him, 'That 'his modeſty was no better than a plain deſertion 'of his duty; that things were in the utmoſt confuſion; that all ſorts of diſorders prevailed in the 'Church, and Chriſtianity was almoſt exterminated 'by the licentiouſneſs and tyranny of the adminiſtration: that, ſince the remedy of theſe evils was 'now in his power, the declining to make uſe of it 'was hardly reconcileable to conſcience, or the 'character of an honeſt man; and that the preferring his own eaſe and quiet to the public ſervice of 'religion, was a very indefenſible motive.' Anſelm, in excuſe of himſelf, alledged, 'That he had not 'health and vigour ſufficient for ſo weighty a 'charge; that his inclination was entirely for the 'cloiſter, and that he had always declined concerning himſelf in ſecular affairs.' He deſired, therefore, 'They would not endeavour to drag him 'out of his repoſe, and force him upon his averſion.' He added, *I am Abbot of a Monaſtery in a foreign dominion; I am bound to canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of that province; I owe allegiance to the Prince of the country; and am likewiſe obliged to aſſiſt my convent to the beſt of my power. Things ſtanding thus, I am not at liberty to quit the monaſtery without the conſent of the Monks, nor to diſengage from my Prince without his permiſſion; nor to withdraw myſelf from the juriſdiction of my ſpiritual father the Biſhop, unleſs he is pleaſed to diſcharge me.* Finding him perſiſt in his refuſal, they forced him into the King's preſence, who aſked him in a very pathetical manner, 'Why he endeavoured to ruin 'him in the other world; which would infallibly 'follow, in caſe he died before the archbiſhoprick 'was filled.' When no arguments could prevail, the Biſhops and thoſe who were preſent clapped the paſtoral ſtaff into his hands, ſhouted for his election, and bore him by force into the church, where *Te Deum* was ſung upon the occaſion. But, notwithſtanding all this ſolemnity, Anſelm would not acquieſce, till the King had written to the Duke of Normandy, the Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Monaſtery of Becc, and procured him a diſcharge from the obligations above mentioned (3).

(3) *Id. ib.* p. 17.

[*C*] *The Archbiſhop thereby fell under the King's diſpleaſure.*] When the King heard of the intended ſum, he was pleaſed at firſt; but afterwards ſome of the courtiers, diſaffected to the Archbiſhop, repreſenting it as too trifling an acknowledgment, he refuſed to accept it. This temper of the Court ſurprized Anſelm, who thereupon went to the King, and addreſſed him in this manner: 'Sir, I intreat 'your Highneſs would be pleaſed to accept the preſent I ſent you; it will not be the laſt acknowledgment your Archbiſhop will make you: And 'I humbly conceive, 'tis both more ſerviceable and 'more honourable for your Highneſs to receive a 'leſſer ſum from me with my conſent, than to extort a greater by force and violence; for voluntary 'payments will be more frequent in their return. If 'your Highneſs allows me the freedom and privilege of my ſtation, my perſon, and all that belongs to me, will be at your ſervice; but if I am 'treated like a ſlave, I ſhall be obliged to ſtand off, 'and keep my fortune to myſelf.' This frank declaration greatly diſguſted the King, who bid him take his money and be gone. The Archbiſhop not being in a condition at that time to double the ſum, as the King expected, without racking his tenants, deſiſted after a ſecond offer, and gave the money to the poor (4).

(4) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *He had a diſpute with the Biſhop of London about the right of conſecrating churches in a foreign dioceſe.*] The Archbiſhop was preparing to conſecrate a church, in one of his manors, built by his predeceſſor Lanfranc. The town, called Berga, lay within the dioceſe of London; the Biſhop of which See ſent down two Prebendaries to claim the right of conſecration. Upon this the Archbiſhop conſulted Wulſtan Biſhop of Worceſter, who, being the only Engliſh or Saxon Biſhop then living, was thought the beſt qualified to pronounce upon the controverſy. This Prelate giving his opinion in favour of the Archbiſhop's pretenſions, Anſelm went on with the conſecration, performed Divine ſervice, and executed other parts of his function, in all the towns belonging to the See of London, without moving for the conſent of the dioceſan (5).

(5) *Id. ib.* p. 21.

[*E*] *The Archbiſhop —— withdrew from court.*] Our Prelate began to reflect, that the King's diſpleaſure towards him might prevent his acting in his ſtation with advantage to the Church and kingdom. He applied, therefore, to the Biſhops, to entreat the

diſcontent between the King and the Archbiſhop, was, Anſelm's deſiring leave to go to Rome, to receive the pall from Pope Urban II., whom the King of England did not acknowledge as Pope, being more inclined to favour the party of his competitor Guibert. This miſunderſtanding occaſioned great diſputes; and to put an end to the controverſy, a council or convention was held at Rockingham caſtle [F]; the iſſue of which was, that the majority of the Biſhops, being either gained or over-awed by the Court, threw up their canonical obedience, and renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop [G]. In conſequence of this proceeding Anſelm deſired a paſſport, to go beyond the ſea, till the preſent miſunderſtandings could be made up. But the King abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, and would only conſent, that there ſhould be a kind of truce or ſuſpenſion of the affair from March to Whitſuntide [H], during which interval the difference was to ſleep. But, long before the expiration of this term, the King broke through the agreement, baniſhed ſeveral clergymen who were Anſelm's favourites, and miſerably haraſſed the tenants of his See. Whitſuntide being come, and the Biſhops having in vain endeavoured to ſoften Anſelm into a compliance; the King, with the advice of his great men, received him into favour upon his own terms; and, becauſe Anſelm perſiſted in refuſing to receive the pall from the King's hands, it was at laſt agreed, that the Pope's Nuncio, who had brought the pall into England (f), ſhould carry it down to Canterbury, and lay it upon the altar of the cathedral; from whence Anſelm was to receive it, as if it had been put into his hands by St. Peter himſelf.

A. D. 1094.

A. D. 1095.

(f) See the remark [H].

the King to receive him into favour. But the King being inexorable, the Biſhops adviſed him to make his Majeſty a freſh offer of five hundred pounds, with a promiſe of as much more as ſoon as it could be raiſed. To which Anſelm replied, 'That this 'method might prove very unfortunate; that the 'King might probably be angry again ere long, 'upon the ſame proſpect; that the tenants of the 'archbiſhoprick had been miſerably haraſſed ſince 'the death of his predeceſſor; and that to take any 'more from them would be their utter undoing.' *Beſides*, ſays he, *God forbid I ſhould do any thing to make the world believe my Sovereign's favour is mercenary. I owe the King allegiance, and ought to be tender of his honour. How then can I be true to theſe engagements, if I go about to bring an ill report upon his juſtice, and offer to buy his friendſhip with a little money, like a horſe in a fair? At this rate royal favour would be valued no higher than the proportion of the ſum. But far be it from me to undervalue a thing of that dignity, and to put ſo paltry a conſideration in balance againſt it. Your way therefore will be, to perſuade the King not to ſet a price upon his reconciliation, but to receive me upon frank and honourable terms, and treat me as his ſpiritual Father: And for my part I am ready to pay him the duty of a ſubject. But as for the money, ſince he was pleaſed to refuſe it, I have given it to the poor, and have now nothing to offer of that kind.* This being reported to the King, he appeared very angry, and declared, 'He would 'never look upon Anſelm as his ghoſtly Father; 'that he hated his prayers and benedictions, and, 'therefore, he might go whither he pleaſed.' *Upon this*, ſays Eadmer (6), who was one of Anſelm's retinue, *we withdrew from Court.*

(6) Ubi ſupra.

[F] *A council —— was held at Rockingham caſtle.*] In this aſſembly, Anſelm, opening his cauſe, told them with what reluctancy he had accepted the archbiſhoprick; that he had made an expreſs reſerve of his obedience to Pope Urban; and that he was now brought under difficulties upon that ſcore. He, therefore, deſired their advice how to act in ſuch a manner, as neither to fail in his allegiance to the King, nor in his duty to the Holy See. The Biſhops were of opinion, he ought to reſign himſelf wholly to the King's pleaſure. They told him, there was a general complaint againſt him, for intrenching upon the King's prerogative; and that it would be prudence in him to wave his regard for Urban; that Biſhop (for they would not call him Pope) being in no condition to do him either good or harm. To this Anſelm returned, that he was engaged to be no farther the King's ſubject than the laws of Chriſtianity would give him leave; that as he was willing *to render unto Cæſar the things that were Cæſar's*, ſo he muſt likewiſe take in the other part of the precept, and *give unto God that which was God's*. Upon this William Biſhop of Durham, a Court Prelate, who had inflamed the difference, and managed the argument for the King, inſiſted, that the nomination of the Pope to the ſubject was the principal jewel of the Crown, and that by this privilege the Kings of England were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom (7).

(7) Eadmer. *ib.* p. 28, 29.

[G] *The Biſhops renounced Anſelm for their Archbiſhop.*] The King would have had them gone farther, brought him to his trial, and depoſed him in the council. But the Biſhops refuſed to carry their reſentment againſt him ſo far. As for Anſelm, when he heard that his ſuffragans had diſclaimed him, he complained greatly of their ill-treatment of him, and demanded the regard due to a Metropolitan. In a letter, which he wrote to the Iriſh Biſhops about that time, he expreſſes the great uneaſineſs this uſage gave him, and deſires they would put up their prayers on his behalf, 'That God would inſpire 'him with fortitude and reſolution, to preſerve the 'government of the Church, and appear boldly 'againſt diſorder and licentiouſneſs.' And in the cloſe of the letter, *If there happen*, ſays he, *any difficulty in your country about the conſecration of Biſhops, or any other matter relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, I deſire you would inform me of the caſe, and take the aſſiſtance of the beſt advice I can give you* (8). It is remarkable, that when the King applied to the temporal nobility, to engage them to follow the example of the Biſhops, and diſclaim Anſelm, they unanimouſly refuſed to do ſo; and this generous declaration of the Barons in favour of the Archbiſhop, made the ſervile compliance of the Biſhops appear the more ſcandalous and unjuſtifiable (9).

(8) Dacherius, Spiceleg. T. ix. p. 12

(9) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

[H] *A truce, or ſuſpenſion of the affair, from March to Whitſuntide, was agreed upon.*] During this interval, Walter, Biſhop of Alba, was ſent by Urban into England, attended by two clergymen, who officiated in the King's chapel. Theſe Eccleſiaſtics had been privately diſpatched to Rome, to enquire into the late election, and examine which of the two pretenders, Guibert or Urban, was canonically choſen. Theſe agents, finding the right lay in Urban, applied to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to ſend the King the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's pall. This was the King's point; who thought, by getting the pall into his poſſeſſion, he ſhould be able to manage the Archbiſhop (10). The Pope complied ſo far, as to ſend the Biſhop of Alba to the King with the pall, but with ſecret orders concerning the diſpoſal of it. This Prelate arriving at the Engliſh court, diſcourſed very agreeably to the King, making him believe the Pope was entirely in his intereſt; upon which William ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope in all his dominions. After he had thus far gratified the See of Rome, he began to treat with the Legate about the deprivation of Anſelm; but was greatly diſappointed, when that Prelate aſſured him the deſign was impracticable. However, it was now too late to go back; and therefore, to ſet the beſt face upon the matter, he reſolved, ſince he could not have his revenge upon Anſelm, to drop the diſpute, and pretend himſelf reconciled (11).

(10) *Id. ib.* l. ii. p. 32.

(11) *Ibid.*

Things

Things being thus adjuſted, the Archbiſhop went to Canterbury, and received the pall with great ſolemnity, the June following (*g*). And now it was generally hoped, that all occaſion of difference between the King and the Archbiſhop was removed: but it appeared ſoon after, that the reconciliation on the King's part was not ſincere. For William, having marched his forces into Wales, and brought that country to ſubmiſſion, took that opportunity to quarrel with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota the Archbiſhop had furniſhed for that expedition (*h*) [*I*]. Finding therefore his authority too weak to oppoſe the corruptions of the times, he reſolved to go in perſon to Rome, and conſult the Pope. But the King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom, ſeemed ſurprized at the requeſt, and gave him a flat denial (*i*) [*K*]. Notwithſtanding this, the Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage [*L*], and accordingly embarked at Dover. But when the King heard that he had croſſed the channel, he ſeized upon the Archbiſhopric, and made every thing void which Anſelm had done (*k*). The Archbiſhop got ſafe to Rome, and was honourably received by the Pope. After a ſhort ſtay in that city, he accompanied the Pope to a country ſeat near Capua, whither his Holineſs retired on account of the unhealthineſs of the town. And here Anſelm wrote a book, in which he gave an account of the reaſon of our Saviour's Incarnation. The Pope wrote to the King of England in a ſtrain of authority, enjoining him to re-inſtate Anſelm in all the profits and privileges of his See. Anſelm, likewiſe, wrote into England upon the ſame ſubject (*l*). As for the King, he endeavoured to get Anſelm diſcountenanced abroad, and wrote to Roger Duke of Apulia, and others, to that purpoſe (*m*). But he had not credit enough, it ſeems, to gain his point: for Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came [*M*]. This famous Archbiſhop was very ſerviceable to the Pope in the council of Bari, which was held to oppoſe the errors of the Greek Church, with reſpect to the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt (*n*). In this Synod Anſelm anſwered the objections of the Greeks, and managed the argument with ſo much judgment, learning, and penetration, that he ſilenced his adverſaries, and gave general ſatisfaction to the Weſtern Church. This argument was afterwards digeſted by him into a Tract [*N*], and is extant among his other works (*o*). In the ſame council Anſelm generouſly

(*g*) Eadmer. ubi ſuprâ, l. ii. p. 33.

(*h*) *Id. ib.* p. 37.

A. D. 1097.

(*i*) *Id. ib.* p. 39.

(*k*) *Id. ib.* p. 41. 44.

(*l*) *Id. ib.* p. 45.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

A. D. 1098.

(*n*) In this Synod the Pope gave Anſelm the title of Alterius Orbis Papa, *i. e. Pope of the other World*, meaning *England*.

(*o*) See the remark [*FF*].

[*I*] *The King quarrelled with Anſelm, pretending he was not ſatisfied with the quota he had furniſhed for the Welſh expedition.*] The King complained, that the Archbiſhop had failed in his proportion, and that his men were neither well accoutred, nor fit for the ſervice. He even threatened to have him tried for a miſdemeanour, and ordered him to be ready to make his appearance upon the firſt ſummons. Anſelm thought ſilence the beſt expedient upon this occaſion, and therefore returned no anſwer to the King's meſſage (12).

(12) *Id. ib.* p. 37.

[*K*] *The King, to whom he applied for leave to go out of the kingdom —— gave him a flat denial.*] He added, 'That he did by no means underſtand the 'reaſon of ſuch a voyage; that he could not think 'Anſelm ſo far guilty of any crime, as to ſtand in 'need of the Pope's abſolution: and, as for conſulting him, he had that good opinion of the 'Archbiſhop's judgment, that he thought him 'every jot as well qualified to give the Pope advice, as to receive any from him.' Anſelm renewed his petition in vain; and deſpairing to obtain the King's leave, he ſent for the Biſhops of Winchester, Lincoln, Saliſbury, and Bath, who were then at court, and told them, 'That it belonged 'more particularly to their office, to adhere to the 'intereſt of religion: If, therefore, they would 'ſtand by him, upon this occaſion, and be firm to 'the ſervice of the Church, he would lay his intentions before them, and be governed by their advice.' They deſired a little time for deliberation; and having conſulted together, they returned to him with the following anſwer: 'My Lord, we 'know you to be a very religious and holy man, 'and that your converſation is wholly in Heaven; 'but as for ourſelves, we muſt confeſs, our relations and ſecular intereſt are a clog upon us, inſomuch that we cannot riſe up to thoſe ſeraphic 'flights, nor trample upon the world with the 'noble contempt that you do. If you pleaſe to 'ſtoop to our infirmities, and content yourſelf with 'our methods and management, we will ſolicit 'your cauſe with the ſame heartineſs we do our 'own, and aſſiſt you to the utmoſt of our power. 'But if you are all ſpirituality, and have nothing 'but the Church in view, all we can do is to preſerve our former regards to you, and that with a 'reſerve of acting nothing, which may intrench 'upon our allegiance to the King.' After this conference with the Biſhops, the King ſent another meſſage to him, expoſtulating with him upon breach of duty in leaving the kingdom without the royal permiſſion. Upon this Anſelm went to court, and, according to his cuſtomary privilege, ſeating himſelf at the King's right-hand, would have entered upon his juſtification. But the King perſiſted in his denial of leave, and the Archbiſhop left the court, reſolved upon his voyage (13).

(13) *Id. ib.* p. 39.

[*L*] *The Archbiſhop reſolved upon the voyage.*] At his parting from the court, he told the King, 'He 'was now juſt ready to ſet forward; that if he 'could have gained his permiſſion, he conceived it 'might have been more ſerviceable to his Majeſty, 'and more ſatisfactory to all good people: But 'ſince it proved otherwiſe, he muſt acquieſce in 'the misfortune, and ſhould always have the ſame 'regard for the welfare of the King's ſoul: That 'now, not knowing when he ſhould wait upon his 'Highneſs again, he was ready to recommend him 'to God Almighty, and to diſmiſs him with the 'ſame ſolemnity of good wiſhes that were owing 'from a ſpiritual father to a ſon, he had ſo great 'an affection for; and which a King of England 'ought to receive from an Archbiſhop of Canterbury.' *And, therefore, unleſs your Highneſs rejects it*, ſays he, *I am ready to give you my bleſſing.* The King replying, *he did not refuſe it*, Anſelm roſe up, and making the ſign of the croſs over the King's head, who bowed at that ceremony, took his leave; the King and all the court admiring the reſolution and unconcernedneſs of his behaviour (14).

(14) *Id. ib.* p. 41.

[*M*] *Anſelm was treated with all imaginable reſpect wherever he came.*] Finding his preaching had a good effect on his audiences in Italy, he deſired leave of the Pope to reſign his Archbiſhopric, believing he might be more ſerviceable to the world in a more private ſtation. The Pope would by no means conſent to ſuch a ſtep, but charged him, upon his obedience, never to drop his title, or quit his ſtation (15).

(15) *Id. ib.* p. 45.

[*N*] *This argument was digeſted by him into a Tract.*] Baronius's remark upon this diſcourſe of Anſelm's deſerves to be remembered. He takes notice, that the Archbiſhop, in this Tract, does not make uſe of the authorities either of the Greek or Latin Fathers: not of the Latins, becauſe the

generouſly interpoſed, and prevented the Pope from pronouncing ſentence of excommunication againſt the King of England, for his frequent outrages on religion (*p*). After the Synod of Bari was ended, the Pope and Anſelm returned to Rome, where an Ambaſſador from the King of England was arrived, in order to diſprove Anſelm's allegations and complaints againſt his maſter [*O*]. And, the better to effect his purpoſe, he tried the intereſt of his purſe; and partly by preſents, and partly by promiſes, he bribed the court of Rome to deſert Anſelm (*q*) [*P*]. The Archbiſhop, perceiving how matters went, would have returned to Lyons, but the Pope would not part with him; and to ſweeten him after his diſappointment, lodged him in a noble palace, where his Holineſs made him frequent viſits. About that time the Pope having ſummoned a council to ſit at Rome [*Q*], Anſelm had a very honourable ſeat aſſigned him and his ſucceſſors; this being the firſt time of an Archbiſhop of Canterbury's appearing at a Roman Synod (*r*). When the Council broke up, Anſelm immediately left Rome, and returned to Lyons, where he was entertained for ſome time by Hugo the Archbiſhop. He ſtaid there till he heard the news of King William's and Pope Urban's death, which happened not long after (*s*). Henry I., the new King of England, having reſtored the Sees of Canterbury, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury, which had been ſeized by his predeceſſor; Anſelm was ſolicited to return into England; and being come as far as Clugny, an Agent from the King met him with a letter inviting him to return to his archbiſhopric [*R*]. In this letter the King excuſed himſelf for not ſtaying till Anſelm's return, and being crowned by another Prelate. The Archbiſhop being arrived in England, was received with extraordinary reſpect by the King and the people. And thus far matters went ſmoothly enough. But when it was required of Anſelm, that he ſhould be re-inveſted by the King, and do the cuſtomary homage of his predeceſſors, he refuſed to comply, alledging the canons of the late Synod at Rome about inveſtitures (*t*) [*S*]. The King was greatly diſguſted at Anſelm's non-compliance: however, not being well ſettled on the throne, he was unwilling to come to a rupture. It was agreed, therefore, that the diſpute ſhould reſt till the Eaſter following; and in the mean time both parties were to ſend their agents to Rome, to try if they could perſuade the Pope to diſpenſe with the canons of the late Synod in relation to inveſtitures. About this time Anſelm ſummoned a Synod to meet at Lambeth [*T*], on occaſion of the King's intended marriage with Maud or Matilda, eldeſt daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland.

(*p*) Eadmer, *ib.*

(*q*) *Id. ibid.* p. 52. A. D. 1099.

(*r*) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam, Francof. 1601.

(*s*) Eadmer ubi ſupra, l. iii. p. 55.

(*t*) *Id. ib.*

Greeks excepted againſt their teſtimony, as being friends and parties; nor of the Greeks, becauſe, when they were cited againſt them, they uſed to object againſt the credit and authenticneſs of the copy. Anſelm, therefore, truſting to the goodneſs of the cauſe, took none of theſe auxiliaries into the ſervice, but had recourſe ſolely to the Scriptures, and confuted his adverſaries from thence (16).

(16) Baron. Annal. T. ii. ad an. 1097.

[*O*] *The Engliſh Ambaſſador endeavoured to diſprove Anſelm's allegations, and complaints againſt his maſter.*] This Miniſter told the Pope, that his maſter was ſurprized at his Holineſs's order for reinſtating Anſelm in his Archbiſhopric, ſince he had poſitively acquainted that Prelate what he muſt expect, in caſe he quitted the realm without his Majeſty's leave. The Pope aſked the Ambaſſador, if he had any thing farther in his inſtructions againſt Anſelm? He anſwered, Nothing. 'Could you 'then (ſaid the Pope) think it worth your while to 'take ſo long and tedious a journey, only to ac'quaint me, that your Primate has been deprived 'of his See for appealing to St. Peter's chair? If 'you have any regard for your maſter, return and 'tell him, that unleſs he will venture the higheſt 'cenſure of the Church, his method will be forth'with to reſtore Anſelm to all his rights and 'properties.' The Ambaſſador being ſhocked with this anſwer, told the Pope, he had ſomething farther to communicate; and deſired a private audience, in which he found means to ſoften his Holineſs, and prevail upon him to relax a little in his demands (17).

(17) Eadmer. ubi ſupra, p. 52.

[*P*] *The Engliſh Ambaſſador bribed the Court of Rome to deſert Anſelm.*] This ſtory is modeſtly told by Eadmer (18) in a few words. But William of Malmſbury enlarges with more freedom upon the prevarication of the Court of Rome. He tells us (19), the Pope was under ſome difficulty and irreſolution about the matter; that for ſome time his Holineſs hung in ſuſpence between conſcience and intereſt, but was at laſt overbalanced by the conſideration of a good preſent. And here Malmſbury declaims with a great deal of honeſty and ſatire againſt the prevalency of money; and frankly acknowledges, that it was ſcandalous in a perſon of his Holineſs's ſtation and character to proſtitute his honour and conſcience, and depart from juſtice for the ſake of a little pelf.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) De Geſtis Pontif. Angl. l. i. p. 223. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

[*Q*] *The Pope ſummoned a council to meet at Rome.*] When the canons of this council were agreed on, and drawn up, the Pope ordered Reingerius, Biſhop of Lucca, to publiſh them to the aſſembly. This Prelate, after he had gone through part of his commiſſion, ſeemed on a ſudden to be greatly diſturbed; and breaking off the reading of the canons, he cried out: 'What will become of us? We are loading 'the people with new precepts and articles of duty; 'but do not relieve thoſe, who apply to us for pro'tection. The whole world is ſurprized at this con'duct, and complains, that the head of the Church 'does not ſympathize with the members.' Then he expreſsly mentioned Anſelm's caſe, and remonſtrated againſt the delays in doing him juſtice. Here the Pope interpoſed, and deſired him to forbear, with a promiſe that matters ſhould be rectified. Reingerius, being a man of warmth and zeal, replied, 'twas fit it ſhould be ſo; for God would not paſs over the neglect: and when he had ſaid this, he went on with the publication of the canons (20).

(20) Eadmer *ib.*

[*R*] *The King ſent him a letter, inviting him to return to his Archbiſhopric.*] The learned reader will find King Henry's letter to Anſelm, in the collection of that Prelate's letters (21), and in Mr. Collier's collection of Records, N. 14. at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

(21) Anſelm Epiſtolar. l. iii. Epiſt. 41. A. D. 1000.

[*S*] *Anſelm alledged the canons of the Synod of Rome about inveſtitures.*] This Synod excommunicated all lay perſons, who ſhould give inveſtitures for abbies or cathedrals; and all eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould receive inveſtitures from lay hands, or came under the tenure of homage for any eccleſiaſtical promotion, were put under the ſame cenſure (22).

(22) W. Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*T*] *Anſelm called a Synod at Lambeth.*] The King being generally cenſured for intending to marry the Princeſs Maud, who was ſuppoſed to have embraced a religious life, that Lady applied herſelf upon this occaſion to Archbiſhop Anſelm, and deſired his advice. The Archbiſhop objected the common report to her, and declared, that no motive whatſoever ſhould prevail with him to diſengage her from her vow

Scotland. In this Synod it was determined, that the King might lawfully marry that Princeſs, notwithſtanding ſhe was generally reported to be a Nun, having worn the veil, and had her education in a religious houſe (*u*). Soon after this marriage, Anſelm was of ſignal ſervice to King Henry againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy [*U*], who had invaded England, and landed with a formidable army at Portſmouth. For the Archbiſhop not only furniſhed the King with a large body of men, but was very active, likewiſe, in preventing a revolt of the great men from him (*w*). The agents, ſent by the King and the Archbiſhop to Rome, being returned, brought with them a letter from Pope Paſchal to the King (*x*), in which his Holineſs abſolutely refuſed to diſpenſe with the canons concerning inveſtitures. The King, on his part, reſolved not to give up what for ſome reigns had paſſed for part of the royal prerogative. And thus the difference was kept on foot between the King and Anſelm. In this diſpute the majority of the Biſhops and temporal nobility were on the Court ſide; and ſome of them were very earneſt with the King, to break entirely with the See of Rome (*y*). However, it was not thought adviſeable to proceed to an open rupture without trying a farther expedient; and therefore freſh agents were diſpatched by the King to Rome, with inſtructions to offer the Pope this alternative; either to depart from his former declaration, and relax in the point of inveſtitures, or to be content with the baniſhment of Anſelm, and to loſe the obedience of the Engliſh, and the yearly profits accruing from that kingdom. At the ſame time, Anſelm diſpatched two Monks, to inform the Pope of the menaces of the Engliſh Court. But the King's Ambaſſadors could not prevail with the Pope to recede from his declaration; his Holineſs proteſting he would ſooner loſe his life than cancel the decrees of the Holy Fathers (*z*) [*W*]: which reſolution he ſignified by letters to the King and Anſelm. Soon after, the King, having convened the great men of the kingdom at London, ſent Anſelm word, that he muſt either comply with the uſages of his father's reign, or quit England. But, the agents diſagreeing in their report of the Pope's anſwer (*aa*), Anſelm thought proper not to return a poſitive anſwer till farther information. And thus the controverſy ſlept for the preſent (*bb*). The next year a national Synod was held under Anſelm at St. Peter's Weſtminſter; at which the King and the principal nobility were preſent (*cc*). The year following the King was pleaſed to relent, and deſire Anſelm to take a journey to Rome, to try if he could perſuade the Pope to relax. Anſelm, at the requeſt of the Biſhops, and the barons, undertook the voyage (*dd*). At the ſame time, the King diſpatched one William Warelwaſt to Rome. This agent, arriving there before Anſelm, ſolicited for the King his maſter, but to no purpoſe; for the Pope perſiſted in refuſing to grant the King the right of inveſtiture. But, at the ſame time, his Holineſs wrote a very ceremonious letter to the King of England, entreating him to wave the conteſt, and promiſing all imaginable compliance in other matters (*ee*). Anſelm, having taken leave of the Court of Rome, returned to Lyons, where he received a ſharp and reprimanding letter from a Monk, acquainting him with the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury [*X*]. During the Archbiſhop's ſtay at Lyons, the King ſent another embaſſy to Rome, to try if he could prevail with the Pope to bring Anſelm to

(*u*) *Id. ib.* p. 56, 57, 58.

(*w*) *Id. ib.* p. 59.

(*x*) *Id. ib.* p. 59, 60, 61.

(*y*) *Id. ibid.* p. 63.

(*z*) *Id. ib.* p. 64.

(*aa*) See the remark [*U*].

(*bb*) Eadmer, *ib.* p. 65. A. D. 1102.

(*cc*) *Id. ibid.*

(*dd*) *Id. ibid.* p. 70.

(*ee*) *Id. ib.* l. iv. p. 77.

vow to Almighty God. The Princeſs denied there had been any ſuch engagement, and alledged that, though ſhe had indeed worn a veil, it was againſt her inclination, being forced thereto by her aunt Chriſtian, who had put a piece of black cloth about her head, to prevent her being violated by the Normans. She added, that her father, ſeeing her veiled, broke out into a paſſion, and tore the veil in pieces, proteſting that he deſigned her for marriage, and not for a nunnery. Anſelm thought this caſe too weighty to reſt upon his ſingle judgment, and therefore brought it before the Synod of Lambeth; in which, the truth of the Princeſs's allegations being ſufficiently proved, the aſſembly was of opinion, that the Princeſs Maud was under no neceſſity of being a nun, but might diſpoſe of her perſon as ſhe thought fit. Accordingly that Lady was married to the King. And, to prevent calumny and miſreport, when the wedding was ſolemnized, and a great concourſe of the nobility and people were aſſembled about the church, Anſelm, ſeating himſelf higher than the reſt, gave them an account of what had been decreed in the Synod, and demanded if they had any thing to object to it: upon which they unanimouſly cried out, that the matter was rightly ſettled (23).

(23) Eadmer, ubi ſupra, p. 56, 57, 58.

[*U*] *Anſelm was very ſerviceable to King Henry, againſt his brother the Duke of Normandy.*] That Duke, being diſappointed in his expectations from the Engliſh, was contented to ſign an agreement; by which he renounced his pretenſions to the crown, and accepted a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks in lieu of it. And this he did the more readily, becauſe he was well aſſured that Anſelm would excommunicate him for an invader, in caſe he refuſed to comply (24).

(24) *Id. ibid.* p. 59.

[*W*] *The Pope declared, he would ſooner loſe his life, than cancel the decrees of the Holy Fathers.*] It is remarkable, that the agents diſagreed in their report of the Pope's anſwer. The Biſhops ſent by the King declared, that his Holineſs, at a private audience, had given them aſſurance, that, provided the King managed in other points to the ſatisfaction of the Court of Rome, he would indulge his Highneſs in the privilege of inveſtitures, and not excommunicate him for giving Biſhops and Abbots the paſtoral ſtaff: that the reaſon why this favour was not expreſſed in the Bull, was, that it might not come to the notice of other Princes, who would be apt to inſiſt upon the ſame privilege. On the other hand, Anſelm's agents proteſted, that the Pope had given no anſwer by word of mouth in contradiction to his own letters. To this the King's Ambaſſadors replied, that the matter was ſecretly concerted, and without the privity of Anſelm's agents. This diſagreement between the agents occaſioned a diviſion among the great men. Some maintained, that the teſtimony of the Monks ought to be received, and that the Pope's hand and ſeal were not to be queſtioned. Others were of opinion, that the evidence of three Biſhops ought to be taken before that of a ſcroll of parchment blacked over with ink, with a bit of lead at the end of it (25).

(25) *Id. ibid.* p. 65.

[*X*] *A letter from a Monk, deſcribing the lamentable condition of the province of Canterbury.*] This Monk, whoſe name Eadmer does not mention, tells the

to a ſubmiſſion. But the Pope, inſtead of being gained, excommunicated ſome of the Engliſh Court, who had diſſuaded the King from parting with the inveſtitures. However, his Holineſs declined pronouncing any cenſure againſt the King (*ff*). Anſelm, perceiving the Court of Rome dilatory in its proceedings, removed from Lyons, and made a viſit to the Counteſs Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, at her caſtle in Blois. This lady enquiring into the buſineſs of Anſelm's journey, he told her that, after a great deal of patience and expectation, he muſt now be forced to excommunicate the King of England. The Counteſs was extremely concerned for her brother, and wrote to the Pope to procure an accommodation. The King, who was come into Normandy, hearing that Anſelm deſigned to excommunicate him, deſired his ſiſter to bring him with her into Normandy, with a promiſe of condeſcenſion in ſeveral articles. To this Anſelm agreed, and waited upon the King at a caſtle called *L'Aigle*, where the King reſtored to him the revenues of the archbiſhopric, but would not permit him to come into England, unleſs he would comply in the affair of the inveſtitures: which Anſelm refuſing to do continued in France, till the matter was once more laid before the Pope (*gg*). And now the Engliſh Biſhops, who had taken part with the Court againſt Anſelm, began to change their minds, as appears by their letter directed to him in Normandy [*Y*]. In this letter, after having ſet forth the deplorable ſtate of the Church, they preſs him to come over with all ſpeed, promiſing to ſtand by him, and pay him the regard due to his character: it is ſubſcribed by Gerrard Archbiſhop of York, Robert Biſhop of Cheſter, Herbert Biſhop of Norwich, Ralph Biſhop of Chicheſter, Samſon Biſhop of Worceſter, and William Elect of Wincheſter (*hh*). Anſelm expreſſed his ſatisfaction at this conduct of the Biſhops, but acquainted them that it was not in his power to return, till he was farther informed of the proceedings of the Court of Rome. In the mean time, being informed, that the King had fined ſome of the clergy for a late breach of the canons [*Z*], he wrote to his Highneſs to complain of that ſtretch of his prerogative [*AA*]. At length the Ambaſſadors returned from Rome, A.D. 1106. and brought with them a deciſion more agreeable than the former: for now the Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King [*BB*]; and though he would not give up the point of inveſtitures, yet he diſpenſed ſo far as to give the Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities (*ii*) [*CC*]. The King, who

(*ff*) *Id. ib.* p. 78, 79.

(*gg*) *Id. ib.* p. 80.

(*hh*) *Id. ib.* p. 84.

(*ii*) Eadmer, *ib.* p. 77.

the Archbiſhop, 'That all places were over-run 'with violence and injuſtice, that the churches were 'haraſſed and oppreſſed, the poor plundered, and 'the conſecrated virgins violated: that if the Arch-'biſhop had maintained the ancient diſcipline, this 'diſorder had not happened: that his quitting the 'kingdom gave great advantages to the enemies of 'religion: that he, who has undertaken the ma-'nagement of the helm, ought by no means to quit 'the veſſel at the approach of a ſtorm, but keep 'faſter to his poſt than ever: that 'tis poſſible, at 'the great day he may be aſhamed of his exceſſive 'caution, when he ſhall ſee ſo many brave gover-'nors of the Church, who ſtood by their flocks in 'time of danger. How glorious then will be the 'memory of the holy Biſhop St. Ambroſe, who 'maintained the authority of his character to the 'Emperor Theodoſius's face, and refuſed him en-'trance into the church, till he had qualified him-'ſelf by repentance? What change in affairs might 'not ſuch holy zeal, ſuch heroic fortitude produce?' He proceeds to tell the Archbiſhop, 'That the 'blackeſt proſpect of torture and death could not 'have excuſed his withdrawing himſelf. What, 'therefore, could be ſaid, when this was not his 'caſe? His liberty had not been taken from him, 'nor his perſon inſulted: he ſeemed to have been 'frightened out of the kingdom by the menaces of 'a ſingle courtier; and by thus going had left 'open the gates to the enemy, and let in the 'wolves upon the ſheep.' He takes the freedom to acquaint the Archbiſhop, 'That his conduct had 'proved a very unfortunate precedent; that the 'courage of his ſuffragans was ſunk by their Pri-'mate's cowardice. Indeed, what is to be expected, 'when a General quits the field?' He therefore exhorts Anſelm 'to return immediately to his pro-'vince, where he will find a great many perſons 'ready to eſpouſe the intereſt of religion, and ſtand 'by him (26).'

(26) *Id. ibid.* l. iv. p. 77.

[*Y*] *The letter of the Engliſh Biſhops, directed to Anſelm in Normandy.*] This letter is extant in Eadmer (27), and in Mr. Collier's collection of *Records*, No. 15, at the end of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, Vol. I.

(27) Ubi ſupra, p. 84.

[*Z*] *The King had fined the Clergy for a late breach of the canons.*] Eadmer, in enumerating ſeveral grievances relating more particularly to the Church, tells us (28), that the Prieſts and ſecular canons, who had been enjoined celibacy by the late Synod of London, had taken the opportunity of Anſelm's abſence to break through the injunction, and many of them were married. The King, who took every method of collecting money, made his advantage of this behaviour of the clergy, and forced them to fine for the liberty they had taken.

(28) *Id. ib* p. 83.

[*AA*] *The Archbiſhop —— wrote to the King, to complain of the ſtretch of his prerogative.*] In his letter, he remonſtrates, that the Prince's interpoſing ſo far in eccleſiaſtical matters was unprecedented in the Church of God: that the correction of Prieſts for violation of the canons, belonged only to their reſpective Ordinaries. He, therefore, intreats the King not to break in upon the government of the Church, telling him, that the money, raiſed by ſo indefenſible an expedient, would prove unſerviceable to his purpoſe, and endanger his ſoul. Laſtly, he deſires his Highneſs to remember, that he had taken him into his protection, and reſtored him to the profits and privileges of his Archbiſhopric; and that the puniſhing the miſdemeanours of the clergy was a peculiar branch of his juriſdiction; the ſpiritual adminiſtration and authority being more eſſential to his character, than any temporal privilege and property whatever (29).

(29) *Id. ibid.* p. 85.

[*BB*] *The Pope thought fit to make ſome advances towards gratifying the King.*] In a letter, which Pope Paſchal wrote upon this occaſion to Anſelm, he tells him, 'That he imputes the King's tract-'ableneſs and good diſpoſition to the effect of his '(the Archbiſhop's) prayers.' He deſires him 'not to be ſurprized at his condeſcenſions to the 'Engliſh court; that it was only done out of a 'pious motive to recover them from their error, 'and fix them more firm to their duty: that he 'who would lift another up muſt neceſſarily ſtoop 'his own body: that this bending poſture, though 'it may ſeem to tend towards a fall, does by no 'means throw a man off his legs.' His Holineſs therefore 'abſolves thoſe, who lay under excom-'munication about the matter in diſpute, and gives 'Anſelm leave to communicate with ſuch as had 'received inveſtitures from the crown (30).'

(30) *Id. ibid.* p. 77.

[*CC*] *The Pope would not give up the point of inveſtitures, but diſpenſed ſo far as to give the Biſhops and Abbots leave to do homage for their temporalities.*] As

who was highly pleaſed with this condeſcenſion in the Pope, ſent immediately to invite Anſelm into England: but the meſſenger finding him ſick, the King himſelf went over into Normandy, and made him a viſit at the abbey of Becc; where all differences between them were perfectly adjuſted. And now Anſelm, being recovered from his ſickneſs, embarked for England, and, landing at Dover, was received with extraordinary marks of welcome. To omit other circumſtances of reſpect, the Queen herſelf travelled before him upon the road, to provide for his better entertainment (*kk*). From this time very little remarkable happened in the life of this famous Archbiſhop, excepting only his conteſt with Thomas elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency upon the See of Canterbury (*ll*) [*DD*]. Before the termination of this diſpute, Anſelm died at Canterbury, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his prelacy, on the twenty firſt of April, A. D. 1109. This great Prelate was author of ſeveral pieces. The largeſt edition of his works is that

(*kk*) *Id. ib.* p. 89.

(*ll*) *Id. ib.* p. 97.

As the diſpute concerning the right of inveſtiture is the moſt material circumſtance in the life of Archbiſhop Anſelm, I ſhall here give the reader the ſtate of the queſtion, as it is drawn up by a judicious hiſtorian. 'I begin (ſays our author (31)) with 'laying it down as a fact, which appears to me in-'conteſtable, that from the reign of Charlemagne, 'ſovereign Princes took upon them to give the in-'veſtiture of the greater benefices by the ring and 'paſtoral ſtaff. Gregory VII. was the firſt who en-'deavoured to take from them this right, towards 'the end of the XIth century. The Popes, his 'ſucceſſors, continued the proſecution of this de-'ſign with the ſame zeal. It muſt be allowed, 'that Princes themſelves gave but too frequent 'occaſions to the Popes to cry out againſt the abuſes 'of this prerogative. Under pretence that the 'Biſhops and Abbots could not take poſſeſſion of 'their benefices before they had received the in-'veſtiture of them, they publicly ſold the biſho-'rics and abbeys to the higheſt bidder. I ſay, 'they ſold them: for, though the elections might 'ſeem to be agreeable to the canons, the ſovereigns 'nevertheleſs were maſters of them, ſince they had 'it in their power to refuſe inveſtiture to thoſe 'who were not agreeable to them. By this means 'they were ſufficiently enabled to procure the elec-'tion of thoſe whom they recommended, there be-'ing no eccleſiaſtic who deſired to be a Biſhop or an 'Abbot, without enjoying the temporalities an-'nexed to the benefice. In order, therefore, to be 'choſen, it was neceſſary to have the conſent of the 'Prince; after which the Biſhop or Abbot, even 'before conſecration, received the inveſtiture in 'the manner already mentioned. Beſides that 'ſimony had too often a place in elections made 'after this manner, there was another reaſon which 'ſeemed to juſtify the Popes in their endeavours to 'aboliſh the inveſtitures. This was, that Princes, 'by inveſting eccleſiaſtics in a manner different 'from that which was practiſed with reſpect to the 'laity, and even before their conſecration, ſeemed 'to aſſume the privilege of conferring on them the 'character. This the Popes called a manifeſt 'uſurpation upon the rights of the Church. In-'deed, one cannot but diſcover ſomething like it in 'this practice, on account of the two characters 'which were confounded in the Biſhop elect, 'namely that of a Miniſter of the Church, and that 'of a temporal Lord of lands annexed to the bene-'fice. If the Popes and the Princes had acted fair-'ly, they would carefully have diſtinguiſhed theſe 'two characters: on the contrary, they found their 'reſpective advantages in confounding them. 'Hence Princes got the elections into their power, 'and hence alſo the Popes took occaſion to diſpute 'with Sovereigns the right they were in poſſeſſion 'of. And, therefore, all the conteſts between 'Princes and the Popes upon this ſubject aroſe, 'properly ſpeaking, from this confuſion. The for-'mer ſaid, they could not ſuffer any perſon to 'poſſeſs lands dependent on their crown, without 'having received the inveſtiture thereof from their 'hands. The Popes on their ſide maintained, 'that it was not reaſonable that Princes ſhould in-'terpoſe in elections, or confer a character, which 'it belonged to the Church alone to give. Both 'parties were equally diſtant from the true ſtate of 'the queſtion. It was very poſſible for a man to 'be a Biſhop or an Abbot, without holding lands 'of the crown; in which caſe Princes could pretend 'to nothing. On the other ſide, Princes could re-'ceive no prejudice by the ſpiritual character's 'being conferred without their conſent, ſince they 'had it in their power to take their own precau-'tions, before they put the Prelates in poſſeſſion of 'the temporalities. But it was impoſſible to reduce 'them to this point, in the diſpoſition they were in 'of making no conceſſions on either ſide. Thus 'it plainly appears, that the temperament, which 'Paſchal II. and Henry I. followed, was a very 'reaſonable one, and no ways prejudicial to the 'rights of the Church or the King.'

(31) M. Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, lib. vi. Etat de l'Egliſe.

[*DD*] *He had a conteſt with Thomas, elected Archbiſhop of York, who endeavoured to diſengage himſelf from a dependency on the See of Canterbury.*] Thomas, elect of York, not moving for his conſecration at Canterbury ſo ſoon as was expected, Anſelm put him in mind of this delay in a letter, in which he acquainted him, that, according to the canons, a Biſhop's See ought not to be vacant above three months. He enjoins him, therefore, to come to Canterbury, within a time prefixed for that purpoſe; and in caſe he ſhall fail to make his appearance, Anſelm declares, that the juriſdiction of the province of York belongs to himſelf, and that he ſhall manage accordingly (32). Thomas making dilatory excuſes, and ſending an unſatisfactory anſwer, Anſelm wrote to Pope Paſchal to ſtop his Pall, till his Holineſs ſhould be informed by letter, that Thomas had received his conſecration, and made the cuſtomary profeſſion of canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (33). The Pope wrote him an anſwer, and promiſed to ſatisfy his requeſt (34). It ſeems, Thomas and the Chapter of York were in concert to throw off the uſual acknowledgment to the See of Canterbury, and ſet up for an independent province. They conceived the preſent juncture, if rightly managed, very favourable to their deſign. For now Anſelm was grown old, and not likely to live much longer; and, therefore, if Thomas could invent any colourable delays, and put off his conſecration till after Anſelm's death, the point might probably be carried: for it was believed the See of Canterbury would not immediately be filled; and if Thomas was conſecrated during the vacancy, the profeſſion of canonical obedience might be ſlipped, there being no Archbiſhop of Canterbury to demand it of him. Anſelm ſaw through this deſign; and, therefore, finding himſelf near his end, he endeavoured to countermine the Elect of York, and ſecure the rights of his own See to poſterity. To this purpoſe he wrote another letter to Thomas, in which he commands him, in the name of God, not to preſume to execute any part of his epiſcopal office, till he ſhall have returned to his duty, and made the cuſtomary ſubmiſſions to the See of Canterbury. At the ſame time, he wrote to all the Biſhops, enjoining them, under pain of excommunication, not to conſecrate him themſelves, nor communicate with him in caſe he ſhould be conſecrated by any foreign prelate (35). Anſelm died before the termination of this affair. After his death, the Biſhops unanimouſly reſolving to obey his laſt directions, and the King concurring in opinion with them, Thomas thought fit to comply; and having made his ſubmiſſion to the See of Canterbury, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of York. This made the clergy ſay among themſelves, that Anſelm was now become a kind of Guardian Angel to the Church (36).

(32) Eadmer, ubi ſupra, p. 97.

(33) *Id. ibid.* p. 98, 99.

(34) *Id. ibid.* p. 100.

(35) *Id. ib.* p. 102.

(36) *Id. ib.* p. 103, 104.

published

published by Father Gerberon (*mm*). It is divided into three parts. The first of these, containing Dogmatical Tracts, is intitled *Monologia* [*EE*]. The second part contains practical and devotional Tracts. The third part takes in Anselm's Letters in four books. We shall give the reader a more particular list of this author's works in the remark [*FF*], and shall subjoin the learned Mr. Du Pin's judgment concerning them [*GG*]. As to the character of Archbishop Anselm, it may be partly collected from the circumstances of his life above recited. He has been much praised for the resolution he shewed in the disputes he had with William Rufus and Henry I. Where he believed the rights of the Church, and the interest of Religion concerned, no greatness, no menaces of Princes, nor prospect of danger, could discourage him in the pursuit of his point [*HH*]. Malmesbury tells us (*nn*), he was a person of great strictness and self-denial: his temper and sedateness were such, that, after he turned Monk, he never was heard to utter the least reproachful word. This Archbishop was the first who restrained the English clergy from marrying [*II*]. He was canonized in the reign of Henry VII, at the instance

(*mm*) At Paris, 1675. There had been four preceding editions: the first at Nuremberg, 1491; the 2d at Cologne, 1573; the 3d at Cologne, 1612; and the 4th at Lyons, 1630. Cave, Hist. Literar. Sæc. 11. an. 1093.

(*nn*) De Gest. Pontif. Angl. ubi supra, p. 229.

[*EE*] *The first, containing dogmatical tracts, is intitled* Monologia.] It is so called, because it is thrown into the form of soliloquy and meditation, and represents a person, who reasons with himself in search of divine truths, and explains them in order as they are discovered. It begins with a treatise concerning the existence of God, of his attributes, and of the Holy Trinity. In this division the author treats, likewise, of the fall of the Devil, of Original Sin, and of the reasons why God created man. He examines, also, the liberty of the will, and shews the consistency of this freedom with the divine Prescience (37).

(37) Du Pin. Hist. Eccles. Cent. ii. p. 93, &c.

[*FF*] *A more particular list of Anselm's works.*] I. Epistolarum libri iv. *i. e. Four books of letters.* II. Monologium seu Soliloquium; *i. e. A monology or soliloquy.* III. Prosologium seu Alloquium; *i. e. A prosology or address.* IV. Liber incerti autoris pro insipiente adversus Anselmi Prosologium; *i. e. The book of an uncertain author for the fool, against Anselm's* Prosologium. V. Liber contra insipientem, seu Apologeticus adversus librum precedentem; *i. e. An apology against the fool, in answer to the foregoing book.* VI. Dialogus de veritate; *i. e. A dialogue concerning truth.* VII. Dialogus de libero arbitrio; *i. e. A dialogue concerning free will.* VIII. Dialogus de casu Diaboli; *i. e. A dialogue concerning the fall of the Devil.* IX. Disputatio Dialectica de Grammatica; *i. e. A logical disputation concerning grammar.* X. Tractatus de sacramento Altaris, seu de corpore et sanguine Domini; *i. e. A treatise concerning the sacrament of the altar, or of the body and blood of our Lord.* XI. Liber de Fide, seu de Incarnatione verbi; *i. e. A treatise concerning faith, or of the incarnation of the word.* XII. De Nuptiis consanguineorum; *i. e. Of the marriages of those who are a-kin by blood.* XIII. Libri ii. contra Gentiles, Cur Deus Homo; *i. e. Two books against the heathens, shewing why God was made man.* XIV. De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos; *i. e. Of the procession of the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Greeks.* XV. De conceptu Virginali activo, et peccato originali; *i. e. Of the Virgin's active conception, and of original sin.* XVI. Fragmenta variorum Anselmi Tractatuum de conceptu Virginali passivo; *i. e. Fragments of divers treatises written by Anselm, concerning the Virgin's passive conception.* XVII. De tribus Walleranni questionibus ac præsertim de fermento et azymo; *i. e. Of Walleran's three questions, and especially of leaven and unleaven.* XVIII. De Sacramentorum diversitate; *i. e. Of the difference of the sacraments.* XIX. Concordia Præscientiæ, Prædestinationis, et Gratiæ cum Libertate; *i. e. Prescience, predestination, and grace consistent with free will.* XX. Liber de voluntate Dei; *i. e. A treatise concerning the will of God.* XXI. Meditationum libri x. *i. e. Ten books of meditations.* XXII. Liber de Salute Animæ; *i. e. A treatise concerning the salvation of the soul.* XXIII. Meditatio ad sororem de beneficiis Dei; *i. e. A meditation on the mercies of God, addressed to his Sister.* XXIV. Meditatio de passione Christi; *i. e. A meditation on the passion of Christ.* XXV. Alloquia cælestia, sive Faculæ piorum Affectuum, &c. *i. e. Heavenly addresses, pious breathings, &c.* XXVI. Mantissa Meditationum et Orationum in quinque partes tributa; *i. e. Additional meditations and Orations, in five parts.* XXVII. Hymni et Psalterium in commemoratione Deiparæ; *i. e. Hymns and a Psalter in commemoration of the Mother of God.* XXVIII. Liber de excellentia glorioſæ Virginis Mariæ; *i. e. A treatise on the excellency of the glorious Virgin Mary* (38). XXIX. Liber de quatuor virtutibus B. Mariæ, e- juſque ſublimitate; *i. e. A treatiſe concerning the four virtues of the Bleſſed Virgin, and her ſublimity* (39). XXX. Paſſio SS. Guigneri ſive Fingaris, Pialæ, et Sociorum; *i. e. The paſſion of St. Guigner or Fingar, St. Piala, and their companions.* XXXI. Liber Exhortationum ad centemptum temporalium, et deſiderium æternorum; *i. e. A book of exhortations to the contempt of things that are temporal, and a deſire after thoſe that are eternal.* XXXII. Admonitio pro moribundo; *i. e. A warning for a ſick man.* XXXIII. Paræneſis ad Virginem lapſam; *i. e. An exhortation to a lapſed Virgin.* XXXIV. Sermo ſive Liber de Beatitudine; *i. e. A diſcourſe on happineſs.* XXXV. Homilia in illud, introiit Jeſus in quoddam Caſtellum; *i. e. An homily on Jeſus's entering into a certain caſtle.* XXXVI. Homiliæ in aliquot Evangelia; *i. e. Homilies on ſome of the Goſpels.* XXXVII. Carmen de contemptu mundi, et alia Carmina; *i. e. A poem on the contempt of the world, and other poems.* There are ſome other pieces aſcribed to Anſelm in the edition of Cologn, 1612; and in the edition of Lyons, 1630: but they are generally thought to be ſuppoſititious (40).

(38) Bellarmin denies that this book was written by Anſelm; and Father Gerberon aſcribes it to Eadmer.

(39) This piece is likewiſe aſcribed by F. Gerberon to Eadmer.

(40) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. 11. an. 1093.

[*GG*] *M. Du Pin's judgment concerning Anſelm's works.*] 'We do not find (ſays that learned critic) 'any eccleſiaſtical writers before St. Anſelm, who 'wrote after ſo ſcholaſtic a manner, ſtarted ſo many 'metaphyſical queſtions, or argued with the appear-'ance of ſo much logic and acuteneſs as he has 'done. He is alſo the firſt, who compoſed long 'prayers in the form of meditations. His letters 'are written in a leſs elaborate ſtyle, neither are 'they ſo correct as his other works. His exhorta-'tions are plain Homilies, interſperſed with a great 'many myſtical notions, in which there is neither 'much rhetoric nor morality. He does not ſeem 'to have been a great maſter in Poſitive Divinity: 'however he had read St. Auguſtin's works, and 'borrowed many principles from them, which he 'makes uſe of in his reaſonings upon ſubjects of 'Divinity (41).'

(41) Du Pin, ubi ſupra.

[*HH*] *No proſpect of danger could diſcourage him from purſuing his point.*] This is evident from the whole hiſtory of his life, particularly his conteſt with King William Rufus, about the acknowledging Pope Urban, and with King Henry I., about the right of inveſtitures. As to the former of theſe diſputes, though Fox (42) blames him for his oppoſition to the King, yet Anſelm ſeems to have had the right ſide of the queſtion. For if we conſider the conſtitution of the Engliſh Church in that age, we ſhall find, that the Pope had at leaſt a patriarchal power in England; and conſequently the Engliſh Biſhops were obliged to pay him a ſuitable acknowledgment. This patriarchal power reſulting from the privilege of his See, the King had no right to deprive him of, or to diſcharge Anſelm from acknowledging him under that character of ſuperiority. But though the Archbiſhop was right in the principles upon which he acted in this affair, it is poſſible he might be too obſtinate in other caſes of leſs conſequence; as, in his refuſing to gratify King William Rufus with the payment of a thouſand pounds. Upon the whole, though the prejudices of the age he lived in might miſlead him in ſome points, yet he ſeems to have been a perſon of great probity and conſcience.

(42) Acts and Monuments, &c. Vol. i. p. 241.

[*II*] *Archbiſhop Anſelm was the firſt, who reſtrained the Engliſh clergy from marrying.*] This was done in the national Synod held at Weſtminſter, A. D. 1102; the fourth canon of which provides, 'that no Archdeacon, Prieſt, Deacon, or 'Canon,

instance of Cardinal Morton, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*oo*). Johannes Sariſburienſis, who wrote the *Life* of Archbiſhop Anſelm, has recorded ſeveral miracles ſaid to be wrought by him. Particularly he tells us, that a Flemiſh nobleman was cured of a Leproſy by drinking the water, in which Anſelm had waſhed his hands in celebrating the Maſs: that he extinguiſhed fires, calmed tempeſts, and healed diſeaſes, only by making the ſign of the croſs: that he reſcued a hare, which had taken refuge under his horſe's feet, by commanding the dogs not to purſue her any more: that two ſoldiers were cured of an ague, by taſting the crumbs of ſome bread he had been eating: that, by praying to God, he produced a ſpring of excellent water at the very top of a hill, for the relief of certain villagers; and that a ſhip, in which he ſailed, having a large hole in one of her planks, nevertheleſs took in no water ſo long as the holy man was on board. The ſame author tells us, that this holy Archbiſhop continued to work miracles after his death: particularly that a Monk of the church of Canterbury was reſtored to health by paying his devotions at the tomb of St. Anſelm: that one born blind, deaf, and dumb, received ſight, hearing, and ſpeech, by the ſame means: that a ſoldier was cured of a dropſy by winding the Saint's girdle about his body; and that the ſame girdle was ſucceſsfully applied to the aſſiſtance of women in childbirth (*pp*).

(*oo*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. inter Archiepiſc. Cantuar. A. D. 1109.

(*pp*) Johan. Sariſbur. de vit. Anſelmi, paſſim.

' Canon, ſhould be allowed to marry, or live with ' his wife already married.' This liberty was not denied the Engliſh Prieſts till this Synod (43). B.

(43) Henr. Hunting. Hiſtor. l. xvii. fol. 217.

[There is, in the preceding article, a favourable colouring given to the whole character and conduct of Anſelm, which the Editor of this part of the preſent edition cannot entirely approve. Anſelm is undoubtedly entitled to ſome diſtinction, as an able man, who had conſiderable learning for the time in which he lived, and who had the merit, ſhall we call it? or the demerit, of contributing to the introduction of that ſcholaſtic method of writing, which was afterwards carried to a moſt ridiculous exceſs. The hiſtory of his life is important, as affording a ſtriking view of the grand object of the diſputes between the Popes and Princes of that age; and he appears to have been a Prelate of integrity and piety, who thought that he was ſupporting a right cauſe. But ſtill it muſt be acknowledged, that he was a bigoted Prieſt, who was inflexibly devoted to the tyranny of the Biſhops of Rome. To ſpeak, as is done in the note [*HH*], of the Pope's having then a patriarchal power in England, which the King had no right to deprive him of; to aſſert, that the Engliſh Biſhops were obliged to pay him a ſuitable acknowledgment, and that Anſelm had the right ſide of the queſtion, is uſing very improper, we might ſay, ſhameful, language. The power which the Roman Pontiffs claimed, in the affair of inveſtitures, had no foundation in reaſon or equity; and the aſcendancy they had gained in the diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical preferments, was the reſult of a ſcheme of fraud and arrogance, which had been carried on to the injury of mankind, and in violation of the juſt title of Princes and Magiſtrates, to diſpenſe the promotions of their own dominions. Our Monarchs, therefore, however blameable they might ſometimes be in their perſonal conduct, were certainly juſtifiable in oppoſing ſuch a ſcandalous uſurpation. This is the light in which the matter is repreſented by the beſt hiſtorians. Lord Lyttelton, in his relation of Anſelm's behaviour, makes the following judicious and candid remark upon his character. ' There ' is reaſon to believe, that he was an honeſt and ' pious, but narrow-minded man; who acted purely ' from a miſguided conſcience, according to the ' divinity then taught in the ſchools, which he underſtood better than either the principles of civil ' government, or the conſtitution of England. ' And it grieves one to ſee ſo much ſpirit and ' reſolution ſo ill employed. But it was one of ' the greateſt misfortunes attending the corrupted ' ſtate of religion, in thoſe times, and long afterwards, that piety and virtue were drawn away ' from their natural and proper courſe: ſo that ' men of the beſt diſpoſitions were often made inſtruments of pernicious deſigns; and the Public ' was not only deprived of the benefit which it ' would have derived from their goodneſs, but ' frequently ſuffered by it, in proportion to the ' power with which they were armed (44).' Mr. Hume is leſs favourable to Anſelm's memory. Throughout his well-written hiſtory of the Archbiſhop's diſputes with William Rufus and Henry the Firſt, he treats his oſtentatious humility, and his auſterity of manners, with ſome degree of contempt. Indeed, though we allow Anſelm to have been upright in his intentions, contempt or indignation can ſcarcely be avoided, when we ſee ſo much obſtinacy applied to ſuch unworthy purpoſes. Mr. Hume's reflections upon the circumſtances which enabled the Popes to ſupport their claims, are too ingenious to be omitted. ' The policy of the ' court of Rome has been commonly much admired; ' and men, judging by ſucceſs, have beſtowed the ' higheſt eulogies on that prudence, by which a ' power, from ſuch ſlender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to eſtabliſh an univerſal and almoſt abſolute monarchy in Europe. ' But the wiſdom of ſuch a long ſucceſſion of men, who ' filled the papal throne, and who were of ſuch different ages, tempers, and intereſts, is not intelligible, ' and could never have place in nature. The inſtrument, indeed, with which they wrought, the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the people, is ſo groſs an ' engine, of ſuch univerſal prevalence, and ſo little ' liable to accident or diſorder, that it may be ſucceſsful even in the moſt unſkilful hands; and ſcarce ' any indiſcretion can fruſtrate its operations. While ' the court of Rome was openly abandoned to the ' moſt flagrant diſorders, even while it was torn with ' ſchiſms and factions, the power of the church made ' daily a ſenſible progreſs in Europe; and the temerity ' of Gregory and the caution of Paſcal were equally ' fortunate in promoting it. The clergy, feeling ' the neceſſity of protection againſt the violence of ' princes, or vigour of the laws, were well pleaſed to ' adhere to a foreign head, who, being removed from ' the fear of the civil authority, could freely employ the ' power of the whole church in defending their ancient or uſurped properties and privileges, when invaded in any particular country: the monks, deſirous of an independence on their dioceſans, profeſſed ſtill a more devoted attachment to the triple ' crown; and the ſtupid people poſſeſſed no ſcience ' nor reaſon, which they could oppoſe to the moſt exorbitant pretenſions. Nonſenſe paſſed for demonſtration: The moſt criminal means were ſanctified by ' the piety of the end: Treaties were not ſuppoſed ' to be binding where the intereſts of God were concerned: The ancient laws and cuſtoms of ſtates had ' no authority againſt a divine right: Impudent forgeries were received as authentic monuments of antiquity: And the champions of holy church, if ſucceſsful, were celebrated as heroes; if unfortunate, ' were worſhipped as martyrs; and all events thus ' turned out equally to the advantage of clerical ' uſurpations. Paſcal himſelf, the preſent Pope, was, ' in the courſe of this very controverſy concerning ' inveſtitures, involved in circumſtances, and neceſſitated to follow a conduct, which would have ' drawn diſgrace and ruin on any temporal prince, ' that had been ſo unfortunate as to fall into a like ' ſituation. His perſon was ſeized by the Emperor ' Henry V. and he was obliged by a formal treaty, to ' reſign to that monarch the right of granting inveſtitures, for which they had ſo long contended. In ' order to add greater ſolemnity to this agreement, the ' Emperor and Pope communicated together on the ' ſame hoſte; one half of which was given to the ' Prince, the other taken by the Pontiff: The moſt ' tremendous imprecations were publicly denounced ' on either of them who ſhould violate the treaty: ' Yet no ſooner did Paſcal recover his liberty, than ' he recalled all his conceſſions, and pronounced the ' ſentence of excommunication againſt the Emperor, ' who, in the end, was obliged to ſubmit to the terms ' required of him, and to yield up all his pretenſions, ' which he could never recal.'(45) We ſhall add from the

(44) Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry the Second, Vol. 3. p. 119, 3d edition, 8*vo*.

(45) Hume's Hiſt. of England Vol. i. p. 353, 354, 8*vo*.

the ſame elegant hiſtorian, a fact relative to Anſelm's ſucceſs in decrying a particular mode of dreſs, with which he was diſpleaſed. 'He preached zealouſly 'againſt the long hair and curled locks, which were 'then faſhinonable among the courtiers; he refuſed 'the aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday to thoſe who were ſo 'accoutred; and his authority and eloquence had 'ſuch influence, that the young men univerſally aban-'doned that ornament, and appeared in the cropt hair, 'which was recommended to them by the ſermons of 'the Primate. The noted hiſtorian of Anſelm (Ead-'mer), who was alſo his companion and ſecretary, ce-'lebrates highly this effort of his zeal and piety (46).'

(46) *Ibid.*

In forming an eſtimate of Anſelm's character, his putting a total ſtop to the marriage of the Engliſh clergy, may be mentioned as a farther inſtance of his abſurd principles. His conduct in this reſpect, though very prejudicial to the State, and highly injurious to the cauſe of real virtue, was probably owing to his miſtaken ideas of purity and chaſtity: but, at the ſame time, it was well calculated to aſſiſt the unjuſt claims of the church of Rome.—As to the miracles attributed to Anſelm, the recital of them may ſerve to ſhew the credulity of the age in which the account of them was written. Were ſuch idle ſtories worthy of being ſeriouſly refuted, it might be obſerved, that they are not related by Eadmer, the friend and contemporary of Anſelm, but by John of Saliſbury, who, perhaps, was not born when the Archbiſhop died. It is certain, that John of Saliſbury's death was ſeventy-two or ſeventy-three years later than the deceaſe of Anſelm (47).] K.

(47) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 43, 439.

[ANSON (GEORGE*) an eminent ſea commander, and diſtinguiſhed Nobleman, of the eighteenth century, was deſcended from an ancient and reſpectable family, which had long been ſettled in Staffordſhire [*A*]. He was born at Shugborough manor, in the pariſh of Colwich, in that county, on the 23d of April, 1697; being the third ſon of William Anſon, Eſq; by Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Robert Carrier, Eſq; of Wirkſworth, in Derbyſhire; another of whoſe daughters, by marrying Sir Thomas Parker, became afterwards Counteſs of Macclesfield, and was mother to the late, and grandmother to the preſent Earl (*a*). The navy being Mr. Anſon's choice, he went early to ſea; and on the 9th of May 1716, was made ſecond Lieutenant of his Majeſty's ſhip, the Hampſhire, by Sir John Norris, commander in chief of a ſquadron ſent to the Baltic; which promotion was confirmed by the Board of Admiralty (*b*). In the next year, he was again in the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir George Byng; and, at this time, he had an opportunity, which pleaſed him much, of ſeeing, on the Daniſh ſhore, the illuſtrious Czar Peter of Ruſſia, and the famous Catherine, who was afterwards publicly married by that Prince, and crowned as his Empreſs. On the 15th of March, 1717-18, Mr. Anſon was appointed ſecond Lieutenant of the Montagu, one of the ſhips of Sir George Byng's ſquadron, in the expedition to Sicily; and he was preſent in the celebrated action near that iſland, by which the Spaniſh fleet was effectually deſtroyed, and the deſigns of the King of Spain againſt Sicily received a very conſiderable check (*f*). On the 19th of June, 1722, he was preferred to be Maſter and Commander of the Weazel ſloop; and, on the firſt of February, 1723-4, he was raiſed to the rank of Poſt Captain, and to the command of the Scarborough man of war. Though it is poſſible that he might derive ſome advantage, in theſe early and ſpeedy promotions, from his connection with the Earl of Macclesfield, then Lord Chancellor of England, yet it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that they could have been ſo quickly attained, in a time of peace, if he had not given peculiar proofs of merit in his profeſſion. Soon after his appointment to the Scarborough, he was ordered in her to South Carolina, in which ſtation he continued above three years; and while he reſided in that province, he erected a town, Anſon Bourgh, and gave name to a county, which is ſtill called Anſon County. After his return from his ſettlement in South Carolina, he always ſpoke with ſatisfaction both of that country and its inhabitants. Being commanded home in October 1727, he returned to England in the following ſpring, and was paid off in May 1728. On the 11th of October, in the ſame year, Mr. Anſon was appointed Captain of the Garland man of war, and went out in her to South Carolina; from whence he was ordered back, in December 1729, and the ſhip was put out of commiſſion at Sheerneſs. However, having the good fortune to be well with Lord Torrington and Sir Charles Wager, ſucceſſively firſt Lords of the Admiralty, he did not remain long out of employ; for, on the 19th of May 1731, the command of the Diamond, one of the Downs ſquadeon, was beſtowed upon him; which command he held but about three months, the Diamond being then paid off. On the 25th of January 1731-2, he was again called into public ſervice, and appointed Captain of the Squirrel man of war; in which ſhip he was ordered, in the following April, for South Carolina. This was the third time of his being placed upon that ſtation, and it was probably peculiarly agreeable to him, on account of the property he had acquired, and the ſettlement he had made in the province. Here he continued till the ſpring of the year 1735, when, in conſequence of an order, given in December 1734, he returned

(*) The editor, in this article, is greatly indebted to the obliging communications of the Right Hon. the Earl of Hardwicke, and of Philip Stephens, Eſq; ſecretary to the admiralty.

(*a*) Information from the family, communicated by Lord Hardwicke. Supplement to Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 597.

(*b*) Abſtract of the late Lord Anſon's appointments in the navy, communicated by Mr. Stephens.

(*f*) See the article, Byng.

[*A*] *Family which had long been ſettled in Staffordſhire.*] The family of Anſon have been ſeated in Staffordſhire for ſeveral generations, firſt at Dunſton in the pariſh of Penchrich, and then at Shugborough, the manor of which being purchaſed, in James the Firſt's time, by William Anſon, Eſq; he made it his principal reſidence (1). This gentleman was of the ſociety of Lincolns Inn in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and in that of King James, he was an eminent Counſel at Law. Sir William Dugdale ſpeaks of him as having bought two manors in Warwickſhire, of Sir Walter Aſton, Knight of the Bath and Baronent, which he afterwards diſpoſed of to William Cumberford of Tamworth, Eſq; and to Anne his wife (2). He lived to a great age, and writing himſelf, William Anſon, of Shutborough manor, Eſq; declared his *laſt Will and Teſtament*, on the 10th of May, 1644; in which year he died, leaving for executrix his widow, Joan, daughter of Richard Mitchel, of Olbury, in the county of Warwick, Eſq; (3). William Anſon, Eſq; their ſon and heir, was born in 1628, and married Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Stafford, of Botham-hall, in the county of Derby, Eſq; By this lady he had had, when he was thirty-five years of age, three daughters, beſides William, his ſon and heir, who was born in 1656. This William, who was the third lord of the manor of Shugborough, had iſſue, beſides George, who is the ſubject of the preſent article, Thomas, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceed to the family ſeat and eſtate, another ſon who died young, and four daughters, Jennette, Iſabella, Anna, and Johanna. William Anſon, Eſq; died in Auguſt, 1720 (4).

(1) Supplement to Collins's Peerage, Vol. ii. p. 596.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.* p. 397.

(4) *Ibid.* Information from the family.

to England; and, in the month of June, was paid off at Woolwich (*m*). It appears, from ſome original letters of Mr. Anſon to the Board of Admiralty, with the ſight of which we have been favoured, that he conducted himſelf, in theſe ſeveral employments, with an ability and diſcretion which gave general ſatisfaction. After his laſt return from South Carolina, we find that he ſtaid at home between two and three years; it being the 9th of December 1737, when he was put into the command of the Centurion. In this ſhip, he was ordered, in the February following, to the coaſt of Guinea; from which ſtation, he returned to his own country, by the courſe of Barbadoes and South Carolina, on the 10th of July 1739 (*n*). It is evident, from the journal of the Centurion during this period, compared with the inſtructions given to Captain Anſon by the Board of Admiralty, (both of which have obligingly been put into our hands), that he executed, with great prudence and fidelity, the directions of Government; and it is underſtood in the family, that he obliged the French to deſiſt from their attempt to hinder our trade upon that coaſt, without coming to any action, at a time when it would have been very inconvenient to the Britiſh court to have had an open rupture with the court of France.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Ibid.* Journal of the Centurion.

Mr. Anſon's conduct, in his various ſituations and employments, had produced ſo favourable an opinion of his capacity and ſpirit, that when, in the war which broke out with Spain in 1739, it was determined to attack the American ſettlements of the Spaniards in the great Pacific Ocean, and by this means to affect them in their moſt ſenſible parts, he was, from the beginning, fixed upon to be the commander of the fleet which was deſigned for that purpoſe (*o*). As the hiſtory of this expedition, which laid the foundation of his future fortunes, hath, in conſequence of the excellent account that has been written of it by the late Mr. Robins, and the curious and intereſting nature of the ſubject, been more read than almoſt any other which hath ever appeared, it is not neceſſary to give a detail of it in the preſent article. It is well known, that he departed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September 1740, at the head of a ſquadron conſiſting of five men of war, a ſloop of war, and two victualling ſhips; that he ſtopped firſt at Madeira, then at the iſland of St. Catherine's on the coaſt of Braſil, and next at Port St. Julian in Patagonia; that he encountered prodigious difficulties in doubling Cape Horn; that, in this perilous paſſage, the remainder of his fleet was ſeparated from him, and part of it never joined him again; that, at length, he arrived at the iſland of Juan Fernandes; that from thence he proceeded to Peru, took the town of Paita, anchored a few days at Quibo, ſailed to the coaſt of Mexico, and formed the deſign of intercepting the Acapulco ſhip; that, after ſtopping a while at the harbour of Chequetan, he determined to croſs the Pacific Ocean; that, at laſt, his ſquadron was reduced to his own ſingle ſhip, the Centurion; that he made ſome ſtay at Tinian, one of the Ladrones or Marian Iſlands, from which he went to Macao; that, ſailing back from Macao, in queſt of the Manila Galeon, he had the happineſs of meeting with it, and of taking it, on the 30th of June 1743; that, after this enterprize, he returned to Canton, from whence he embarked to England by the Cape of Good Hope; that, having completed his voyage round the World, he came ſafe to an anchor at Spithead, on the 15th of June 1744; and that he executed the whole of the undertaking with ſingular honour and advantage to himſelf, and the officers and people under him, though, from original errors and defects in the embarkation, and from cauſes in which he was in no wiſe concerned, the grand deſign of the expedition was not fully anſwered (*p*). If any of our readers ſhould happen to be unacquainted with theſe tranſactions, they will have recourſe to the account of them at large, that has been publiſhed under the name of Mr. Walter; it being only our intention to ſelect ſuch circumſtances as have a more immediate relation to the perſonal character of Mr. Anſon, and which indicate the turn of his mind. As, before he ſet ſail upon the expedition, he took care to furniſh himſelf with the printed journals of the voyages to the South-Seas, and the beſt manuſcript accounts he could procure of all the Spaniſh ſettlements upon the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, which he afterwards carefully compared with the examinations of his priſoners, and the information of ſeveral intelligent perſons who fell into his hands (*q*); ſo, through the whole enterprize, he acted with a remarkable diſcretion, and with a calmneſs which particularly diſtinguiſhes his character. When he was ready to depart from St. Catherine's, and conſidered that his own ſhip might poſſibly be loſt, or diſabled from getting round Cape Horn, he gave ſuch directions to the other commanders, as would have prevented the undertaking's being, even in that caſe, abandoned (*r*). His humanity was diſplayed at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, in his aſſiſting with his own labour, and obliging the officers, without diſtinction, to give their helping hand, in carrying the ſick ſailors, in their hammocks, to ſhore (*s*). At the ſame place he ſowed lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and ſet, in the woods, a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach ſtones, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who ſhould hereafter touch there (*t*) [*B*]. From a like regard to future navigators, Commodore Anſon was particularly,

(*o*) Anſon's Voyage, p. 3. 8vo. 14th edit.

(*p*) *Ibid.* paſſim.

(*q*) *Ibid.* Introduction.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 77, 78.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 155.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 162.

[*B*] *He ſowed lettuces, carrots, &c. and ſet, in the woods, a great variety, &c.*] Mr. Anſon was afterwards informed that the plumb, apricot, and peach ſtones which had been ſet by him had thriven to a remarkable degree. Some gentlemen, who, in their paſſage from Lima to Old Spain, were brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon Mr. Anſon, to thank him for his generoſity and humanity to his priſoners, ſeveral of whom were their relations, they in caſual diſcourſe with him about his tranſactions in the South Seas, particularly aſked him, if he had not planted a great number of fruit-ſtones, on the iſland of Juan Fernandes; for they told him, that their late navigators had diſcovered great numbers of peach trees, and apricot trees, which being fruits before unobſerved in that place, they concluded them to have been produced from kernels ſet by him (5).

(5) Anſon's Voyage, p. 162.

cularly industrious in directing the roads and coasts to be surveyed, and other observations to be made; for he well knew, by his own experience of the want of these materials, of how great consequence they might prove to any British vessels, which, in succeeding times, might be employed in those seas (*u*) [*C*]. His integrity and generosity in the treatment of some female prisoners who had fallen into his hands, and his care to prevent their meeting with any degree of rudeness, from a set of sailors who had not seen a woman for nearly a twelvemonth, are greatly to his honour (*w*). By the wise and proper use which he made of the intelligence he had obtained from some Spanish captures, the Commodore was encouraged to form the design of attacking the town of Paita; and his conduct, in that attack, added much to his reputation. Such was the excellent discipline to which he had accustomed his men, that, in the taking of the town, only one man was found, who was known to have so far neglected his duty as to get drunk (*x*). After the attack upon Paita, when a spirit of jealousy and envy arose about the distribution of the plunder, he manifested his prudence and equity in allaying this spirit, and his liberality in giving up his own share (*y*). But there was nothing from which Mr. Anson derived greater personal credit, or which reflected greater glory upon the English nation, than his behaviour to his prisoners in general, and especially to the women before mentioned. This behaviour was so honourable in itself, and so beneficial in its consequences, that it deserves to be particularly noticed (*z*) [*D*]. Though his force was rendered very weak by

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 156.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 242—244.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 255, 256. 273.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 282—284.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 223, 224. 277—281.

[*C*] *Which, in succeeding times, might be employed in those seas.*] There is no doubt but that late navigators have considerably availed themselves of the lights which have been afforded by the surveys and observations which Mr. Anson took care to have made. A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and round the world, is become no longer a matter of difficulty, but is undertaken with the greatest safety and pleasure. Much depends, in this respect, on selecting the proper seasons; and it was owing to Commodore Anson's fleet being sent out at a wrong time of the year, that it encountered such prodigious difficulties and dangers in doubling Cape Horn. Great praise is due to government, as well as to the commanders themselves, for the wisdom and success with which the voyages of Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, Captain Furneaux, and Captain Cook have been conducted. But of all the improvements which have been made in the art of navigation, that of preserving the health of the seamen is the most important, and the most deserving of applause. This matter hath been carried, by the good sense and attention of Capt. Cook, to the highest point of perfection of which it seems capable. It is well known what dreadful ravage was occasioned by the scurvy, or at least what was esteemed so (6), among Mr. Anson's men (7). Whereas Capt. Cook, having been absent from England, in the ship Resolution, somewhat above three years, lost in that time, and in all the changes of climate, but four men, and only one of them by sickness (8). However, this affair doth not reflect any discredit or blame upon Commodore Anson. 'In justice to that prudent as well as brave commander, says Sir John Pringle, it must be observed, that the arrangements preparatory to his voyage were not made by himself; that his ship was so deeply laden as not to admit of opening the gunports, except in the calmest weather, for the benefit of air; and that nothing appears to have been neglected by him, for preserving the health of his men, that was then known and practised in the navy (9).'

(6) Sir John Pringle seems to think, that the pestilential kind of distemper, which hath been distinguished by the name of the *jail* or *hospital* fever, was combined with the scurvy.

(7) Anson's Voyage, p. 217.

(8) Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, Vol. ii. p. 289.

(9) Sir John Pringle's ingenious and learned discourse upon some late improvements for preserving the health of mariners, in Cook's Voyage, *ibid.* p. 373.

[*D*] *That it deserves to be particularly noticed.*] Commodore Anson's conduct to his prisoners makes so shining a part of his history, and is so well related in the voyage, that we shall give the passages concerning it. 'Besides the prize's crew,' says the author, speaking of the Spanish vessel, the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, which had lately been taken, 'there 'were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four 'men and three women, who were natives of the 'country, born of *Spanish* parents, together with 'three black slaves that attended them. The women 'were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest 'about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. 'It is not to be wondered at, that women of these 'years should be excessively alarmed at the falling 'into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the 'former outrages of the Buccaneers, and by the 'artful insinuations of their priests, they had been 'taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal 'of all mankind. These apprehensions too were 'in the present instance exaggerated by the sin'gular beauty of the youngest of the women, and 'the riotous disposition which they might well ex-

'pect to find in a set of sailors, who had not seen a 'a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these 'terrors, the women all hid themselves upon our 'officer's coming on board, and when they were 'found out, it was with great difficulty that he 'could persuade them to approach the light: 'However, he soon satisfied them, by the humani'ty of his conduct, and by his assurances of 'their future security and honourable treatment, 'that they had nothing to fear. Nor were these 'assurances of the officers invalidated in the sequel: 'For the Commodore being informed of the mat'ter, sent directions that they should be continued 'on board their own ship, with the use of the same 'apartments, and with all the other conveniencies 'they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that 'they should receive no kind of inquietude or 'molestation whatever: And that they might be 'the more certain of having these orders complied 'with, or have the means of complaining, if they 'were not, the Commodore permitted the Pilot, 'who in *Spanish* ships is generally the second per'son on board, to stay with them, as their guar'dian and protector. The Pilot was particularly 'chosen for this purpose by Mr. *Anson*, as he seem'ed to be extremely interested in all that concerned 'the women, and had at first declared that he was 'married to the youngest of them; though it after'wards appeared, both from the information of 'the rest of the prisoners, and other circumstances, 'that he asserted this with a view, the better to 'secure them from the insults they expected on 'their first falling into our hands. By this com'passionate and indulgent behaviour of the Com'modore, the consternation of our female prisoners 'entirely subsided, and they continued easy and 'chearful during the whole time they were with us, 'as I shall have occasion to mention more particu'larly hereafter.' After the relation of the taking of Paita, the writer goes on as follows: 'There re'mains still another matter to be related, which, on 'account of the signal honour which our national 'character in those parts has thence received, and the 'reputation which our Commodore in particular has 'thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstan'tial discussion. It has been already observed, that 'all the prisoners taken by us in our preceding prizes 'were here put on shore, and discharged; amongst 'whom there were some persons of considerable dis'tinction, especially a youth of about seventeen years 'of age, son of the Vice-President of the Council of '*Chili*. As the barbarity of the Buccaneers, and the 'artful use the Ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled 'the natives of those countries with the most ter'rible ideas of the *English* cruelty; we always 'found our prisoners, on their first coming on board 'us, to be extremely dejected, and under great 'horror and anxiety. Particularly this youth whom 'I last mentioned, having never been from home 'before, lamented his captivity in the most moving 'manner, regretting, in very plaintive terms, his 'parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native 'country; of all which he was fully persuaded he 'had taken his last farewel, believing that he was 'now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to

by the ſickneſs and death of great numbers of his men, and by the ſeparation or loſs of the larger part of his ſmall ſquadron, we find that he was always intent upon contriving ſome ſcheme or other, by which, if poſſible, the deſign of his expedition might be anſwered (*a*). When no purpoſe was likely to be effectual, but the taking of the Acapulco ſhip, he purſued that plan with the greateſt ſagacity and perſeverance (*b*). In no inſtance was the fortitude of his mind more tried, than when the Centurion was driven out to ſea, from the uninhabited iſland of Tinian; himſelf, many of the officers, and part of the crew being left on ſhore. Nevertheleſs, in this gloomy and diſconſolate ſituation, he preſerved his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs, though he could not be without his ſhare of inward diſquietude. He calmly applied to every meaſure which was likely to keep up the courage of his men, and to facilitate their departure from the iſland. He perſonally engaged in the moſt laborious part of the work which was neceſſary to the conſtructing of a veſſel for this purpoſe; and it was only upon the pleaſing and unexpected news of the return of the Centurion, that, throwing down his axe, he by his joy broke through, for the firſt time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preſerved (*c*). Commodore Anſon, when he was at Macao, exerted great ſpirit and addreſs in procuring the neceſſary aid from the Chineſe, for the refitting of his ſhip (*d*). In the ſcheme of taking the Manila Galeon, and in the actual taking of it, he diſplayed united wiſdom and courage; nor did the accuſtomed calmneſs of his mind forſake him on a moſt trying occaſion; when, in the moment of victory, the Centurion was dangerouſly on fire near the powder-room (*e*). During his ſubſequent ſtay at Canton, he acted, in all reſpects, with the greateſt ſpirit, and firmly maintained the privileges and honour of the Britiſh flag (*f*). The perils, with which he had ſo often been threatened, purſued him to the laſt: for on his arrival in England, he found that he had ſailed through the midſt of a French fleet then cruizing in the channel; from which he had the whole time been concealed by a fog. Thus was his expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months; 'after having, by its event,' ſays the writer of

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 286. 288.

(*b*) *Ibid.* latter part, paſſim.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 418. 431.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 458. 479.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 479—492.

(*f*) *Ibid.* the laſt chapter.

'an abject and cruel ſervitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the *Spaniards* that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr. *Anſon* conſtantly exerted his utmoſt endeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for, ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and humanity. But notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that the firſt day or two they did not quit their fear, ſuſpecting the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought-of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our ſincerity, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful, ſo that it was often diſputable, whether or no they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at laſt ſo far conquered his melancholy ſurmiſes, and had taken ſuch an affection to Mr. *Anſon*, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been aſked, he would not have preferred a voyage to *England* in the *Centurion*, to the being ſet on ſhore at *Paita*, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

'This conduct of the Commodore to his priſoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole *Engliſh* nation. But whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr. *Anſon* before the capture of the *Tereſa*, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly increaſed by his conduct towards thoſe women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that veſſel: For the leaving them in the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the Pilot to ſtay with them as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what might be expected from an enemy and an heretic, that the *Spaniards* on board, though they had themſelves experienced his beneficence, were ſurprized at this new inſtance of it, and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves too were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at *Paita*, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the *Centurion*, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed, all the priſoners left us with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jeſuit in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an Eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr. *Anſon* juſtice at all times; adding, that his uſage of the men priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occaſions: But that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary and ſo extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtical character, would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterwards informed, that he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head, but had, both at *Lima* and at other places, given the greateſt encomiums to our Commodore; the Jeſuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical ſenſe that article of his church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved.

'Nor let it be imagined, that the impreſſions which the *Spaniards* hence received to our advantage, is a matter of ſmall import; for, not to mention ſeveral of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions; the *Spaniards* are a nation, whoſe good opinion of us is doubtleſs of more conſequence than that of all the world beſides: Not only as the commerce we had formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is ſo extremely valuable; but alſo as the tranſacting it does ſo immediately depend on the honour and good faith of thoſe who are intruſted with its management. However, had no national conveniences attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would not leſs have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to thoſe, whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I ſhall only add, that by his conſtant attachment to theſe humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation amongſt the *Creolian Spaniards*, which is not confined merely to the coaſt of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; ſo that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of moſt of the Spaniſh inhabitants of that prodigious empire (10).'

(10) Anſon's Voyage, p. 242—244. *Ibid.* p. 277—281.

his

his voyage, 'ſtrongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, 'and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune; yet, in 'a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and in the end 'rarely fail of proving ſucceſsful (*g*).

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 536.

Mr. Anſon, a few days after his return to his own country, was made a Rear Admiral of the Blue; and in a very ſhort time, he was choſen member of parliament for Heydon in Yorkſhire (*h*). On the 27th of December, 1744, when the Duke of Bedford was appointed firſt Lord of the Admiralty, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and on the 23d of April, in the following year, he was made a Rear Admiral of the White. On the 14th of July 1746, he was raiſed to the rank of Vice Admiral (*i*). In the latter end of the year 1746, and the beginning of 1747, he commanded the ſquadron in the channel ſervice; and bore the inconveniences of a long and tempeſtuous Winter navigation, with his uſual patience and perſeverance (*k*). Nothing would have fruſtrated the ſucceſs of this expedition, but the accidental intelligence which was given, by the maſter of a Dutch veſſel, to the Duke of d'Anville's fleet, of Admiral Anſon's ſtation and intention. However, being employed again early in the enſuing ſpring, he had an opportunity of rendering a very ſignal ſervice to his country. Being then on board the Prince George, of ninety guns, with Rear Admiral Warren, in the Devonſhire, and twelve ſhips more under his command, he intercepted, on the third of May (1747) off Cape Finiſterre, a conſiderable fleet, bound from France to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and laden with merchandiſe, treaſure, and warlike ſtores; and took ſix men of war, and four Eaſt Indiamen, not one of the enemy's veſſels of war eſcaping [*E*]. By this ſucceſsful exploit, he defeated the pernicious deſigns of two hoſtile expeditions, made a conſiderable addition to the force and riches of our own kingdom, and thus converted into a public benefit, the intended means of a public calamity. M. St. George, Captain of the Invincible, in alluſion to the names of two of the ſhips which had been taken, and pointing to them at the ſame time, ſaid, when he preſented his ſword to the conqueror; *Monſieur, vous avez vaincu* l'invincible, *et* la gloire *vous ſuit* (*m*). On the 13th of June following, his Majeſty King George the Second, in conſideration of Mr. Anſon's eminent ſervices, was pleaſed to raiſe him to the honour of an Engliſh Peerage, by the ſtile and title of Lord Anſon, Baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton (*n*); and his Lordſhip made choice of a motto, very happily ſuited to the dangers he had gone through, and the ſucceſſes he had met with, *Nil deſperandum* (*o*). On the 25th

(*h*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xiv. p. 339. From the Gazette, ditto, Vol. xv. p. 52.

(*i*) *Ibid.* Vol. xvi. p. 384. Mr. Stephens's Abſtract.

(*k*) Collins's Supplement, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Gent. Mag. and Collins's Supplement, *ibid.* Information as above.

(*n*) Collins, *ibid.* p. 598.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 599.

[*E*] *Not one of the enemy's veſſels of war eſcaping.*] We ſhall inſert the account of this action which was publiſhed by authority, in the ſupplement to the London Gazette, on the 16th of May, 1747.

'*Admiralty Office, May* 16. Capt. Dennis, of his 'majeſty's ſhip the Centurion, arrived this day 'with an expreſs from Vice Admiral Anſon, giving 'an account, that on the 3d inſt. the ſquadron un'der his command, conſiſting of the following ſhips, 'viz.

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
Prince George,	Vice Adm. Anſon / Capt. Bently	90
Devonſhire,	Rear Adm. Warren / Capt. Weſt	66
Namur,	Hon. —— Boſcawen	74
Monmouth,	Capt. Harriſon	64
Prince Frederick,	Capt. Norris	64
Yarmouth,	Capt. Brett	64
Princeſs Louiſa,	Capt. Watſon	60
Defiance,	Capt. Grenville	60
Nottingham,	Capt. Saumarez	60
Pembroke,	Capt. Fincher	60
Windſor,	Capt. Hanway	60
Centurion,	Capt. Denis	50
Falkland,	Capt. Barradel	50
Briſtol,	Hon. Capt. Wm. Montagu	50
Ambuſcade,	Capt. John Montagu	40
Falcon Sloop,	Capt. Gwynn	10
Vulcan Fireſhip,	Capt. Pattigrew	

'being off Cape Finiſterre, which bore S. E. diſ'tant 24 leagues, fell in with the French fleet, con'ſiſting of 38 ſhips, nine of which ſhortened ſail, and 'were drawing into a line of battle ahead, and the 'reſt of the fleet, which appeared to be under their 'convoy, ſtretched to the weſtward with all the ſail 'they could ſet. Mr. Anſon formed his fleet into a 'line, but obſerving by the motions of the enemy 'that their aim was to gain time, and endeavour to 'eſcape under favour of the night, he made the ſig'nal for the whole fleet to chaſe and engage the ene'my, without any regard to the line of battle. The 'Centurion, Capt. Denis, having got up with the 'ſternmoſt French ſhip about 4 o'clock in the after'noon, began to engage her, upon which two of the 'enemy's largeſt ſhips bore down to her aſſiſtance. 'The Namur, Defiance, and Windſor, being the 'next headmoſt ſhips, ſoon entered into the action, 'and after having diſabled thoſe French ſhips in ſuch 'a manner that the Britiſh ſhips a-ſtern muſt ſoon 'come up with them, they made ſail a-head to pre'vent the van of the enemy from eſcaping, as did 'alſo ſeveral other ſhips of the fleet. The Yarmouth 'and Devonſhire having got up and engaged the 'enemy, and the Prince George being near the In'vincible, and going to fire into her, all the ſhips in 'the enemy's rear ſtruck their colours between 6 and '7 o'clock, as did all thoſe which were in the line 'before night. Vice-Admiral Anſon brought to at 'ſeven, having detached the Monmouth, Yarmouth, 'and Nottingham, to purſue the convoy, who then 'bore W. by S. at about 4 or 5 leagues diſtance, ſo 'that there are hopes of having a very good account 'of them. The Falcon Sloop, which the vice-admiral 'had ſent after the convoy during the action, with 'orders to make ſignals for a guidance to the other 'ſhips, returned to the fleet the next day with the 'Dartmouth Indiaman. The number and quality 'of the ſhips taken from the enemy, as follows, viz.

Ships of War belonging to the French *King.*

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
Le Serieux,	M. de la Jonquiere, Chef d'Eſcadre	66	556
L'Invincible,	M. de St. George	74	700
Le Diamant,	Hoquart	56	450
Le Jaſon,	Beccard	52	355
Le Rubis,	M'Carty	52	328
Le Gloire,	Saleſſe	44	330

Eaſt-India *Company's ſhips fitted out as men of war.*

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*
L'Appollon,	De Santons	30	132
Le Philibert,	Cellie	30	170
Le Thetis	Macon	20	100

Eaſt-India *Ship taken by the* Falcon *ſloop.*

Le Dartmouth,	Capt. Penoche	18	50

'The loſs on our ſide was not very conſiderable, 'except that of Capt. Grenville, of the Defiance, 'who was an excellent officer, and whoſe death can'not be ſufficiently lamented. Capt. Boſcawen, of 'the Namur, was wounded in the ſhoulder with a 'muſket ball, but is in a very fair way of recovery.

'The French chef d'Eſcadre, M. de la Jonquiere, 'was ſhot under the blade-bones of both his ſhoulders, 'but it was thought he would recover. One of the 'French captains was killed, and another loſt his 'leg.

'Moſt of our ſhips have ſuffered in their maſts and 'rigging (11).'

(11) Gent. Mag. Vol. xvii. p. 218.

of April 1748, he married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Philip Lord Hardwicke, at that time Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, which Lady died, without iſſue, on the firſt of June 1760 (*p*) [*F*]. He had frequently the honour of convoying the late King from England to Holland. The firſt time was in the year 1748; and ever after he conſtantly attended his Majeſty on his going abroad, and on his return to this kingdom (*q*). On the 12th of July 1749, his Lordſhip was made Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, an appointment that is more of a civil than a military nature; but which, nevertheleſs, is always given to a military man. On the 12th of June 1751, he was preferred to be firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in the room of the Earl of Sandwich; and, in the years 1752 and 1755, he was one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom, during his Majeſty's abſence (*r*). The ſquadrons fitted out in the laſt-mentioned year, on the proſpect of a war with France, were got ready with ſingular diſpatch, the officers ſent to the ports exerting themſelves in a remarkable manner. That more ſucceſs did not attend them was owing to accidents. Mr. Boſcawen commanded one diviſion of the fleet, and Sir Edward Hawke the other: and both theſe gallant Admirals always ſerved with credit, often with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. It was the run of the times, inflamed by party writers, to blame Lord Anſon, for not ſending a fleet to relieve Minorca in time, when Port Mahon was beſieged by the Duke of Richlieu; and it was alledged, that when he did ſend one, it was not ſtrong enough. As to his not ſending it ſooner, this was occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by Mr. Boſcawen's ſquadron (on which we depended for a ſupply of ſeamen) not coming in, by ſeveral weeks, ſo early as was expected. And after that, the government was kept in ſuſpenſe, by the alarms of an invaſion, founded on very particular intelligence. With regard to the ſtrength of the fleet, the ableſt ſea-officers (men whoſe judgment no one could diſpute) always thought that the force under Byng was quite ſufficient. It was a match, in numbers, for the French Admiral, and was a ſquadron remarkably well appointed. To this may be added, that neither the time of ſending a fleet, nor the ſtrength of it, depended ſolely upon the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, but muſt have had the concurrent opinion of the whole cabinet. On the 16th of November 1756, Lord Anſon, upon a change in the adminiſtration, reſigned his poſt as firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty. A very accurate enquiry was made, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, into the affair of Minorca; and the miniſtry of that time were, by ſeveral reſolutions of the houſe of commons, acquitted of any blame or neglect of duty (*). On the 24th of February 1757, he was made an admiral; and on the ſecond of July, he was again placed at the head of the Admiralty Board, where he continued during the remainder of his life. He came in with his old friends, the Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Hardwicke,

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 598. Gent. Mag. Vol. xviii. p. 187. and Vol. xxx. p. 297.

(*q*) Collins, *ibid.* Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxii. p. 263.

(*r*) Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra.

(*) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. xxvii. p. 871, 872.

[*F*] *Which lady died without iſſue, on the firſt of June*, 1760.] Lady Anſon had great benevolence of diſpoſition, and was very charitable. She did many kind offices with her Lord for perſons who ſtood in need of her aſſiſtance. She had a fine taſte in drawing and painting, and there was much vivacity and chearfulneſs in her temper. Her compoſitions in proſe and verſe were remarkable lively and elegant, and her whole conduct and behaviour were diſtinguiſhed by virtue, dignity, and politeneſs. The following copy of verſes was addreſſed to Lord Hardwicke, her father, on her death, by the late ingenious Mr. David Mallet (12).

(12) Poems on ſeveral occaſions, by David Mallet, Eſq; 8*vo*. Printed for Millar, 1762, p. 73—77.

On the Death of LADY ANSON.

'O Crown'd with honour, bleſt with length of days,
'Thou whom the wiſe revere, the worthy praiſe;
'Juſt guardian of thoſe laws thy voice explain'd,
'And meriting all titles thou haſt gain'd——
'Tho' ſtill the faireſt from Heaven's bounty flow;
'For good and great no monarch can beſtow:
'Yet thus, of health, of fame, of friends poſſeſt,
'No fortune, HARDWICKE, is ſincerely bleſt.
'All human kind are ſons of ſorrow born:
'The great muſt ſuffer, and the good muſt mourn.
'For ſay, can *Wiſdom*'s ſelf, what late was thine,
'Can *Fortitude*, without a ſigh reſign?
'Ah no! when *Love*, when *Reaſon*, hand in hand,
'O'er the cold urn conſenting *Mourners* ſtand,
'The firmeſt heart diſſolves to ſoftneſs here:
'And *Piety* applauds the falling tear.
'Thoſe ſacred drops, by virtuous weakneſs ſhed,
'Adorn the living, while they grace the dead:
'From tender thought their ſource unbalm'd they draw,
'By heaven approv'd, and true to Nature's law.
'When his lov'd *Child* the *Roman* could not ſave,
'Immortal TULLY, from an early grave,
'No common forms his home-felt paſſion kept:
'The ſage, the patriot, in the parent, wept,
'And O by grief ally'd as join'd in fame,
'The ſame thy loſs, thy ſorrows are the ſame.
'She whom the *Muſes*, whom the *Loves* deplore,
'Even She, thy pride and pleaſure, is no more:
'In bloom of years, in all her virtue's bloom,
'Loſt to thy hopes and ſilent in the tomb.
'O ſeaſon mark'd by mourning and deſpair!
'Thy blaſts how fatal to the Young and Fair?
'For vernal freſhneſs, for the balmy breeze,
'Thy tainted wings came pregnant with diſeaſe:
'Sick Nature ſunk before the mortal breath,
'That ſcatter'd fever, agony and death!
'What funerals has thy cruel ravage ſpread!
'What eyes have flow'd! what noble boſoms bled!
'Here let *Reflection* fix her ſober view:
'O think who ſuffer, and who ſigh with you.
'See, rudely ſnatch'd, in all her pride of charms,
'Bright GRANBY from a youthful huſband's arms!
'In climes far diſtant, ſee that huſband mourn;
'His arms revers'd, his recent laurel torn!
'Behold again, at Fate's imperious call,
'In one dread inſtant blooming LINCOLN fall!
'See her lov'd Lord with ſpeechleſs anguiſh bend!
'And, mixing tears with his, thy nobleſt friend,
'Thy PELHAM turn on heaven his ſtreaming eye:
'Again in *Her*, he ſees a *Brother* die!
'And *He*, who long, unſhaken and ſerene,
'Had death, in each dire form of terror ſeen,
'Thro' worlds unknown, o'er unknown oceans toſt,
'By love ſubdu'd, now weeps a Conſort loſt:
'Now, ſunk to fondneſs, all the man appears,
'His front dejected, and his ſoul in tears!
'Yet more: nor thou the Muſe's voice diſdain,
'Who fondly tries to ſoothe a Father's pain—
'Let thy calm eye ſurvive the ſuffering ball:
'See kingdoms round thee verging to their fall;
'What ſpring had promis'd and what autumn yields,
'The bread of thouſands, raviſh'd from their fields!
'See youth and age, th' ignoble and the great,
'Swept to one grave, in one promiſcuous fate!
'Hear EUROPE groan! hear all her nations mourn!
'And be a private wound with patience borne.
'Think too: and Reaſon will confirm the thought:
'Thy cares, for Her, are to their period brought.
'Yes, She, fair pattern to a failing age,
'With wit, chaſtis'd, with ſprightly temper, ſage;
'Whom each endearing name could recommend,
'Whom all became, wife, ſiſter, daughter, friend,
'Unwarp'd by folly, and by vice unſtain'd,
'The prize of virtue has, for ever, gain'd!
'From life eſcap'd, and ſafe on that calm ſhore,
'Where ſin and pain and error are no more,
'She now no change, nor You a fear can feel:
'Death, to her fame, has fix'd th' eternal ſeal!'

and

and in the moſt honourable manner: for he renewed his ſeat with the concurrence of every individual in the Miniſtry, Mr. Pitt reſuming the Seals as Secretary of State, and with the particular approbation of King George the Second. All the reſt of his conduct, as Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, was crowned with ſucceſs, under the moſt glorious adminiſtration which this country ever ſaw. The laſt time that Lord Anſon commanded at ſea, was in 1758, to cover the expedition againſt the coaſt of France. Being then Admiral of the White, and having hoiſted his flag on board the Royal George of 100 guns, he ſailed from Spithead, on the firſt of June, with a formidable fleet, Sir Edward Hawke ſerving under him; and by cruizing continually before Breſt, he protected the deſcents which were made that Summer at St. Maloe's, Cherburg, &c. (*x*). The French fleet not venturing to come out, he kept his own ſquadron and ſeamen in conſtant exerciſe; a thing which, he thought, had been too much diſregarded. On the 30th of July 1761, his Lordſhip was raiſed to the dignity of Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet (*y*); and in a few days he ſailed from Harwich, in the Charlotte yacht, to convoy her preſent Majeſty to England; whom he landed, after a rough and tedious paſſage, on the ſeventh of September (*z*). In February 1762, he went to Portſmouth, to accompany the Queen's brother, Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh, and to ſhew him the arſenal, and the fleet which was then upon the point of ſailing, under the command of Sir George Pocock, for the Havanna. Lord Anſon, in attending the Prince, caught a violent cold, that was accompanied with a gouty diſorder, under which he languiſhed two or three months. This cold, at length, ſettled upon his lungs, and was the immediate occaſion of his death (*a*). He died, at his ſeat at Moor Park, in Hertfordſhire, on the ſixth of June 1762, and was buried in the family vault at Colwich (*b*). Beſides the other honours we have mentioned, he was a member of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, one of the elder Brethren of the Trinity-houſe, and a Governor of the Charter-houſe (*c*). He was very aſſiduous at the Admiralty Board, and remarkably quick and ready in making naval diſpoſitions of every kind, and in appropriating the proper ſtrength and proper ſort of ſhips to the different ſervices. He liked to ſee his table filled with the gentlemen of the Navy; and many eminent and valuable men of that profeſſion frequently met there (*d*). Among the various ſervices, which will render the name of Anſon illuſtrious, his diſcreet and ſucceſsful choice of officers deſerves particularly to be mentioned; as will be allowed by all who recollect, that ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, as Sir Charles Saunders, Captain Saumarez, Sir Percy Brett, Admiral Keppel, Sir Peter Denis, Admiral Campbell, and others, were either his Lieutenants in the Centurion, or ſerved under him on different occaſions. He may, in general, be ſaid to have been a true friend and patron to men of real merit and capacity in the ſervice. In a late work (*e*), the Editor of which hath taken very little pains to obtain authentic information concerning the perſons treated of, it is aſſerted 'that Lord Anſon, at home, leſſened his great reputation by a fooliſh 'attachment to gaming; that, having ſeen little of the polite world, he eaſily became 'the dupe of ſharpers in high life, who eaſed him of a conſiderable ſhare of his wealth; 'and that the ridicule he incurred upon theſe occaſions, it is thought, affected his 'ſpirits, and contributed not a little to bring on that decline which ſhortened his days.' But we have the beſt authority for ſaying, that this repreſentation of things is as falſe as it is injurious to his Lordſhip's character. Upon the whole, he neither won nor loſt by gaming; and he made it, like hundreds of others, who paſs uncenſured, his amuſement, rather than his buſineſs. To affirm, that any ridicule affected his ſpirits, is an abſolutely groundleſs aſſertion. The great regard which was ſhewn him, in all the companies he frequented, muſt put his memory above ſuch an aſperſion. Lord Anſon left his whole fortune to his brother, Thomas Anſon, Eſq; who was member of Parliament for Litchfield, and with whom he had always lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. This gentleman was well known for his liberal patronage of, and his exquiſite ſkill in the fine arts (*). Upon his deceaſe, the united fortunes of the family devolved to his nephew, by his *eldeſt* ſiſter, George Adams, Eſq; who hath aſſumed the name of Anſon.] K.

(*x*) Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra.

(*y*) Mr. Stephens's Abſtract.

(*z*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxi. p. 415—427.

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(*b*) Information from the family.

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ANTHONY or ANTONY (Dr. Francis), a very learned phyſician and Chemiſt in the latter end of the ſixteenth and the beginning of the ſeventeenth centuries. His father was an eminent Goldſmith in the city of London, and had an employment of conſiderable value in the jewel-office under the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). This ſon of his was born April 16, 1550; and having been carefully inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning while at home, was, about the year 1569, ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied with great diligence and ſucceſs, and ſome time in the year 1574 took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). It appears from his own writings, that he applied himſelf, for many years that he ſtudied in that univerſity, to the theory and practice of chemiſtry, with ſedulous induſtry, and made no ſmall progreſs (*c*). It is not at all clear from any memoirs that have reached our hands, when he left Cambridge, and came up to London; but it ſeems highly probable, that it was not before he attained the age of forty. He began ſoon after his arrival to publiſh to the world the effects of his chemical ſtudies, and in the year 1598, ſent abroad his firſt treatiſe, concerning the excellency of a medicine drawn from gold (*d*); but not having taken the neceſſary precautions of addreſſing himſelf to the College of Phyſicians, for their licence, he fell under their diſpleaſure, and being, ſome time in the year 1600, ſummoned before the Preſident and Cenſors, he confeſſed that he had

(*a*) Ath. Oxon. fol. 1721, Vol. i. col. 513.

(*b*) MS. Account of Dr. Anthony and his *Aurum Potabile*.

(*c*) Aſſertio Potabilis Auri, p. 4—13.

(*d*) The title of which Treatiſe was, Fr. Antonii Londinenſis Panacæa Aurea. Hamburgi, 1598, 8vo.

of April 1748, he married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Philip Lord Hardwicke, at that time Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, which Lady died, without iſſue, on the firſt of June 1760 (*p*) [*F*]. He had frequently the honour of convoying the late King from England to Holland. The firſt time was in the year 1748; and ever after he conſtantly attended his Majeſty on his going abroad, and on his return to this kingdom (*q*). On the 12th of July 1749, his Lordſhip was made Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, an appointment that is more of a civil than a military nature; but which, nevertheleſs, is always given to a military man. On the 12th of June 1751, he was preferred to be firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in the room of the Earl of Sandwich; and, in the years 1752 and 1755, he was one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom, during his Majeſty's abſence (*r*). The ſquadrons fitted out in the laſt-mentioned year, on the proſpect of a war with France, were got ready with ſingular diſpatch, the officers ſent to the ports exerting themſelves in a remarkable manner. That more ſucceſs did not attend them was owing to accidents. Mr. Boſcawen commanded one diviſion of the fleet, and Sir Edward Hawke the other: and both theſe gallant Admirals always ſerved with credit, often with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. It was the run of the times, inflamed by party writers, to blame Lord Anſon, for not ſending a fleet to relieve Minorca in time, when Port Mahon was beſieged by the Duke of Richlieu; and it was alledged, that when he did ſend one, it was not ſtrong enough. As to his not ſending it ſooner, this was occaſioned, in a great meaſure, by Mr. Boſcawen's ſquadron (on which we depended for a ſupply of ſeamen) not coming in, by ſeveral weeks, ſo early as was expected. And after that, the government was kept in ſuſpenſe, by the alarms of an invaſion, founded on very particular intelligence. With regard to the ſtrength of the fleet, the ableſt ſea-officers (men whoſe judgment no one could diſpute) always thought that the force under Byng was quite ſufficient. It was a match, in numbers, for the French Admiral, and was a ſquadron remarkably well appointed. To this may be added, that neither the time of ſending a fleet, nor the ſtrength of it, depended ſolely upon the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, but muſt have had the concurrent opinion of the whole cabinet. On the 16th of November 1756, Lord Anſon, upon a change in the adminiſtration, reſigned his poſt as firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty. A very accurate enquiry was made, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, into the affair of Minorca; and the miniſtry of that time were, by ſeveral reſolutions of the houſe of commons, acquitted of any blame or neglect of duty (*). On the 24th of February 1757, he was made an admiral; and on the ſecond of July, he was again placed at the head of the Admiralty Board, where he continued during the remainder of his life. He came in with his old friends, the Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Hardwicke,

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 598. Gent. Mag. Vol. xviii. p. 187. and Vol. xxx. p. 297.

(*q*) Collins, *ibid.* Gent. Mag. Vol. xxxii. p. 263.

(*r*) Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra.

(*) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. xxvii. p. 871, 872.

[*F*] *Which lady died without iſſue, on the firſt of June*, 1760.] Lady Anſon had great benevolence of diſpoſition, and was very charitable. She did many kind offices with her Lord for perſons who ſtood in need of her aſſiſtance. She had a fine taſte in drawing and painting, and there was much vivacity and chearfulneſs in her temper. Her compoſitions in proſe and verſe were remarkable lively and elegant, and her whole conduct and behaviour were diſtinguiſhed by virtue, dignity, and politeneſs. The following copy of verſes was addreſſed to Lord Hardwicke, her father, on her death, by the late ingenious Mr. David Mallet (12).

(12) Poems on ſeveral occaſions, by David Mallet, Eſq; 8*vo*. Printed for Millar, 1762, p. 73—77.

On the Death of LADY ANSON.

'O Crown'd with honour, bleſt with length of days,
'Thou whom the wiſe revere, the worthy praiſe;
'Juſt guardian of thoſe laws thy voice explain'd,
'And meriting all titles thou haſt gain'd——
'Tho' ſtill the faireſt from Heaven's bounty flow;
'For good and great no monarch can beſtow:
'Yet thus, of health, of fame, of friends poſſeſt,
'No fortune, HARDWICKE, is ſincerely bleſt.
'All human kind are ſons of ſorrow born:
'The great muſt ſuffer, and the good muſt mourn.
'For ſay, can *Wiſdom*'s ſelf, what late was thine,
'Can *Fortitude*, without a ſigh reſign?
'Ah no! when *Love*, when *Reaſon*, hand in hand,
'O'er the cold urn conſenting *Mourners* ſtand,
'The firmeſt heart diſſolves to ſoftneſs here:
'And *Piety* applauds the falling tear.
'Thoſe ſacred drops, by virtuous weakneſs ſhed,
'Adorn the living, while they grace the dead:
'From tender thought their ſource unbalm'd they draw,
'By heaven approv'd, and true to Nature's law.
'When his lov'd *Child* the *Roman* could not ſave,
'Immortal TULLY, from an early grave,
'No common forms his home-felt paſſion kept:
'The ſage, the patriot, in the parent, wept,
'And O by grief ally'd as join'd in fame,
'The ſame thy loſs, thy ſorrows are the ſame.
'She whom the *Muſes*, whom the *Loves* deplore,
'Even She, thy pride and pleaſure, is no more:
'In bloom of years, in all her virtue's bloom,
'Loſt to thy hopes and ſilent in the tomb.
'O ſeaſon mark'd by mourning and deſpair!
'Thy blaſts how fatal to the Young and Fair?
'For vernal freſhneſs, for the balmy breeze,
'Thy tainted wings came pregnant with diſeaſe:
'Sick Nature ſunk before the mortal breath,
'That ſcatter'd fever, agony and death!
'What funerals has thy cruel ravage ſpread!
'What eyes have flow'd! what noble boſoms bled!
'Here let *Reflection* fix her ſober view:
'O think who ſuffer, and who ſigh with you.
'See, rudely ſnatch'd, in all her pride of charms,
'Bright GRANBY from a youthful huſband's arms!
'In climes far diſtant, ſee that huſband mourn;
'His arms revers'd, his recent laurel torn!
'Behold again, at Fate's imperious call,
'In one dread inſtant blooming LINCOLN fall!
'See her lov'd Lord with ſpeechleſs anguiſh bend!
'And, mixing tears with his, thy nobleſt friend,
'Thy PELHAM turn on heaven his ſtreaming eye:
'Again in *Her*, he ſees a *Brother* die!
'And *He*, who long, unſhaken and ſerene,
'Had death, in each dire form of terror ſeen,
'Thro' worlds unknown, o'er unknown oceans toſt,
'By love ſubdu'd, now weeps a Conſort loſt:
'Now, ſunk to fondneſs, all the man appears,
'His front dejected, and his ſoul in tears!
'Yet more: nor thou the Muſe's voice diſdain,
'Who fondly tries to ſoothe a Father's pain—
'Let thy calm eye ſurvive the ſuffering ball:
'See kingdoms round thee verging to their fall;
'What ſpring had promis'd and what autumn yields,
'The bread of thouſands, raviſh'd from their fields!
'See youth and age, th' ignoble and the great,
'Swept to one grave, in one promiſcuous fate!
'Hear EUROPE groan! hear all her nations mourn!
'And be a private wound with patience borne.
'Think too: and Reaſon will confirm the thought:
'Thy cares, for Her, are to their period brought.
'Yes, She, fair pattern to a failing age,
'With wit, chaſtis'd, with ſprightly temper, ſage;
'Whom each endearing name could recommend,
'Whom all became, wife, ſiſter, daughter, friend,
'Unwarp'd by folly, and by vice unſtain'd,
'The prize of virtue has, for ever, gain'd!
'From life eſcap'd, and ſafe on that calm ſhore,
'Where ſin and pain and error are no more,
'She now no change, nor You a fear can feel:
'Death, to her fame, has fix'd th' eternal ſeal!'

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ANTHONY or ANTONY (Dr. Francis), a very learned phyſician and Chemiſt in the latter end of the ſixteenth and the beginning of the ſeventeenth centuries. His father was an eminent Goldſmith in the city of London, and had an employment of conſiderable value in the jewel-office under the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). This ſon of his was born April 16, 1550; and having been carefully inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning while at home, was, about the year 1569, ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied with great diligence and ſucceſs, and ſome time in the year 1574 took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). It appears from his own writings, that he applied himſelf, for many years that he ſtudied in that univerſity, to the theory and practice of chemiſtry, with ſedulous induſtry, and made no ſmall progreſs (*c*). It is not at all clear from any memoirs that have reached our hands, when he left Cambridge, and came up to London; but it ſeems highly probable, that it was not before he attained the age of forty. He began ſoon after his arrival to publiſh to the world the effects of his chemical ſtudies, and in the year 1598, ſent abroad his firſt treatiſe, concerning the excellency of a medicine drawn from gold (*d*); but not having taken the neceſſary precautions of addreſſing himſelf to the College of Phyſicians, for their licence, he fell under their diſpleaſure, and being, ſome time in the year 1600, ſummoned before the Preſident and Cenſors, he confeſſed that he had

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had practiſed phyſic in London for ſomewhat more than ſix months, and had cured twenty perſons, or more, of ſeveral diſeaſes, to whom he had given purging and vomiting phyſic, and to others, a diaphoretic medicine, prepared from gold and mercury, as their caſe required; but withal acknowledged that he had no licence, and being examined in ſeveral parts of phyſic, and found inexpert, he was interdicted practice. About a month after, he was committed to the Counter-priſon, and fined in the ſum of five pounds *propter illicitam Praxin*, that is, for preſcribing phyſic againſt the ſtatutes and privilege of the College; but upon his application to the Lord Chief Juſtice, he was ſet at liberty, which gave ſo great umbrage to the College, that the Preſident and one of the Cenſors waited on the Chief Juſtice, to requeſt his favour in defending and preſerving the College privileges; upon which Mr. Anthony ſubmitted himſelf, promiſed to pay his fine, and was forbidden practice (*e*). But not long after he was accuſed again for practiſing phyſic, and upon his own confeſſion was fined five pounds; which fine, on his refuſing to pay it, was increaſed to twenty pounds, and *he* committed to priſon till he paid it; neither were the College ſatisfied with this, but commenced a ſuit at law againſt him in the name of the Queen, as well as of the College, in which they prevailed, and obtained judgment againſt him; but after ſome time, were prevailed upon by the intreaties of his wife, to remit their ſhare of the penalty, as appears by their warrant to the keeper of the priſon for his diſcharge, dated under the College ſeal, the ſixth of Auguſt 1602 (*f*). After his releaſe, he ſeems to have met with conſiderable patrons, who were able to protect him from the authority of the College; and though Dr. Goodall tells us, that this learned ſociety thought him weak and ignorant in phyſic, yet it ſeems there were other learned bodies of another opinion; ſince after all theſe cenſures, and being toſſed about from priſon to priſon, he became Doctor of Phyſic in our own univerſities (*g*). This did not hinder new complaints being brought againſt him, by Dr. Taylor, and another Phyſician, who grounded their proceedings chiefly on his giving a certain noſtrum, which he called *Aurum potabile*, or *potable gold*, and which he repreſented to the world, as an univerſal medicine. There were at this time alſo ſeveral things written againſt him, and his manner of practice, inſinuating that he was very inaccurate in his method of philoſophizing, that the virtues of metals as to phyſical uſes were very uncertain, and that the boaſted effects of his medicine were deſtitute of proof. Dr. Anthony, upon this, publiſhed a very learned and modeſt defence of himſelf and his *Aurum potabile* in Latin, written with great decency, much ſkill in chemiſtry, and with an apparent knowledge in the theory and hiſtory of phyſic. This book, which he publiſhed in 1610 [*A*], was printed at the univerſity preſs of Cambridge, and had a very

(*e*) Goodall's Royal College of Phyſicians, P. 349, 350.

(*f*) In the book before mentioned, p. 351.

(*g*) *Ibid.* 349.

[*A*] *Which he publiſhed in* 1610.] The title of this book at large runs thus, *Medicinæ Chymicæ, et veri potabilis Auri aſſertio, ex Lucubrationibus Fra. Anthonii Londinenſis, in Medicina Doctoris. Cantabrigiæ, ex officina Cantrello Legge celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographi.* 4to id eſt, *A Defence of Chemical Phyſick in the true potable Gold made by Francis Anthony of London, Doctor in Phyſic.* After the Dedication there follows a very ſhort Preface, wherein the author tells his readers, that after inexpreſſible labour, watching, and expence, he had, through the bleſſing of God, attained all he ſought for in his enquiries. But now when he ſhould have reaped the fruits of his labour, he complains that ſome envious perſon had ſown tares with his wheat, whence he was under a neceſſity of writing this apologetical diſcourſe, wherein his intention was to prove, that himſelf was no impoſtor, and that there were both truth and certainty in that ſcience, which had particularly engroſſed his ſtudies. This treatiſe is but very ſhort, but withal very methodical, and extremely fit to remove thoſe prejudices which his enemies had very induſtriouſly infuſed into the minds of the learned, for chiefly to them this Latin diſcourſe related. It is divided into ſeven chapters. In the firſt he enquires *whether there be ſuch a thing as potable Gold?* In this chapter he diſplays his great reading, and perfect acquaintance with the writings of the moſt eminent Philoſophers, Phyſicians, and Chemiſts. He cites from their own works their teſtimonies *pro* and *con* in this matter, and in the end concludes from their concurring ſentiments (under certain reſtrictions), That there are very great virtues in metals, and that there may poſſibly be diſcovered an *aurum potabile*, or potable Gold, of excellent uſe in medicine. In the ſecond chapter he endeavours to prove in the rational way, *that there really are great virtues both for preſerving health and curing diſeaſes in the mineral kingdom.* The third chapter *explains the ſuperior virtues of gold.* In this chapter alſo he obviates an objection, which he ſuppoſes might be raiſed from the extravagant promiſes of the Spargyric Philoſophers, obſerving juſtly, that lyes are not to prejudice the truth, and that though many may have failed in their operations on this metal, or may have boaſted of more than they could perform; yet this is no proof that others might not arrive at what they ſought, or might not make diſcoveries which theſe men had no acquaintance with. In the fourth chapter *he treats of the great myſtery of diſſolving and diſtilling Gold.* This is the moſt laboured part of the treatiſe, and herein the author very fairly and accurately relates the whole proceſs of his *aurum potabile*, concealing only the method by which it is diſſolved, and in which he aſſures us, he made uſe of no corroſive liquors, whence all thoſe miſchievous conſequences flow, which have juſtly brought many metalline preparations into diſrepute. After all he affirms, that this medicine is a kind of extract or honey of gold, capable of being diſſolved in any liquor whatſoever, whence he thinks it may juſtly be ſtiled potable. Here again he mentions the common objection, that there is an affinity between the *aurum potabile* and the Philoſopher's Stone, whence the diſcovering of either is judged to be impracticable. In anſwer to this, he does not deny the tranſmutation of metals, but he ſhews that there is a real diſtinction between the operation of which he ſpeaks, and the ſo much talked of tranſmuting powder or Philoſopher's Stone, and that the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the one, doth not either infer or conclude the poſſibility or impoſſibility of finding the other. The fifth chapter is ſpent in *offers to his adverſaries of ſhewing the whole operation to proper and unſuſpected witneſſes.* This he preſumes will take away all doubts and jealouſies, and ſilence all ſuſpicions and evil inſinuations. In the ſixth chapter he labours to prove, *That* aurum potabile *may well be called the Univerſal Medicine.* He deſcribes its manner of acting, its power of preſerving health, of cheriſhing the natural heat, comforting the bowels, invigorating the blood, promoting ſecretions and evacuations, after which, he ſhows how it acts in aſſiſting nature to free the human body from diſeaſes. The laſt chapter *enumerates the ſeveral diſtempers which this* aurum potabile *cures.* Such as frequent and dangerous vomitings, all ſorts of fluxes, ſtoppages of urine and diabetes, putrid and epidemic fevers; nay, even the plague itſelf, as he aſſerts to have been demonſtrated by experience in the Plague which depopulated the city of London in the year 1602. He alſo inſiſts on its curing palſies, and aſſures us that though it be an anodyne, yet it is without any ſtupifying quality. He then adds four certificates, the firſt is ſigned by Thomas (it ſhould be George) Lewkner,

a very florid dedication to King James prefixed. He, likewiſe, annexed ſuch certificates of cures, under the hands of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and ſome too of the faculty, that it very plainly appeared, he did not by any means deſerve to be treated as an ignorant empiric, or a mere pretender to chemiſtry. His book, however, was quickly anſwered, and the controverſy about *aurum potabile* grew ſo warm (*b*), that he was obliged to publiſh another apology in the Engliſh language, which was alſo tranſlated into Latin, and is ſtill in great eſteem abroad (*i*); yet here at home it was far enough from anſwering the Doctor's expectation, for it did not at all abate the oppoſition formed againſt his practice by the Faculty, or allay that bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings [*B*]. But, conſidered in another light, it proved very advantageous to him; for it procured the general good-will of ordinary readers, and contributed exceedingly to ſupport and extend his practice, notwithſtanding all the pains taken to decry it. Yet what chiefly contributed to maintain his own reputation, and thereby reflected credit on his medicine, was his unblemiſhed character in

(*b*) See Dr. Milward's Circular Letter, p. 33.
(*i*) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. iii. p. 103.

Lewkner, Doctor of Phyſic (1). It relates to a cure performed on the Doctor's daughter-in-law; by the Biſhop of Wincheſter's recommending the *aurum potabile*. She had been long in a declining way, and at the time the *aurum potabile* was exhibited in convulſions; yet in the ſpace of half an hour, all theſe extraordinary ſymptoms ceaſed, and ſhe was able to eat fleſh, which in the ſpace of a month ſhe had not taſted. The ſecond is dated at Barkhamſtead, the 13th of Auguſt, 1609, and is ſubſcribed H. Cary. In it we are told, that a new diſeaſe had then lately ſhewed itſelf in Hertfordſhire, which occaſioned ſuch pains in the head, ſtomach, and bones, as threw the patient into a kind of phrenſy, but upon giving a ſmall quantity of the *aurum potabile*, the ſymptoms ceaſed, or if it was given in time, they were prevented. From this letter we learn the price of the medicine, which was five ſhillings an ounce. The third is ſubſcribed by Walter Haſtings, it is dated December 10, 1609, from Kirby. The laſt is from Lewis Lewkner, whom I take to have been Sir Lewis Lewkner, brother to Dr. George Lewkner (2): It is dated January the 7th, the ſame year with the reſt, and contains an account of a wonderful cure performed on the Counteſs of Dorcheſter. This our author's book was anſwered the next year after it was publiſhed, by Dr. Matthew Gwinne, of the College of Phyſicians, London. The title of his work ran thus, *Aurum non Aurum, ſive Adverſaria in aſſertorem Chymiæ, ſed veræ Medicinæ deſertorem Franciſcum Anthonium. Lond.* 1611. 4to. i. e. *Gold not Gold, or remarks on the Treatiſe written by Francis Anthony, a Defender of Chymiſtry, but a deſerter of True Phyſic* (3). Beſides this book of Dr. Gwinne's, there were other treatiſes written by the learned againſt Dr. Anthony's diſcourſe on his *aurum potabile*. Amongſt the reſt Dr. John Cotta, of whom we ſhall make large mention in the next note, wrote a full and direct anſwer, which, by the perſuaſion of our author's friends, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide, though on the reviving of the diſpute it was afterwards publiſhed (4).

(1) So it is corrected in my MS. account.
(2) Wood's Faſti. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 229.
(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 513.
(4) See the Preface to Dr. Cotta's Ant-Apology.

[*B*] *That bitterneſs with which his opponents treated his arguments and writings.*] The Engliſh Treatiſe publiſhed by Dr. Anthony, was called an *Apology in defence of his Medicine, ſtiled* Aurum Potabile, *Lond.* 1616, 4to. In this treatiſe was involved moſt of the arguments printed in the Latin diſcourſe, but with great variations, and ſome additions, particularly in the rational proofs of the univerſality of this medicine. For inſtance, he obſerves that the very beſt Phyſicians allow to certain medicines ſeveral and ſeparate virtues, whence he would conclude, that it is poſſible there may be a medicine having ſtill more virtues than any they are acquainted with; nay, which may indeed have them all. He obſerves farther, That all diſeaſes are no more than ſo many perturbations of the natural temper of the human frame, and therefore, if any medicine can be contrived of ſo friendly a nature to the temperament of the human body, as to ſupport it when taken in health, and aſſiſt in reſtoring it if altered by accident, then will this medicine deſerve to be ſtiled *univerſal*. A third reaſon he offers, is from the cordial nature of gold, which he ſupports from the authorities of various eminent writers, and from the known and undeniable qualities of his potable gold. Many other things he ſays of the ſame kind, and in the cloſe, adds a much larger collection of certificates of great cures. Amongſt theſe there are two, which ſeem to bear a little hard on one Dr. Cotta, a Phyſician at Northampton, in as much as they ſay, That a patient of his, Sir William Samuel, had been cured by *aurum potabile*, after he had been a long time under Dr. Cotta's care, and had by his directions taken a great deal of phyſic. This Doctor being naturally a warm man, and having a ready wit, no ſooner ſaw this Apology attended with theſe certificates, but he ſet pen to paper, in order to vindicate himſelf in his practice. Whoever reads Dr. Cotta's writings, will acknowledge the juſtneſs of the character here given him, and yet this angry gentleman did not immediately ſend abroad his performance, as might naturally have been expected from a man of his temper. He finiſhed his treatiſe in 1616, the ſame year that Dr. Anthony publiſhed his Apology. He then ſhewed it to ſome Doctors at London, from whence he ſent it to Oxford to be printed, with a dedication prefixed, to the Gentlemen of the Faculty in that univerſity. But Dr. Anthony's friends applying themſelves to Dr. Cotta, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive full ſatisfaction for the injury ſuppoſed to have been done to his character as a Phyſician, the work was ſtayed at the preſs, and a treaty of accommodation was ſet on foot. It appears to have laſted about ſeven years, and then the quarrel broke out afreſh. Upon this Dr. Cotta publiſhed his long conſidered piece, under the following title, *Cotta contra Antonium, or an Ant-Antony, or an Ant-Apology, manifeſting Dr. Anthony his Apology for* Aurum potabile, *in true and equal balance of right reaſon to be falſe and counterfeit, by John Cotta, Doctor in Phyſic. At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps,* Anno Dom. 1623, 4to. This work conſiſts of ten chapters, is written in a paſſionate, waſpiſh ſtile, embroidered with variety of quotations, and interſperſed both with Latin and Engliſh verſes. Here we find great pains taken to refute Dr Anthony's reaſons, to enervate his proofs, and to draw both the credit of the medicine and of the phyſician into queſtion. As this anſwer was publiſhed in the very year Dr. Anthony died, it could not be replied to. However, there is no reaſon to think that it much prejudiced the reputation of the *Aurum potabile*, the whole being rather a play upon words, and a diſplay of what its author thought wit, than a clear and intelligible anſwer to the book which Dr. Anthony had publiſhed. Beſides, Dr. Cotta requires what was very unreaſonable, a diſcovery of the diſſolving liquor, wherein lay the whole ſecret, otherwiſe, he ſaid, it would not be plain, that no corroſive ingredient were uſed; whereas Dr. Anthony noted, that this might be eaſily known from the effects of the medicine. Beſides, the pains taken, as Dr. Cotta confeſſes, by ſome worthy and eminent Doctors of London, and ſome illuſtrious and learned Doctors of Oxford, to hinder his treatiſe from being publiſhed, muſt have flowed, either from a ſenſe of Dr. Anthony's being in the right, or from an apprehenſion that this piece would not prove him in the wrong, either of which deſtroys the credit of this cenſure. On the whole, we may reſt ſatisfied, that the grand objection about the diſſolving liquor, ought not to have any great weight. The following note will ſhew, that there really is ſuch a liquor, and that Dr. Anthony's might be a uſeful, nay, and an excellent medicine, notwithſtanding all that Cotta and his other adverſaries ſaid againſt it. Though on the other hand, it is highly likely, that the inventor and his party, carried the thing too far; however, between them both, the medicine ſeems now to be loſt, though this article will remain a proof, That Dr Anthony firſt aſſerted, the poſſibility of making an *Aurum potabile* in England.

private life. For our Dr. Anthony was a man of unaffected piety, untainted probity, of eaſy addreſs, great modeſty, and boundleſs charity; which procured him many friends, and left it not in the power of his enemies to attack any part of his conduct, except that of diſpenſing a medicine, of which they had no opinion (*k*). It is not either in our inclination, or agreeable to the deſign of this work, to enter deeply into this controverſy; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that though much has been ſaid to diſcredit the uſe of gold in medicine, yet ſome very able and ingenious men have written very plauſibly in ſupport of thoſe principles on which Dr. Anthony's practice was founded; an inſtance of which we ſhall give in the notes, from a deſervedly admired, and altogether unſuſpected author [*C*]. It is very natural for the curioſity of the world to be raiſed by the high pretences of chemical writers, who at the ſame time affect a very myſterious ſecrecy, for which reaſon, it will not be thought improper, ſince it ſo happens that we have it in our power, to reveal this boaſted medicine, and give the true proceſs of our author's *Aurum potabile*, which is accordingly placed in the notes [*D*]. The age in which Dr. Anthony

(*k*) MS. Account of Dr. Anthony.

[*C*] *A deſervedly admired and altogether unſuſpected author.*] This author is the famous Robert Boyle, Eſq; who ſpeaking of certain preparations from gold, that were made by two foreign Phyſicians, proceeds thus (5): 'Though I have been long prejudiced 'againſt the pretended *Aurum potabile*, and other 'boaſted peparations of gold, for moſt of which I 'have ſtill no great eſteem; yet I ſaw ſuch extraordinary and ſurpriſing effects from the tincture of 'gold I ſpeak of, upon perſons of great note, with 'whom I was particularly acquainted, both before 'they fell deſperately ſick, and after their ſtrange 'recovery, that I could not but change my opinion 'for a very favourable one, as to ſome preparations 'of gold. But though this ſimple medicine can only 'be made in ſmall quantities, and that too not without a great deal of pains and time, I can ſpeak 'thus circumſtantially of it, becauſe by the kindneſs 'of the artiſts, and the pains I had beſtowed in working upon the ſame ſubject they uſe for their *menſtruum*, I ſo far knew and partly ſaw the preparation of it, as to apply what has been ſaid to the 'preſent occaſion. There is here but a ſingle ingredient aſſociated to the gold, and that comes from 'above, and is reputed one of the ſimpleſt bodies in 'nature, two or three ounces of which may be taken 'altogether unprepared without the leaſt inconvenience. Yet the doſe of this almoſt inſipid medicine 'that was given to one old courtier in a violent apoplexy, after other remedies had by ſkilful men been 'uſed in vain, was but ſix or eight drops. In another very antient and corpulent perſon the doſe was 'greater; the tincture being then more unripe and 'diluted: But the effect was as ſudden, though the 'patient were not bled; and though there was not in 'either of theſe caſes any remarkably ſenſible evacuation made. The two perſons thus recovered are 'yet alive. The ſame medicine a while after ſaved 'the life of another gentleman whom I knew, that 'having lain above twenty-two days ſick of an ill-conditioned fever, was condemned by three phyſicians; one whereof told me, That he could not 'out-live the next morning; yet upon taking a large 'doſe of this tincture he was preſently relieved; and 'from that time found a ſenſible amendment, and 'afterwards recovered his health, which he now enjoys, 'though he was then reputed to be fourſcore years old. 'I could relate ſome other odd effects of this remedy; 'but the preſent may ſuffice to alleviate a prejudice 'againſt medicines, made of ſo fixed and ſuppoſed unalterable a metal as gold.'

(5) Boyle's Abridgment by Shaw, Vol. iii. p. 586.

[*D*] *Accordingly placed in the notes.*] This account of Dr. Francis Anthony's method of making his *aurum potabile* was tranſcribed from his own manuſcript, which was once in the poſſeſſion of a Chemiſt well known to the author of this life from whom he had it. The ſecret was long in Dr. Anthony's family, and very beneficial to them; but in all probability loſt its credit by being given in too great doſes, or by unſkilful hands. The reader hath in this note, the whole of Dr. Anthony's receipt without the ſmalleſt alteration or omiſſion.

'There ſeems to be no reaſon at all, why we 'ſhould imagine the mineral kingdom leſs uſeful to 'mankind than the vegetable or animal, and ſuch as 'have treated our doctrine with contempt, have had 'a large ſhare of that credulity, which they imputed 'to others. The ſulphurs of metals, if it be poſſible 'to extract them, muſt be very efficacious for medicinal purpoſes, becauſe we ſee them frequently 'produce very deadly and dangerous conſequences 'when roughly treated. The vigour of ſuch preparations when rightly directed, will be proportionate 'to the force of their poiſons when not artificially 'managed. But we are not only taught this by the 'light of reaſon, and the authority of Spargyric philoſophers. Experience has ſhewn us, that out of lead 'many profitable medicines are made, more out of 'iron, and from copper, or vitriol which is but the ruſt 'of copper, moſt of all; I mean moſt of all that are 'in common uſe. If from moſt or from all other 'metals medicines are made, why ſhould it appear 'ſo ſtrange, that we attempt ſomething of the ſame 'kind from gold; or what reaſon is there to conceit, 'that all the learned and great men who have written 'ſo much, and in ſuch ſtrong terms of the virtues of 'gold, ſhould be either cheated themſelves or intend 'to cheat others?

'According to the ableſt writers on theſe ſubjects, 'the great difficulty in making gold uſeful in medicine, 'conſiſts in opening it to ſuch a degree, as that its ſulphur may become active, and work upon the humours 'in the human body. To open it there are required a 'liquor and a ſalt which together compoſe the *menſtruum*. Both theſe may be prepared after the following manner.

The Philoſophic Vinegar.

'Take 6 gallons of the ſtrongeſt red wine vinegar, 'and ſet as many ſtills at work at a time as your 'Balneum will hold. Throw away the firſt pint that 'comes over, waſh and wipe the Still, and then put 'in that which was diſtilled, putting away always the 'firſt pint for 5 times, ſo out of a gallon you ſhall have '3 pints, and out of the whole 6 gallons 10 quarts of 'ſpirit of vinegar, which keep in glaſs bottles well 'corked with a leather over it.

The Philoſophic Salt.

'Take an iron pan, like a dripping pan, and having made it red hot, put into it as much as you 'will of block-tin, and ſtir it continually, until it 'turns to a kind of aſhes or calx, and keep the fire 'up to a good height all the time, which may be 'half a day or fifteen hours, ſome of theſe aſhes will 'look red, which is a ſign the operation is well performed. Theſe aſhes thus obtained keep in a glaſs 'cloſe covered.

The Proceſs for diſſolving Gold.

'Take 4 ounces of theſe aſhes, and of the ſpirit 'of vinegar 3 pints, put them in a glaſs like an urinal, and let the aſhes be put in firſt. Lute the 'veſſel, ſet it in a hot bath for 10 days, then take 'it out and ſet it to cool, ſhaking it every 2 hours, 'and in three days all the dregs will fall to the 'bottom. Let that which is clear be drawn off into 'a glaſs baſon by 2 or 3 woollen threads, then diſtill it; to this diſtilled water put 4 ounces of freſh 'aſhes, put alſo a quart of ſpirit of vinegar on the 'firſt aſhes; lute the glaſs as before, ſet it in a hot 'bath, and let it digeſt 10 days, filtre this and diſtil 'as before; thirdly, put on that aſhes a pint of ſpirit 'of vinegar, ſet it in the hot bath 10 days, filtre and 'diſtil it, after the third infuſion throw away the 'aſhes. Take this diſtilled water, pour it on freſh 'aſhes, keeping the weight and order in fuſions, filterings, and diſtillations 7 times, then the ſpirit will 'be well impregnated with the ſalt and you have the '*menſtruum* ſought.

'Take an ounce of pure gold in the ingot, file it 'into ſmall duſt, put it into a crucible with as much white

Anthony flouriſhed was very favourable to his notions, ſince chemiſtry was then full as much admired, though perhaps not ſo well underſtood as at preſent. He had, therefore, a very extenſive and beneficial practice, which enabled him to live hoſpitably at his houſe in Bartholomew-Cloſe, and to be very liberal in his alms to the poor. He died on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1623, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age (*l*), and was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, in the iſle which joins to the north ſide of the chancel, where a handſome monument has been erected to his memory, with a very remarkable inſcription (*m*) [*E*]. Our author was twice married, and by his laſt wife, whoſe name was Elizabeth, he had two ſons, John and Charles, both Phyſicians; the former ſold his father's *Aurum potabile*, and lived by it very handſomely, the latter ſettled in the town of Bedford, where he attained the character of a learned, honeſt, and induſtrious man in his profeſſion (*n*).

(*l*) See the inſcription on his tomb in note [*E*].

(*m*) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. i. Book iii. p. 236.

(*n*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 514.

'white ſalt as will near fill the pot, and let it ſtand in 'a moderate heat 4 hours, then take it out and grind 'it on a Painter's ſtone, return it from thence to the 'crucible, calcine and grind it again 4 or 5 times till 'it looks red and blue, and then it is fit for uſe. Put it 'next into a glaſs baſon, pour upon it ſcalding hot wa'ter, ſtir and decant it, till the water when ſettled has 'no taſte of ſalt, which will take 2 or 3 days. By 'this operation you will have 16 or 17 grains of a 'very fine white calx, which will ſwim on the top of 'the water, and may be eaſily blown over into another 'baſon, and the water being evaporated by a gentle 'heat, it will remain a white powder. By repeating 'the calcination and grinding, the whole ounce of 'gold may be reduced into ſuch a calx.

'Take an ounce of this calx, put it in a urinal, pour 'upon it half a pint of the *menſtruum*, lute it cloſe and 'ſet it in a hot bath ſix days, ſhaking it often every 'day, let it cool 3 days and then pour it gently off. 'Take this liquor, put it into a glaſs Still, and with a 'gentle fire, evaporate it, till it becomes of the con'ſiſtency of honey, then remove the fire, take out the 'contents, put them into a glaſs baſon, and with the 'bottom of another round glaſs, grind them to pow'der. Put this powder into a urinal containing about 'a pint, and add ſomewhat more than half a pint of 'rectified ſpirit of wine; ſet it in a cold place for 10 'days, ſhaking it often for the firſt 7 days, but after'wards let it ſtand without ſhaking, and the tincture 'will appear of a fine red. By putting a bare half pint 'of rectified ſpirit of wine on the dregs, a ſecond tinc'ture may be drawn, and if this be very high coloured 'you may draw a third. Put all theſe coloured liquors 'together, diſtil them, and there will be left behind a 'clammy ſubſtance of the conſiſtence of honey, one 'ounce of which put into a quart of pure canary wine, 'is my *Aurum potabile*.'

[*E*] *A very remarkable inſcription.*] This inſcription runs thus (6):

(6) Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. i. B. iii. p. 236.

Sacred to the Memory of the worthy and learned
Francis Anthony, Doctor in Phyſic.

There needs no Verſe to beautify thy Praiſe,
Or keep in memory thy ſpotleſs Name,
Religion, Virtue, and thy Skill did raiſe
A threefold Pillar to thy laſting Fame.
Though pois'nous Envy ever fought to blame,
Or hide the Fruits of thy Intention;
Yet ſhall all they commend that high deſign
Of pureſt Gold to make a Medicine,
That feel thy Help by that thy rare Invention.

He died the 26th May 1623; his age 74, his loving Son John Anthony, Doctor in Phyſic, left this Remembrance of his Sorrow. C.

ARABELLA (STUART), commonly called the Lady Arabella, ſo often talked of for a Queen, that cuſtom ſeems to have given her a right to an article in this manner under her Chriſtian name, as that by which our hiſtorians diſtinguiſh her. She was the daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who was younger brother to Henry Lord Darnley, father to King James VI. of Scotland, and Firſt of England; by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, Knt. (*a*) She was born as near as can be computed, in the year 1577, and educated at London, under the eye of the old Counteſs of Lenox, her grand-mother. She was far from being either beautiful in her perſon, or from being diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualities of mind (*b*), and yet ſhe met with many admirers, on account of her royal deſcent, and near relation to the Crown of England [*A*]. Her father dying in the year 1579, and leaving her thereby ſole heireſs, as ſome underſtood, of the Houſe of Lenox, ſeveral matches were thought of for her at home and abroad (*c*). Her couſin, King James, inclined to have married her to Lord Eſme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom before his marriage he conſidered as his heir; but this match was prevented by Queen Elizabeth, though it was certainly a very fit one in all reſpects (*d*) [*B*]. As the Engliſh ſucceſſion was at

(*a*) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 201.

(*b*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 281.

(*c*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, Amſterdam, 1732, 12*mo*. Vol. v. p. 44.

(*d*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. i. p. 4.

[*A*] *Royal deſcent and near relation to the Crown of England.*] In this note we ſhall inform the reader, how this Lady ſtood allied to both the Royal Families. In the firſt place it muſt be obſerved, that the Earls of Lenox, of the name of Stuart, were deſcended from Walter, the ſecond of that name, High-Steward of Scotland, anceſtor alſo to the Royal Family. Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, in the reign of King James V. of Scotland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the French ſervice in Italy, where he gained great reputation. Coming into Scotland after that King's death, he, through the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, came to be ſo embarraſſed with thoſe who had the adminiſtration of affairs at home, and was alſo upon ſuch bad terms with the houſe of Guiſe, who governed all in France, that he found himſelf obliged to retire into England in the year 1543, and to put himſelf under the protection of King Henry VIII, who afforded him a moſt kind and gracious reception, and ſome time afterwards married him to his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Margaret Queen of Scotland, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, her ſecond huſband. By this Lady Margaret Douglas, Matthew Earl of Lenox had two ſons, Henry, Lord Darnley, father to James VI. King of Scotland, who was murdered in the ſaid Earl's life-time, and Charles, who, on the death of Matthew, Earl of Lenox, in 1571, ſucceeded him in his title, and who dying in 1576, in the 21ſt year of his age, left behind him this Lady Arabella, or rather Arbella his only child (1). Thus it appears, that by her father's ſide ſhe was firſt couſin to King James VI., and nearly allied to Queen Elizabeth, as being deſcended in the fourth degree from Henry VII., grandfather to the ſaid Queen.

(1) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 260, 261. See alſo Rymer's Fœdera, Hollinſhed, Stowe, &c.

[*B*] *A very fit one in all reſpects.*] The perſon propoſed by King James for the huſband of this young Lady, was her couſin, being the ſon of John, Lord Aubigny (2), brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox, grandfather to the Lady Arabella. It is true, the title

(2) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. i. p. 4.

at this time very problematical, the great powers on the Continent formed many deſigns about it, and thought of many huſbands for the Lady Arabella, ſuch as the Duke of Savoy, a Prince of the houſe of Farneſe, and others (*e*). In the mean time, this Lady had ſome thoughts of marrying herſelf at home, as a celebrated writer informs us, to a ſon of the Earl of Northumberland's (*f*); but it is not credible that this took effect, though he ſays it did privately [*C*]. The very attempt procured her Queen Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, who confined her for it. In the mean time her title to the crown, ſuch as it was, became the ſubject, amongſt many others, of Father Perſons's famous book, wherein are all the arguments for and againſt her, and which ſerved to divulge her name and deſcent all over Europe (*g*); and yet this book was not very favourable to her intereſt [*D*]. On the death of the Queen, ſome malecontents framed an odd deſign of diſturbing the public peace, and amongſt other branches of

(*e*) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Tempor. edit. 1620, fol. tom. v. p. 1056.

(*g*) A Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England, publiſhed under the name of R. Doleman, p. 92, of the ſecond part.

title of Lenox, belonged of right to Lord Robert Stuart, the uncle of this nobleman, and his father's elder brother, but he willingly reſigning his claim, King James VI. created Eſme, Lord Aubigny, Duke of Lenox (3), and looking upon him as the heir male of his family, he would willingly have married him to this Lady Arabella, his neareſt relation. But Queen Elizabeth, who did not care to ſee her heirs multiplied in her life-time, refuſed to conſent to this marriage, under pretence that the Duke of Lenox was a Papiſt, which however was falſe, and this refuſal of her's gave King James very great diſtaſte (4).

(3) Crawford, ubi ſupra, p. 262.

(4) Winwood, ubi ſupra. Crawford, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Though he ſays it did, privately.*] The account Thuanus gives us of this matter, runs thus: *Angli quidam Proceres, &c.* 'Some Engliſh Lords, and 'other perſons, on whom Elizabeth had conferred 'honours, either out of favour, or as a reward for 'their ſervices, ſeeing a new King and a foreigner, 'coming from Scotland, and fearing that by this 'change, they ſhould be deprived of thoſe dignities 'which they expected, reſolved among themſelves to 'kill the King, after which Arbella, who, during 'the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been ſecretly 'married to the ſon of the Earl of Northumberland, 'and was for that reaſon put into priſon, and had 'been ſince ſet at liberty, and was preſent at the 'Queen's funeral, was to be made Queen, and to be 'married to the Duke of Savoy with the conſent of 'Philip III.' *i. e.* King of Spain (5).

(5) Hiſt. ſui Temp. tom. v. p. 1056.

[*D*] *Was not very favourable to her intereſt.*] The book referred to in the text, ſtates at large the arguments for and againſt Lady Arabella's claim to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Firſt, her deſcent is ſet down, which having been cleared in a former note, need not be repeated here. Secondly, ſaith that author, it is alleged in her behalf, That ſhe is an Engliſh woman, born in England, and of parents who at the time of their birth were of Engliſh allegiance, wherein ſhe goeth before the King of Scots, as hath been ſeen; as alſo in this other principal point, that by her admiſſion no ſuch inconvenience can be feared of bringing in ſtrangers, or cauſing troubles or ſedition within the realm, as in the pretence of the Scottiſh King hath been conſidered: And this, in effect, is all that I have heard alleged for her. But againſt her, by other competitors and their friends, I have heard diverſe arguments of no ſmall importance and conſideration produced; whereof the firſt is, that which before hath been alleged againſt the King of Scotland, to wit, That neither of them is properly of the houſe of Lancaſter. The ſecond impediment againſt the Lady Arbella, is the famous teſtament of King Henry VIII., and the two acts of parliament for authorizing the ſame; by all which it is pretended, that the houſe of Suffolk is preferred before this other of Scotland. A third argument is, For that there is yet living one of the houſe of Suffolk, that is nearer by a degree to the ſtem, to wit, Henry VII. (to whom, after the deceaſe of her Majeſty that now is, we muſt return) than is the Lady Arabella, or the King of Scots, and that is the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, mother to the preſent Earl of Derby, who was daughter to Lady Eleanor, daughter of Queen Mary of France, that was ſecond daughter of King Henry VII.; ſo as this Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Derby, is but in the third degree from the ſaid Henry, whereas both the King of Scotland and Arabella are in the fourth; and conſequently, ſhe is next in propinquity of blood; and how greatly this propinquity hath been favoured in ſuch caſes, though they were of the younger Line, might be proved from many examples. Fourthly, laſtly, and moſt ſtrongly of all, They do argue againſt the title of the Lady Arabella, affirming, that the deſcent is not free from baſtardy, which they prove firſt, for that Queen Margaret, ſoon after the death of her firſt huſband, King James IV., married ſecretly one Stuart, Lord of Annandale; which Stuart was alive long after her marriage with Douglas; and conſequently, this ſecond marriage with Douglas (Stuart being alive) could not be lawful; which they do prove alſo another way, for that they ſay, it is moſt certain, and to be made evident, that the ſaid Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, had another wife alſo alive, when he married the ſaid Queen: which points they ſay were ſo publick, as they came to King Henry's ears; whereupon he ſent into Scotland, the Lord William Howard, brother to the old Duke of Norfolk, and father to the preſent Lord Admiral of England, to enquire of theſe points, and the ſaid Lord Howard found them to be true, and ſo he reported, not only to the King, but alſo afterwards many times to others, and namely, to Queen Mary, to whom he was Lord Chamberlain, and to diverſe others, of whom many be yet living, which can and will teſtify the ſame, upon the relation they heard from the ſaid Lord William's own mouth; whereupon King Henry was greatly offended, and would have hindered the marriage between his ſaid ſiſter and Douglas, but that they were married in ſecret, and had conſummated their marriage before this was known, or that the thing could be prevented, which is thought was one eſpecial cauſe and motive alſo to the King afterward, to put back the iſſue of his ſaid ſiſter of Scotland, as by his forenamed teſtament is pretended; and this touching Arabella's title by propinquity of birth (6). ——— In another part of his book, ſpeaking of the intereſt of the ſeveral competitors, he delivers himſelf thus. 'I do not know 'to whom the Proteſtant party is particularly devoted 'at this day, more than to the reſt, though the 'houſe of Hertford was wont to be much favoured 'by them; but of later years, little ſpeech hath been 'thereof, but rather of Arabella for whom the 'Lord Treaſurer is ſaid eſpecially to be at this preſent, though for himſelf, it be held ſomewhat 'doubtful, whether he be more faſt to the Proteſtant, 'or to the Puritan; but if the Proteſtant party ſhould 'be divided, then their forces will be the leſs (7).' At the cloſe of his book, he delivers the following judgment of her pretenſions: ——— 'As for Ara- 'bella, in that ſhe is a young Lady, ſhe is thereby 'fit to procure good wills and affections, and in that 'ſhe is unmarried, ſhe may perhaps by her marriage 'join ſome other title with her own, and thereby alſo 'friends. But of herſelf, ſhe is nothing at all allied 'with the nobility of England; and except it be the 'Earl of Shrewſbury, in reſpect of friendſhip to his 'old mother-in-law, that is, grandmother to the 'Lady, I ſee not what Nobleman in England hath 'any band of kindred, or alliance, to follow her. 'And as for her title, it ſeemeth as doubtful as the 'reſt, if not more, as by that which hath been ſaid 'before, hath appeared. And for her religion, I 'know it not, but probably it can be no great motive, either againſt her, or for her, for that, by all 'likelihood, it may be ſuppoſed to be as tender, 'green, and flexible yet, as is her age and ſex, and 'to be wrought hereafter, and ſettled according to 'future events and times (8).' ——— The reader muſt obſerve, that this book was publiſhed in the year 1594, the dedication to the Earl of Eſſex being dated the laſt day of the preceding year.

(6) Conference about the next ſucceſſion to the crown of England, Part ii. p. 97.

(7) *Ibid.* Part ii. p. 185.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 191.

their

their dark ſcheme, one was to ſeize the Lady Arabella, and to cover their proceedings by the ſanction of her title, intending alſo to have married her to ſome Engliſh Nobleman, the more to increaſe their intereſt, and the better to pleaſe the people (*b*). But this conſpiracy was fatal to none but its authors, and thoſe who converſed with them; being ſpeedily defeated, many taken, and ſome executed. As for the Lady Arabella, it does not appear that ſhe had any knowledge of this engagement in her behalf (*i*), whatever it was; for domeſtic writers are perplexed, and foreign hiſtorians run into abſurdities when they endeavour to explain it [*E*]. She continued at liberty, and in ſome kind of favour at court, though her circumſtances were narrow till the latter end of the year 1608, when ſome way or other ſhe drew upon her King James's diſpleaſure (*k*). However, at Chriſtmas, when there was much mirth and good-humour at court, ſhe was again taken into favour, had a ſervice of plate preſented to her of the value of two hundred pounds, a thouſand marks given her to pay her debts, and ſome addition made to her annual income (*l*). This ſeems to have been done, in order to have gained her to the intereſt of the court, and to put the notions of marriage ſhe had entertained out of her head, all which however proved ineffectual; for in the beginning of the month of February 1609, ſhe was detected in an intrigue with Mr. William Seymour, ſon to the Lord Beauchamp, and grandſon to the Earl of Hertford, to whom, notwithſtanding ſhe was privately married, ſome time afterwards (*m*). Upon this diſcovery, they were both carried before the Council, and ſeverely reprimanded, and then diſmiſſed. In the ſummer of the year 1610, the marriage broke out, whereupon the Lady was ſent into cloſe cuſtody, at the houſe of Sir Thomas Parry, in Lambeth; and Mr. Seymour was committed to the Tower for his contempt, in marrying a Lady of the Royal Family, with ut the King's leave (*n*). It does not appear that this confinement was attended with any great ſeverity to either; for the Lady was allowed the uſe of Sir Thomas Parry's houſe and gardens, and the like gentleneſs, in regard to his high quality, was ſhewn to Mr Seymour [*F*]. Some intercourſe they had by letters, which after a time was diſcovered, and a reſolution taken thereupon to ſend the Lady to Durham, a reſolution

(*b*) Annals of the reign of King James I. p. 27.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 183.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 117.

(*l*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 119.

[*E*] *When they endeavour to explain it.*] The great Cardinal D'Oſſat, in a letter of his to King Henry IV. of France, dated from Rome, October 26, 1601, gives a long and diſtinct account of ſeveral ſchemes then on foot, for diſpoſing of the Engliſh ſucceſſion to any body, rather than King James VI. of Scotland. He obſerves, that the Pope firſt thought of the Duke of Parma, as being of his own family, and ſought to advance him, under colour of his deſcent, from a baſtard of King Edward IV. In caſe, however, this was found impracticable, his Holineſs was content to join his intereſt, with that of the Lady Arbella; but inaſmuch as the Duke of Parma was married, he was for permitting his brother Cardinal Farneſe, to eſpouſe the Lady, and, in her right, to become King of England. He then ſpeaks of Father Perſons's book, and ſets it in its true light; but ſeems to give a little too much into that wild notion, that a rebellion might be raiſed in England, in ſupport of the Cardinal's pretended title (9). —— I cannot help taking notice, that the celebrated M. Amelot, in a note of his on this letter, makes a great miſtake, though he was a learned and judicious writer. He tells us, 'That in 'the Lady Arbella's party, were all thoſe Engliſh 'Lords, who had been the judges of Queen Mary, 'and who, fearing leſt the King of Scotland her ſon 'ſhould revenge her death upon them, if ever he ac'ceded to the Crown of England, intended to 'marry Arbella with the Earl of Hertford, to ex'clude King James from the ſucceſſion (10).' —— The authors of the General Dictionary, having cited this paſſage, ſay, *This is probable enough, though Amelot quotes no authority for it* (11). But with their leave, the fact is abſolutely falſe, none of Queen Mary's judges were of Arabella's party, but on the contrary, many amongſt the Papiſts were the Lady Arabella's friends. The truth of the matter was this, Sir Walter Raleigh, on King James's coming to the crown, drew up a memorial, wherein he charged Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, with having, in conjunction with his father, a deep concern in the murder of the Queen of Scots. By this ſtep, he hoped to eſtabliſh his own, and to deſtroy Cecil's credit. But he was miſtaken, the King continued to confide in his rival, and forbad Raleigh's attendance (12). This threw him into that conſpiracy, which was fatal to him, and according to the charge of the Attorney-General againſt Raleigh at his trial, it ſeems the plot was to ſeize the perſon of the King, to ſet up the Lady Arabella, with the title of Queen, and to govern the kingdom in her name, by aſſiſtance from Spain. Raleigh denied all this, and with reſpect to him, there was no ſort of proof, or even colour of proof. At this trial, Lord Cecil delivered himſelf thus in court. *Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinſwoman of the King's. Let us not ſcandal the innocent by confuſion of ſpeech; ſhe is as innocent of all theſe things as I, or any man here, only ſhe received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which ſhe laughed at, and immediately ſent it to the King.* Then the Earl of Nottingham, who ſtood by the Lady Arabella, ſaid, *The Lady doth here proteſt upon her ſalvation, that ſhe never dealt in any of theſe things, and ſo ſhe willed me to tell the court.* This was farther confirmed by Lord Cecil, who, when the Earl of Nottingham had done ſpeaking, proceeded thus: *The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella, to know if he might come and ſpeak with her, and gave her to underſtand, that there were ſome about the King, that laboured to diſgrace her. She doubted it was but a trick. But Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, ſaith, that my Lord moved him to procure Arabella to write to the King of Spain, but he affirms, that he never did move her, as his brother deviſed* (13).

[*F*] *In regard to his high quality was ſhewn to Mr. Seymour.*] This gentleman was the ſecond ſon of the Lord Beauchamp, eldeſt ſon and heir to the Earl of Hertford, by the Lady Catharine, who was the eldeſt ſurviving daughter of the Lady Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, daughter of Mary Queen Dowager of France, and younger daughter to King Henry VII. Thus this gentleman was very nearly allied to the Royal Family, and a ſort of title of his Grandfather's to the crown, is mentioned in Perſons's Book before taken notice of (14). But that ever there was a deſign of marrying the Lady Arabella to the old Earl of Hertford, as Mr. Amelot aſſerts, is ſcarcely credible. It is very likely that this was miſtaken for the very match which took effect, ſince the plain deſign of it was to unite the claims of the Lady Arabella, with thoſe of the houſe of Hertford, and very probably the relation this had to Lord Cobham's ſcheme mentioned in the laſt note, might alarm the court; which will ſtill appear the more likely, if we conſider what is ſaid, in a ſubſequent proclamation on the commitment of theſe noble perſons. At the coming of Mr. Seymour to the Tower, Mr. Melvin, a Miniſter, a priſoner there for Nonconformity, ſaluted him in this elegant diſtich.

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(9) Lettres de Cardinal D'Oſſat, Vol. v. p. 44.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 46.

(11) See the article ARBELLA in their ſecond Volume.

(12) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James I. in Kennet's complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 663.

(13) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 103, Lond. 1719.

(14) Conference touching the ſucceſſion of the crown, P. ii. p. 102.

ſolution which threw her into deep affliction. Upon this, by the interpoſition of friends, ſhe and her huſband concerted a ſcheme for their eſcape, which was ſucceſsfully executed in the beginning, though it ended unluckily (*o*). The Lady, under the care of Sir James Crofts, was at the houſe of Mr. Conyers, at Highgate, from whence ſhe was to have gone the next day to Durham, on which ſhe put a fair countenance now, notwithſtanding the trouble ſhe had before ſhewn. This made her keepers the more eaſy, and gave her an opportunity of diſguiſing herſelf, which ſhe did on Monday the third of June 1611, by drawing over her petticoats a pair of large French faſhioned hoſe, putting on a man's doublet, a peruke which covered her hair, a hat, black cloak, ruſſet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her ſide. Thus equipped, ſhe walked out between three and four with Mr. Markham. They went a mile and half to a little inn, where a perſon attended with their horſes. The Lady, by that time ſhe came thither, was ſo weak and faint, that the hoſtler, who held the ſtirrup when ſhe mounted, ſaid that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. Riding however ſo raiſed her ſpirits, that by the time ſhe came to Blackwall, ſhe was pretty well recovered. There they found waiting for them two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr. Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their perſons, in which they haſted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come ſo far, they bad the watermen row on to Graveſend. There, the poor fellows were deſirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Lee, yet being almoſt tired by the way, they were forced to lie ſtill at Tilbury, whilſt the rowers went on ſhore to refreſh themſelves; then they proceeded to Lee, and by that time the day appeared, and they diſcovered a ſhip at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the Lady would have lain at anchor expecting Mr. Seymour, but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoiſted ſail and put to ſea. In the mean time Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth ſuit, walked alone without ſuſpicion, from his lodging out at the great weſt door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower-wharf, by the Warders of the ſouth gate, and ſo to the iron gate, where one Rodney was ready with a pair of oars to receive him. When they came to Lee, and found that the French ſhip was gone, the billows riſing high, they hired a fiſherman for twenty ſhillings, to put them on board a certain ſhip, that they ſaw under ſail. That ſhip they found not to be it they looked for, ſo they made forwards to the next under ſail, which was a ſhip from Newcaſtle. This with much ado they hired for forty pounds, to carry them to Calais, and the Maſter performed his bargain, by which means Mr. Seymour eſcaped, and continued in Flanders. On Tueſday in the afternoon, my Lord Treaſurer being advertiſed that the Lady Arabella had made an eſcape, ſent immediately to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to ſet ſtrict guard over Mr Seymour, which he, ſays my author, promiſed, after his *yare* manner, *he would thoroughly do, that he would* (*p*); but coming to the priſoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before. A pink being diſpatched from the Downs into Calais road, ſeized the French bark, and brought back the Lady and thoſe with her (*q*); but before this was known, the proclamation iſſued, which the reader will find in the notes [*G*]. As ſoon as ſhe was brought to town, ſhe was, after examination, committed to the Tower, declaring that ſhe was not ſo ſorry for her own reſtraint, as ſhe ſhould be glad if Mr. Seymour eſcaped, for whoſe welfare, ſhe affirmed ſhe was more concerned than for her own (*r*). Her aunt, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, was likewiſe committed, on ſuſpicion of having prompted the Lady Arabella, not only to her eſcape, but to other things, it being known that ſhe had amaſſed upwards of twenty thouſand pounds in ready money (*s*). The Earl of Shrewſbury was confined to his houſe, and the old Earl of Hertford ſent for from his ſeat (*t*). By degrees things grew cooler, and though it was known that Mr Seymour continued in the Netherlands, yet the court made no farther applications to the Arch-Duke about him (*u*). In the beginning of the year 1612, a new ſtorm began to break out; for the Lady Arabella, either preſſed at an examination, or of her own free will, made ſome extraordinary diſcoveries, upon which ſome quick ſteps would

(*o*) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702.

(*p*) Letter from Mr. John More, to Sir Ralph Winwood, printed in the third volume of his Letters, p. 278, 280.

(*q*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 29.

(*r*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii p. 280.

(*s*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh family, p 4. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 281.

(*t*) Letter from the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, to Mr. Trumbull, dated 11 June, 1611, in a MS. collection belonging to the Rev. Dr. Knipe.

(*u*) *Ibid.* The reader muſt obſerve, that Mr. Trumbull was then Reſident at Bruſſels.

Communis tecum mihi Cauſa eſt Carceris, Arabella tibi Cauſa eſt, Araque Sacra mihi (15).

(15) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 201.

The wit conſiſts in the alluſion, grounded on the Lady's name, ſignifying in Latin, a fair Altar, and Melvin's being committed for the cauſe of God's Altar, at leaſt in his own opinion. This renders it almoſt impoſſible to tranſlate theſe lines into Engliſh, without injuring either the ſenſe or the ſpirit, which is the beſt excuſe that can be made for the following attempt.

From the ſame Cauſe, *my* Woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *ſacred* mine.

[*G*] *Which the reader will find in the notes.*] 'Whereas we are given to underſtand, that the 'Lady Arbella and William Seymour, ſecond ſon 'to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great 'and heinous offences committed the one to the Tower 'of London, and the other to a ſpecial guard, have 'found means by the wicked practiſes of diverſe lewd 'perſons, as namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, 'and others, to break priſon, and make eſcape on 'Monday the third of June, with an intent to tranſport themſelves into foreign parts: We doe hereby 'ſtraightly charge and command all perſons whatſoever, upon their allegiance and duty, not only 'to forbeare to receave, harbor, or aſſiſt them in 'their paſſage any way, as they will anſwer it at 'their parilles, but upon the like charge and pain, 'to uſe the beſt means they can for their apprehenſion and keeping them in ſafe cuſtody, which 'we will take as an acceptable ſervice. Given at 'Greenwich, the foweth daie of June. *Per ipſum* '*Regem* (16).'

(16) Pat. 9. Jac. I. p. 10. dor. apud Rymer's Fœd. tom. xvii. p. 710. edit. 2d. 1711.

have

have been taken, had it not ſhortly after appeared, that her misfortunes had turned her head, and that, conſequently, no uſe could be made of the evidence of a perſon out of her ſenſes (*w*). However, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, who before had leave to attend her huſband in his ſickneſs, was very cloſely ſhut up, and the court was amuſed with abundance of ſtrange ſtories, which wore out by degrees, and the poor Lady Arabella languiſhed in her confinement till the twenty-ſeventh of September 1615, when her life and ſorrows ended together (*x*), as is well obſerved in an elegant epitaph, written by a right reverend author [*H*]. Even in her grave this poor lady was not at peace, a report being ſpread that ſhe was poiſoned, becauſe ſhe happened to die within two years of Sir Thomas Overbury (*y*). A writer of great reputation has put this circumſtance in much too ſtrong a light; for it was a ſuſpicion at moſt, and never had the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof (*z*) [*I*]. As for her huſband, Sir William Seymour, he

(*w*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. iii. p. 429.

(*x*) Annals of King James's reign, p. 31.

(*y*) Wilſon's Life of King James, p. 702, 703. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 392. Rapin Hiſt. D'Angleterre, tom. vii. p. 102.

(*z*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

[*H*] *In an elegant Epitaph, written by a Right Rev. author.*] The prelate hinted at, was Dr. Richard Corbet, Lord Biſhop of Norwich. His verſes are ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by herſelf, and the laſt line alludes to her being buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

On the Lady Arabella.

How do I thank thee, Death, and bleſs thy power,
That I have paſt the guard, and ſcap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my Epitaph,
And a ſmall coffin my poor carcaſe hath;
For at thy charge, both ſoul and body were
Enlarg'd at laſt, ſecur'd from hope and fear.
That amongſt Saints, this amongſt Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim, my death hath paid (17).

(17) Poems by the right rev. Dr. R. Corbet, &c. Lond. 1672, 12mo. p. 128.

[*I*] *Had not the ſupport of the leaſt colour of proof.*] The author here meant, is the celebrated Sir Bulſtrode Whitlock, whoſe Memorials of Engliſh affairs, from the ſuppoſed expedition of Brute, to the end of the reign of King James I., were publiſhed by the famous William Pen, with a recommendatory preface by Dr. Wellwood. He having under the year 1616, given a long account of the poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and the ſuſpicion there was, that Sir Thomas had a hand in poiſoning Prince Henry, immediately adds; 'The Lady Arabella, daughter to Charles Stuart, 'younger brother to the King's father, having mar-'ried Sir William Seymour, ſon of the Lord Beau-'champ, and grandchild to the Earl of Hert-'ford, both allied to the crown, and committed to 'the Tower, deſigned an eſcape by diſguiſes. But 'the poor Lady fearful, and ſtaying beyond the 'hour at which they were to meet; her huſband 'went to ſea without her, leaving notice for her to 'follow; but ſhe was apprehended, and brought 'back to the Tower where ſhe died; which ſet 'mens tongues and fears on work, that ſhe went 'the ſame way (18).' It is plain all theſe facts are aſſembled under a wrong year, viz. the year after the Lady was dead, and that no notice is taken of the diſtance of time in which they happened, though there was no leſs than four years between her impriſonment and her death. What is ſtill more remarkable, and which indeed ſhews this to be an unfounded calumny, is the conſideration of the time of her death, which was after the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was diſcovered, and conſequently at a time, when practices of that ſort in the Tower were leaſt likely to be undertaken; and that ſhe had been well treated before, appears from the Earl of Somerſet's Trial, wherein he alleges, Sir William Wade was removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower, for allowing her a key, by which ſhe might have made her eſcape (19).

(18) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 295.

(19) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 347.

This report was at firſt, in all probability, occaſioned by the precaution uſually taken by the Court in caſes of this nature; for it appears, that as ſoon as the death of this Lady was known, the Secretary of State directed his warrant to this effect.

To my very loving friend the Preſident of the College of Phyſicians in the City of LONDON.

'AFTER my hearty commendations: whereas 'the Lady Arabella is lately deceaſed in the 'Tower, and that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, ac-'cording to former cuſtom, upon like occaſions, 'when perſons of great quality do die in that place, 'her body ſhould be viewed by perſons of ſkill 'and truſt, and thereupon certificate to be made of 'what diſeaſe ſhe died, as to their judgment it ſhall 'appear: theſe are therefore to will and require 'you, to appoint ſome three Phyſicians of your So-'ciety, of good reputation, as well for their learn-'ing as otherwiſe, who, together with the Phy-'ſicians of the ſaid Lady Arabella, ſhall preſently 'repair unto the Tower, and there view and ſearch 'the corpſe of the ſaid Lady, and to return jointly 'their opinion unto me, of the nature of the diſ-'eaſe whereof ſhe died, that we may acquaint his 'Majeſty therewithall. And ſo I bid you heartily 'farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, this 27th 'of September, 1615.

Your loving friend,
RALPH WINWOOD.'

According to the King's command, ſome Phyſicians of the College met at the Tower, and upon a diligent inſpection of the body of the Lady Arabella, were of an opinion, that the cauſe of this noble Lady's death, was a long chronical ſickneſs; that the ſpecies of her diſeaſe was a Cachexy, which daily increaſing (partly by her own neglect, and partly by her averſion to medicine) did at length bring her into a confirmed indiſpoſition of her liver and extream leanneſs, from which cauſes death muſt needs enſue. This teſtimony was ſigned by the Preſident, Regiſter, and four Fellows of the College (20). C.

(20) Dr. Goodall's Proceedings againſt Empirics, p. 381.

[Mr. Ballard hath given a place to the Lady Arabella, in his Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, who have been celebrated for their writings or ſkill in the learned Languages, Arts, and Sciences. His reaſons for ſo doing are, that Mr. Evelyn, in his Numiſmata, hath put her in his liſt of learned women, and Mr. Philips, in his Theatrum Poetarum, has introduced her among his modern poeteſſes (21). Though no works of this lady have appeared, which can ſerve to ſhew on what foundation her literary reputation is built, yet it is not probable that Mr. Evelyn and Mr. Philips ſhould, without cauſe, have aſſigned her the rank they have done. Three letters of her's are tranſcribed, by Mr. Ballard, from a MS. volume in Mr. Aſhmole's ſtudy, which prove her to have been a woman of good underſtanding (22). We ſhall add, from the ſame author, a ſhort copy of Latin verſes, addreſſed to the Lady Arabella, by the noted epigrammatiſt, Mr. John Owen, together with a tranſlation of them, by Mr. Thomas Harvey.

(21) Ballard's Memoirs, p. 176, 8vo. ed.t.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 177, 178. Notes.

'Si foret in nudis virtus aut gloria verbis,
'In laudes facerem carmina mille tuas;
'Nobilitare poteſt noſtram tua gloria muſam;
'At tibi muſa poteſt addere noſtra nihil.'

If in bare words were honour, I could raiſe,
Could write a thouſand verſes in thy praiſe;
My Muſe may by thy worth ennobled be,
But my poor Muſe can nothing add to thee (23).

(23) *Ibid* p. 179, 180.

We learn from Mr. Granger, that the print of her, which is very rare, is thus inſcribed, 'The picture 'of the moſt noble and *learned* Lady Arabella Stew-'art (24).

(24) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 58.

As there are theſe teſtimonies to the Lady Arabella's having had a better underſtanding than is mentioned in the text, ſo it ſhould ſeem, from Mr. Oldys's manuſcripts, that ſhe had, at leaſt when young, a far greater ſhare of beauty than is above repreſented. From a picture of her, which was drawn at full length in white in 1589, when ſhe was thirteen years and a half old, it appears that ſhe was, at that time, very beautiful in her perſon. Her complexion was fair as alabaſter: She had ſweet large grey eyes and long flaxen hair, flowing almoſt to her waiſt, and finely curled at top. Mr. Oldys ſays, that ſhe was born in 1575 (25).] K.

(25) Oldys's Manuſcripts.

ſoon after her deceaſe, procured leave to return, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by loyally adhering to the King during the civil wars, and, ſurviving to the time of the Reſtoration, was reſtored to his great-grandfather's title of Duke of Somerſet, by an Act of Parliament, which entirely cancelled his attainder; and on the giving his royal aſſent to this act, King Charles II. was pleaſed to ſay in full Parliament, what perhaps was as honourable for the family, as the title to which they are reſtored. His words were theſe, *As this is an Act of an extraordinary nature, ſo it is in favour of a perſon of no ordinary merit: he has deſerved of my father, and of myſelf, as much as any ſubject poſſibly could do; and I hope this will ſtir no man's envy, becauſe in doing it I do no more than what a good maſter ſhould do for ſuch a ſervant* (*a*). By his Lady Arabella, this noble perſon had no iſſue; but that he ſtill preſerved a warm affection for her memory, appears from hence, that he called one of his daughters by his ſecond wife, Frances, daughter and co-heireſs of Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Arabella (*b*) Seymour.

(*a*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. i. p. 49.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

[ARAM (EUGENE), a man of conſiderable erudition, which he acquired under great diſadvantages, and who was alſo remarkable for his unhappy fate, and the ſingular circumſtances that occaſioned and attended it, was born at Ramſgill, a little village, in Netherdale, Yorkſhire, in the year 1704. He was deſcended from an ancient family, but his father was in no higher ſtation than that of a gardener, though of great merit in that occupation [*A*]. He was removed, when very young, together with his mother, to Skelton, near Newby: and when he was five or ſix years old, his father making a little purchaſe in Bondgate near Rippon, his family went thither. He was there ſent to ſchool, where he learned to read the New Teſtament in Engliſh, which was all he was ever taught, except that, ſome conſiderable time after, he was under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Alcock of Burnſal, for about a month (*a*). When he was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, he went to his father at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was in the houſe of this gentleman, to whom his father was gardener, that his propenſity to literature firſt appeared. He was, indeed, always of a ſolitary diſpoſition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books; and here he enjoyed all the advantages of leiſure and privacy. He applied himſelf at firſt chiefly to mathematical ſtudies, in which he made a conſiderable proficiency [*B*]. At about ſixteen years of age, he was ſent to London to the houſe of Mr. Chriſtopher Blackett, whom he ſerved for ſome time in the capacity of book-keeper. After continuing here a year, or more, he was taken with the ſmall-pox, and ſuffered ſeverely under that diſtemper. He afterwards returned into Yorkſhire, in conſequence of an invitation from his father, and there continued to proſecute his ſtudies, but found in polite literature much greater charms than in the mathematics; which occaſioned him now chiefly to apply himſelf to poetry, hiſtory, and antiquities [*C*]. After this he was invited to Netherdale, where he engaged in a ſchool, and married. But his marriage proved an unhappy connection; for to the miſconduct of his wife he afterwards attributed the misfortunes that befel him. In the mean while, having perceived his deficiency in the learned languages, he applied himſelf to the grammatical ſtudy of the

(*a*) Letter from Eugene Aram to a friend, a clergyman, printed in the Grand Magazine of Magazines, Vol. iii. p. 85, 86. This letter was written by him in York caſtle, after his conviction.

[*A*] *Of great merit in that occupation.*] He ſays himſelf, 'My father was of Nottinghamſhire, a 'gardener, of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draughtſman. He ſerved the right rev. the 'Biſhop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occaſioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county (Yorkſhire), to Sir 'Edward Blackett, whom he ſerved in the capacity 'of a gardener, with much credit to himſelf, and 'ſatisfaction to that family for above thirty years. 'Upon the deceaſe of that Baronet, he went and was 'retained in the ſervice of Sir John Ingilby of 'Ripley, Bart. where he died; reſpected when living, and lamented when dead.

'My father's anceſtors were of great antiquity and 'conſideration in this county, and originally Britiſh. 'Their ſirname is local; for they were formerly lords 'of the town of Haram, or Aram, on the ſouthern 'banks of the Tees, and oppoſite to Sockburn, in the 'Biſhoprick; and appear in the records of St. Mary's, 'at York, among many charitable names, early and 'conſiderable benefactors to that abbey. They, many centuries ago, removed from theſe parts, and 'were ſettled, under the fee of the Lords Mowbray 'in Nottinghamſhire, at Aram, or Aram-Park, in 'the neighbourhood of Newark upon Trent; where 'they were poſſeſſed of no leſs than three knights fees 'in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find 'not whether by purchaſe or marriage, came into 'the hands of the preſent Lord Lexington. While 'the name exiſted in this county, ſome of them were 'ſeveral times high-ſheriffs for this county; and one 'was profeſſor of divinity, if I remember right, at 'Oxford, and died at York. The laſt of the chief 'of this family, was Thomas Aram, Eſq; ſome time 'of Gray's Inn, and one of the commiſſioners of the 'Salt-office, under the late Queen Anne. He married one of the co-heireſſes of Sir John Coningſby, 'of North Mims, in Herefordſhire. His ſeat, which 'was his own eſtate, was at the Wild, near Shenby, 'in Hertfordſhire, where I ſaw him, and where he 'died without iſſue (1).'

(1) Vide a letter from Eugene Aram to a friend, printed in the Grand Magazine of Magazines, Vol. iii. p. 85.

[*B*] *In which he made a conſiderable proficiency.*] In the letter before-cited, he ſays, 'My ſtudy at that 'time was engaged in the Mathematics: I know 'not what my acquiſitions were; but I am certain 'my application was at once intenſe and unwearied. 'I found in my father's library there, which con'tained a very great number of books in moſt 'branches, Kerſey's Algebra, Leyburn's Curſus 'Mathematicus, Ward's Young Mathematician's 'Guide, Harris's Algebra, and a great many more; 'but theſe being the books in which I was ever moſt 'converſant, I remember them the better. I was 'even then equal to the management of quadratic 'equations, and their geometrical conſtructions. 'After we left Newby, I repeated the ſame ſtudies 'in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had 'ſtudied before, I believe not unſucceſsfully.'

[*C*] *To poetry, hiſtory, and antiquities.*] 'At home,' he ſays, 'with leiſure upon my hands, and a new 'addition of authors to thoſe brought me from 'Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical 'ſtudies, but begun and proſecuted others, of a 'different turn, with much avidity and diligence. 'Theſe were Poetry, Hiſtory, and Antiquities; the 'charms of which quite deſtroyed all the heavier 'beauties of numbers in lines, whoſe applications 'and properties I now purſued no longer, except 'occaſionally in teaching.'

Latin and Greek tongues; after which he read, with great avidity and diligence, all the Latin claſſics, hiſtorians and poets (*b*). He then went through the Greek Teſtament; and, laſtly, ventured upon Heſiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, together with all the Greek tragedians [*D*]. In 1734, William Norton, Eſq; a gentleman who had a friendſhip for him, invited him to Knareſborough. Here he acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew, and read the Pentateuch in that language [*E*]. In 1744 he returned to London, and ſerved the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, as Uſher in Latin and writing, in Piccadilly; and, with this gentleman's aſſiſtance, he acquired the knowledge of the French language. He was afterwards employed, as an uſher and tutor in ſeveral different parts of England; during which time he became acquainted with heraldry and botany [*F*]. He alſo ventured upon Chaldee and Arabic, the former of which he found eaſy from its near connection with the Hebrew. He then inveſtigated the Celtic, as far as poſſible, in all its dialects; and having begun to form collections, and made compariſons between the Celtic, the Engliſh, the Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew, and found a great affinity between them, he reſolved to proceed through all theſe languages, and to form a comparative Lexicon [*G*]. But in the midſt of theſe learned labours and inquiries, it appears, that Aram committed a crime, which could not naturally have been expected from a man of ſo ſtudious

(*b*) Letter to a friend, ut ſupra. Vide alſo the Annual Regiſter, for the year 1759.

[*D*] *All the Greek tragedians.*] Of the extreme aſſiduity with which he proſecuted his ſtudies, an idea may be formed from the following paſſage in the letter before referred to. 'Perceiving,' ſays he, 'the deficiency in my education, and ſenſible of my 'want of the learned languages, and prompted by 'an irreſiſtible covetouſneſs of knowledge, I com-'menced a ſeries of ſtudies in that way, and under-'took the tediouſneſs, the intricacies, and the labour 'of grammar. I ſelected Lilly from the reſt; all 'which I got, and repeated by heart. The taſk of 'repeating it all every day, was impoſſible while I 'attended the ſchool; ſo I divided it into portions; 'by which method it was pronounced thrice every 'week: and this I performed for years.

'Next I became acquainted with Camden's Greek 'grammar, which I alſo repeated in the ſame man-'ner, *memoriter*. Thus inſtructed, I entered upon 'the Latin claſſics, whoſe allurements repaid my 'aſſiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at 'firſt, hung over five lines for a whole day; and 'never, in all the painful courſe of my reading, left 'any one paſſage, but I did, or thought I did, perfectly 'comprehend.

'After I had accurately peruſed every one of the 'Latin claſſics, hiſtorians, and poets, I went through 'the Greek Teſtament, firſt parſing every word as I 'proceeded: next, I ventured upon Heſiod, Homer, 'Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the 'Greek tragedians: a tedious labour was this; but 'my former acquaintance with hiſtory leſſened it ex-'tremely; becauſe it threw a light upon many paſſages, 'which, without that aſſiſtance, muſt have appeared 'obſcure.'

[*E*] *Read the Pentateuch in that language.*] 'Not 'ſatisfied with my former acquiſitions, I proſecuted 'the attainment of the Hebrew; and with indefati-'gable diligence. I had Buxtorff's Grammar; but 'that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at 'leaſt in my opinion at that time, I collected no leſs 'than eight or ten different Hebrew grammars; and 'here one very often ſupplied the omiſſions of the 'others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary 'advantage (2).'

(2) Letter ut ſupra.

[*F*] *Became acquainted with heraldry and botany.*] He ſays, 'I well knew Tournefort, Ray, Miller, 'Linnæus, &c. I made frequent viſits to the botanic 'garden at Chelſea; and traced pleaſure through a 'thouſand fields: at laſt, few plants, domeſtic or 'exotic, were unknown to me.'

[*G*] *To form a comparative Lexicon.*] 'I had made 'notes,' ſays he, 'and compared above three thou-'ſand of theſe together, and found ſuch a ſurpriſing 'affinity, even beyond my expectation or conception, 'that I was determined to proceed through the whole 'of all theſe languages, and form a comparative 'Lexicon; which I hoped would account for num-'berleſs vocables in uſe with us, the Latins, 'and Greeks, before concealed and unobſerved '(3).'

(3) Letter ut ſupra.

In an eſſay which Aram left behind him, relative to his intended Lexicon, are ſome curious and pertinent remarks, and particularly the following animadverſions on Lexicographers. 'All our lexico-'graphers,' ſays he, 'a very few excepted, for aught 'I have adverted to, have been long employed, and 'have generally contented themſelves too, within the 'limits of a narrow field. They ſeem to have looked 'no farther than the facilitating for youth the at-'tainment of the Latin and Greek languages, and 'almoſt univerſally conſider the former, as only de-'rived from the latter. Theſe two ſingle points ſeem 'to have confined their whole view, poſſeſſed their 'whole attention, and engroſſed all their induſtry.

'Here and there indeed, and in a few pieces of 'this kind, one ſees interſperſed, derivations of the 'Engliſh from the Latin, Greek, &c. inferred from 'a conformity of orthography, ſound, and ſignifica-'tion, and theſe are very true. But whence this 'relation, this conſonancy aroſe, why it has conti-'nued from age to age to us, has floated on the 'ſtream of time ſo long, and paſſed to ſuch a diſtance 'of place; how antient words have ſurvived conqueſts, 'the migrations of people, and the ſeveral coalitions 'of nations and colonies, notwithſtanding the fluc-'tuating condition of language in its own nature, 'they have neither obſerved with diligence, nor ex-'plained with accuracy.

'Almoſt every etymologiſt that has fallen into my 'hands, and detained my eye, have not been miſ-'taken then in the compariſon they have made, or 'the uniformity they have obſerved, between the 'Latin and the Greek, and between both thoſe lan-'guages and our own; but then their inſtances have 'been but ſhort and few, and they have failed in ac-'counting for this uniformity: they have indeed ſuf-'ficiently evinced a ſimilarity, but produced no rea-'ſons for it. It is not to be thought of, much leſs 'concluded, that the multitude of words among us, 'which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, 'are all the relics of the Roman ſettlements in Britain, 'or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here: 'no, this reſemblance was co-æval with the primary 'inhabitants of this iſland, and the acceſſion of other 'colonies did not obliterate, but confirm this reſem-'blance, and alſo brought in an increaſe and acceſ-'ſion of other words from the ſame original, and 'conſequently bearing the ſame conformity. How 'nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the 'Iriſh, in numberleſs inſtances, to the Latin, the 'Greek, and even Hebrew, and both poſſeſſed this 'conſimilarity long ago, before Julius Cæſar, and 'the Roman invaſion: I know not, but the Latin 'differed more from itſelf in the ſucceſſion of ſix con-'tinued centuries, than the Welſh and Iriſh at this 'time from the Latin. Concerning this agreement 'of theirs with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, not 'to mention others, a gentleman of great penetration, 'and extraordinary erudition, Dr. Davis, may be 'conſulted; and the learned Sheringham, who has 'exhibited a long and curious ſpecimen of Greek and 'Cambrian words, ſo exactly correſpondent in *ſound* 'and *ſenſe*, or at leaſt ſo viſibly near, that, as far as 'I know, no gentleman has ever yet queſtioned, 'much leſs diſputed their alliance.

'This ſimilitude ſubſiſting in common between the 'Iriſh, Cambrian, Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, 'as it has not eſcaped the notice, and animadverſions

of

ſtudious a turn, and which is the more extraordinary, as the inducement that led him to it is ſaid to have been only gain, though he himſelf afterwards aſſigned a different motive. On the 8th of February 1744-5, he murdered Daniel Clark, a ſhoemaker, in conjunction with whom, and another perſon, he ſeems before to have been concerned in ſome fraudulent practices. The murder, however, was concealed near fourteen years, and then was diſcovered by a ſkeleton being accidentally found, which was ſuppoſed to be that of Clark. This was a miſtake; but it led to a diſcovery of the whole tranſaction [*H*]. And Aram's wife, from whom he had been ſeparated a conſiderable time, was a principal evidence againſt him. When he was apprehended, on ſuſpicion of this murder, he was uſher of a ſchool at Lynn, in Norfolk. He was brought from thence to York-caſtle, and on the 3d of Auguſt 1759, was tried at the county-aſſizes for the murder. He was found guilty on the teſtimony of Richard Houſeman, corroborated by that of his own wife, and other circumſtantial evidence. The defence which he read in court on this occaſion, which is exceedingly curious, and at once an evidence of his taſte, and his erudition, though not of his innocence, is inſerted in the note [*I*] below. After his

'of the learned, ſo their ſurpriſe has generally increaſed with their reſearches, and conſiderations about it: new circumſtances of agreement perpetually ariſing. A great many gentlemen, converſant in antiquities, and pleaſed with literary amuſements of this kind, have aſcribed theſe palpable connexions to conqueſt, or to commerce: they have ſuppoſed that the intercourſe, which on the latter account antiently ſubſiſted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons (4), occaſioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed, this accident of commerce muſt needs have had its influence; but then this influence muſt have been but weak and partial; not prevalent and extenſive. Commerce has, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words: yet would words of this kind, and at that time, hardly extend a great way; they would only affect the maritime parts, and thoſe places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any conſiderable impreſſion upon the whole body of our language.

(4) See Boch, Huet, &c.

'But even ſuppoſing, that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner, yet could they never penetrate into the more interior parts of it, into receſſes remote from the ſea; ſtrangers to all correſpondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natural ſoil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the Peak itſelf, whither foreigners, eſpecially at the diſtance of more than twice ten centuries, can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have come. There could have been but few invitations to it then; and perhaps there are not many now (5).'

(5) Vide Annual Regiſter, for the year 1759.

[*H*] *Led to a diſcovery of the whole tranſaction.*] A labourer was employed to dig for ſtone to ſupply a lime-kiln at a place called Thiſtle-Hill, near Knareſborough, and having dug about two feet deep, he found the bones of a human body, and the bones being ſtill joined to each other by the ligatures of the joints, the body appeared to have been buried double. This accident immediately became the ſubject of general curioſity and inquiry. Some hints had been formerly thrown out by Aram's wife, that Clark was murdered; and it was well remembered, that his diſappearance was very ſudden. This occaſioned Aram's wife to be ſent for, as was alſo the coroner, and an inquiſition was entered into; it being believed, that the ſkeleton found was that of Daniel Clark. Mrs. Aram declared, that ſhe believed Clark had been murdered by her huſband and Richard Houſeman. The latter, when he was brought before the coroner, appeared to be in great confuſion, trembling, changing colour, and faultering in his ſpeech during the examination. The coroner deſired him to take up one of the bones, probably to obſerve what further effect that might produce; and Houſeman accordingly taking up one of the bones, ſaid, 'This is no more Dan. Clark's bone than it is mine.' Theſe words were pronounced in ſuch a manner, as convinced thoſe preſent, that they proceeded not from Houſeman's ſuppoſition that Clark was alive, but from his certain knowledge where his bones really lay. Accordingly, after ſome evaſions, he ſaid that Clark was murdered by Eugene Aram, and that the body was buried in St. Robert's cave near Knareſborough. He added further, that Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the cave; and a ſkeleton was accordingly found there exactly in the poſture that he deſcribed. In conſequence of this Aram was apprehended at Lynn in Norfolk. He was conveyed to the city of York, where he and Houſeman were brought to their trial; and Houſeman being arraigned and acquitted, became an evidence againſt Aram. The teſtimony of Houſeman was corroborated by that of Aram's wife, and other circumſtantial evidence. The fact ſeems to have been, that Houſeman and Aram together murdered Clark, and jointly dragged his body into the cave, where it was found in the poſture deſcribed by Houſeman. It was ſuppoſed, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, amounting to above 160l.

[*I*] *The defence which he read in court, &c.*]

'My Lord,

'I Know not whether it is of right, or through ſome indulgence of your lordſhip, that I am allowed the liberty at this bar, and at this time, to attempt a defence; incapable, and uninſtructed, as I am to ſpeak. Since, while I ſee ſo many eyes upon me, ſo numerous and awful a concourſe, fixed with attention, and filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour not with guilt, my lord, but with perplexity. For having never ſeen a court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the cuſtoms of the bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I ſhall be ſo little capable of ſpeaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I ſhall be able to ſpeak at all.

'I have heard, my lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myſelf charged with the higheſt crime; with an enormity I am altogether incapable of; a fact, to the commiſſion of which there goes far more inſenſibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing poſſibly could have admitted a preſumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I ſtand indicted at your lordſhip's bar, and have heard what is called evidence induced in ſupport of ſuch a charge, I very humbly ſolicit your lordſhip's patience, and beg the hearing of this reſpectable audience, while I, ſingle and unſkilful, deſtitute of friends, and unaſſiſted by counſel, ſay ſomething, perhaps, like argument, in my defence. I ſhall conſume but little of your lordſhip's time; what I have to ſay will be ſhort, and this brevity, probably, will be the beſt part of it: however, it is offered with all poſſible regard, and the greateſt ſubmiſſion to your lordſhip's conſideration, and that of this honourable court.

'Firſt, my lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never ſaid this, did not my preſent circumſtances extort it from me, and ſeem to make it neceſſary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon malignity itſelf, ſo long and cruelly buſied in this proſecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my Lord, I concerted no ſchemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's perſon or property. My days were honeſtly laborious, my nights intenſely ſtudious. And, I humbly conceive, my notice of

'this,

his conviction, he confeſſed the juſtice of his ſentence [*K*], but made an attempt upon his own life, by cutting his arm in two places with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpoſe.

'this, eſpecially at this time, will not be thought 'impertinent, or unſeaſonable; but, at leaſt, de-'ſerving ſome attention: becauſe, my Lord, that 'any perſon, after a temperate uſe of life, a ſeries of 'thinking and acting regularly, and without one 'ſingle deviation from ſobriety, ſhould plunge into 'the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at 'once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, 'and abſolutely inconſiſtent with the courſe of things. 'Mankind is never corrupted at once; villainy is 'always progreſſive, and declines from right, ſtep 'after ſtep, till every regard of probity is loſt, and 'every ſenſe of all moral obligations totally periſhes.

'Again, my Lord, a ſuſpicion of this kind, which 'nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ig-'norance propagate, is violently oppoſed by my very 'ſituation at that time, with reſpect to health: for, 'but a little ſpace before, I had been confined to 'my bed, and ſuffered under a very long and ſevere 'diſorder, and was not able, for half a year together, 'ſo much as to walk. The diſtemper left me indeed, 'yet ſlowly and in part; but ſo macerated, ſo en-'feebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and was 'ſo far from being well about the time I am charged 'with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly re-'covered. Could then a perſon in this condition 'take any thing into his head ſo unlikely, ſo extra-'vagant; I, paſt the vigour of my age, feeble and 'valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no 'ability to accompliſh, no weapon wherewith to per-'petrate ſuch a fact; without intereſt, without power, 'without motive, without means.

'Beſides, it muſt needs occur to every one, that 'an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, 'but, when its ſprings are laid open, it appears that 'it was to ſupport ſome indolence, or ſupply ſome 'luxury, to ſatisfy ſome avarice, or oblige ſome ma-'lice; to prevent ſome real, or ſome imaginary 'want: yet I lay not under the influence of any one 'of theſe. Surely, my Lord, I may, conſiſtent with 'both truth and modeſty, affirm thus much; and 'none who have any veracity, and knew me, will 'ever queſtion this.

'In the ſecond place, the diſappearance of Clark 'is ſuggeſted as an argument of his being dead: but 'the uncertainty of ſuch an inference from that, and 'the fallibility of all concluſions of ſuch a ſort, from 'ſuch a circumſtance, are too obvious, and too no-'torious, to require inſtances: yet, ſuperſeding many, 'permit me to produce a very recent one, and that 'afforded by this caſtle.

'In June, 1757, William Thompſon, for all the 'vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and 'double-ironed, made his eſcape; and, notwith-'ſtanding an immediate enquiry ſet on foot, the 'ſtricteſt ſearch, and all advertiſement, was never 'ſeen or heard of ſince. If then Thompſon got off 'unſeen, through all theſe difficulties, how very eaſy 'was it for Clark, when none of them oppoſed him? 'But what would be thought of a proſecution com-'menced againſt any one ſeen laſt with Thomp-'ſon?

'Permit me, next, my Lord, to obſerve a little 'upon the bones which have been diſcovered. It is 'ſaid, which perhaps is ſaying very far, that theſe 'are the ſkeleton of a man. It is poſſible indeed it 'may: but is there any certain known criterion, 'which inconteſtably diſtinguiſhes the ſex in human 'bones? Let it be conſidered, my Lord, whether 'the aſcertaining of this point ought not to precede 'any attempt to identify them.

'The place of their depoſitum too claims much 'more attention than is commonly beſtowed upon it: 'for, of all places in the world, none could have 'mentioned any one, wherein there was greater cer-'tainty of finding human bones, than a hermitage; 'except he ſhould point out a church-yard: hermit-'ages, in time paſt, being not only places of religi-'ous retirement, but of burial too. And it has ſcarce 'or never been heard of, but that every cell, now 'known, contains, or contained, theſe relicks of 'humanity; ſome mutilated, and ſome entire. I do 'not inform, but give me leave to remind your Lord-'ſhip, that here ſat ſolitary ſanctity, and here the 'hermit, or the anchoreſs, hoped that repoſe for 'their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when 'living.

'All this while, my Lord, I am ſenſible this is 'known to your Lordſhip, and many in this Court, 'better than I. But it ſeems neceſſary to my caſe, 'that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted 'to things of this nature, and may have concern in 'my trial, ſhould be made acquainted with it. Suffer 'me then, my Lord, to produce a few of many evi-'dences, that theſe cells were uſed as repoſitories of 'the dead, and to enumerate a few, in which human 'bones have been found, as it happened in this in 'queſtion; leſt, to ſome, that accident might ſeem 'extraordinary, and, conſequently, occaſion pre-'judice.

'1. The bones, as was ſuppoſed, of the Saxon, 'St. Dubritius, were diſcovered buried in his cell at 'Guy's cliff, near Warwick, as appears from the 'authority of Sir William Dugdale.

'2. The bones, thought to be thoſe of the ancho-'reſs Roſia, were but lately diſcovered in a cell at 'Royſton, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they 'muſt have lain interred for ſeveral centuries, as is 'proved by Dr. Stukely.

'3. But our own country, nay, almoſt this neigh-'bourhood, ſupplies another inſtance: for, in Janu-'ary, 1747, was found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied 'by a reverend gentleman, the bones, in part, of 'ſome recluſe, in the cell at Lindholm, near Hatfield. 'They were believed to be thoſe of William of Lind-'holm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his 'habitation.

'4. In February 1744, part of Woburn abbey be-'ing pulled down, a large portion of a corpſe ap-'peared, even with the fleſh on, and which bore 'cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had 'lain above 200 years, and how much longer is 'doubtful; for this abbey was founded in 1145, and 'diſſolved in 1538 or 9.

'What would have been ſaid, what believed, if 'this had been an accident to the bones in queſtion?

'Further, my Lord, it is not yet out of living 'memory, that a little diſtance from Knareſborough, 'in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and 'patriot Baronet, who does that borough the honour 'to repreſent it in parliament, were found, in dig-'ging for gravel, not one human ſkeleton only, but 'five or ſix, depoſited ſide by ſide, with each an urn 'placed at its head, as your lordſhip knows was 'uſual in antient interments.

'About the ſame time, and in another field, almoſt 'cloſe to this borough, was diſcovered alſo, in ſearch-'ing for gravel, another human ſkeleton; but the 'piety of the ſame worthy gentleman ordered both 'the pits to be filled up again, commendably unwill-'ing to diſturb the dead.

'Is the invention of theſe bones forgotten, then, 'or induſtriouſly concealed, that the diſcovery of 'thoſe in queſtion may appear the more ſingular and 'extraordinary? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing 'extraordinary in it. My Lord, almoſt every place 'conceals ſuch remains. In fields, in hills, in high-'way ſides, in commons, lie frequent and unſuſ-'pected bones. And our preſent allotments for reſt 'for the departed, is but of ſome centuries.

'Another particular ſeems not to claim a little of 'your Lordſhip's notice, and that of the gentlemen 'of the jury; which is, that perhaps no example 'occurs of more than *one* ſkeleton being found in *one* '*cell*; and in the cell in queſtion was found but *one*; 'agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other 'known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one 'ſkeleton, then, but of two, would have appeared 'ſuſpicious and uncommon.

'But then, my Lord, to attempt to identify theſe, 'when even to identify living men ſometimes has 'proved ſo difficult, as in the caſe of Perkin War-'beck and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don 'Sebaſtian abroad, will be looked upon perhaps as 'an attempt to determine what is indeterminable. 'And I hope too it will not paſs unconſidered here, 'where gentlemen believe with caution, think with 'reaſon, and decide with humanity, what intereſt

purpoſe [*L*]. By proper applications, he was brought to himſelf, and, though weak, was conducted to the place of execution; where, being aſked if he had any thing to ſay, he replied in the negative. He was immediately after executed, and his body being conveyed to Knareſborough-foreſt, he was there hung in chains, purſuant to his ſentence. It is exceedingly to be lamented, that a man poſſeſſed of ſuch abilities, and ſuch applica-

' the endeavour to do this is calculated to ſerve, in ' aſſigning proper perſonality to thoſe bones, whoſe ' particular appropriation can only appear to eternal ' Omniſcience.

' Permit me, my Lord, alſo, very humbly to re- ' monſtrate, that, as human bones appear to have ' been the inſeparable adjuncts of every cell, even ' any perſon's naming ſuch a place at random as con- ' taining them, in this caſe, ſhews him rather unfor- ' tunate than conſcious preſcient, and that theſe at- ' tendants on every hermitage only accidentally con- ' curred with this conjecture. A mere caſual coin- ' cidence of *words* and *things*.

' But it ſeems another ſkeleton has been diſcovered ' by ſome labourer, which was full as confidently ' averred to be Clark's as this. My Lord, muſt ſome ' of the living, if it promotes ſome intereſt, be made ' anſwerable for all the bones that earth has conceal- ' ed, and chance expoſed? And might not a place ' where bones lay be mentioned by a perſon by ' chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? ' Or, is it more criminal accidentally to *name* ' where bones lie, than accidentally to *find* where ' they lie?

' Here too is a human ſkull produced, which is ' fractured; but was this the *cauſe*, or was it the ' conſequence of death; was it owing to violence, or ' was it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, ' was that violence before or after death? My Lord, ' in May 1732, the remains of William Lord Arch- ' biſhop of this province were taken up, by permiſ- ' ſion, in this cathedral, and the bones of the ſkull ' were found broken; yet certainly he died by no ' violence offered to him alive, that could occaſion ' that fracture there.

' Let it be conſidered, my Lord, that, upon the ' diſſolution of religious houſes, and the commence- ' ment of the Reformation, the ravages of thoſe times ' both affected the living and the dead. In ſearch ' after imaginary treaſures, coffins were broken up, ' graves and vaults dug open, monuments ranſack'd, ' and ſhrines demoliſhed; your Lordſhip knows that ' theſe violations proceeded ſo far, as to occaſion par- ' liamentary authority to reſtrain them; and it did, ' about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. ' I entreat your Lordſhip ſuffer not the violences, ' the depredations, and the iniquities of thoſe times ' to be imputed to this.

' Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that ' Knareſborough had a caſtle; which, though now a ' ruin, was once conſiderable both for its ſtrength ' and garriſon. All know it was vigorouſly beſieged ' by the arms of the Parliament; at which ſiege, in ' ſallies, conflicts, flights, purſuits, many fell in all ' the places round it; and where they fell were bu- ' ried; for every place, my Lord, is burial earth in ' war; and many, queſtionleſs, of theſe reſt yet ' unknown, whoſe bones futurity ſhall diſcover.

' I hope, with all imaginable ſubmiſſion, that what ' has been ſaid will not be thought impertinent to ' this indictment; and that it will be far from the ' wiſdom, the learning, and the integrity of this ' place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury ' may have done; what nature may have taken off, ' and piety interred; or what war alone may have ' deſtroyed, alone depoſited.

' As to the circumſtances that have been raked to- ' gether, I have nothing to obſerve; but that all ' circumſtances whatſoever are precarious, and have ' been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; ' even the ſtrongeſt have failed. They may riſe to ' the utmoſt degree of probability; yet are they but ' probability ſtill. Why need I name to your Lord- ' ſhip the two Harriſons recorded in Dr. Howel, who ' both ſuffered upon circumſtances, becauſe of the ' ſudden diſappearance of their lodger, who was in ' credit, had contracted debts, borrowed money and ' went off unſeen, and returned again a great many ' years after their execution? Why name the intri- ' cate affair of Jacques du Moulin, under King Char- ' les II. related by a gentleman who was council for ' the crown? and why the unhappy Coleman, who ' ſuffered innocent, though convicted upon poſitive ' evidence, and whoſe children periſhed for want, ' becauſe the world uncharitably believed the father ' guilty. Why mention the perjury of Smith, in- ' cautiouſly admitted King's evidence; who, to ' ſcreen himſelf, equally accuſed Faircloth and Love- ' day of the murder of Dunn; the firſt of whom, in ' 1749, was executed at Wincheſter; and Loveday ' was about to ſuffer at Reading, had not Smith been ' proved perjured, to the ſatisfaction of the court, by ' the ſurgeon of the Goſport hoſpital.

' Now, my Lord, having endeavoured to ſhew that ' the whole of this proceſs is altogether repugnant to ' every part of my life; that it is inconſiſtent with ' my condition of health about that time; that no ' rational inference can be drawn, that a perſon is ' dead who ſuddenly diſappears; that hermitages ' were the conſtant repoſitories of the bones of the ' recluſe; that the proofs of this are well authenti- ' cated; that the revolutions in religion, or the for- ' tune of war, has mangled, or buried, the dead; the ' concluſion remains, perhaps, no leſs reaſonably ' than impatiently wiſhed for. I, laſt, after a year's ' confinement, equal to either fortune, put myſelf ' upon the candour, the juſtice, and the humanity of ' your Lordſhip, and upon yours, my countrymen, ' gentlemen of the jury.'

[*K*] *He confeſſed the juſtice of his ſentence.*] Two clergymen were directed by the judge who tried him to attend him in York-caſtle, to whom he acknowledged that he murdered Clark. Being aſked by one of them, what was his motive for committing that action, he anſwered, that ' he ſuſpected Clark of ' having an unlawful commerce with his wife; that ' he was perſuaded, at the time when he committed ' the murder, he did right; but that ſince he thought ' it wrong (3).'

(3) Vide Annual Regiſter for 1759, p. 362.

[*L*] *Made an attempt upon his own life, &c.*] On a table, in his cell, was found the following paper, containing his reaſons for the above attempt:

' What am I better than my fathers? To die is ' natural and neceſſary. Perfectly ſenſible of this, ' fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the ' manner of it is ſomething which ſhould, in my ' opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have re- ' garded both theſe points. Certainly nobody has a ' better right to diſpoſe of man's life than himſelf; ' and he, not others, ſhould determine how. As ' for any indignities offered to my body, or ſilly re- ' flections on my faith and morals, they are (as they ' always were) things indifferent to me. I think, ' though contrary to the common way of thinking, ' I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offen- ' ſive to that eternal Being that formed me and the ' world: and as by this I injure no man, no man ' can be reaſonably offended. I ſolicitouſly recom- ' mend myſelf to the eternal and almighty Being, ' the God of nature, if I have done amiſs. But per- ' haps I have not; and I hope this thing will never ' be imputed to me. Though I am now ſtained by ' malevolence, and ſuffer by prejudice, I hope to riſe ' fair and unblemiſhed. My life was not polluted, ' my morals irreproachable, and my opinions ortho- ' dox.

' I ſlept ſound till three o'clock, awaked, and ' then writ theſe lines:

' Come, pleaſing reſt, eternal ſlumber fall,
' Seal mine, that once muſt ſeal the eyes of all;
' Calm and compoſed my ſoul her journey takes,
' No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches;
' Adieu! thou ſun, all bright like her ariſe,
' Adieu! fair friends, and all that's good and wiſe.'

Theſe lines, found with the foregoing, were ſuppoſed to have been written by Aram juſt before he cut himſelf with the razor (4).

(4) Annual Regiſter, p. 362, 363.

Among his papers were alſo found an elegy on the death of Sir John Armitage, and a poem on the ſtate of public affairs.

' tion,

tion, ſhould have made ſo diſgraceful an exit; and we are hurt to find ſo excellent a head, joined to ſuch depravity of heart. The progreſs that he made in literature, conſidering the little inſtruction that he received, and the diſadvantages under which he laboured, may juſtly be conſidered as aſtoniſhing; and that his powers of mind were uncommonly great, cannot reaſonably be queſtioned. EUGENE ARAM poſſeſſed talents and acquiſitions that might have claſſed him among the moſt reſpectable of human characters, if his moral qualities had been equal to his intellectual. But vice degraded him, and cauſed a man to fall deſervedly by the hands of the common executioner, who might have been an ornament to his ſpecies.] T.

ARBUTHNOT (ALEXANDER), Principal of the univerſity of Aberdeen. He was the ſon of the Baron of Arbuthnot, and was born in the year 1538 (*a*). He ſtudied in the univerſity of Aberdeen, and having perfected himſelf in humanity and philoſophy, his relations ſent him to ſtudy the Civil Law in France, where he was five years under the care of the famous Cujacius. Having taken the degree of Licentiate, he returned home in the year 1563, and appeared very warmly in ſupport of the Reformed Religion (*b*). At this time Queen Mary was reſident in her kingdom; but the Earl of Murray having the ſupreme direction of all things, the Reformed Church of Scotland was in a very flouriſhing condition (*c*). The friends of Mr. Arbuthnot prevailed upon him to take orders, and whether he received them from a Biſhop or from Preſbyters is uncertain. In 1568, he aſſiſted as a member of the General Aſſembly, which was held in the month of July at Edinburgh (*d*). By this Aſſembly he was intruſted with the care of reviſing a book which had given offence, and directed to report his opinion of it [*A*]. A little after, he was appointed Miniſter of Arbuthnot and Logy-Buchan (*e*). The year following, *viz.* 1569, on a viſitation of the King's-College at Aberdeen, Mr. Alexander Anderſon, Principal; Mr. Andrew Galloway, Sub-principal; and three Regents were deprived. Their ſentence was publiſhed on the third of July, and immediately thereupon Mr. Arbuthnot was made Principal of that college (*f*). He was a member alſo of the General Aſſembly which ſat at St. Andrews in the year 1572 (*g*). At this time there was great ſtir about a certain ſcheme of Church-government, which was called the Book of Policy. It was, in ſhort, an invention of ſome ſtateſmen, to reſtore the old titles in the Church, but with a purpoſe to retain all the temporalities formerly annexed to them, amongſt themſelves (*h*). The Aſſembly being apprized of this, appointed the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and nineteen other Commiſſioners, of whom Mr. Arbuthnot was one, to confer with the Regent in his council; but theſe conferences either came to nothing, or, which is more probable, were never held (*i*). In the General Aſſembly which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of Auguſt 1573, Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot was choſen Moderator (*k*). It was a very buſy meeting, and the Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner (*l*) [*B*]. In the next Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the ſixth of March 1574, there was a charge brought againſt George

(*a*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, Book vi. p. 335.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 44.

(*d*) Petrie's Compendious Hiſt. of the Catholic Church, P. iii. cent. xvi. p. 359.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory, p. 335.

(*f*) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 45. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 369.

(*g*) Calderwood, p. 56.

(*h*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 375.

(*i*) Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 63.

(*k*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 379.

(*l*) Calderwood, p. 63.

[*A*] *Directed to report his opinion of it.*] This book was entitled *The Fall of the Roman Church*. It was printed by one Thomas Baſſenden, printer in Edinburgh. The exception taken at it, was, that the King had the ſtile of the ſupreme head of the church: at the ſame time there was another complaint againſt this Baſſenden, for printing a lewd ſong at the end of the Pſalm book. On theſe matters an order was made, forbidding the printer to vend any more of his books till the offenſive title was delated, and the lewd ſong caſtrated. The Aſſembly alſo made an order, that no book ſhould be publiſhed for the future, till licenſed by commiſſioners of their appointment (1). Hence it appears, that the clergy in all countries have the like appetite for power, and that they are naturally deſirous of dictating in all points of literature.

(1) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 359.

[*B*] *The Church exerted her power in a very extraordinary manner.*] This was eſteemed the 25th General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland. There were preſent many Earls and others of the nobility, ſome Biſhops, Superintendents, &c. John Douglas Biſhop of St. Andrews had a long charge brought againſt him, conſiſting of various heads, as, That he had admitted a Popiſh Prieſt into the miniſtry, to whom the Superintendent of Lothian had preſcribed certain injunctions, which he had not obeyed: That he, the Biſhop, had not viſited or preached for half a year; that he had collated a perſon ſuſpected of Popery to a benefice; that he had ſuffered Exerciſe (the ſame thing which in England was called propheſying) to decay through his neglect; that he had admitted into the Church, many who were uncapable, and not properly examined. To this accuſation he anſwered, That he had not admitted the Prieſt mentioned in the charge, till he had publickly abjured Popery. The Aſſembly, however, ordered the Prieſt to ſatisfy the injunctions preſcribed in Lothian, and in the mean time not to exerciſe his function. As to his viſiting and preaching, the Biſhop alledged he had done both while he was able; and as to the other heads of complaint, he pleaded either ignorance or inability. James Patoun was accuſed of having accepted the Epiſcopal Office, and yet declining to execute it. He was accuſed of being guilty of ſimony, in reſpect to his practices with the Earl of Argyle, and even of perjury, ſince contrary to his oath he gave receipts, where the Earl received the money. Alexander Gordon, Biſhop of Galloway, was charged with exciting the ſubjects in the city of Edinburgh to rebellion, and with refuſing to pray for the King: That being forbidden by the General Aſſembly, to meddle with the pariſh of Holyrood-houſe, he had nevertheleſs compelled the people to receive the ſacrament from him: That notwithſtanding he had ſworn to obey the King and his Regent, yet nevertheleſs he had owned another authority, and perſuaded the people ſo to do, and had given thanks in the pulpit, for the barbarous murder of Matthew Earl of Lenox the late Regent. He pleaded that all this was pardoned by the late act of pacification: to which the Aſſembly replied, that the States had not abſolved him who was a Biſhop from the cenſure of the Church *in Talibus:* ſo he was ordained, under the pain of excommunication, to make public repentance three ſeveral ſundays, one in the Church of Edinburgh, another in Holyrood-houſe, and the third in the Queen's College church. Robert Poul was accuſed, That being commiſſioner to viſit Murray, he reſideth not there, nor

George Biſhop of Murray, for committing fornication with the Lady Ardroſs (*m*). He deſired three or four days to prepare his defence; but not appearing at the end of this ſpace, a commiſſion was granted to Mr. Arbuthnot, and other members, to cite before them the Chapter of Murray, in order to queſtion them for their certificate of life and manners, given to George Douglas their Biſhop before mentioned (*n*). In the ſame Aſſembly, Arbuthnot was named one of the Commiſſioners for ſettling the juriſdiction of the Church, which ſeems to be no more than had been before done about the book of policy (*o*). This thorny buſineſs required much time and pains, but at laſt however ſome progreſs was made therein, and a plan of juriſdiction was ſtruck out. In the General Aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh the firſt of April 1577, Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot was again choſen Moderator. At this time the Aſſembly were perſuaded, upon ſome ſpecious pretences, to appoint a certain number of their members to confer in the morning with their Moderator, in order to prepare buſineſs (*p*). This Committee had the name of the Congregation, and in a ſhort time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Aſſembly had little to do but to approve their reſolutions (*q*). At the cloſe of this Aſſembly, Mr. Arbuthnot, with other Commiſſioners, was appointed to confer with the Regent, on the plan of Church policy before mentioned (*r*). In the General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh the twenty fifth of October 1578, he was again appointed of the Committee for the ſame purpoſe, and in the latter end of the year, actually conferred with ſeveral Noblemen, and other Lay-Commiſſioners, on that important buſineſs (*s*). In 1582 Mr. Arbuthnot publiſhed Buchanan's Hiſtory of Scotland, in which, though he acted only as an Editor, yet it procured him a great deal of ill-will, and in all probability gave his Majeſty King James VI. an ill impreſſion of him (*t*). The practice of managing things in Congregation ſtill ſubſiſting, the King forbad Mr. Arbuthnot to leave his college at Aberdeen, that he might not be preſent in the Aſſembly, or direct as he was uſed to do thoſe Congregations which directed that great body (*u*). This offended the miniſters very much, and they did not fail to remonſtrate upon it to the King: however he remained firm, and they were forced to be content. What impreſſion this might make upon Mr. Arbuthnot's mind, being a very meek and humble man, aſſiſting others at their requeſt, and not through any ambition of his own, is uncertain; but a little after he began to decline in his health, and on the twentieth of October 1583, departed this life in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the college church of Aberdeen (*w*). His private character was very amiable: he was learned without pedantry, and a great encourager of learning in youth, eaſy and pleaſant in converſation, had a good taſte in poetry, was well verſed in philoſophy and the mathematics, eminent as a lawyer, no leſs eminent as a Divine; neither wanted he conſiderable ſkill in phyſic. In his public character he was equally remarkable for his moderation and abilities, which gained him ſuch a reputation, as drew upon him ſo many calls for advice, as made him at laſt very uneaſy. As principal of the College of Aberdeen, he did great ſervice to the Church in particular, and to his country in general, by bringing over many to the former, and reviving that ſpirit of literature which was much decayed in the latter (*x*). Theſe employments took up ſo much of his time, that we have nothing of his writing, except a ſingle book, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [*C*]. His countryman and contemporary Andrew Melvil (*y*) wrote an elegant epitaph on this worthy perſon, which alone would have been ſufficient to have preſerved his memory, as it certainly gives a juſt idea of his character.

(*m*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382. Calderwood, p. 64.

(*n*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 382.

(*o*) Calderwood, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Petrie's Hiſt. p. 390.

(*q*) Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 76.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 78.

(*s*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 289. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 394.

(*t*) Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 192.

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

(*w*) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 335.

(*x*) *Id. ibid.*

(*y*) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. ii. p. 120.

nor hath viſited churches theſe two years, except the chief four he hath viſited once. He alledged want of leiſure, becauſe he was ordained to attend the College of Juſtice; whereupon the Superintendent of Lothian moveth the queſtion, whether it be lawful by the word of God, that the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, and the adminiſtration of criminal and civil juſtice be ſo confounded, that one man may occupy both the charges? It was anſwered, it is neither agreeable with the word of God, nor practice of the primitive Church. Theſe are ſome of the extraordinary things done in that Aſſembly: as for the reſt, they may be found in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians mentioned in the margin (2).

(2) Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 273. Petrie's Hiſtory, p. 379. Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 63.

[*C*] *Some account will be given in the notes.*] It was printed at Edinburgh in 4*to* A. D. 1572, under this title, Orationes de Origine & Dignitate Juris; *i. e. Orations on the origin and dignity of the law.* It was eſteemed a very learned and elegant performance, as appears by a fine copy of Latin verſes (3) on its publication, by Mr. Thomas Maitland, who was equally admired as a poet and a critic. C.

(3) Delic. Poetar. Scot. Vol. ii. p. 153.

[ARBUTHNOT (JOHN), an eminent Phyſician, a diſtinguiſhed Wit, and a polite Writer, in the latter end of the ſeventeenth, and the beginning of the preſent century, was deſcended from the noble family of his name in Scotland, and was the ſon of a Clergyman of the Epiſcopal Church in that country (*a*). He was born at Arbuthnot in Kincardinſhire, near Montroſs, not long after the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, but in what particular year is uncertain. Having been ſent, at a proper age, to the univerſity of Aberdeen, he applied himſelf diligently to all the academical ſtudies, and particularly to that of phyſic, in which he took his Doctor's degree. The political principles of his father not ſuffering him to comply with the Revolution, he forfeited his Church preferment, and retired for ſupport to a ſmall eſtate of his own (*b*). The ſons embraced the ſame political principles; on which account they were laid under a neceſſity of ſeeking their fortunes abroad. The Doctor, however, travelled no farther than to London, where he was entertained at the houſe of Mr. William Pate, a Woollen-draper

(*a*) Memoirs of the life of Dr. John Arbuthnot, prefixed to his miſcellaneous works, in two Vols. 12*mo.* edit. 1770, p. 3. George Arbuthnot, Eſq; having read over this life, hath informed the Editor, that he doth not know of any thing's being miſrepreſented in it.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

draper (*c*); ſoon after which, he took up the buſineſs of teaching the mathematics, an undertaking for which he was very well qualified. He was probably engaged in this employment, when Dr. Woodward publiſhed, in 1695, his "Eſſay towards a natural "Hiſtory of the Earth." The account which Dr. Woodward, in his Eſſay, gave of the univerſal deluge, appeared to Dr. Arbuthnot to be irreconcileable with juſt philoſophical reaſoning upon mathematical principles; and, therefore, he drew up an anſwer to that part of the work, under the following title: "An Examination of Dr. Woodward's "Account of the Deluge, &c. With a Compariſon between Steno's Philoſophy and the "Doctor's, in the Caſe of Marine Bodies dug out of the Earth; by J. A. M. D. "With a Letter to the Author, concerning *An Abſtract of Agoſtino Scilla's Book* on the "ſame Subject; printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, by W. W. (*d*) F. R. S." This learned piece appeared in 1697, in 8*vo*, and laid the foundation of Dr. Arbuthnot's literary reputation (*e*); which, not long after, received a conſiderable and deſerved increaſe, by his "Eſſay on the Uſefulneſs of Mathematical Learning: In a Letter from a "Gentleman in the City to his Friend at Oxford (*f*) [*A*]." In the mean time, as phyſic was his profeſſion, ſo the practice of it was what he principally had in view. At firſt, indeed, as is uſual with regard to young Phyſicians, he met with no great encouragement; but, after a while, his buſineſs increaſed to a competency; and, by degrees, his ſkill in it, joined with his pleaſing wit and extenſive literature, introduced him into good eſteem and favour with the polite part of the world (*g*). On St. Andrew's day, 1704, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (*b*) [*B*]; and on the 30th of October, in the following year, he was ſworn Phyſician Extraordinary to Queen Anne, by her Majeſty's eſpécial command. This honour was conferred upon him, in conſideration of his ſucceſsful ſervices to his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark (*i*). That Prince, being taken ſuddenly ill at Epſom, was recommended to Dr. Arbuthnot, who happened to be upon the ſpot; and his Highneſs recovering by the Doctor's aſſiſtance, ever after employed him as his Phyſician (*k*). Upon the indiſpoſition of Dr. Hannes, he was appointed, in November 1709, fourth Phyſician in Ordinary to the Queen; and, on the 27th of April 1710, he was admitted a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians (*l*). About this time, or a little after, Dr. Arbuthnot formed an intimate connection with the celebrated triumvirate, Swift, Pope, and Gay; and it was not long before he added a new luſtre to that conſtellation of wits by the brightneſs of his own (*m*). Early in the year

(*c*) *Ibid.* Information communicated by the late Dr. N. Munckley, to Dr. Nicholls. Supplement to the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica, p. 3.

(*d*) William Wotton, vide his article.

(*e*) For an account of this performance, ſee the article Woodward, note [*H*], p. 4328, firſt edition.

(*f*) It was publiſhed in 1700, 8*vo*.

(*g*) Arbuthnot's Life, ubi ſupra, p. 5.

(*b*) *Ibid* Supplement to Biog. Brit. p 4.

(*i*) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(*k*) Supplement, ubi ſupra, p. 4, Note [*C*].

(*l*) *Ibid.* p 4. Life, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(*m*) *Ibid.* Swift's Letters, Vol iv. p. 221.

[*A*] *His eſſay on the uſefulneſs of mathematical learning.*] This is a moſt excellent performance; and we do not know that there is upon the ſame ſubject any thing equal to it in the Engliſh language. Had Dr. Arbuthnot written nothing beſides, this tract alone would have been ſufficient to beſtow upon him a conſiderable rank in the republic of letters. No perſon can peruſe it, who is unacquainted with mathematical knowledge, without feeling, in the ſtrongeſt manner, his own inferiority, in being ignorant of ſo prodigiouſly important and uſeful a branch of learning. The only conſolation he can derive is, that the great truths and principles which have been diſcovered by the cultivation of the mathematics, may be known by thoſe who are not adepts in the ſcience. The advantages which accrue to the mind from mathematical ſtudies, the Doctor obſerves, conſiſt chiefly in theſe things: 1ſt, In accuſtoming it to *attention*. 2dly, In giving it a habit of *cloſe* and *demonſtrative reaſoning*. 3dly, In freeing it from *prejudice*, *credulity*, and *ſuperſtition*. Having diſcuſſed theſe points, he proceeds to ſhew the vaſt extent and uſefulneſs of the mathematics in other parts of knowledge; and that the greater advances we make in Arithmetic, Geometry, and Statics, the more capable we are of conſidering thoſe things which are the ordinary objects of our conceptions. This he hath rendered apparent from ſeveral particulars: ſuch as the courſes, periods, order, diſtances, and proportions of the great bodies of the univerſe; *Light*; the fluids of Air and Water which involve the Earth; the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and motion. Dr. Arbuthnot goes on to prove that the utility of mathematical learning is equally plain with regard to various other Arts and Sciences. Here he inſtances in Chronology and Geography, Painting, Muſic, and Architecture. From thence he paſſes to the more immediate uſefulneſs of mathematics in civil affairs, with reſpect to which he clearly points out the many advantages they receive from Arithmetic, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Mechanics, Catoptrics and Dioptrics. It is farther ſhewn, that theſe ſtudies are highly ſerviceable to a nation in its military concerns, and that they are of the utmoſt importance in the art of navigation. The eſſay is concluded with a recommendation of the methods proper to be taken for the improvement of mathematical ſcience; and, through the whole, the author manifeſts his admirable learning, and his comprehenſive acquaintance with the diſcoveries which had then been made in every part of philoſophy. If, in any inſtance, he hath carried the matter ſomewhat too far, it is in the little which he hath ſaid upon the ſubject of medicine (1). An eminent writer (Dr. Warburton) hath attempted to prove, that long habit in the ſtudy of Geometry, incapacitates the mind for reaſoning at large, and eſpecially in the ſearch of moral truth (2). This, perhaps, is too bold an aſſertion; and yet it muſt be acknowledged, that thoſe who are moſt converſant in geometrical demonſtration are not always the beſt maſters of the logic of probabilities. However, the utility of mathematical learning, in the three general reſpects inſiſted on by Dr. Arbuthnot, cannot juſtly be denied; and its infinite advantages, in the other particulars he hath mentioned, are incontrovertible.

(1) Eſſay on the Uſefulneſs of Mathematical Learning. Paſſim.

(2) Introduction to Julian, Month. Rev. Vol. iii. p. 246.

[*B*] *Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.*] Dr. Arbuthnot communicated a paper to the Royal Society, which is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, (3) and is intitled, *of the regularity of the births of both ſexes.* Among the innumerable footſteps of divine Providence to be found in the works of nature, he ſays, that there is a very remarkable one to be obſerved in the exact balance that is maintained between the numbers of men and women; for, by this means, it is provided that the ſpecies may never fall away or periſh, ſince every male may have its female and of a proportionable age. This equality of males and females is not the blind effect of chance; but divine Providence works it for a good end. The Doctor proceeds to demonſtrate this, upon the principles of the doctrine of chances, from tables of births from 1629 to 1710. And having thence ſhewn that Providence brings forth more males than females, and that almoſt in a conſtant proportion, he obſerves that this proportion is neceſſary, from the greater deſtruction of males by wars, &c. He is of opinion that this equality in the births has no other probability from phyſics, than that in our firſt parents ſeed there were originally formed an equal number of both ſexes. The ſcholium which he draws from the whole is, that polygamy is contrary to the law of nature, and to the propagation of the human race (4). A farther account of this paper will be found under the article GRAUNT, the latter end of the note *B*.

(3) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 328, p. 136.

(4) Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Arbuthnot, p. 5, 6.

1714, he engaged with Mr. Pope and Dr. Swift in a design of writing a satire on the abuses of human learning in every branch; which was to be executed in the manner of Cervantes (the original author of this species of satire), under the history of some feigned adventures. "They had observed," says the ingenious and learned Editor of Mr. Pope's Works, "those abuses still kept their ground, against all that the gravest and "ablest authors could say to discredit them: They concluded, therefore, the force of "ridicule was wanting to quicken their disgrace; which was here in its place, when the "abuses had already been detected by sober reasoning; and *truth* in no danger to suffer "by the *premature* use of so powerful an instrument." But the prosecution of this noble design, at least in a regular way, was prevented by the Queen's death, which exceedingly disconcerted Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, who were all of them warmly attached to Lord Oxford's ministry; and a final period was afterwards put to the project, by the separation and growing infirmities of Dr. Swift, by the bad health of Dr. Arbuthnot, and other concurring causes. The imperfect Essay which was drawn out towards this design, under the title of the first Book of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, is sufficient to make us greatly regret that it was not completed. A very pleasant account of the undertaking, and of the share which Dr. Arbuthnot had in it will be found in the note [C]. "Polite letters," adds the celebrated Editor before mentioned, "never lost more, than "in the defeat of this scheme; in the execution of which, each of this illustrious triumvirate would have found exercise for his own peculiar talents; besides constant employment for those they all had in common. Dr. Arbuthnot was skilled in every thing which "related to *Science:* Mr. Pope was a master in the *fine Arts*; and Dr. Swift excelled in "the *Knowledge of the World.* Wit they had all in equal measure; and this so large, "that no age perhaps ever produced three men to whom Nature had more bountifully "bestowed it, or Art had brought it to higher perfection." We are told by the same writer, that the Travels of Gulliver were first intended as a part of Scriblerus's Memoirs (*n*). Queen Anne's death made so deep an impression upon Dr. Arbuthnot's spirits [D], that, to divert his melancholy, he went to Paris, where a brother of his resided. His stay there, however, was very short; for he returned to London in the beginning of September (*o*). During this time, he appears to have been in some suspence whether he should be permitted to hold his place at St. James's (*p*); but being at length told that he was to lose it, he philosophically observed to Dr. Swift, that "he hoped to "be able to keep a little habitation warm in town (*q*)." Indeed, considering his attachment to former men and measures, it is not surprising that he should be deprived of his

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 6, 7. Ruffhead's Life of Pope, p. 208, 209. Pope's Works, Vol. iv. p. 69. Edition of 1776, 12*mo.*

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 121.

(*o*) Memoirs of Arbuthnot, ubi supra, p. 7.

(*p*) Swift's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 110, sixth edit. 1767, 24*mo.*

[C] *A very pleasant account, &c.*] This occurs in a letter to Dr. Swift, which is dated at Kensington, on the 26th of June, 1714. 'Pray remember * Martin, who is an innocent fellow, and will not disturb 'your solitude. The ridicule of medicine is so copious a subject, that I must only here and there touch 'it. I have made him study physic from the apothecary's bills, where there is a good plentiful field 'for a satire upon the present practice. One of his 'projects was, by a stamp upon blistering plaisters 'and melilot by the yard, to raise money for the 'government, and to give it to Ratcliffe and others 'to farm. But there was like to be a petition from 'the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who 'had no mind to be flead. There was a problem 'about the doses of purging medicines published 'four years ago, shewing, that they ought to be in 'proportion to the bulk of the patient. From thence 'Martin endeavours to determine the question about 'the weight of the ancient men, by the doses of 'physic, that were given them. One of his best inventions was a map of diseases for the three cavities 'of the body, and one for the external parts; just 'like the four quarters of the world. Then the great 'diseases are like capital cities, with their symptoms 'all like streets and suburbs, with the roads, that 'lead to other diseases. It is thicker set with towns 'than any Flanders map you ever saw. Ratcliffe 'is painted at the corner of the map, contending for the universal empire of this world, and 'the rest of the physicians opposing his ambitious 'designs, with a project of a treaty of partition to 'settle peace.

'There is an excellent subject of ridicule from 'some of the German physicians, who set up a 'sensitive soul as a sort of a first minister to the rational. 'Helmont calls him Archæus. Dolæus calls him 'Microcosmetor. He has under him several other 'genii, that reside in the particular parts of the 'body, particularly prince Cardimelech in the heart; 'Gasteronax in the stomach; and the *plastic* prince 'in the organs of generation. I believe I could make 'you laugh at the explication of distempers from the 'wars and alliances of those princes; and how 'the first minister gets the better of his mistress Anima 'Rationalis.

'The best is, that it is making reprisals upon the 'politicians, who are sure to allegorise all the animal 'œconomy into state affairs. Pope has been collecting high flights of poetry, which are very good; they 'are to be solemn nonsense.

'I thought upon the following the other day, 'as I was going into my coach, the dust being 'troublesome,

The dust in smaller particles arose,
Than those, which fluid bodies do compose;
Contraries in extremes do often meet;
'Twas now so dry, that you might call it wet.

'I don't give you these hints to divert you, but 'that you may have your thoughts, and work upon 'them (5).'

(*) Martinus Scriblerus.

(5) Swift's Letters, published by Hawkesworth, Vol. ii. p. 39. 6th edit. 1767, 24*mo.*

[D] *Made so deep an impression upon Dr. Arbuthnot's spirits.*] His concern for the Queen's death is very apparent, from the manner in which he wrote to Dr. Swift, on the 12th of August, 1714. 'I thank you 'for your kind letter, which is very comfortable 'upon such a melancholy occasion. My dear mistress's days were numbered even in my imagination, 'and could not exceed such certain limits; but of 'that small number a great deal was cut off by the 'last troublesome scene of this contention among 'her servants. I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her: 'only it surprized her too suddenly before she had 'signed her will; which no doubt her being involved in so much business hindered her from 'finishing. It is unfortunate, that she had been 'persuaded, as is supposed by *Lowndes*, that it was 'necessary to have it under the great seal. I have 'figured to myself all this melancholy scene; and 'even, if it be possible, worse than it has happened 'twenty times; so that I was prepared for it. My 'case is not half so deplorable as poor Lady *Masham*'s and several of the Queen's servants; some of 'whom have no chance for their bread but the generosity of his present Majesty, which several people, 'that know him, very much commend (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 99.

situation

ſituation in the royal houſehold; though it might have been to the honour of Government to have ſhewn a peculiar indulgence to a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed genius and merit. Dr. Arbuthnot, having quitted St. James's, where he appears generally to have lived whilſt he was Phyſician to Queen Anne, took a houſe in Dover-Street (*r*). Some time after, in conjunction with Mr. Pope, he was engaged in giving aſſiſtance to Mr. Gay in the Comedy, or rather the Farce, of *Three Hours after Marriage* (*s*). This Play was brought upon the ſtage in 1717 (*t*), and was ill received, being damned on the firſt night of its repreſentation (*u*) [*E*]. At the Bath ſeaſon, in the latter end of 1722, Dr. Arbuthnot went to that city, apparently for his health, being accompanied by one of his brothers, who was lately come to England, and whoſe ſingular and amiable character is well drawn by Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Digby (*w*) [*F*]. On the 30th of September 1723, the Doctor was choſen ſecond Cenſor of the Royal College of Phyſicians (*x*). In 1725 he was ſeized with a moſt unuſual and dangerous diſtemper, an impoſthume in the bowels; from which he ſpeedily and happily recovered, to the great joy of his friends (*y*). He publiſhed, in 1727, in quarto, his work, intitled, *Tables of ancient Coins, Weights, and Meaſures, explained and exemplified, in ſeveral Diſſertations* (*z*) [*G*]. In the ſame year, on the th of October, he was made an Elect of the College of Phyſicians; and, on the 18th of that month, he pronounced the Harveian Oration (*a*). During all this time, he continued the practice of his profeſſion with good reputation; and among other eminent perſons whom he attended in his medical capacity, was the late Earl of Cheſterfield, who was proud to have ſuch a man for his friend, as well as his Phyſician (*b*). Dr. Arbuthnot was not, however, ſo deeply engaged in buſineſs, but that he could find leiſure to write ſeveral pieces of wit and humour, among which his Epitaph on the infamous Colonel Chartres, which came out in 1731, hath been particularly admired (*c*) [*H*]. Much

(*t*) Victor's Hiſt. of the Theatre, Vol. ii. p. 95.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 119—121. Arbuthnot's Life, ubi ſupra.
(*s*) *Ibid.*
(*u*) See the article, Gay, note [*I*].
(*w*) Life, ubi ſupra.
(*x*) *Ibid.* Suppl. to Biog. Br. p. 4.
(*y*) Swift's Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 239, 240.
(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 265. Life, ubi ſupra.
(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 6. Suppl. to Biog. Br. p. 4.
(*b*) Memoirs of the Life of Lord Cheſterfield, p. 40. 281.
(*c*) Life of Arbuthnot, ubi ſupra, p. 8, 9.

[*E*] *And was ill received, being damned on the firſt night of its repreſentation.*] An account of the bad reception of this comedy is given under the article GAY, note [*I*]. We ſhall here add, that, very ſoon after, the following ſatirical reflection was caſt upon it, in the prologue to the Sultaneſs, ſpoken by Mr. Wilks.

Such were the wags who boldly did adventure
To club a farce by tripartite indenture;
But let them ſhare their dividend of praiſe,
And wear their own fool's cap inſtead of Bayes.

Theſe lines were afterwards ironically ridiculed, in the pamphlet intitled 'Gulliver decyphered,' which is aſcribed to Dr. Arbuthnot, and inſerted among his miſcellaneous works (7). With regard to the 'Three Hours after Marriage,' it muſt be acknowledged to be unworthy of the great wits by whom it was written: nor is its ill ſucceſs on the ſtage to be wondered at, when we conſider that the ſatire of the principal character was too confined, too extravagant, and, indeed too unintelligible to the generality of mankind, to be reliſhed by the bulk of an auditory. This play has lately been reprinted, in the ſecond volume of the additions to Mr. Pope's works, a publication which, notwithſtanding the ſenſible editor hath ſaid as much as poſſible in its defence, we can by no means applaud. It is injurious to the memory of eminent men, to obtrude upon the world every ſcrap of a letter that may have been written on the moſt trifling occaſions, and to drag to light the occaſional pieces which they themſelves afterwards conſidered as unworthy of them, and which, therefore, they wiſhed to be buried in oblivion.

(7) Vol. i. p. 77. Suppl. to Biog. Br. p. 5. Note [*E*].

[*F*] *Whoſe ſingular and amiable character is well drawn by Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Digby.*] This letter is dated September the 1ſt, 1722, and is as follows.

'Doctor Arbuthnot is going to Bath, and will ſtay 'there a fortnight or more: perhaps you would be 'comforted to have a ſight of him, whether you need 'him or not. I think him as good a Doctor as any man 'for one that is ill, and a better Doctor for one that is 'well. He would do admirably for Mrs. Mary Digby: 'ſhe needed only to follow his hints, to be in eternal 'buſineſs and amuſement of mind, and even as active 'as ſhe could deſire. But indeed I fear ſhe would out-'walk him; for (as Dean Swift obſerved to me the very 'firſt time I ſaw the Doctor) "He is a man that can do "every thing but walk." His brother, who is lately 'come into England, goes alſo to the Bath; and is a 'more extraordinary man than he, worth your going 'thither on purpoſe to know him. The ſpirit of Phi-'lanthropy, ſo long dead to our world, is revived in 'him: he is a philoſopher all of fire; ſo warmly, nay 'ſo wildly in the right, that he forces all others about 'him to be ſo too, and draws them into his own Vor-'tex. He is a ſtar that looks as if it were all fire, but 'is all benignity, all gentle and beneficial influence. 'If there be other men in the world that would ſerve a 'friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that could 'make even an enemy ſerve a friend (8).'

(8) Pope's Works, Vol. v. p. 303, 304. Edition of 1776.

[*G*] *Tables of ancient Coins, &c. exemplified in ſeveral diſſertations.*] This work, which is held in great reputation, manifeſts the ſolid learning of its author; and he may eaſily be pardoned, if, in ſo arduous an undertaking, it hath been ſhewn that he hath fallen into ſome errors. Several of theſe were obſerved and corrected by Dr. Benjamin Langwith, in a piece publiſhed in 1747, and which was annexed to a ſubſequent edition of the tables, in 1754. In the hiſtory of the works of the learned, a conſiderable miſtake is noted, which is ſaid to have miſled Mr. Spelman, in reducing the Greek to the Engliſh meaſures. The pleaſantneſs of Dr. Arbuthnot's wit diſplays itſelf in this mathematical performance. He obſerves, for inſtance, that the polite Auguſtus Cæſar, the Emperor of the world, had neither any glaſs in his windows, nor yet ſo much as a ſhirt to his back. Theſe uſes of glaſs and linen were at that time unknown. Mr. Perrault had made the ſame remark with regard to linen (9).

(9) Supplement to Biog. Br. p. 5. Note [*G*].

[*H*] *His Epitaph on Colonel Chartres has been particularly admired.*] This Epitaph we ſhall inſert, not only as an inſtance of Dr. Arbuthnot's ingenuity, but of his averſion to vice.

HERE continueth to rot
The Body of FRANCIS CHARTRES,
Who, with an INFLEXIBLE CONSTANCY,
and INIMITABLE UNIFORMITY of Life,
PERSISTED,
In ſpite of AGE and INFIRMITIES,
In the PRACTICE of EVERY HUMAN VICE;
Excepting PRODIGALITY and HYPOCRISY:
His inſatiable AVARICE exempted him from the firſt,
His matchleſs IMPUDENCE from the ſecond.
Nor was he more ſingular in
the undeviating *Pravity* of his *Manners*,
Than ſucceſsful
In *Accumulating* WEALTH;
For, without TRADE or PROFESSION,
Without TRUST of PUBLIC MONEY,
And without BRIBE-WORTHY Service,
HE acquired, or more properly created,
A MINISTERIAL ESTATE.
He was the only Perſon of his Time,
Who could CHEAT without the Maſk of HONESTY,
Retain his Primeval MEANNESS
When poſſeſſed of TEN THOUSAND a Year,
And having daily deſerved the GIBBET for what he *did*,
Was at laſt condemned to it for what he *could* not *do*.

Oh

Much about the ſame time, he wrote a very entertaining paper, concerning the *Altercation* or *ſcolding of the Ancients* (*d*). In 1732 he had an opportunity of contributing his endeavours towards detecting and puniſhing the ſcandalous frauds, and abuſes which had been carried on, under the ſpecious name of *the charitable Corporation* (*e*) [*I*]. In the ſame year, he publiſhed his treatiſe concerning the 'Nature and Choice of Aliments;' which was followed, in 1733, by his eſſay on 'The Effects of Air on human Bodies.' (*f*) [*K*] A little before the laſt publication, he met with a ſevere domeſtic affliction, in the loſs of his ſon Charles, hereafter mentioned, "whoſe life, he ſays, if "it had ſo pleaſed God, he would willingly have redeemed with his own." Nevertheleſs, he adds, with the greateſt piety, "I thank God for a new leſſon of ſubmiſſion to "his will, and likewiſe for what he hath left me (*g*)." Dr. Arbuthnot is thought to have been led to the medical ſubjects juſt mentioned, by the conſideration of his own caſe. His diſorder was an aſthma, which, having gradually increaſed with his years, became, at length, deſperate and incurable. Under this affliction, he retired, in 1734, with a view of obtaining ſome ſmall relief, to Hampſtead; from whence, in anſwer to a kind enquiry of Mr. Pope, he gave that friend a particular account of his diſtemper, and of his having no expectations of a recovery (*h*) [*L*]. In a letter written, two or three months after, to his other great friend, Dr. Swift, he diſplays the reſignation, calmneſs, and

(*d*) Swift's Letters, Vol. iii. p. 15.

(*e*) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 9, 10.

(*g*) Swift's Letters, Vol. iii. p. 103.

(*h*) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 10. 12.

Oh indignant Reader!
Think not his Life uſeleſs to Mankind!
PROVIDENCE connived at his execrable Deſigns,
To give to After-ages
A conſpicuous PROOF and EXAMPLE,
Of how ſmall Eſtimation is EXORBITANT WEALTH
in the Sight of GOD,
By his beſtowing it on the moſt UNWORTHY of ALL MORTALS.

'Francis Chartres, a man infamous for all manner 'of vices. When he was an enſign in the army, he 'was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat; he 'was next baniſhed Bruſſels, and drummed out of 'Ghent on the ſame account. After a hundred tricks 'at the gaming tables, he took to lending of money 'at exorbitant intereſt and on great penalties, accu-'mulating premium, intereſt, and capital into a new 'capital, and ſeizing to a minute when the payments 'became due; in a word, by a conſtant attention to 'the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he ac-'quired an immenſe fortune. His houſe was a per-'petual Bawdy-houſe. He was twice condemned for 'rapes, and pardoned: but the laſt time not without 'impriſonment in Newgate, and large confiſcations. 'He died in Scotland in 1731, aged 62. The po-'pulace at his funeral raiſed a great riot, almoſt tore 'the body out of the coffin, and caſt dead dogs, *etc.* 'into the grave along with it (10).' As Colonel Chartres's character was ſingular in every other reſpect, ſo it is ſaid to have been in this, that he was a coward who had his fighting days. He would ſuffer himſelf to be banged and baſketted for refuſing a challenge one day; and on the next day he would accept another, and kill his man (11).

(10) Pope's Works, Vol. ii. p. 142. *Ibid.* p. 141.

(11) Suppl. ubi ſupra, p. 5, 6. Note [*H*].

[*I*] *Under the ſpecious name of the charitable corporation.*] It is not our purpoſe to enter into the hiſtory of the charitable corporation, which is ſufficiently diſcuſſed in the publications of the times (12). Thompſon, the warehouſeman of that corporation, who was deeply concerned in the frauds of it, and was reputed a Jacobite, fled, under a borrowed name, to Rome; and offered a large ſum of money to the Pretender, which is ſaid to have been rejected with diſdain. Thompſon was thrown into the priſon of St. Angelo, and Belloni, a banker at Rome, ſent an account of this event to the committee of parliament, which was then ſitting upon the affair of the embezzlements of the corporation. On this occaſion, Mr. Arbuthnot, a banker at Paris, and a nonjuror, tranſmitted a letter to his brother the Doctor in London, and another to Sir Robert Sutton, conveying Belloni's letter to the parliamentary committee. Arbuthnot's letters were neither ſigned with his name, nor written with his own hand. That to his brother was as follows.

(12) Gent. Mag. Vol. ii. p. 578. 766. 782.

'Dear Brother,

'The incloſed packet, I believe, will ſurpriſe you. 'I had the orders to get Thompſon arreſted tranſ-'mitted to me by you from Sir Robert Sutton and 'can't ſend the execution of them a better way, than 'to addreſs them to Sir Robert Sutton again. Sup-'poſe Mr. Belloni's letter to the committee will be 'delivered in time, or if the committee is diſſolved, 'you ſee the ſaid letter is addreſſed to him. I hope 'this favour will be of uſe to the ſufferers, and ſo to 'the nation: my intention at leaſt is, that it ſhould 'be ſo. I go in two days to Bourbon; but my ſon 'will convey my letters to me till I come back, 'which will be in about a month or five weeks. My 'Lord Waldgrave is at Compeigne, ſo I could not 'communicate this to his Lordſhip without loſing a 'poſt. I came from Rouen here yeſternight, and 'the poſt goes away early this morning. I can only 'add my love and ſervice to the family, and that I 'am, with great affection,

'Dear Brother,

'Yours (13).

(13) Supplement, ubi ſupra, p. 5, 6. Note [*I*], Gent. Mag. Vol. ii. p. 783.

[*K*] *His treatiſe concerning the nature of aliments, the choice of them, &c.*] This performance is of greater extent and latitude than is promiſed in the title: for though the Doctor hath profeſſed to treat only concerning particular rules of diet, yet whoever reads the work will find, that in many, if not in moſt diſeaſes, beſides the cauſes and diagnoſtics, he hath often given us the method of cure by medicine as well as diet (14).

(14) Supplement, ubi ſupra, p. 6. Note [*K*].

[*L*] *And of his having no expectations of a recovery.*]

'Hampſtead, July 17, 1734.

'I Little doubt of your kind concern for me, nor of 'that of the Lady you mention. I have nothing 'to repay my friends with at preſent, but prayers 'and good wiſhes. I have the ſatisfaction to find 'that I am as officiouſly ſerved by my friends, as he 'that has thouſands to leave in legacies; beſides the 'aſſurance of their ſincerity. God Almighty has 'made my bodily diſtreſs as eaſy as a thing of that 'nature can be. I have found ſome relief, at leaſt 'ſome times, from the air of this place. My nights 'are bad, but many poor creatures have worſe.

'As for you, my good friend, I think, ſince our 'firſt acquaintance, there have not been any of thoſe 'little ſuſpicions or jealouſies that often affect the 'ſincereſt friendſhips; I am ſure not on my ſide. I 'muſt be ſo ſincere as to own, that though I could 'not help valuing you for thoſe talents which the 'world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my 'friendſhips; they were quite of another ſort; nor 'ſhall I at preſent offend you by enumerating them: 'And I make it my Laſt Requeſt, that you will con-'tinue that Noble Diſdain and Abhorrence of Vice, 'which you ſeem naturally endowed with; but ſtill 'with a due regard to your own ſafety; and ſtudy 'more to reform than chaſtiſe, though the one cannot 'be effected without the other.

'Lord Bathurſt I have always honoured, for every 'good quality that a perſon of his rank ought to have: 'Pray, give my reſpects and kindeſt wiſhes to the fa-'mily. My veniſon ſtomach is gone, but I have thoſe 'about me, and often with me, who will be very glad 'of his preſent. If it is left at my houſe, it will be 'tranſmitted ſafe to me.

'A recovery in my caſe, and at my age, is impoſſi-'ble; the kindeſt wiſh of my friends is Euthanaſia. 'Living or dying, I ſhall always be (15)

'Yours, *&c.*'

(15) Pope's Works, Vol. vii. p. 70, 71.

piety of his mind [*M*]. Though he met with a temporary relief at Hampſtead, and eſpecially from riding, yet, being ſenſible that an effectual cure of his diſeaſe was impoſſible, he thought proper to return to his own houſe in Cork-Street, Burlington Gardens, where he departed this life, on the 27th of February 1734-5 (*i*).

(*i*) See the note [*M*]. Life ubi ſupra, p. 12.

Dr. Arbuthnot appears, in every reſpect, to have been a moſt amiable and worthy man; and the juſtneſs of the following account of him, which comes from the ingenious pen of Lord Orrery, will be acknowledged by all who are acquainted with the Doctor's life and writings. His Lordſhip, ſpeaking of that part of Swift's epiſtolary correſpondence which only was then publiſhed, adds, "I ſhould have been much pleaſed in finding ſome of Dr. "Arbuthnot's letters among this collection. Although he was juſtly celebrated for wit and "learning, there was an excellence in his character more amiable than all his other qualifi-"cations: I mean the excellence of his heart. He has ſhewn himſelf equal to any of his con-"temporaries in humour and vivacity; and he was ſuperior to moſt men in acts of huma-"nity and benevolence. His very ſarcaſms are the ſatyrical ſtrokes of good nature: They "are like ſlaps in the face given in jeſt, the effects of which may raiſe bluſhes, but no black-"neſs will appear after the blows. He laughs as jovially as an attendant upon Bacchus, "but continues as ſober and conſiderate as a diſciple of Socrates. He is ſeldom ſerious, "except in his attacks upon vice; and then his ſpirit riſes with a manly ſtrength, and a "noble indignation. His epitaph upon Chartres (allowing one ſmall alteration, the "word *permitted*, inſtead of *connived at*) is a complete, and a maſterly compoſition in its "kind. No man exceeded him in the moral duties of life: a merit ſtill more to his "honour, as the ambitious powers of wit and genius are ſeldom ſubmiſſive enough to con-"fine themſelves within the limitations of morality. In his letter to Mr. Pope (*k*), writ-"ten, as it were, upon his death-bed, he diſcovers ſuch a noble fortitude of mind at "the approach of his diſſolution, as could be inſpired only by a clear conſcience, and "the calm retroſpect of an uninterrupted ſeries of virtue. The DEAN laments the loſs "of him with a pathetic ſincerity. *The deaths of* Mr. Gay, *and the* Doctor (*l*), ſays he "to Mr. Pope, *have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a "great comfort to me, although I ſhould never have ſeen them: like a ſum of money in a "bank, from which I ſhould receive at leaſt annual intereſt, as I do from you, and have done "from Lord Bolingbroke* (*m*)." This teſtimony of Lord Orrery's, to the merit of Dr. Arbuthnot, is confirmed by that of Mr. Pope, who uſed to repreſent his morals as equal to any man's, and his wit and humour as ſuperior to that of all mankind. So prolific was his wit, that in this quality Swift only held the ſecond place *. No adventure of any conſequence ever occurred, on which the Doctor did not write a pleaſant eſſay, in a great folio book, which uſed to lie in his parlour. Of theſe, however, he was ſo negligent, that while he was writing them at one end, he ſuffered his children to tear them out at the other, for their paper kites (*n*). We learn, from Mr. George Arbuthnot, that his father ſeldom related any thing of himſelf or his writings; which he neglected ſo much when finiſhed, that he was ſometimes at a loſs to find them. The integrity of his character is well expreſſed in a letter to Dr. Swift: "I have not ſeen any thing as yet, to make "me recant a certain inconvenient opinion I have, that one cannot pay too dear for peace "of mind (*o*)." Dr. Arbuthnot always made it a point to ſtand up for the honour of

(*k*) See note [*L*].

(*l*) Arbuthnot.

(*m*) Orrery's Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift, p. 179—181, fifth edition, Pope's Works, Vol. v. 289.

(*n*) Swift's Letters, Vol. v. p. 10. Note. Ruffhead's Life of Pope, p. 209. 487.

(*o*) Letters, ubi ſupra, Vol. ii. p. 109.

(*) Dr. Swift himſelf ſaid to a lady who aſked his opinion concerning Dr. Arbuthnot; 'Why, 'Madam, Dr. 'Arbuthnot has 'more wit than 'we all have; 'and his huma-'nity is equal to 'his wit.'

[*M*] *The Reſignation, Calmneſs, and Piety of his mind.*]

'My Dear and worthy Friend,

'YOU have no reaſon to put me amongſt the reſt 'of your forgetful friends; for I wrote two long 'letters to you, to which I never received one word 'of anſwer. The firſt was about your health; the laſt 'I ſent a great while ago, by one *De la Mar*. I can 'aſſure you, with great truth, that none of your 'friends or acquaintance has a more warm heart to-'wards you than myſelf. I am going out of this 'troubleſome world, and you, amongſt the reſt 'of my friends, ſhall have my laſt prayers, and good 'wiſhes.

'The young man whom you recommended came 'to this place, and I promiſed to do him what ſer-'vice my ill ſtate of health would permit. I came out 'to this place ſo reduced by a dropſy, and an aſthma, 'that I could neither ſleep, breathe, eat, or move. 'I moſt carneſtly deſired and begged of God, that he 'would take me. Contrary to my expectation, upon 'venturing to ride (which I had forborn for ſome 'years, becauſe of bloody water), I recovered my 'ſtrength to a pretty conſiderable degree, ſlept, and 'had my ſtomach again; but I expect the return of 'my ſymptoms upon my return to London, and the 'return of the winter. I am not in circumſtances to 'live an idle country life; and no man, at my age, 'ever recovered of ſuch a diſeaſe further than by an 'abatement of the ſymptoms. What I did, I can 'aſſure you, was not for life, but eaſe. For I am, 'at preſent, in the caſe of a man that was almoſt in 'harbour, and then blown back to ſea; who has a 'reaſonable hope of going to a good place, and an 'abſolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not 'that I have any particular diſguſt at the world; for 'I have as great comfort in my own family, and from 'the kindneſs of my friends, as any man; but the 'world, in the main, diſpleaſeth me; and I have 'too true a preſentiment of calamities that are like 'to befal my country. However, if I ſhould have 'the happineſs to ſee you before I die, you will find 'that I enjoy the comforts of life with my uſual 'chearfulneſs. I cannot imagine why you are fright-'ed from a journey to England! the reaſons you 'aſſign, I am ſure, are not ſufficient; the journey I 'am ſure will do you good. In general, I recommend 'riding, of which I have always had a good opinion, 'and can now confirm it from my own experience.

'My family give you their love and ſervice. The 'great loſs I ſuſtained in one of them, gave me my 'firſt ſhock; and the trouble I have with the reſt, 'to bring them to a good temper, to bear the loſs of 'a father, who loves them, and whom they love, is 'really a moſt ſenſible affliction to me. I am afraid, 'my dear friend, we ſhall never ſee one another 'more in this world. I ſhall, to the laſt moment, 'preſerve my love and eſteem for you, being well aſ-'ſured you will never leave the paths of virtue and 'honour for all that is in the world. This world is 'not worth the leaſt deviation from that way. It 'will be great pleaſure to me to hear from you ſome-'times; for none can be with more ſincerity than I 'am, my dear friend, your moſt faithful friend and 'humble ſervant,

JO. ARBUTHNOT (16).'

(16) Swift's Letters, Vol. iii. p. 157—159.

religion. We are told, that he was often with Lord Chesterfield in a morning, and more than once declared himself, in his Lordship's presence, a patron of Christianity (*p*). But the Doctor's zeal and steadiness in this respect will best appear from one of his own letters. "My neighbour, the Proseman, is wiser, and more cowardly and despairing than "ever. He talks me into a fit of vapours twice or thrice a week. I dream at night of "a chain, and rowing in the gallies. But, thank God, he has not taken from me the "freedom I have been accustomed to in my discourse (even with the greatest persons to "whom I have access), in defending the cause of Liberty, Virtue, and Religion. For "the last, I have the satisfaction of suffering some share of the ignominy that belonged "to the first confessors. This has been my lot, from a steady resolution I have taken "of giving these ignorant impudent fellows battle upon all occasions (*q*)." There is nothing which more distinguishes Dr. Arbuthnot's character, than the chearfulness of his temper. In a letter written to Dr. Swift, in 1723, he says, "As for your humble ser-"vant, *with a great stone in his right kidney*, and a family of men and women to provide "for, he is as chearful as ever in public affairs (*r*)." It was not to public affairs only that this disposition was confined: for it evidently appears to have accompanied him in every situation, and under every affliction of life; a circumstance which we the rather take notice of, as a reflection to the disadvantage of it hath been thrown out by a late writer [*N*]. Upon the whole, we may conclude, after the most impartial survey of Dr. Arbuthnot's character, that his memory is intitled to distinguished honour, as a man of wit, a man of science and literature, and a man of religion and virtue. In saying this, we do not mean to assert, that we entirely approve, in every instance, of his choice of the objects against which his humour and satire were directed. In some of his political principles we greatly differ from him; and we think that cases might be mentioned, in which his ridicule was too severely pointed at men of real abilities and merit. The Doctor is said, but at what

(*p*) Memoirs of the Life of Lord Chesterfield, p. 281.

(*q*) Letters, ubi supra, Vol. iii. p. 106.

(*r*) *Ibid.* Vol. xx. p. 206.

[*N*] *As a reflection to the disadvantage of it hath been thrown out by a late writer.*] Mr. Pulteney, in a letter to Dr. Swift, giving an account of Dr. Arbuthnot's death, says; 'he lived the last six months 'in a bad state of health, and hoping every night 'would be his last; not that he endured any bodily 'pain, but as he was *quite weary of the world*, and 'tired with so much bad company:' upon which Dr. Hawkesworth hath observed, that 'this, ad-'mitting the fact, is very remarkable of a man of 'Arbuthnot's turn; a man of humour, whose mind 'seemed to be always pregnant with comic ideas, 'and turned chiefly, if not only, to that which is 'ridiculous even in vice itself. That to such a man, 'to whose fancy almost every character and every 'event furnished a comedy, death should be welcome 'because life was insipid, is a melancholy and strik-'ing proof, that *even in laughter the heart is sorrow-'ful*; or that those who are best qualified to make 'others merry, are not always merry themselves; 'that their mirth is not an effusion of hilarity that 'overflows their own breasts, but often the mere 'effect of a painful effort, exerted chiefly for the 'gratification of vanity, the said concomitant of 'vexation of spirit. See the Doctor's own account 'of himself (which seems not perfectly to agree with 'what is here said of him) in his letter, dated Octo-'ber 4th, 1734 (17).' As Dr. Hawkesworth was sensible that Mr. Pulteney's representation was inconsistent with Dr. Arbuthnot's own letter, he should have spared his gloomy and groundless reflections. Mr. Pulteney's expressions might be thrown out pretty much at random, and there is evidently a sarcastic turn in them, arising from the political altercations of the times. Dr. Arbuthnot's *habitual* and *real* chearfulness of temper is apparent from the whole tenor of his life and writings: and it is evident, in particular, from the letter just referred to, which is inserted at length in the preceding note. He does, indeed, there say, 'that the world, in the main, dis-'pleaseth him;' which any man might well say, who, like him, laboured under an incurable disorder, was dissatisfied with the prospect of public affairs, and had a conscious hope that death would remove him to a state of superior blessedness. Nevertheless, in the very same sentence of that letter, he declares, that he had not any particular disgust at the world; and that he had as great comfort in his own family, and from the kindness of his friends, as any man. He likewise adds, (to Dr. Swift) 'If I should have 'the happiness to see you before I die you will find 'that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual 'chearfulness (18).' This turn of mind in Dr. Arbuthnot, is strongly marked in two lines of Swift, in the poem upon his own death.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 170, 171.

(18) See note [*M*].

Poor *Pope* will grieve a month, and *Gay*
A week, and *Arbuthnot* a day (19).

(19) Swift's Works, Vol. vi. p. 255.

The view which is here given of the different degrees of sensibility in these three eminent wits, may be thought, perhaps, to derogate something from the honour of Dr. Arbuthnot, and to intimate that he was greatly inferior to Pope and Gay, in the strength of his friendship, and the feelings of his heart. But such a conclusion would by no means be a just one. As to the strength of Dr. Arbuthnot's friendship for Dr. Swift, nothing can be more indubitable. It appears to have continued, with unabated fervency, from the beginning of his intimacy with the Dean, to the end of his life. In a letter written to Dr. Swift, so early as in the year 1714, he thus expresses himself: 'Dear friend, the last sentence of 'your letter quite kills me. Never repeat that me-'lancholy tender word, that you will endeavour to 'forget me. I am sure I never can forget you, till 'I meet with (what is impossible) another, whose 'conversation I can so much delight in as Dr. Swift's; 'and yet that is the smallest thing I ought to value 'you for. That hearty sincere friendship, that plain 'and open ingenuity in all your commerce, is what 'I am sure I never can find in another man. I shall 'want often a faithful monitor, one that would vin-'dicate me behind my back, and tell me my faults 'to my face. God knows I write this with tears in 'my eyes (20).' Above twenty years after, in the near prospect of his dissolution, he uses a like warmth of language, as may be seen in the letter before referred to, in the note [M]; so that nothing can be more clearly proved than the sensibility of his mind, as well as the strength of his friendship. All, therefore, which can justly be inferred from the lines above quoted is, that Dr. Swift intended to mark the chearful disposition of Dr. Arbuthnot: and, with such a disposition, although he might deeply feel the death of his friend, he would soon return to his usual vivacity. Nor is this a reflection upon him. Such a temper may well consist, as in Dr. Arbuthnot it manifestly did, with the sincerest benevolence and humanity. It may be accompanied with the warmest heart: and where that is the case, it is a very desirable disposition. It possesses the ardour and activity of friendship, and yet is favourable to the happiness of life; while a more splenetic turn of mind adds a double anguish to the distresses that befal us. Considering the calamities to which we are unavoidably subject, it is of great importance to cultivate and to maintain a chearfulness of spirit, joined with sensibility, and with the exercise of every friendly, generous, and sympathizing affection. Happy are those who, like Dr. Arbuthnot, seem by nature formed for an union of these delightful and amiable qualities,

(20) Letters, ubi supra, Vol. ii. p. 100, 101.

particular

particular period we are not informed, to have been ſome time Steward to the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy (*s*). He was a married man, and, beſides other children, had two ſons, George and Charles; the latter of whom was educated at Chriſt Church College, Oxford, and entered into holy orders [*O*]. Two daughters ſurvived him, who are ſince dead, unmarried. George, who is ſtill living, is firſt Secondary in the Remembrance-office, a place of very conſiderable profit. He is poſſeſſed of an ample fortune beſides, and is a a gentleman of known and acknowledged worth and character. Dr. Arbuthnot ſhared the ſame fate with his friends Pope and Swift, in having ſeveral literary brats illegitimately fathered upon him; and among the reſt, the famous Romance of *Robinſon Cruſoe* (*t*). There came out, in 1751, in two volumes 12*mo*, *The Miſcellaneous Works of the late Dr. Arbuthnot*; to which is prefixed the following advertiſement: "The contents of theſe volumes, and what "is inſerted in Swift's Miſcellanies, comprehend all the pieces of wit and humour of "this admirable author." Although this collection, which hath gone through various editions, undoubtedly contains ſome of his genuine productions; yet every reader of taſte and diſcernment will eaſily perceive, that many, if not moſt of the tracts here aſcribed to him, cannot have proceeded from his excellent pen: and George Arbuthnot, Eſq; upon the peruſal of them, hath teſtified, that the greateſt part of them were not written by his father [*P*].]

(*s*) Index to the Biog. Brit. firſt edition.

(*t*) Life, ubi ſupra.

[*O*] *And entered into holy orders.*] He was a ſtudent of Chriſt Church, and took the degree of A. M. on the 26th of June, 1731. Before this he had had the misfortune of engaging in a duel with one Mr. Ferrabee of the ſame college. The cauſe of the quarrel was a jealouſy in a love affair; and Mr. Charles Arbuthnot received a wound, in conſequence of which he lay for ſome time in a languiſhing condition. Though his antagoniſt was the aggreſſor, it was with difficulty that he could get into orders, or obtain his degree. He was the author of a copy of verſes, addreſſed to the King, and prefixed to the firſt edition of his father's *Tables of Coins, Weights, &c.* The verſes, which are written with a good ſpirit of poetry, ſeem to have been inſerted as a teſtimony of the ſon's loyalty; for they have little or no particular relation to the ſubject of Dr. Arbuthnot's work (21).

(21) Supplement, ubi ſupra, p. 6. note [*M*].

[*P*] *That the greateſt part of them were not written by his father.*] We have already mentioned the examination of Dr. Woodward's account of the Deluge, the Eſſay on Mathematical Learning, the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, the Tables of antient Coins, Weights, and Meaſures, his brief Account of Mr. John Ginglicutt's treatiſe concerning the Altercation or Scolding of the Ancients, and his two books upon Aliments and Air, as among Dr. Arbuthnot's genuine productions. We ſhall here add his Hiſtory of John Bull, in two parts, an admirable piece of wit and humour, whatever may be thought of it in a political view. The feeble imitations of this performance, which have appeared from time to time in the public papers, have only ſerved to diſplay its ſuperior excellency.

It is uſually publiſhed in Swift's works (22), and is followed by four other witty pieces, compoſed by the Doctor. Theſe are, 'The Art of Political Lying.' 'Reaſons offered by the Company of Upholders againſt Part of the Bill for viewing and examining Drugs and Medicines;' 'The Petition of the Colliers, Cooks, Blackſmiths, &c. againſt catoptrical Victuallers;' and 'It cannot Rain but it Pours: or London ſtrewed with Rarities.' Dr. Arbuthnot was the author, likewiſe, in conjunction with Mr. Pope, of 'Martinus Scriblerus περὶ βαθους; or his Treatiſe on the Art of Sinking in Poetry;' and of 'M. Scribleri Virgilius reſtauratus;' both which productions are probably parts of the great intended ſatire on the abuſes of human learning (23). He might have aſſiſted in other writings; but it is not now eaſy or neceſſary to diſtinguiſh every little inſtance in which his pen was employed, whether in connection with his great friends Pope and Swift, or upon different occaſions. In the two volumes of miſcellaneous works aſcribed to him, beſides the examination of Woodward, the eſſay on the mathematics, and the paper on the altercation of the ancients, we ſhould imagine that 'Gulliver decyphered,' and the 'critical Remarks on Capt. Gulliver's Travels,' came from Dr. Arbuthnot. Whether he wrote, 'The Notes and Memorandums of the ſix Days preceding the Death of a late Right Rev. ——,' and 'The Hiſtory of John Bull, part the 3d,' ſeems to be ſtill more uncertain; though they may not, perhaps, be deemed unworthy of him. It is ſtrange that ſome of the tracts inſerted in the collection ſhould ever have been thought to be the Doctor's. Where the ſubject admits of it, we uſually find a learning in his wit, and a wit ariſing from his learning, which are very diſtinguiſhable. The letter to Dean Swift, in the ſecond volume, occaſioned by his *Dedication* to a *Great Man*, concerning dedications, was written by Mr. Gordon (24). Among ſome pieces added to the late editions, are 'The Freeholder's political Catechiſm,' and 'ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, Know yourſelf, a poem.' The Political Catechiſm is an excellent performance, which hath lately been ſeparately republiſhed; but we know not of any reaſon for ſuppoſing it to be Dr. Arbuthnot's. The poem, which is of a philoſophical nature, and is printed in Dodſley's Miſcellanies (25), was undoubtedly our author's. We have been favoured with ſome verſes made by him in his laſt illneſs, which may be acceptable, as a farther indication of the pious diſpoſition of his mind. They were written before a book of Tables of Annuities.

(22) It is in the fifth volume of the edition we have referred to,

(23) Theſe are in the 4th Vol.

(24) Monthly Review, Vol. iii. p. 399. Note.

(25) Vol. firſt, p. 180. Edition of 1775.

How nicely we compute in every caſe
When death brings in the pence, or ends the leaſe!
Then reckoning wrong, and by falſe hopes allur'd,
We leave our laſt reverſion uninſur'd.
By different rules, we count our life and gains;
Too ſmall what's ſpent, too bulky what remains.
The Devil inſur'd our lives before the fall;
Told mother Eve ſhe ſhould not die at all.
This lye, too coarſe now for the dulleſt clown,
He ſoftens thus, *Thou ſhalt not die ſo ſoon.*
O fatal term of infinite amount,
Not leſſen'd or compounded by diſcount!
In thee are endleſs loſs or gain compriz'd,
Sure, yet unheeded, and, though great, deſpis'd.
The rich and poor their worldly comforts ſhare
In lots unequal, but with equal care.
The poor man's cares, like briers in barren ſoil,
Spontaneous ſpring, without manure or toil.
The rich with pains their cares or plant or ſow,
Which in a garden mould luxuriant grow.

Dr. Arbuthnot was ſkilled in muſic. Sir John Hawkins mentions an anthem compoſed by him; and the ſame author hath publiſhed a burleſque parody, ſaid to be made by the Doctor, upon a ſong of Mr. Pope's; which ſong was written at the earneſt requeſt of the Earl of Peterborough, for Signora Cuzzoni, on her leaving England (26). K.

(26) Hawkins's Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. v. p. 126, note. *Ibid.* p. 307, 308.

ARDEN (EDWARD) was deſcended of a moſt ancient and honourable family, ſeated at Parkhall, in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the year 1532, and his father

(*a*) The Antiquities of Warwickſhire by Sir William Dugdale, edit. 1730. Vol. ii. p. 924. col. 2. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, 4to. 1641, p. 149. Johnſton Rer. Britan. lib. iii. p. 91. ſeq.

[*A*] *Seated at Parkhall in Warwickſhire.*] This family may well be ſtiled ancient, ſince it was ſeated hereabouts before the Conqueſt. Turchillus, in the reign of William Rufus, aſſumed, in imitation of the Normans, the ſirname of the family, de Arden, becauſe his eſtate lay in the wood lands (1). Mr. Camden,

(1) E. Regiſt. de Abend. in Biblioth. Cotton. f. 122, b.

father dying when he was an infant of two years old, he became, before he inherited the eſtate of the family, the ward of Sir George Throkmorton, of Coughton, whoſe daughter Mary he afterwards married (*b*). In all probability, it was his engagements with this family, and being bred in it, that made him ſo ſtiff a Papiſt as he was (*c*). However that be, ſucceeding his grandfather Thomas Arden, Eſq; in 1562, in the family eſtate, he married Mary (Throkmorton) and ſettled in the country (*d*), his religion impeding his preferment, and his temper inclining him to a retired life. His being a near neighbour to the great Earl of Leiceſter, occaſioned his having ſome jars with him, who affected to rule all things in that county (*e*). Some perſons therein, though of good families, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable eſtates, thought it no diſcredit to wear that nobleman's livery (*f*), which Mr. Arden diſdained. In the courſe of this fatal quarrel, exceſſive inſolence on one ſide, produced ſome warm expreſſions on the other; inſomuch that Mr. Arden openly taxed the Earl with his converſing criminally with the Counteſs of Eſſex, in that Earl's life-time; and alſo inveighed againſt his pride as a thing the more inexcuſable in a nobleman newly created (*g*). Theſe taunts having exaſperated that Miniſter, he projected, or at leaſt forwarded, his deſtruction [*B*]. Mr. Arden had married one of his daughters to John Somerville, Eſq; a young gentleman of an old family, and good fortune, in the ſame county (*h*) [*C*]. This Mr. Somerville was a man of a hot raſh temper, and by many thought a little crazy. He was drawn in a ſtrange manner to plot (if it may be ſo called) againſt the Queen's life; and thus the treaſon is alledged to have been tranſacted. In the Whitſun-Holidays, 1583, he with his wife was at Mr. Arden's, where Hugh Hall, his father-in-law's Prieſt, perſuaded him that Queen Elizabeth being an incorrigible heretic, and growing daily from bad to worſe, it would be doing God and his country good ſervice to take her life away. When the holidays were over, he returned to his own houſe with his wife, where he grew melancholy, and irreſolute. Upon this, his wife writes to Hall, her father's Prieſt, to come and ſtrengthen the man. Hall excuſes his coming, but writes at large, to encourage Somerville to proſecute what he had undertaken. This letter had its effects, Somerville ſet out for London, but got no farther than Warwick, where, drawing his ſword and wounding ſome Proteſtants, he was inſtantly ſeized. While he was going to Warwick, his wife went over to her father's, and ſhewed him and her mother Hall's treaſonable letter, which her father threw into the fire; ſo that only the hearſay of this letter could be alledged againſt him and his wife, by Hall who wrote it, who was tried and condemned with them (*i*). But to return to Somerville. On his apprehenſion, he ſaid ſomewhat of

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 926.

(*c*) See Note [*B*].

(*d*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 926.

(*e*) Gulielm. Camden. An. Rer. Brit. Reg. Eliz. Edit. Hearne, 1717. Vol. ii. p. 405.

(*f*) Leiceſter's Ghoſt, 4*to*. 1641, p. 7.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 105.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 829.

(*i*) From a MS. once Sir Simeon d'Ewe's, but the ſubſtance is alſo in Speed's Chronicle, p. 1175. col. 1.

den, and many of our authors after him, write this name Ardern (2), and it is true, that ſome branches of this family wrote it ſo (3). However, Mr. Dugdale, who was beſt acquainted with theſe things, always writes it Arden, and ſo this gentleman himſelf wrote (4). Parkhall had been for three hundred years the ſeat of the Ardens, and they had attained all the honours, which really give luſtre to any Engliſh line. In the the twelfth of Henry II. Henry de Arden was certified to hold five knights fees of the Earl of Warwick, and his brother Hugh as many (5). In the forty-eighth of Henry III. Thomas Arden had ſummons to attend the King in a Welſh expedition, which he did, but ſiding afterwards with the rebellious barons, was undone (6). However, in the third of Edward III. Sir Robert de Arden was allowed to fortify his houſe, and died poſſeſſed of a large eſtate (7). In the forty-eight of Edward III. Henry de Arden of Parkhall, was conſtituted conſervator of the peace, knighted the next year, and was knight of the ſhire in the firſt of Richard II. (8) Robert de Arden, in the ſixteenth of Henry VI. was ſheriff of this county and Leiceſterſhire (9). But in the thirtieth of Henry VI. he was attainted for ſiding with the houſe of York (10). His ſon Walter married the daughter of John Hampden, Eſq; of Hampden in Buckinghamſhire (11). His ſon John Arden, married Alice daughter of Richard Bracebrigge, Eſq; of Kingſbury, in Warwickſhire, and was ſquire of the body to Henry VII. (12) His ſon Thomas married the daughter of Thomas Andrews, Eſq; by whom he had many children (13). Of theſe the eldeſt, William, married Elizabeth the daughter of Edward Conway, Eſq; by whom he had our Edward, his only ſon (14). This Edward, though his grandfather was living at his father's deceaſe, became the ward of Sir George Throkmorton (15), whoſe daughter he married, and not Sir Robert's, as it ſtands in the pedigree drawn by Dugdale.

(2) Annal. Vol. ii. p. 105.
(3) Dugd. Vol. ii. p. 7.
(4) Diarium rerum geſtarum, in Turri Londinenſi.
(5) Libr Rub. f. 104. a.
(6) Clauſ. 48. H. 3. in d. in ced.
(7) Cart. 2 Ed. 3. n. 32.
(8) Cl. 1 R. 2. in d. m. 22.
(9) Rot. F. 16. H. 6. m. 20.
(10) Eſc. 32. H. 6.
(11) Ex Autograph. penes R. Arden, Ar.
(12) *Ibid.*
(13) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 926.
(14) *Ibid.*
(15) E. MS. pen. R. Knipe, A. M.

[*B*] *Forwarded his deſtruction.*] The warm expreſſions of Mr. Arden, mentioned by Camden, are proofs of his averſion, but they give us no light into the cauſes of his extraordinary hatred againſt the Earl of Leiceſter. In all probability, it was owing to his love for his wife's family, who were grievouſly perſecuted by that haughty Peer. Her brother, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, was, in the opinion of the generality of the world, poiſoned at this Earl's houſe, in 1571 (16). Another brother, Sir John Throkmorton, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, he perſecuted till he broke his heart; and purſued not only all ſuch as were related to, but alſo ſuch as had a friendſhip for, this family, with implacable vengeance (17). Probably this drew ſome marks of his diſpleaſure on Mr. Arden, for we ſhall ſee hereafter the whole family was caught in one net, and all brought to ruin together (18). It ſeems clear from the ſtories of thoſe times, that the Throkmortons were a ſtirring family; inſomuch that Camden remarks on the death of Sir Nicholas, after mentioning the common fame of his being poiſoned, that however he died, he certainly died in a critical ſeaſon for himſelf, being engaged in dangerous undertakings (19). Add to this, that Mrs. Arden, who was a Throkmorton, was made a deep ſharer in her huſband's ſufferings.

(16) Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, p. 80.
(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.
(18) See Note [*E*].
(19) Annal. p. 221.

[*C*] *Of an old family in the ſame county.*] The Somervilles are a Norman family, and came over with the Conqueror (20). The Somervilles of Edſton, in Warwickſhire, are a branch of the Glouceſterſhire family of the ſame name, who have flouriſhed ſeveral hundred years at Aſton Somerville, in the ſaid county (21). This John Somerville came to his eſtate in 1576, and about the ſame time, married Margaret Arden, being then in his eighteenth year (22). He was of a warm fiery diſpoſition, as all writers agree, and Dugdale's account of the matter, is, that his prieſt, Hall, wrought upon his zeal for religion, and his hot temper, till he fell into this humour, which he did not deny. He came up to town in a paſſion, acted like a man diſtracted, and owned a deſign to kill the Queen, as ſoon as preſſed thereto, after his apprehenſion (23). But the beſt account duly weighed, is that of Lord Burleigh, which runs thus (24). To this number, they may, if they ſeek number, alſo add a furious young man of Warwickſhire, to increaſe the Kalendar of the Pope's martyrs, who of late was diſcovered, and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to have killed her Majeſty.

(20) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 445.
(21) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 830.
(22) *Ibid.*
(23) Camden, Hollingſhed, Stowe, &c.
(24) Execution for Treaſon, not for Religion, P. 22.

his father and mother-in-law, and immediately orders were ſent into Warwickſhire for their being ſeized, and impriſoned (*k*). October 30, 1583, Mr. Somerville was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon. November 4, Hall the Prieſt was committed alſo; and on the ſeventh of the ſame month, Mr. Arden (*l*). On the ſixteenth, Mary the wife of Mr. Arden, Margaret their daughter, wife to Mr. Somerville, and Elizabeth, the ſiſter of Mr. Somerville, were committed (*m*). On the twenty-third Mr. Arden was racked in the Tower, and the next day Hugh Hall the Prieſt was tortured likewiſe (*) [*D*]. By theſe methods ſome kind of evidence being brought out, on the ſixteenth of December Edward Arden, Eſq; and Mary his wife; John Somerville, Eſq; and Hugh Hall the Prieſt, were tried and convicted of high-treaſon at Guildhall, London (*n*), chiefly on Hall's confeſſion, who yet received ſentence with the reſt. On the nineteenth of December, Mr. Arden and his ſon-in-law Somerville, were removed from the Tower to Newgate, for a night's time only (*o*). In this ſpace, Somerville was ſtrangled by his own hands, as it was given out; but, as the world believed, by ſuch as deſired to get him ſilently out of theirs (*p*). The next day, being December 20, 1583, Edward Arden was executed at Smithfield with the general pity of all ſpectators. He died with the ſame high ſpirit he had ſhewn throughout his life. After profeſſing his innocence, he owned himſelf a Papiſt, and one who died for his religion, and want of flexibility, though under colour of conſpiring againſt the State. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that Somerville was murdered, to prevent his ſhaming his proſecutors, and having thus extenuated things to ſuch as heard him, he patiently ſubmitted to an ignominious death (*q*). His execution was according to the rigour of the law, his head being ſet (as Somerville's alſo was) upon London bridge; and his quarters upon the city gates, but the body of his ſon-in-law was interred in Moor-fields (*r*). As for Mrs. Arden, ſhe was pardoned, but the Queen gave the eſtate which fell to her, by her's and her huſband's attainder, to Mr. Darcy. As for Hugh Hall, the Prieſt, he was pardoned too, but Leiceſter doubting his ſecrecy, would have engaged Chancellor Hatton to have ſent him abroad; which he refuſing, new rumours, little to that proud Earl's honour, flew about (*s*). Hollinſhed, Stowe, and ſuch writers, treat Mr. Arden as a traitor fairly convicted, and ſo have others who knew much better (*t*); but Camden was too honeſt to write thus, and there is good authority to incline our belief, that he died for being a ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject (*u*) [*E*]. His ſon and heir Robert Arden, Eſq; being bred in one of the Inns of Court, proved a very wiſe and fortunate perſon; inſomuch that by various ſuits he wrung

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 405. Dugd. Warwick. Vol. ii. p. 829. Hollinſhed's Chron. A. D. 1583.

(*m*) Stowe's Annals, 1631, p. 698.

(*l*) Diarium rerum geſtarum in Turri Londinenſi; ad calc. Hiſt. Schiſmat. Angl. edit. Colon. Agrip. 1628, in 12*mo*.

(*) Diarium rerum geſtarum Turri Lond. *ibid.* Dec. 4*to*.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 698. Hollinſhed, ut ſupra.

(*o*) Stowe, p. 698.

(*p*) Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. Decemb. 1583.

(*q*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 421. Diarium rerum geſt. T. L. ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Hollinſhed, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Vol. ii. p. 405. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. ii. p. 930, 931. Life of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, 8*vo*, 1727, p. 112.

(*s*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(*t*) Execution for Treaſon, and not for Religion, 4*to*, p. 22. Important Conſiderations, &c. 4*to*, p. 45.

[*D*] *Was tortured likewiſe.*] I take this from a Diary of what paſſed in the Tower of London, from the 15th of June, 1580, to the 21ſt of June, 1585, written in Latin, added to Sanders's book *De Origine & Progreſſu Schiſmatis Anglicani*. In the preface there is a ſuccinct account of the inſtruments of torture, which were theſe, 1. The dungeon, which was without any light, twenty feet under ground. 2. A narrow room, in which a priſoner could ſcarcely ſtand upright, called thence Little-eaſe. 3. The rack, an engine with pullies, whereby men were disjointed. 4. Scavenger's daughter, ſo called, it is ſuppoſed, from the inventor: it was a circle of iron, whereby the patient's Head, Hands, and Feet, were grievouſly ſtretched. 5. Hand-ſcrews. 6. Irons for the Arms. 7. Irons for the Legs. And in the Diary, the days are ſet down, on which the ſeveral priſoners mentioned therein, are ſaid to have been racked, &c. The Papiſts made loud complaints of their treatment, to all the Chriſtian world; atteſting that, 1. They were perſecuted purely for conſcience ſake. 2. That they were driven to confeſs, by grievous tortures. In anſwer to theſe books, the Treaſurer Burleigh, cauſed to be written what Mr. Strype calls a State Book, cited above, which treats the firſt point; and ſoon after came forth a ſecond piece, intitled, *A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majeſty's Commiſſioners*, &c. (25): wherein it is ſaid, 'That none of them 'had been put to the rack, or torture, no not for 'treaſon, or partnerſhip of treaſon, or ſuch like, but 'where it was firſt known, or evidently probable, 'by former detections, confeſſions, or otherwiſe, that 'the party ſo racked or tortured was guilty, and did 'know and could deliver the truth of the things 'wherewith he was charged.' Which the Reverend Mr. Strype ſeems to think a full juſtification of the practice. Indubitably it ſhews there was ſuch a practice. Nay, we are further told by Whitlock, in his Memorials, that Queen Elizabeth, diſliking the thing, or fearing it might be abuſed, forbad the putting men to the torture, on any pretence whatſoever (26). Yet we know that Mary Queen of Scots objected to the evidence made uſe of againſt her, becauſe it was extorted by theſe methods, which have been, God be praiſed, long out of date.

(25) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 206.

(26) Memorials of Engliſh affairs, Lond. 1709, p. 254.

[*E*] *A ſtout Engliſhman, rather than a bad ſubject.*] In this note, I ſhall fairly ſtate the evidence in favour of this judgment, and againſt it. The annaliſts, and public writers in thoſe times, treat Mr. Arden as a notorious traitor: they could do no otherwiſe. Lord Burleigh's pamphlet, Apology, or State Book, produces, alſo, the ſame charge againſt him (27). Immediately after the account of Somerville, he proceeds: *The attempt not denied by the traitor himſelf, but confeſſed, and that he was moved thereto in his wicked ſpirit, by incitements from certain ſeditious and traiterous perſons, his kinſman and allies, and alſo by often reading ſundry ſeditious vile books, lately publiſhed againſt her Majeſty*. There is yet ſomething ſtronger than this, *viz.* A confeſſion of the Papiſts themſelves, in a book called, *Important Conſiderations:* written and publiſhed by the ſecular Prieſts. Therein we read 'Mr. Arden and Mr. So-'merville were convicted by the laws of the land, to 'have purpoſed and contrived how they might have 'laid violent hands upon Her Majeſtie's ſacred perſon. 'Mr. Somerville's confeſſion therein, was ſo notorious, 'as it may not be either qualified or denied (28).' Yet, immediately after their death, all unprejudiced people doubted this buſineſs. Father Perſons's *Greencoat*, inſtantly interpoſed thus (29). 'What ſay you, 'to the device he had of late to entrap his well 'deſerving friend, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, in the 'matter of Hall, his Prieſt, whom he would have 'had Sir Chriſtopher to ſend away, and hide, being 'touched, and detected in the caſe of Arden; there-'by to have drawn in Sir Chriſtopher himſelf, as 'Sir Charles Candiſh can well declare, being acceſſary 'to this plot, to overthrow Sir Chriſtopher.' In the copy I have, there is a marginal note in MS. in an old hand, referring to Dugdale and Camden. It appears from Strype, that the mouths of the people were open on this ſubject (30). Camden modeſtly, and plainly, ſays (31), 'That the head of Somerville 'was turned by certain Popiſh libels to ſuch a degree, 'that breathing nothing but ſlaughter, he came up 'to town to kill the Queen, and, like a mad-man, 'fell to cutting and hacking all he met. Being ap-'prehended, he owned the deſign he had to kill the 'Queen. Upon this, himſelf, and, in conſequence of 'his confeſſion, Edward Arden, his father-in-law,

(27) Cited in note [*C*].

(28) Page 45, edit. 1688.

(29) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 149.

(30) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. iii. p. 421.

(31) Annal. Vol. ii. p. 105.

wrung from Edward Darcy, Esq; the grantee (x), most of his father's estates (y), and by marrying Elizabeth daughter of Reginald Corbet, Esq; one of the Justices of the King's Bench, he restored the credit and splendor of this ancient family, and was so happy to see Henry Arden, Esq; his eldest son, knighted by King James, and married to Dorothy the daughter of Basil Fielding of Newnham, Esq; whose son became Earl of Denbigh. The drawing this embarrassed account out of obscurity, cannot but be grateful to our curious readers, and will answer one great end of this work, the elucidating dark passages in English history, by a comparison of lights, a thing not to be expected in general collections, or even in the accounts of particular reigns.

(x) Anderson's Reports, p. 2.

(y) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. ii. p. 931.

'a gentleman of antient family in Warwickshire, Mrs. 'Arden, the wife of Mr. Somerville, and Hall, a 'Priest, were convicted as accomplices. Three days 'after, Mr. Somerville was found strangled in prison; 'the next day, Mr. Arden was hanged and quartered; 'the woman and Priest were spared. Such was the 'fate of this gentleman, who was generally thought 'to have fallen a victim to Leicester's resentment; 'being circumvented by a Priest, whose evidence de-'stroyed him. Certain it is, Leicester hated him not 'without cause, because he opposed him all he could, 'openly inveighing against him as an adulterer, and 'an upstart.' Dugdale says, the inhabitants of Warwickshire who lived in those days, thought him murdered by Leicester (32); and the author of that nobleman's life, does not deny it was so (33). The authors who mention this fact, are, State Writers, Papists, or impartial Historians. The first were bound to defend it, whatever they thought of it; yet they own Somerville to have been crazy. The secular Priests flattered the government, and write on this head very artfully. Arden protested his innocence, as all the Popish writers attest. The moderate impartial Historians own without scruple, he died unjustly, and therefore we may well suppose it true. However, to clear this matter up as much as possible, let us consider a little, first, what appears as to the fact itself, and next, what credit is due to such as affirm Mr. Arden to have died justly. It is suggested, that Leicester prompted the Priest, Hall, he inspired Mr. Somerville with seditious notions, and thus the whole family were involved. Now all agree, that Hall was the author and mover of this treason, that he confessed and was pardoned; and Somerville, who was touched in the head, made a free confession, and was in all respects more worthy of a pardon, was destined to a shameful death, and was perhaps cruelly murdered. This has a bad aspect, and does not look like a free course of justice. Somerville was apprehended as he came, which looks as if they watched for him: But what seems to put the matter out of all doubt, is the timing of this business, just when the two Throkmortons were apprehended for conspiring to set the Queen of Scots at liberty. So that here were a gentleman and his wife, their daughter, their son-in-law, and two nephews, with Mr. Somerville's maiden sister, all clapped into the Tower at once, and Mrs. Arden saw her husband, and nephew, Francis Throkmorton, tortured in one day, executed within a few weeks of each other, and her husband's estate given to my Lord Leicester's creature. Does not this look like revenge on the Throkmortons, whom that Earl openly persecuted? Now as to the writers. In the common chronicles we look not for the springs of action, but bare acts; we read there that Lord Robert Dudley was made an Earl, Master of the Horse, Knight of the Garter; but not a word of his murdering his wife, or Mr. Arden: that would not suit the book. As to Lord Burleigh, he admits Somerville was mad. And Camden, who wrote by his directions, thought Arden a sacrifice; and, all things considered, so may we. It is one thing to write, or publish an apology, or, as Strype bluntly calls it, a State Book, as Lord Burleigh's was, and another to frame an impartial history like Camden's. That wise Nobleman did what was fit for the times in the first, and suffered what was fit for the knowledge of posterity, to be recorded in the second. C.

(32) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. ii. p. 830.
(33) Life of Robert Earl of Leicester, 8vo. A. D. 1727, p. 112.

[We are not entirely satisfied with the apology which is here made for Lord Burleigh. If that great man was convinced of Mr. Arden's innocence, it was totally unworthy of his character to charge him with having been a traitor. It is more honourable, therefore, to Lord Burleigh's reputation, and more agreeable to probability, to suppose that he believed Mr. Arden to be guilty, at least in a certain degree, of evil designs against the Queen. Indeed, Arden was so bigotted a Papist, that it is not unlikely but that by some imprudent words, if not by actions, he might furnish a pretence for the accusations brought against him. We can scarcely otherwise imagine how it would have been possible for the government to have proceeded to such extremities. We do not mean, by these remarks, to vindicate the severity with which this unfortunate gentleman was treated; and we are sensible that, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, the jealousy and dread which were entertained of the Roman Catholics, occasioned some particular persons of that persuasion to be used with injustice and cruelty.] K.

ARGALL (JOHN), author of two tracts, the one intitled *De vera Pœnitentia* (a), the other *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam* (b) [A], was the third son of Thomas Argall by Margaret his wife, daughter of John Talkarne of the county of Cornwall. He was born in London, and entered a student in Christ-church in Oxford towards the latter end of Queen Mary's reign. He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1565, and was *Senior of the Act* celebrated the eighteenth of February the same year. Afterwards he applied himself to the study of divinity, and, having taken Holy Orders, obtained the living of Halesworth in Suffolk. Being at a feast at Cheston, a mile distant from that town, he died suddenly at the table. His body was carried to Halesworth, and buried there, October 8, 1606. During his stay at the university, he was a noted disputant, and a great actor of plays at Christ-church, particularly when the Queen was entertained there in 1566. He was esteemed a very good scholar, and was so much devoted to his studies that he lived and died like a Philosopher, with a thorough contempt for the things of this world (c).

(a) Printed at London, 1604, 8vo.

(b) Printed at London, 1605, 8vo.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 331.

[A] *Introductio ad Artem Dialecticam.*] In this book, which Mr. Wood calls *very facete and pleasant* (1), the author says of himself, that 'whereas 'God had raised many of his companions and con-'temporaries to high dignities in the Church, as 'Dr. Thomas Bilson to the See of Winchester, Dr. 'Martin Heton to that of Ely, Dr. Henry Robinson 'to that of Carlisle, Dr. Tobias Mathews to that of 'Durham, &c. yet he, an unworthy and poor old 'man, was still detained in the chains of poverty 'for his great and innumerable sins, that he might 'repent with the prodigal son, and at length by God's 'favour obtain salvation (2).

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 331.

(2) Argall, Introduct. in Post-præ licum. *under* Simul tempore.

We

We likewiſe meet with one RICHARD ARGALL, a Poet in the reign of King James I. [*B*]; but we have no particulars of his life (*d*).

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

[*B*] RICHARD ARGALL, *a poet in the reign of King James* I.] He wrote and publiſhed. I. *The Song of Songs, which was Solomon's, metaphraſed in Engliſh Heroics, by way of Dialogue.* London, 1621. in 4*to*, dedicated to Henry King, Archdeacon of Colcheſter, ſon to the Biſhop of London. II. *The Bride's Ornaments; Poetical Eſſays upon a divine ſubject*, in two books. London, 1621, in 4*to*; the firſt dedicated to John Argall, Eſq; the other to Philip brother to Henry King. III. *Funeral Elegy conſecrated to the memory of his ever honoured Lord John King late Biſhop of London, &c.* 1621. He wrote alſo a book of *Meditations of Knowledge, Zeal, Temperance, Bounty, and Joy.* And another containing *Meditations of Prudence, Obedience, Meekneſs, God's Word, and Prayer.* The author intended theſe two books for the preſs at the ſame time with his poetical works: but the death of his patron, the Biſhop of London, who had greatly encouraged his ſtudies, deferred the publication of them; and whether they were afterwards publiſhed, is uncertain (3). B.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ARLOTTA, mother to William ſirnamed the Conqueror. In ancient hiſtorians we find her called by very different names; Abbot Bromton calls her Arlet, and ſo does the ancient chronicle of Normandy (*a*); Knyghton, Arlec (*b*); another ancient writer Herleva (*c*), which one would think was her true name, moſt of the French hiſtorians, eſpecially moderns, calling her Herleve. But writers are better agreed as to her family; for they ſay, in general, that ſhe was a Tanner's daughter. A French author of great integrity, however, reports the matter differently in all reſpects. He ſays her name was Helena, and that ſhe was not the daughter of a Tanner, but of one Foubert, valet de chambre to the Duke of Normandy, which Foubert was the ſon of a Tanner (*d*). That ſhe was within one deſcent at leaſt of a perſon of that trade, appears clearly, from an inſult offered to her ſon, when he was beſieging the city of Alençon (*e*). Two and thirty of the inhabitants, when he came firſt before the place, brought certain raw hides, and tanned, or made ſhew of tanning, them on the wall in his preſence, as well in contempt of his power, as in deriſion of his birth (*f*). Afterwards when he became maſter of the place, he cauſed the hands and feet of thoſe men to be cut off (*g*), which ſhews how much he was touched by this outrage. If this lady was really the daughter of the Duke's valet de chambre, yet ſhe was bred with her grandfather the Tanner, at *Falaiſe*, an ancient, ſtrong, and pleaſant town, in the Lower Normandy. There the Dukes of that country had a palace, to which they reſorted in times of peace for pleaſure; and were uſed to make it their conſtant reſidence in time of war, on account of its ſtrength. At this caſtle Duke Robert was in the year 1022, and being a Prince of a very debonnaire diſpoſition, was preſent at a place where the young maidens of the town were dancing, and there he ſaw the fair Arlotta, and being charmed either with her beauty or behaviour, fell deſperately in love with her (*h*). She was brought to his bed that night, and our graveſt hiſtorians, ſuch as Bromton (*i*), and Knyghton (*k*), tell us, that when ſhe had undreſt herſelf, ſhe tore her ſhift from the boſom down to the bottom, for which ſhe gave this reaſon, *That it was neither decent nor fit, that what had touched her legs, ſhould come near the mouth of her lord* (*l*). From this intercourſe ſhe became with child, and during her pregnancy, had a very extraordinary dream. Malmeſbury, Knyghton, and other authors ſay, that ſhe fancied her bowels dilated themſelves over all Normandy and England (*m*). But Bromton and others tell us, that ſhe ſaw in her ſleep a tree come forth from her womb, the branches of which overſhaded Normandy (*n*). At the birth of the child there happened a very odd circumſtance: through haſte or careleſſneſs, he was ſuffered to fall upon the ground, whence he took up, ſome ſay, a handful of ſtraw (*o*), others of duſt, which occaſioned the midwife to predict, that he would be a King (*p*). Certain it is, that the Duke was ſo much taken with her company, that he kept her about him as if ſhe had been his wife (*q*) [*A*], till the year 1030, when he took a reſolution of going to Jeruſalem: a thing not infrequent in thoſe days, in which it paſſed for a kind of penance. But authors ſeem to have a high opinion of this Prince's piety, when they gravely write, that it was to expiate his criminal converſation with Arlotta, which induced him to take ſo fatiguing a journey (*r*). Others think they have found a more probable cauſe, *viz.* regret for his brother Richard's death, whom he is ſaid to have poiſoned. However it was, at his departure, he cauſed his nobility to ſwear fealty to his ſon William, then a child about ſeven years old (*s*); and having appointed the Earl of Britanny to be his guardian (notwithſtanding he had ſet up a title to the duchy) and recommended him to the protection of the King of France, he ſet out on that expedition, from which he never returned, dying

(*a*) Les Chroniques & excellentz faitz des Ducs, &c. de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi. Bromt. apud decem Scriptor. p. 910.

(*b*) Apud decem Scriptor. p. 2318.

(*c*) W. Gemeticenſis de Ducibus Normannis, apud Britan. &c. Script. a Gul. Camdeno edit. p. 656.

(*d*) Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France, par I. du Tillet, p. 137.

(*e*) *Id.* p. 138.

(*f*) W. Gemeticenſis, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Du Tillet, p. 137.

(*h*) Chroniques, &c. de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*i*) Ubi ſupra, p. 920.

(*k*) Ubi ſupra, p. 2319.

(*l*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*m*) G. Malmſburien. p. 95. Knyghton, p. 2318.

(*n*) Bromton, p. 910.

(*o*) Malmſb. p. 95.

(*p*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

(*q*) Malmſb. Bromton, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) Daniel's Hiſtory of England in Kennet's collection, p. 100.

(*s*) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.

[*A*] *As if ſhe had been his wife.*] As for this Duke of Normandy, who is uſually called Robert II. the founder of the ſovereignty, being ſtiled by the French writers Robert I. though his name be commonly written Rollo, he is, by antient authors, called Rodbert, and was very remarkable for his facetious humour, as well while he continued Duke of Normandy, as in his journey to the Holy Land, which, if the account moſt writers give us of his manner of living on the road be true, might with as great propriety be ſtyled a ramble for pleaſure as a pilgrimage (1). In the text we have followed the generality of Hiſtorians, and thoſe who are moſt in eſteem, yet there want not ſome authors, who tell us, the Duke took his Herleva, not from her father nor grandfather, but from the arms of a gentleman, who had made choice of her for his miſtreſs (2). Whether this be, or be not true, is not eaſily determined; nor indeed do we think it very neceſſary to determine. But as to her marriage, if that really happened before the Duke left Normandy, then we cannot but conclude that it was with his conſent; and that Arlotta behaved well towards her huſband, and maintained a tolerably fair character, we may deduce from the reſpect paid her by her ſon, and the great care he took of the reſt of her children.

(1) Chroniques de la Duche de Normandie, c. lxxxi.—lxxxv.

(2) Hiſt. de Guillaume le Conquer. p. 13.

at

at Nice in Bithynia (*t*). His ſon William, on account of his birth, was ſurnamed the Baſtard; which he was ſo far from eſteeming a reflection, that he ſometimes uſed it himſelf. As for Arlotta, ſhe married, ſome ſay in the Duke's life-time, but moſt writers, after his deceaſe, a Norman gentleman whoſe name was Herlaine, who had but a very ſmall eſtate (*u*). Her ſon paid her always a great deal of reſpect, and took eſpecial care of her children by her huſband, which were three (*w*). 1. Eudo, or Odo, who, while a very young man, was made Biſhop of Bayeux, and, after his brother became King of England, Earl of Kent. 2. Robert Earl of Mortagne, or as is generally written by our Engliſh authors, Moreton, made by his brother Earl of Cornwall. 3. Emma, who married the Count D'Aumale, though ſome of our Engliſh authors call him Earl of Avranches; but this I conceive to have been rather his ſurname: by which Nobleman ſhe had a ſon, Hugo de Abrincis, whom the Conqueror made Earl of Cheſter. C.

(*t*) Bromton, Knyghton, Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Du Tillet, p. 138.

(*w*) Daniel, ubi ſupra.

ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS), who ſuffered for rebellion in the time of King Charles II. He was deſcended of an ancient and loyal family, and his father being in the King's ſervice abroad, he was born at Nimeguen in Holland (*a*), but the time cannot be certainly diſcovered. As he grew up, he diſcovered a vigorous, martial diſpoſition, which recommended him to the acquaintance and eſteem of many perſons of quality, who looked upon him as a man of a warm heart, and a good head. He was a very ſtirring and active Royaliſt during the exile of King Charles II., which expoſed him to the malice of the Protector, Cromwell, who cauſed him to be confined a year in Lambeth-houſe, which in thoſe times was a priſon (*b*). He ſuffered greatly in this impriſonment; for the Royaliſts were at that time ſo exhauſted, that how warm ſoever their charity might be in their hearts, its effects were but cold, and therefore Mr. Armſtrong was very near ſinking under this misfortune, when by ſome accident or other he recovered his liberty (*c*). This uſage, hard and cruel as it was, could neither break his ſpirits, nor abate his loyalty, which induced the principal friends the King had in his dominions, to make choice of him to go to his Majeſty, then at Bruſſels, with bills of exchange of great value, and other papers of ſtill greater importance, which commiſſion he executed with ſuch diligence and diſcretion, that he not only put the bills and papers ſafely into the King's hands, but brought home and delivered as ſafely the anſwers with which he was entruſted. But the Protector had ſo good intelligence, that within a week after he came back, he was ſeized and ſent to the Gatehouſe, where he ſuffered another ſharp impriſonment, and was in great danger of loſing his life (*d*). This ſervice was ſo acceptable to the King when performed, that he conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and yet the remembrance of it was ſo far from being of any ſervice to him in his troubles, that it was thought one principal reaſon for taking away his life [*A*]. After this he was again impriſoned in the Tower, and obtained his liberty only by the death of the Protector, and on his obtaining it, returned to the ſervice of his maſter, and was one of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Royaliſts, that ſigned that excellent addreſs to the Lord General Monk, that operated ſo ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration (*e*) [*B*]. On the King's return he was taken into great favour, was employed in many ſervices of importance, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in one of the troops of horſe-guards, and was Gentleman of the Horſe to his Majeſty (*f*). The heat and vehemence of his temper betrayed

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 577.

(*b*) See Clarendon's Hiſtory. Heath's Chronicle, and the Life of Dr. John Barwick.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(*d*) See his dying Speech in note [*H*].

(*e*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 120, 121.

(*f*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 578.

[*A*] *The principal reaſon for taking away his life.*] At firſt ſight this muſt appear extremely odd and ſtrange to the reader, but it is no very difficult matter to clear it up. It is well enough known, that the Protector had abundance of ſpies, and that his Secretary, Thurloe, was eſteemed the greateſt maſter of intelligence that ever filled that office. But the greateſt feats done in that way, were by corrupting Royaliſts, whom their neceſſities made diſhoneſt. One Manning, who was about the King's court, was detected and ſhot in the Duke of Newburg's country for his treachery, and was actually caught in the fact of writing a letter to England (1). Sir Richard Willis was another loyaliſt, who acted the ſame part, and was always impriſoned by Cromwell, to hide their intelligence on the diſcovery of the plots in which he was engaged (2). The Duke of Buckingham was deeply ſuſpected of behaving in this manner (3), and the great Chancellor Clarendon openly charged with it by ſome perſons of tolerable credit (4). We need not wonder therefore, if the King, upon ſome ſuggeſtion of that ſort, might be brought to ſuſpect Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and on his being detected in the conſpiracy for which he ſuffered, allow himſelf to believe his old ſuſpicions were juſt, though they might have been ſtifled and forgot before that unhappy affair recalled them to his memory. Biſhop Burnet tells us this ſtory in very ſtrong terms, and therefore it will be requiſite to give it in his own words. Speaking of the ſeverity with which Sir Thomas was treated, he ſays (5), 'The 'King had publiſhed a ſtory all about the court, 'and had told it to the foreign miniſters, as the 'reaſon of this extream ſeverity againſt Armſtrong. 'He ſaid that he was ſent over by Cromwell to 'murder him beyond ſea, and that he was warned 'of it, and challenged him on it, and that upon 'his confeſſing it, he had promiſed never to ſpeak 'of it any more as long as he lived: So the King 'counting him now dead in law, thought he was 'free from that promiſe.' We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention this ſubject again, when we come to ſpeak of Sir Thomas Armſtrong's dying ſpeech; and we ſhall then ſhew, that the Biſhop's ſtory is inconſiſtent with that ſpeech, notwithſtanding he appeals to it.

(1) Clarendon's Hiſt. fol. 1732, p. 669, 670, 671.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 401.

(3) See his article in this Work.

(4) Lord Landſdown's Vindication of General Monk and Sir John Greenville.

(5) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 579.

[*B*] *That operated ſo ſtrongly in favour of the Reſtoration.*] Upon General Monk's coming to London, it was found requiſite, in order to accompliſh his great deſign of ſettling the nation without effuſion of blood, that all parties ſhould make public declarations that this was their deſire; that they were truly ſenſible, as well as heartily weary of the mutations in government to which they had been expoſed, and that there was nothing they ſo ardently deſired, as the meeting of a free and conſtitutional Parliament. The Royaliſts among the reſt, declared their ſentiments in the paper here referred to, and which, as it is very ſhort, I think it may not be amiſs to inſert (6).

(6) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121.

A Decla-

betrayed him however into ſome exceſſes, and particularly into one which was extremely fatal to his reputation, and, but for the King's favour, might have been fatal alſo to his life. This was the killing one Mr. Scroop in a play-houſe quarrel (*g*); which misfortune rendered it neceſſary, or at leaſt expedient for him to leave the kingdom; but he did it in an honourable way, and as an attendant upon the King's natural ſon, Mr. James Crofts, afterwards ſo well known to the world, by the title of Duke of Monmouth. He ſerved with him in Flanders with great reputation, and there acquired ſuch a degree of military ſkill, as made him be conſidered as an active and accompliſhed officer, which made him the more dear to thoſe noblemen of a martial diſpoſition who attached themſelves to that Duke. After the war was over he returned to England, and ſtood in all appearance in as high favour, and as great credit with the King, as ever. But this did not continue long; for the times growing troubleſome, and factions ariſing both in the Court and Country, he had the misfortune to fall into ſuch meaſures as diſobliged his maſter, drew upon him at firſt his coldneſs and diſpleaſure, and ended at laſt, in removing him from all his places, and in his total diſmiſſion from Court. The long intercourſe of friendſhip he had had with, and his great dependance on, the Duke of Monmouth, proved the firſt cauſe of his troubles, and in the end that of his ruin. He was naturally warm and zealous in whatever cauſe he engaged; and when the Court puſhed the Duke extremely, in order to detach him from the party he had embraced, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was indefatigable in his ſervices and ſhewed ſo much vigour and conſtancy in his attachment to that unhappy Duke, as made him be conſidered as one of his principal adviſers (*b*) [C]. In the conferences that afterwards happened between that Duke, the Earl of Shafteſbury, the Lord Howard, Lord Grey, and others, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was

(*g*) Echard's Hiſt of England, fol. 1720, p. 1027.

(*b*) See this cleared up in note [C].

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the late King, in and about the City of London.

'AFTER the miſeries of a civil war, and the many and fruitleſs attempts towards ſettlement upon ſeveral intereſts, and imaginary forms of government; it having pleaſed Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give theſe nations a probable hope of being reſtored to thoſe laws and privileges, which have been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors; we do declare, that we think ourſelves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this gracious work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who as he had the courage to aſſert the public liberty, and the prudence to carry it on againſt ſo many difficulties, he alſo had the happineſs to lead us thus far through the wilderneſs of confuſion, without paſſing the red ſea of blood; and becauſe the enemies of the public peace have endeavoured to repreſent thoſe of the King's party, as men implacable, and ſuch as would ſacrifice the common good to their own private paſſions: we do ſincerely profeſs, that we do reflect upon our paſt ſufferings from the hands of God, and therefore do not cheriſh any violent thoughts or inclinations, to have been any way inſtrumental in them. And if the indiſcretion of any ſpirited perſons, tranſports them to expreſſions contrary to this our ſenſe, we utterly diſclaim them; and deſire that the imputation may extend no farther than the folly of the offenders. And we farther declare, that we intend by our quiet and peaceable behaviour, to teſtify our ſubmiſſion to the preſent power, as it now reſides in the council of ſtate, in expectation of the future parliament, upon whoſe wiſdom and determinations, we truſt God will give ſuch a bleſſing, as may produce a perfect ſettlement both in Church and State.

'And as his Excellency hath not choſen the ſandy foundations of ſelf-government, but the firm rock of national intereſt, whereon to frame a ſettlement: it is our hope and prayer, that when the building comes to be raiſed, it may not, like *Rome*, have the beginning in the blood of brethren; nor like *Babel* to be interrupted by the confuſion of tongues; but that we may all ſpeak in one language, and be of one name; that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animoſities may be thrown in and buried like rubbiſh under the foundation.'

This declaration was ſubſcribed by the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and about ſeventy more of the nobility and gentry, that had been in the King's ſervice; and therefore it is a very clear teſtimony in favour of Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who ſubſcribed among the reſt, that he was at this time conſidered as a very hearty friend to the conſtitution, and as a very loyal ſervant to the King his maſter.

[C] *As one of his principal adviſers.*] The Duke of Monmouth, by the influence of the Earl of Shafteſbury, and ſome other men of the ſame political views, had been drawn not only to differ with the court, and to give his father, King Charles II., a great deal of uneaſineſs and diſturbance, but had alſo had recourſe to abundance of popular artifices, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people. At the time of the Oxford parliament, there was an attempt made by the Earl of Shafteſbury, to have procured an alteration in the ſucceſſion, in the Duke's favour. This, though a thing of great conſequence, and in a great meaſure the baſis of all his ſubſequent proceedings, is very little known, and therefore it will contribute not a little to the clearing up the Duke's, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong's deſigns to ſet this matter in a full light. On March 24, 1680-1, the Earl of Shafteſbury demanded an audience of the King, then at Oxford, on pretence of a letter he had received, containing an expedient for ſettling the nation, and ſupplying the excluſion bill, to which his Majeſty had ſhewn himſelf exceſſively averſe (7). The Earl was accordingly introduced to his Majeſty, and his expedient propoſed, which was to ſettle the crown on the Duke of Monmouth. The King ſurpriſed, told the Earl he wondered, that, after ſo many declarations to the contrary, he ſhould preſs him upon that ſubject. That if either with conſcience, or juſtice, or nature, he could do ſuch a thing, he would have done it before; it being reaſonable that, if he ever had a child of his own legitimate, he would much rather have him reign than his brother, or any of his brother's children. That his Majeſty was none of thoſe that grew more timorous with age; but that rather he grew more reſolute, the nearer he was to his grave. At that word, the loyal Earl was mightily concerned, and cried out, that it chilled his blood to hear of ſuch an expreſſion; telling the King, how earneſt the whole nation was for his preſervation, that in him were comprized all their ſafeties, lives, liberties, and religion, and their all. *Yes*, anſwered his Majeſty, *and yet my Lord, I am the only arbitrary man in the kingdom. But aſſure yourſelves, I intend to take a greater care of my own preſervation, and that of my people, than any of you all, that pretend to ſo much concern for the ſecurity of my perſon: and yet as careful as I am of my own preſervation, I would much ſooner loſe this life, of which you pretend to be ſuch watchful preſervers, than ever part with any of my prerogatives, or betray this place, the laws, or the religion, or alter the true ſucceſſion of the crown; it being repugnant both to conſcience and law.* *For that matter*, replied the Earl, *let us alone, we will make a law for it.* But the King told him, *My Lord, if this is your conſcience, it is far from being mine, for*

(7) Extract from a pamphlet intitled, The Lord Shafteſbury's Expedient for ſettling the Nation, diſcourſed with his Majeſty at Oxford, &c.

was very buſy and aſſiduous, as appears by all the trials in reference to what was then called a plot, and was in reality a deſign againſt the government, which was in agitation for ſeveral months, but whether it was or was not to be attempted by force, is not extremely clear (*i*). The ſhare which Sir Thomas Armſtrong was ſuppoſed to have in it, was chiefly with reſpect to the guards, which, as he had commanded, he was thought to be beſt acquainted with, and therefore, whenever the deſign of ſurpriſing them came upon the carpet, he was principally conſulted. It was ſaid by the Attorney-General, at the trial of my Lord Ruſſel, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong was one of the Council of Six (*k*), but there was no proof of it. The matter of fact which bore hardeſt upon him, and which induced the government to purſue him with ſo much eagerneſs as they did, was the poſitive proof of his being preſent at the fatal meeting at Mr. Sheppard's, in the latter end of October 1682, at which meeting, a deſign of riſing in Dorſetſhire was talked of, in which Mr. Trenchard had promiſed to aſſiſt, but then declined it, to which it ſeems Sir Thomas Armſtrong was no ſtranger (*l*). He likewiſe was ſaid to have ſeen a declaration, or repreſentation of grievances, that was produced and read at this meeting, and thoſe who diſcovered this plot affirmed, that he propoſed the attacking the guards, and, in company with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey, went to view them at the Savoy and the Meuſe, and on their return reported, that the guards were very remiſs in their places, and not like ſoldiers, and the thing was feaſible if they had ſtrength to do it (*m*). The Lord Ruſſel himſelf afterwards owned, that there was ſome ſuch diſcourſe as this, but that it was a ſuppoſition only, a bare enquiry, whether the thing was poſſible, and not any formed or ſettled deſign [*D*]. But the Court had no ſooner received informations of this nature againſt Sir Thomas, than they took all imaginable pains to get him into their hands; but he having timely notice of the diſcoveries made againſt him, made his eſcape, and concealed himſelf for ſome time in England, during which he was ſo uneaſy, that Mr. Hampden, who viſited him, was of opinion, he would then have diſcovered any thing to ſave his life; but either Mr. Hampden

(*i*) See Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot, and compare it with Ld. Ruſſel's Trial in the third volume of State Trials.

(*k*) State Trials, Vol. iii. p. 712, 713.

(*l*) See Mr Sheppard's evidence in the courſe of that Trial.

(*m*) State Trials, Vol. iii. p. 714.

this cannot be done without overthrowing all religion and law. And in fine, aſſure yourſelves that, as I love my life ſo well as to take all the care in the world to keep it with honour, ſo I do not think it of ſo great value, after fifty, to be preſerved with the forfeiture of my honour, conſcience, and the laws of the land. But this flat declaration did not either ſatisfy the Duke or diſcourage the Earl who prompted him. On the contrary, they proſecuted their intrigues with greater eagerneſs and openneſs than ever. The Duke, for that purpoſe, thought it neceſſary to make a tour through ſeveral parts of England, under colour of horſe-races and other diverſions, which alarmed the court exceedingly. An eminent hiſtorian prefaces his account of what happened in 1683, by ſaying (8), 'The Duke of 'Monmouth had been the laſt ſummer diverting himſelf in the country, with Sir Thomas Armſtrong in 'his company: In his return toward London, he was 'taken into cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms at Stafford. 'The Duke received the meſſage with great preſence 'of mind, and went along with the Serjeant to London; and offered himſelf to Mr. Secretary Jenkins 'to be examined, provided there were others of the 'council preſent; but the Secretary refuſing to let any 'of the Lords attend, the Duke would not be queſtioned by him; ſo the Secretary ordered a ſecond 'warrant to be drawn, for the Meſſenger's keeping 'him in longer cuſtody, which he did from Saturday 'till Monday, and then the Duke was bailed before 'Judge Raymond: His bail were, the Earl of Clare, 'the Lord Grey, the Lord Ruſſel, William Leviſon 'Gower, Eſq; and John Offley, Eſq; The firſt day of 'the term he made his appearance at the King's 'Bench Bar, according to his recognizance, and cleared his bail.' In all this troubleſome affair, and in all the tranſactions the Duke of Monmouth was engaged in with his party, Sir Thomas Armſtrong was conſtantly concerned, and carried moſt of his orders and meſſages.

(8) Compleat Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 409.

[*D*] *The thing was poſſible, and not any formed deſign.*] It is neceſſary upon this occaſion, to give a ſuccinct account of this contrivance, againſt King Charles II.'s government, in which this gentleman was unluckily involved, the rather, becauſe moſt of our hiſtorians make themſelves parties in their relations, and either wholly juſtify the court, or elſe declare the whole ſtory of this deſign a forgery (9). Of theſe neither is to be done, becauſe neither can be done with truth. But as we have not much room to ſpare, and ſhall be obliged to touch this ſubject again under various articles, we ſhall be very ſhort here. The views of thoſe who were involved in this unhappy plot, appear to have regarded three different objects. By blending and confounding theſe, the court lawyers endeavoured to repreſent all as equally guilty, of which, as they fell ſhort in proof, it afforded room to ſuggeſt that none were guilty at all. In the firſt deſign, which was for a ſort of general inſurrection, in order to obtain a redreſs of grievances, all the Lords, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong, were concerned. The ſecond project, was the killing the King and Duke, in their paſſage from Newmarket to London, from a malt-houſe that ſtood upon the road, and from its being called the Rye-houſe, gave name to the plot. The third deſign was in conſequence of this: for a fire happening at Newmarket, which obliged the King to leave that place ſuddenly and go to Cambridge, upon this, thoſe deſperate people who were in the Rye-houſe deſign, were for proceeding ſtill, and for attacking the King and Duke in their paſſage to London. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that there is ſome confuſion in the accounts we have, about the deſign of attacking the guards, for amongſt the Lords and other perſons of diſtinction, it had been *talked of*, but among the ſecond ſort of people who were engaged in the Rye-houſe ſcheme, it had been really *agreed on*. Biſhop Burnet who certainly knew this matter as well as any man, and very probably had all he ſays about it, from the mouth of Lord Ruſſel, gives the following account of the converſation at Sheppard's, which was fatal to that Lord, and to Sir Thomas Armſtrong (10). 'The 'Duke of Monmouth, ſays he, gave an appointment 'to Lord Shaftſbury, or ſome of his friends, to meet 'him, and ſome others that he ſhould bring along 'with him, at Sheppard's, a wine merchant in whom 'they had an entire confidence. The night before 'this appointment, Lord Ruſſel came to town on account of his uncle's illneſs. The Duke of Monmouth 'went to him, and told him of the appointment, and 'deſired he would go thither with him: he conſented 'the rather, becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of that 'merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord 'Grey, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong. When they 'came, they found none there but Rumſey and Ferguſon, two of Lord Shaftſbury's tools that he employed: Upon which they ſeeing no better company, 'reſolved immediately to go back. But Lord Ruſſel 'called for a taſte of the wines, and while they were 'bringing it him up, Rumſey and Armſtrong fell into 'a diſcourſe of ſurpriſing the guards. Rumſey fancied it might be eaſily done: Armſtrong, that had 'commanded them, ſhewed him his miſtakes. This 'was no conſultation about what was to be done, 'but only about what might have been done; Lord 'Ruſſel ſpoke nothing upon the ſubject: but as ſoon 'as he had taſted his wines, they went away.'

(9) See the Complete Hiſt. of England before cited. The Examen of that Hiſtory by Roger North, Eſq; and Biſhop Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe plot.

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 537, 538.

was miſtaken, or Sir Thomas changed his ſentiments afterwards, and that in a very great degree, ſince he ſhewed infinitely more courage when in cuſtody, and even to his laſt breath, than any who were engaged with him in that weak and raſh deſign (*o*). After ſome time ſpent, with as much ſecrecy as poſſible in England, he withdrew into Holland, and paſſed by the name of Mr. Henry Lawrence, and there thought himſelf ſafe; but Mr. Chudleigh, King Charles's Miniſter there, obtaining a warrant from the States, for apprehending ſuch of the conſpirators as had fled from England, he was ſeized at Leyden by the Schout of that place, an officer not unlike our Sheriff, who delivered him up to the King's Miniſter for a preſent of five thouſand guilders, which is about five hundred pounds of our money (*o*), and he was then put on board the King's yatch called the Catherine, Captain Davies Commander, in order to be ſent to England. He muſt have been in great confuſion, otherwiſe he might certainly have preſerved his life; ſince, as he was a native of Holland, the States, if they had been informed of it in time, would undoubtedly have protected him (*p*); but he was hurried on board by the great induſtry of the Miniſter, who was very deſirous of making his court at home, by giving ſo ſtrong a proof of his zeal and diligence, as he knew the ſeizing of Sir Thomas Armſtrong would be accounted. While this unfortunate gentleman was in Holland, an indictment was preferred againſt him in London, for high-treaſon, upon which he was outlawed, and upon his being brought home, it was reſolved to proceed againſt him upon this outlawry, without allowing him the benefit of a trial (*q*). It was with this view, that immediately on his arrival in England, a warrant was granted for his commitment to Newgate, by Sidney Godolphin, Eſq; Secretary of State (afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England). This warrant was dated 10th June, 1684 (*r*), and upon the fourteenth of the ſame month, he was carried up to the King's-Bench-Bar at Weſtminſter, where Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney General, moved the court for an award of execution upon the outlawry. The Lord Chief Juſtice Jefferies on his motion ordered Sir Thomas Armſtrong to be arraigned on the outlawry, and demanded of him what he had to ſay, Why execution ſhould not be awarded: he pleaded the ſtatute of 6 Ed. VI. by which it was provided, that if a perſon outlawed, who was beyond the ſeas, rendered himſelf to the Chief Juſtice of England within one year, he might traverſe the indictment, or appeal, and have the benefit of a trial, which he claimed, by rendering himſelf there at the bar within the year. The Lord Chief Juſtice, however, being of opinion that his caſe was not within the ſtatute, becauſe he did not yield himſelf voluntarily, but was brought to the bar in cuſtody, was for awarding execution. Sir Thomas demanded Council upon the point of law, which was refuſed him. He then obſerved, that the King had been pleaſed to offer Holloway the benefit of a trial, if he deſired it, who was exactly in the ſame caſe with himſelf. To this the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, that what was done for Holloway, was purely through the grace and mercy of the King, who might extend the ſame favour to him if he thought fit, but that this was not the buſineſs of a court of law (*s*). The Attorney-General interpoſed, and ſaid, that the priſoner deſerved no indulgence or mercy from the King, becauſe it had appeared by the evidence given on the late conſpiracy, that after the fire at Newmarket had diſappointed the Rye-houſe ſcheme of killing the King, this gentleman was one of the perſons that actually engaged to go, upon the King's haſty coming to town, and to deſtroy him by the way (*t*). The Lord Chief Juſtice interrupted the Attorney upon this, and told him, that they could not conſider evidence but the outlawry, upon which he awarded execution on the Friday following. There were many circumſtances of apparent hardſhip in Sir Thomas's caſe. At the time he was taken he was ſtripped of his money, ſo that when the Privy-Council offered to hear Lawyers on his behalf, he could not procure Council, having no money to fee them (*u*). He was in a manner hurried out of his life; for on the tenth of June 1684, he was committed to Newgate; on the twelfth he was brought before the Council: this proceeding at the King's-Bench-Bar, was on the fourteenth, and the day fixed for his execution was the twentieth. He was loaded with irons in Newgate, where he was cloſely confined, and ill treated, the jaylor ſtriking his daughter, Mrs. Catherine Armſtrong, while on her knees aſking him bleſſing (*w*). His other daughter, Mrs. Matthews, was committed by the Lord Chief Juſtice in court, for expreſſing ſome impatience at her father's uſage; but ſhe was afterwards diſcharged without paying fees (*x*). The worſt of all was, the brutal manner in which the Chief Juſtice himſelf behaved, for, upon Sir Thomas's ſaying that he ought to have the benefit of the law, and that he demanded no more, Jefferies, with great indecency, anſwered, *That you ſhall have, by the Grace of God. See that execution be done on Friday next, according to law. You ſhall have the full benefit of the law* (*y*). Yet the point on which the priſoner depended, and which was clearly ſet forth, in a paper tendered to the Chief Juſtice and Attorney-General [*E*], was certainly

(*o*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 578.

(*o*) Burnet, ubi ſupra, p. 577.

(*p*) *Id.* ubi ſupra, p. 577, 578.

(*q*) See the proceedings in the third volume of the State Trials, p. 983.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) State Trials, Vol. iii. p. 984.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 985.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 985.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 459.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 985.

(*y*) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *Paper tendered to the Chief Juſtice and Attorney-General.*] This paper was preſented by the Lady Armſtrong, on the behalf of her huſband, to the Lord Keeper North, the Lord Chief Juſtice Jeffries, and Sir Robert Sawyer; and ran in the following terms (11), viz. 'My Lord, I am informed, 'that, by the common law of England, any man 'that was outlawed in felony or treaſon, might 'bring a Writ of Error, to reverſe his outlawry; 'which was to be granted, *ex Debito Juſtitiæ*. Though 'it

(11) State Trials, Vol viii. p. 454.

certainly in his favour, and the court of King's-Bench have de[illegible] as much ſince, in caſes of the like nature, where priſoners have been admitted to a trial (z) [F]. The chief reaſon why the King ſuffered this gentleman to be ſo hardly treated, was expreſſed by the Attorney-General, as has been before ſhewn; but there were beſides ſome other reaſons, with which we ſhall not leave the reader unacquainted [G]. On Friday the twentieth

(z) See the remarks in note [F].

' it may be the manner of ſuing for ſuch a Writ ' of Error to the King, might be by way of petition, ' (as in a petition, or *Remonſtrance de Droit*, for lands, ' &c.) and ſo it was reſolved in Ninian Melvin's ' Caſe, Co. 4. Inſt. 215.

' Next, by the common law, if any man were in ' England, at the time of the Exigent awarded, and ' went out of the realm after that, and before the ' outlawry pronounced, he could never aſſign that for ' error, that he was beyond-ſea at the time of the ' pronouncing the outlawry; and the reaſon is, be- ' cauſe he was here at the time of the awarding ' of the Exigent, and might reaſonably have notice ' of it.

' On the other ſide, if any were out of England, ' during the whole proceſs and pronunciation of the ' outlawry, it was never yet a doubt, but that was ' an error, and might be aſſigned for error, either ' by the party or his heir, at the common law, and ' ſo continues to this day; and was not long ſince ad- ' judged in O'Kerney's caſe, the Iriſhman, who came ' in about two years after the outlawry.

' Then comes the Statute of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. ' Cap. ii. and enlarges the law for the benefit of the ' outlawed perſon, and gives him liberty to aſſign ' for error, That he was beyond-ſea, at the time ' of the outlawry pronounced; which he could not ' do by common law before the ſtatute: and ſo ' continues.

' Then comes the proviſo, and ſays, That he muſt ' come in within a year, and render himſelf to be ' entitled to the benefit of that Act; which was, to ' aſſign for error, that he was beyond-ſea at the time ' of the outlawry pronounced.

' So that, my Lord, upon this ſhort ſtate of the ' law, and my huſband's caſe, he being beyond-ſea ' all the time of the proceſs, and at the time of the ' outlawry pronounced; it is conceived, he is well en- ' titled to aſſign this for error at the common law, ' without any aid of the ſtatute, though the pro- ' viſo in that ſtatute ſhould be ruled againſt him: ' which (with ſubmiſſion) is the opinion of many ' learned perſons in the law, That he is within ' the intent and meaning of that proviſo, for many ' reaſons, too long to trouble your Lordſhip with ' now.

' Therefore, I do hope, that this caſe of my ' huſband, being the firſt caſe that any man was ' executed upon an outlawry (that did not deſire ' it) (12), may have that weight with your Lordſhip, ' that it deſerves; and do hope, that your Lordſhip ' will ſo adviſe the King, in matter of law (whoſe ' Council you are), that my huſband may have a ' Writ of Error granted him, and Counſel aſſigned ' him to argue theſe points, as the law has allowed ' to criminals in capital caſes, with whatſoever ' elſe ſhall appear upon the record of outlawry ' produced, which as yet my huſband, or any for him, ' never ſaw!'

(12) This refers to the caſe of Holloway concerned in the ſame Treaſon, who was offered a trial, refuſed it, and was executed on the Outlawry.

[F] *Where priſoners have been admitted to a trial.*] The ſtatute of which this gentleman claimed the benefit, was as clear and expreſs as any thing could be, as may appear by the following clauſes read at his trial (13). ' All proceſs of outlawry hereafter, ' to be made and had within this Realm, againſt ' any offenders in treaſon being reſiant or inha- ' bitant out of the limits of this realm, or in any ' the parts beyond the ſea, at the time of the out- ' lawry produced againſt them, ſhall be as good and ' effectual in the law to all intents and purpoſes, as ' if any ſuch offenders had been reſident and dwelling ' within this realm, at the time of ſuch proceſs a- ' warded, and outlawry pronounced.

' Provided always, and be it enacted by the autho- ' rity aforeſaid, That if the party ſo hereafter be out- ' lawed, ſhall within one year next after the ſaid out- ' lawry pronounced, or judgment given upon the ſaid ' outlawry, yield himſelf unto the Chief Juſtice of ' England, for the time being, and offer to traverſe ' the indictment or appeal, whereupon the ſaid out- ' lawry ſhall be pronounced as is aforeſaid: That ' then he ſhall be received to the ſaid traverſe, and ' being thereupon found not guilty, by the verdict ' of twelve men, he ſhall be clearly acquitted and ' diſcharged of the ſaid outlawry, and of all penal- ' ties and forfeitures by reaſon of the ſame, in as ' large and ample manner and form, as though no ' ſuch outlawry had been made? any thing herein ' contained to the contrary, in any wiſe notwith- ' ſtanding.'

(13) 5 and 6 Ed. VI., c. ii. § 3 and 4.

Yet it does not appear, that ever this point was fully and clearly ſettled till very lately, and that in the following caſe (14). King and Johnſon, Mich. 2 Geo. II. B. R. the priſoner, was allowed to be within the benefit of the proviſo; and though he had eſcaped out of priſon, and was re-taken in England, was admitted to prove himſelf beyond-ſea, at the time of the outlawry; and, upon proving that he was then at Middleburgh in Zealand, his outlawry was reverſed, and he admitted to a trial and acquitted: and on this occaſion Armſtrong's caſe was declared a precedent not fit to be followed.

(14) State Trials, Vol. iii. p. 984.

[G] *We ſhall not leave the reader unacquainted.*] There are three cauſes aſſigned for the King's ſeverity, towards the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armſtrong. I. That he had been employed by Cromwell, to aſſaſſinate him while abroad, which it ſeems had come to Sir Thomas Armſtrong's ear; but as we ſhall ſee in the next note, it is far from being certain, either that the King actually believed this, or that Sir Thomas thought he believed it. II. The reaſon aſſigned by the Attorney-General, which was, that he was deep in the deſign againſt his perſon; and of this the Lord Howard gave the following account upon oath. ' Upon reflection, I am apt to think, that ' from this time (October 1683) and not before, the ' deſign of waylaying the King, in his return to ' London, was firſt meditated; and I am the more ' confirmed in this opinion, from the conſideration ' of the behaviour of the Duke of Monmouth, and ' the Lord Grey, who ſeemed to be very big of ' expectation, of ſome great thing to be attempted ' upon the day of the King's coming from New- ' market; upon which day Sir Thomas Armſtrong ' was not to be found, till the King's coaches were ' come into town, and I do verily believe, he was ' to have headed the party.' Col. Rumſey, as ſoon as he heard of Armſtrong's being taken, made oath in theſe words: ' Sir Thomas Armſtrong did come ' to me the Sunday night after the fire at New- ' market, and told me that he juſt came from Fer- ' guſon; and notwithſtanding the King and Duke ' were to return ſo ſoon, yet Ferguſon did not doubt ' by that time to have men ready to do the buſi- ' neſs, and deſired me to go with him to Ferguſon's ' lodgings in his coach, which I did. When I came ' there, Ferguſon told me the ſame, but that they ' wanted money. Upon which Sir Thomas deſired ' me to lend ſome, and he would ſee me repaid; ' and added, that if he had been in ſtock, he would ' have done it himſelf.' Biſhop Sprat, who by order of the King wrote the Hiſtory of this Conſpiracy, having mentioned theſe facts, proceeds thus, very probably by his Majeſty's direction (15). ' After ' this, the King could not think himſelf in the leaſt ' bound to go out of the way of the law, for ' ſhewing any diſtinguiſhing act of grace to Sir ' Thomas Armſtrong, eſpecially when it is manifeſt ' there was ſcarce a man living, who had more ' perſonal obligations to his Majeſty, than he had, ' and yet no man had made more ungrateful re- ' turns for them than he had done. Nor could his ' Majeſty forget how many other perſons, and ſome ' very near his Majeſty, Sir Thomas Armſtrong had ' been the chief inſtrument of perverting, upon which ' account his Majeſty had reaſon to look on him ' as the author of many more treaſons beſides his ' own.' This ſeems to be clear and ſatisfactory, and is moſt like to have been the true ground of the King's proceeding. III. But Biſhop Burnet gives

(15) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe Plot, p. 143, 144.

quite

twentieth of June, about nine in the morning, the Sheriffs of London and Middleſex came to Newgate, and demanded their priſoner, who was immediately put into a ſledge, and drawn to the place of execution, attended by a numerous guard. He employed the time he was drawing to Tyburn, in reading *The Whole Duty of Man*, till he came within ſight of the gallows, and then he laid it by, and with lifted-up hands and eyes, addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, till he came beneath the tree, where he remained about a quarter of an hour in the ſledge. Before he aſcended the cart that ſtood ready for him, he deſired the Sheriff to admit Dr. Teniſon to come to him, and having delivered a paper to the Sheriff, the Doctor kneeled down with the priſoner, and prayed with him about a quarter of an hour, during all which time, the priſoner preſerved a becoming and heroic countenance, little daunted with the terror of that fate he was in view of; but riſing from his devotions, he pulled off his cravat and hat, which he gave to his ſervant who attended him, and had followed him by the ſledge ſide, when kneeling down himſelf, he prayed for a ſhort time with fervency and devotion, begging pardon of God for thoſe manifold and crying ſins he had been too often guilty of, and concluded with a reſignation of himſelf to the God of Heaven and Earth, before whoſe judgment-ſeat he was forthwith to appear, deſiring that the whole world would forgive him, with whom he hoped he died in peace and charity. Having thus ended theſe devotions, he again ſtood up, and putting off his periwig, he had a white cap delivered to him, which he put on; and being ſoon after tied up, the chief of his diſcourſe was addreſſed to a gentleman who ſtood by him; and after a ſhort ſpace, holding up his hands, he again renewed his prayers; his viſage little changing all that time, till the very moment the cart drew away: the executioner having pulled the cap over his eyes, he continued his prayers all the time, and even whilſt he hung, as long as life was in him, and he had the command of his lips. After he had hung about half an hour, and the executioner had diveſted him of his apparel, he was cut down according to his ſentence, his privy members burnt, his head cut off and ſhewed to the people as that of a traitor, his heart and bowels taken out, and committed to the flames, and his body quartered into four parts, which, with his head, were conveyed back to Newgate, to be diſpoſed of according to his Majeſty's pleaſure; and were afterwards publickly expoſed (*b*), his head being ſet upon Weſtminſter-Hall, between thoſe of Cromwell and Bradſhaw, one of his quarters upon Temple-Bar, two others at Alderſgate and Aldgate, and the fourth was ſent down to Stafford, for which town he had ſerved in Parliament (*c*). The paper he delivered to the Sheriffs, contains in it ſeveral curious particulars worthy of notice, and as it has been very imperfectly printed elſewhere, we have preſerved it in the notes (*d*) [*H*]. We are informed by Biſhop Burnet, that he prepared another paper (*e*), but thought fit to

(*b*) Weſtern Martyrology: or the Bloody Aſſizes, p. 71, 72, 73.
(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 1043.
(*d*) It differs from that in State Trials, Vol iii. p. 396, and which is taken from the Weſtern Martyrology, p. 73.
(*e*) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 579.

quite another turn to this; he ſays (16), *The Court had a mind to proceed in a ſummary way with him, that he ſhould, by the hurry of it, be driven to ſay any thing that could ſave him.* This is viſibly that Prelate's own conjecture; and the reader will not think it very probable, if he conſiders, that Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who was the laſt perſon executed for this conſpiracy, could therefore ſay very little that was not known before; and that he never appears to have had the leaſt offer of mercy made him.

(16) Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 578.

[*H*] *We have preſerved it in the notes.*]

A Copy of the Paper delivered by Sir Thomas Armſtrong *to the Sheriff* (17).

(17) From a MS. belonging to the late Mr. Grainger of the India Houſe.

'I THANK Almighty God, though I have had but a ſhort time allowed me, I find myſelf prepared for death, and my thoughts ſet on another world; and I truſt in God's mercy, I am well weaned from ſetting my heart on this: Yet I cannot but give ſo much of my little time to ſet down in writing, my anſwers to ſome calumnies raiſed ſince my cloſe impriſonment, as well as what Mr. Attorney accuſed me of at the bar. I was told, a very great perſon ſaid, I was a ſpy of Cromwell's. I was ſent from England by the beſt and conſiderableſt friends the King had then, with bills of exchange, and letters of very great importance, to his Majeſty at Bruſſels; I appeal to his Majeſty if I delivered them not ſafe, and his anſwer to them, when I returned; which I had not been above ſix days, but I was clapped up a cloſe priſoner in the Gatehouſe, and in extreme danger of my life, for that journey. Before this, I had been a year in Lambeth houſe a priſoner; and after a priſoner in the Tower, when the Uſurper died, and near ſtarving in every one of them: very ill treatment for a ſpy and a penſioner! My Lord of Oxford, and many others of quality, will, I think, teſtify my innocence in this point. I proteſt before God, I was never a ſpy or penſioner to Cromwell or any other man. On Saturday laſt, I was brought down to the King's-Bench-Bar, on an outlawry for high-treaſon: I was aſked what I had to ſay for myſelf, that judgment of death ſhould not paſs? I anſwered, that I was beyond ſea when the outlawry came out; I thought the law allowed a writ of error to reverſe it: I prayed I might be allowed a trial for my life according to the laws of the land; I urged the ſtatute of Edward VI., which was expreſs for it; but it ſignified nothing: I was condemned and made a precedent, though Mr. Holloway a little before had it offered him. I cannot but think all the world will conclude my caſe very different: And why was it refuſed me? Mr. Attorney accuſed me there, for being one of thoſe that were to kill the King, as ſoon as he came back from Newmarket after the fire. I take God to witneſs, I never was in any deſign to take away the King's life: neither had any man the impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to me: neither was I ever in any deſign to alter the government of England. What I am accuſed of, I know no otherwiſe than by reports and prints: which I take to be uncertain, ſo that it cannot be expected I ſhould make particular anſwers to them. If I had been tried, I could have proved my Lord Howard's baſe reflections upon me, to be a notorious falſhood: for there are at leaſt ten gentlemen, beſides all the ſervants in the houſe, can prove I dined there that day.

'I have lived and now die of the reformed religion, a true and ſincere Proteſtant, and in the communion of the Church of England. I have found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through my Bleſſed Redeemer, in whom I only truſt; and I do verily hope, I am going to partake of that fulneſs of joy, which I believe is in his preſence; the hopes whereof do infinitely pleaſe me. I thank God, I have no repining at my heart for the condition my ſins have moſt deſervedly brought me to: I have deſerved much worſe at the hands of God: ſo that I chearfully ſubmit to this puniſhment, as being taken off but a ſmall time ſooner. I do freely for-

to lay it aſide, for reaſons with which that Prelate ſeems to have been well acquainted, and which are likewiſe of ſuch a nature, as that they deſerve to be conſidered [*I*]. The characters given of him are very different [*K*]. After the Revolution, all the proceedings on the Rye-houſe conſpiracy were taken up with great warmth, and an enquiry was ſet on foot, to diſcover who were the promoters of the deaths of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, and Sir Thomas Armſtrong. Dame Catherine Armſtrong, who was the Earl of Clarendon's niece (*f*), ſhewed a great deal of zeal in proſecuting ſuch as had been concerned in bringing her huſband to an ignominious end, and for that purpoſe, preſented

(*f*) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 687.

'give all the world, even thoſe concerned in taking 'away my life. As for the ſentence of death paſſed 'upon me, I cannot but think it a very hard one; 'being denied the law of the land as I think. To 'conclude, as I never had any deſign againſt the 'King's life, or the life of any man; ſo I was never 'in any deſign to alter the government. I die in 'charity with all the world; and therefore, I heartily 'pray God to bleſs the church of Chriſt every where, 'theſe poor nations, and the King's Majeſty; and I 'heartily commend my ſoul to God's infinite mercy, 'through my bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.'

[*I*] *They deſerve to be conſidered.*] In the firſt place, it is very evident from the drift of Sir Thomas's ſpeech, which is very ſerious, ſolemn, and well-ſuited to the occaſion, that he does by no means come up to what Biſhop Burnet aſſerts was his meaning. For after the ſtory tranſcribed from him in a former note (18), as to what the King ſhould ſay of his being employed by Cromwell to murder him, that prelate proceeds thus: '(19) Armſtrong took this heavily, and in one paper 'which I ſaw written in his own hand, the reſent-'ments upon it were ſharper than I thought became a 'dying penitent. So when that was repreſented to him 'he changed it: and in the paper he gave the Sheriffs 'he had ſoftened it much. But yet he ſhewed the 'falſehood of that report.' One cannot but ſtand amazed at this, when one conſiders the ſpeech itſelf, in which, as the reader ſees, there is not one word about his being charged with a deſign of killing the King when he went to him at Bruſſels, or any thing like it. All that it appears from his ſpeech Sir Thomas Armſtrong had heard, was his being charged with acting as a ſpy for Cromwell, which was (as he ſays) reported of him by a very great perſon, but plainly not the King, for it is to the King he appeals for his juſtification in this very point. As to another obſervation of the Biſhop's, that it was this paſſage in Armſtrong's ſpeech, that hindered the court from ordering obſervations to be made on it, as had been made on other ſpeeches; it is a very unnatural conjecture, ſince if the King had told ſuch a ſtory, he would certainly have juſtified, or elſe have directed Biſhop Sprat to have mentioned it in that part of his hiſtory of the conſpiracy, in which he particularly mentions the caſe of Armſtrong. As to the real cauſe of the court's publiſhing no reflections on this ſpeech, I really conceive it to have been the modeſty, plainneſs, and loyalty of the diſcourſe, that hindered its being animadverted upon. Sir Thomas Armſtrong diſavows the knowledge of any deſign againſt the King's life, but ſays nothing of the diſcourſe about the guards. He thought, like Lord Ruſſel, that attacking the guards, becauſe not eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, was neither levying war, nor compaſſing his death in the eye of the law. He likewiſe affirms, that he was in no conſpiracy for ſubverting the government. One would ſuppoſe therefore, the Duke of Monmouth was in no ſuch ſchemes either, and that this was what provoked the Earl of Shafteſbury to withdraw to Holland, as finding his friends differing from each other's opinion, and purſuing various ends, which he knew muſt iſſue in diſappointing them all. It ſhould ſeem therefore on the whole, if we give entire credit to Sir Thomas's ſpeech (as indeed we ought): I ſay it ſhould ſeem as if the Duke of Monmouth and his friends, had formed ſome ſuch deſign as proved fatal to Robert, Earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and this juſtifies the diſtinction we made before, of the ſtages and ſeveral ſchemes of thoſe who were involved in this unlucky contrivance. But with reſpect to Sir Thomas's complaint as to his hard treatment, take it in any light, and it muſt be allowed to be well founded: the offering Holloway his trial in the ſame condition, makes the caſe ſtill harder, and if the Attorney-General's proofs were ſo clear, that made it no leſs hard; as on the other hand, if Sir Thomas could have falſified Lord Howard's evidence, that made it hardeſt of all. But what ſhews there was ſome particular rancour againſt Armſtrong, was the indicting Mr. Joſeph Hayes (20) for remitting him one hundred and fifty pounds when in Holland, though outlawed, and trying him for high-treaſon, in which, however, the proof failed, Mr. Hayes was acquitted.

(18) See before in note [*A*].

(19) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 579.

(20) State Trials, Vol. iii. p. 1067.

[*K*] *The characters given of him are very different.*] It was a point of great conſequence to the government, to convince the nation of the truth of this conſpiracy, and therefore the King not only publiſhed a very ſolemn declaration, in which he ſet forth moſt of the particulars, and ordered it to be read in churches, that the people in all parts of his dominions might be thoroughly informed of what it was deſired they ſhould know; but afterwards deſired Dr. Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to write the hiſtory of it, which he did with accuracy and elegance. His Lordſhip particularly aimed at drawing characters well; and that which he has given to Sir Thomas Armſtrong is conceived in the following words: 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong a de-'bauched atheiſtical bravo, one of thoſe, who, with 'an hypocriſy peculiar to this age, would have paſſed 'for the moſt forward reformer in Church and 'State, whilſt they themſelves, both in their practice 'and opinions, were the greateſt corrupters of vir-'tue and all good manners (21).' Throughout the whole of that hiſtory, his Lordſhip repreſents him as the moſt ſteady, and the moſt daring of all who were concerned in this deſign; and at the very laſt, when all their ſchemes were broken, inſiſting, that if but a thouſand men could be got together, with the Duke of Monmouth at their head, there might ſtill be ſomething done, adding, that at the worſt it was better to die like men, than to be hanged like dogs (22)—— There is plainly in this character, a mixture of great as well as bad qualities; and if we conſider the view with which the Biſhop wrote, and his being immediately under the influence of the King, for his hiſtory was finiſhed in the reign of Charles II. though publiſhed in that of King James; I ſay, if we conſider this, we cannot but allow, that whoever reads this character, will have no mean or deſpicable opinion of the gentleman on whom it is beſtowed. But let us now ſee what Biſhop Burnet ſays of him, who profeſſed a perfect acquaintance with all who were concerned in this affair, which he treats more at large, and with apparently greater labour than any other tranſaction mentioned in his firſt volume. 'Sir Thomas Armſtrong, 'ſays he, was truſted in every thing by the Duke of 'Monmouth, and he having led a very vicious life, 'the court hoped, that he not being able to bear the 'thoughts of dying, would have diſcovered every 'thing. He ſhewed ſuch a dejection of mind while 'he was concealing himſelf, before he eſcaped out of 'England, that Hampden, who ſaw him at that time, 'told me, he believed he would certainly do any 'thing that would ſave his life. Yet all were diſap-'pointed in him, for when he was examined before 'the council, he ſaid he knew of no plot but the Po-'piſh plot, he deſired he might have a fair trial for 'his life, which was all he aſked (23).—— His car-'riage during his impriſonment and at his death, was 'far beyond what could have been imagined; he turn-'ed himſelf wholly to the thoughts of God, and of 'another ſtate, and was praying continually. He re-'joiced that he was brought to die in ſuch a manner: 'he ſaid it was ſcarce poſſible for him to have been 'awakened into a due ſenſe of his ſins, by any other 'method. His pride, and his reſentments, were then 'ſo entirely conquered, that one who ſaw him, ſaid to 'me, that it was not eaſy to think it was the ſame 'perſon whom he had known formerly; he received 'the ſacrament, and died in ſo good a temper, and 'with ſo much quiet in his mind, and in ſo ſerene a 'deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time 'a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of 'God (24).'

(21) Hiſt. of the Rye-houſe Plot, p. 22.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 57, 68.

(23) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 577, 578.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 675.

on the twelfth of November 1689, a petition to the House of Commons, in the name of herself and her daughters; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine the matter, and to make their report to the House (*g*). They came also the same day to a resolution, that it should be an instruction to the same Committee, that they should enquire, who were the Judges that gave the sentence against Sir Thomas Armstrong, who were the prosecutors of him, and who had his estate, and how the petitioners may have reparation; and also to examine, what proceedings were in order to a Writ of Error by him desired, and how it came to be denied, and by whom. This affair being taken up with so much ardour, and the Committee being particularly directed to make their report with all convenient speed, one might naturally expect that the inquiry would have been attended with consequences of an extraordinary nature. The report, indeed, which was made on the nineteenth of November, promised as much. It was made by Mr. Chrisly, who informed the House, that, upon a full enquiry, the Committee had come to the resolutions mentioned in the notes [*L*]. There was about the same time an inquiry set on foot in the House of Lords, to inspect who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Alderman Cornish, and others, before whom several persons were examined, and amongst them Dame Catherine Armstrong, widow of Sir Thomas, Mrs. Jane Matthews, and Mrs. Catherine Armstrong, his daughters; but they proved no more than the refusing the writ of error, and the bad usage Sir Thomas had met with, so that it was not looked upon as sufficient evidence to ground any parliamentary proceeding upon, in regard to Sir Thomas, though the other attainders were reversed (*b*). On the twentieth of January 1689, Mr. Chrisly reported from the Committee to whom the bill for reversing the attainder of Sir Thomas Armstrong was committed, that they had made some amendments to the bill, and discovered who were his prosecutors, and what losses were sustained by his family; upon which Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Francis Wythins, the executors of the late Lord Jefferies, the executors of the late Mr. Justice Walcot, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Burton, were ordered to attend the House; and Mrs. Matthews being called in and examined, charged Sir Robert Sawyer, who at the time of the prosecution was Attorney-General, and then a member of the House, with being one of the prosecutors of her father, upon which, after she was withdrawn, he was heard in his place, as to what he was able to offer in his own defence, and then withdrew (*i*). The House upon a debate resolved, that his name should be added to the rest of the prosecutors of Sir Thomas Armstrong, and at the same time expelled him the House. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, Sir Francis Wythins, Sir Richard Holloway, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Burton, were examined, and the executors of the late Lord Jefferies were likewise called in, and asked what they had to say, Why reparation should not be made out of the estate of the late Lord Jefferies to the family of Sir Thomas Armstrong, for the losses they had sustained by his attainder. No persons appearing as executors to the late Mr. Justice Walcot, the House was acquainted that he died intestate, and that he had not left an estate sufficient to pay his debts (*k*). After all these persons had been heard and withdrawn, Mr. Blaney was called in, who gave the House a large account of the proceedings in the court of King's-Bench, on the awarding execution against Sir Thomas Armstrong upon the outlawry. The House then proceeded upon the amendments made by the Committee to the bill, and after inserting the name of Sir Robert Sawyer, Knt. as a prosecutor, they resolved, that the sum of five thousand pounds should be paid by the Judges and prosecutors of Sir Thomas Armstrong to his widow and children, as a recompence for the losses they had sustained, by reason of his

(*g*) See the Journals of the House of Commons, *Die Martis* 12° *Novembris*, 1689, and of the subsequent dates.

(*b*) State Trials, Vol. viii. p. 462, 463. 517, 518, 519.

(*i*) See the Journals of the House of Commons, Jan. 20, 1689. The Division on his Expulsion was, Yea's 131. No's 71.

(*k*) See the Journals of the House of Commons, Jan. 25, 1689.

[*L*] *The resolutions mentioned in the notes.*] The resolutions to which the Committee came, were these that follow, viz.

'I. That Sir Thomas Armstrong's plea ought to 'have been admitted according to the statute of 'Edw. VI., and that the execution of him, upon the 'attainder by outlawry, was illegal and a murder, by 'pretence of justice.

'II. That the executors and heirs of Sir Thomas 'Armstrong, ought to have a reparation of their losses, 'out of the estates of those that were his judges and 'prosecutors.

'III. That a Writ of Error for the reversal of a 'judgment in felony or treason, is the right of the 'subject, and ought to be granted at his desire, and 'is not an Act of Grace or Favour, which may be 'denied or granted at pleasure.'

To all which Resolves the House agreed.

The House being at the same time acquainted, that the Committee had received an account, that, at the time of his decease, Sir Thomas Armstrong stood possessed of 300 *l. per annum* real estate, bonds and securities for 4800 *l.* and an annuity of 500 *l.*

Ordered.

'That leave be given to bring in a bill to re-'verse the attainder of the said Sir Thomas Arm-'strong, and to make reparation to his widow and 'children, out of the estates of the judges and 'prosecutors, and that the Bill do pass without 'fees (25).'

[It hath been remarked to us, by a learned correspondent, that if, when it is said in the note [G] Sir Thomas Armstrong was the last person who was executed for the conspiracy, it was meant to insinuate that this was owing to the mercy of the Court, there is no reason to think that such was the case. Sir Thomas was the last that suffered, because the government was not able to find evidence against more offenders who could be reached. The same correspondent hath observed, with regard to the strictures upon Bishop Burnet, in the note [*I*], that Sir Thomas Armstrong, in his dying paper, says, he never was in *any design* to take away the King's life; which must imply Brussels, as well as Newmarket. Nothing but the strongest prejudices of party (to which, however, the most ingenious and worthy men may be subject) can induce any to soften the arbitrary and cruel measures of the latter end of King Charles the Second's reign. It is observable that three of our latest historians, Hume, Dalrymple, and M'Pherson, who will not be suspected of an intention to exaggerate matters against the government of that time, do uniformly concur in representing the treatment of Sir Thomas Armstrong as an act of injustice (26).] K.

(25) See the Journals of the House of Commons, *Die Martis* 19° *Novem.* 1689.

(26) Hume's Hist. of Great Brit. Vol. viii. p. 194, &c. Dalrymple's, ditto, Vol. i. p. 38. Macpherson's, ditto, Vol. i. p. 412.

attainder;

attainder; and upon a debate, the bill was recommitted to the ſame Committee (*l*). But notwithſtanding all theſe vigorous reſolutions, there followed nothing from them, for the ſeſſion of Parliament ſoon after ended (*m*), and ſo the bill was loſt; and a new Parliament being called in the ſucceeding year, in which there was nothing done in matters of this nature, the attainder remained in full force, and the family of Sir Thomas Armſtrong continued under all the difficulties brought upon them by it, till, in the ſixth of William and Mary, it was reverſed upon a writ of error (*n*) in the King's-Bench, in which the error aſſigned was, that the record of the outlawry did not mention where the court of Huſtings was held, in which he was outlawed, the words *pro civitate London*, being omitted. Of this error Sir Thomas himſelf might have taken advantage, if he could have obtained ſuch a writ; but the doctrine in law then was, that a writ of error was a writ of grace, and therefore the Lord Keeper North ſaid, it was not in him, but in the King to grant it; ſo that the ſubject gained this advantage, by the parliamentary enquiry beforementioned, *viz.* that the Houſe of Commons by their reſolution eſtabliſhed the contrary doctrine, That a writ of error is a writ of right, and not of favour, which may be granted or denied at pleaſure (*o*). C.

(*l*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 372, 373.

(*n*) 4 Modern Rep. p. 366.

(*o*) See the third Reſolution in note [*L*].

ARNULPH or EARNULPH or ERNULPH, Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reign of King Henry I., was a Frenchman by birth, and for ſome time a Monk of St. Lucian de Beauvais. Obſerving ſome irregularities among his brethren, which he could neither remedy nor endure, he reſolved to quit the monaſtery; but firſt he took the advice of Lanfranc Archbiſhop of Canterbury, under whom he had ſtudied in the abbey of Bec (*a*). That Prelate, who was well acquainted with his merit, invited him over into England, and placed him in the monaſtery of Canterbury, where he lived till Lanfranc's death. Afterwards, when Anſelm came into that See, Arnulph was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury [*A*], and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough (*b*) [*B*]. In 1115, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, in the room of Radulphus or Ralph, removed to the See of Canterbury [*C*]. He ſat nine years and a few days, and died in March 1124, aged eighty-four (*c*). This Prelate wrote a book concerning the foundation, endowment, charters, laws, and other things relating to the church of Rocheſter [*D*]. There are extant beſides, Tomellus, ſive Epiſtola Ernulfi ex

(*a*) Archbiſhop Lanfranc had been Prior of that monaſtery. See his article.

(*b*) W. Malmſb. de geſt. pontif. Angl. l. iii. p. 234. apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

(*c*) Golain, de Præſul. Angl. inter Epiſc. Roffenſ. an. 1115.

[*A*] *He was made Prior of the monaſtery of Canterbury.*] Part of the cathedral church of Canterbury, built by Archbiſhop Lanfranc, being fallen to the ground, Arnulph rebuilt it, and beautified it with fine glaſs windows, a pavement of marble, and a painted roof; inſomuch that it exceeded all the churches in England in magnificence. This we learn from William of Malmſbury. *Cantiæ dejectam priorem partem eccleſiæ, quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo ſplendide erexit, ut nihil tale poſſit in Anglia videri, in vitrearum feneſtrarum luce, in marmorei pavimenti nitore, in diverſicoloribus picturis, quæ mirantes oculos trahunt ad faſtigia lacunaris* (1).

(1) Malmſb. de Pontif. Angl. l. ii. p. 234, apud Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601.

[*B*] —— *and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough.*] Malmſbury tells us, he increaſed the number of monks in that monaſtery, and regulated their behaviour: he likewiſe cleared away the rubbiſh of the old convent, which was fallen into ruins, and had almoſt built a new one; but a ſudden fire deſtroyed all he had done, and, before he could repair the damage, he was removed to the See of Rocheſter. *In Burgo Monachorum numerus auctus, religio bonis monitis confota; Ædium veterum ruderibus deturbatis, nova fundamenta jacta, culmina erecta. Eaque omnia cum vorax ignis abſumſiſſet, meditanti reficere, honos pontificalis impactus* (2).

(2) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *He was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter.*] On the day of his election, he related to the monks of Rocheſter a viſion he had had a few days before, acquainting him with his approaching election into that See. The ſtory is told us by a contemporary writer as follows. 'Qui omni favore a ſuis acceptus, 'ipſo die electionis ſuæ dixit nobis: "Sciebam, in-"quit, Fratres, ante paucos dies me licet indignum "ad celſitudinem hujus ordinis in proximo promo-"vendum. Apparuit enim mihi dormienti, cum ad-"huc eſſem in loco meo, pater Gundulfus annulum "magni ponderis mihi offerens. Cumque ad grave-"dinem ipſius imbecillitas mea non ſufficere videre-"tur, me ad onus ejus ſtupidum et accipere renuen-"tem increpavit, et poſt increpationem annulum me "recipere coëgit; deinde non apparuit." Hæc ille, 'Nos autem qui præſentes ab eo hæc audivimus, in-'telleximus poſtea non fantaſticam eſſe illuſionem, 'quam vir ſanctus in ſomnis viderat; quia poſtmo-'dum factus Roffenſis Epiſcopus eundem annulum re-'cepit, quem Gundulfus Epiſcopus vivens Radulfo 'adhuc abbati ſed futuro Epiſcopo dederat (3). —— 'Arnulph being received by the Monks with all marks 'of reſpect, ſaid to us on the very day of his election: "Brethren, I had aſſurance given me a few days ago, "that, unworthy as I am, I ſhould ſoon be raiſed to "the dignity now conferred upon me. For as I ſlept "one night, Gundulphus (*) appeared to me, offer-"ing me a ring of great weight; which being too "heavy for me, I refuſed to accept it: but he, chiding "me for my ſtupidity in rejecting his preſent, obliged "me to receive it, and then diſappeared." This he 'related to us; and we were convinced it was no 'fantaſtical illuſion, which the holy man had ſeen in 'his ſleep, ſince, being made Biſhop of Rocheſter, he 'received that very ring, which Biſhop Gundulphus, 'when alive, had given to Ralph, then an Abbot, 'but afterwards Biſhop.' Malmeſbury tells us, that, though the long life of Gundulphus, and the care he took of his church, had ſcarcely left any thing for his ſucceſſors to do, yet that Arnulph made daily improvements in his See. *Ibi quamvis omnia jam facta viderentur (prævenerat enim vivacitas Gundulphi cmnium ſucceſſorum diligentiam) tamen ſemper aliquid comminiſci, ubi virtus eniteſcere poſſet; firmare antiqua, moliri recentia* (4).

(3) Monachus Roffenſ. de Vita, Gundulfi Epiſc. Roffenſ. Pars iii. in fine.

(*) Biſhop of Rocheſter, who died in 1108, and was ſucceeded by Ralph, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Arnulph's immediate predeceſſor.

(4) Malmſb. ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He wrote an hiſtory of the church of Rocheſter.*] It is generally known by the name of *Textus Roffenſis*, and is preſerved in the archives of the cathedral church of Rocheſter. Mr. Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra* (5), has publiſhed an extract of this hiſtory, under the title of *Ernulphi Epiſcopi Roffenſis Collectanea de Rebus Eccleſiæ Roffenſis, a prima Sedis Fundatione ad ſua Tempora. Ex Textu Roffenſi, quem compoſuit Ernulphus*; *i. e.* 'Collections of Ernulfus Bi-'ſhop of Rocheſter, concerning the church of Ro-'cheſter, from the firſt foundation of the See to his 'own time. Taken out of the *Textus Roffenſis*, com-'poſed by Ernulfus.' This extract conſiſts of the following particulars, I. *Nomina Epiſcoporum Roffenſium: i. e.* 'The names of the Biſhops of Rocheſter,' from Juſtus, who was tranſlated to Canterbury in 624, to Ernulfus incluſive. II. *Donationes Eccleſiæ Roffenſi facta*; *i. e.* 'Benefactions to the church of Rocheſter.' III. *De Placito apud Pinendenam inter Lanfrancum Archiepiſcopum et Odonem Baiocenſem Epiſcopum*: *i. e.* 'Of the 'agreement made between Archbiſhop Lanfranc, and 'Odo Biſhop of Bayeux.' IV. *Quomodo Lanfrancus terras extractas*

(5) Pars prima, p. 329.

ex Monacho Benedictino Episcopi Roffensis de Incestis Conjugiis [E]; i. e. *A Little Tract, or an Epistle of Ernulph a Benedictin Monk, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, concerning incestuous Marriages:* also, Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens ad varias Lamberti abbatis Bertiniani quæstiones, præcipue de Corpore et Sanguine Domini [F]; i. e. *An Epistle containing some answers to divers questions of Lambert, Abbot of Munster, especially concerning the body and blood of our Lord* (d). Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, and with Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter [G].

(d) Dacherius, Spicileg. tom. ii. p. 420, 421.

extractai Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ, et alias acquisitas Monachis contradidit, et de Gundulfo Episcopo; i. e. 'How Lanfranc restored to the Monks the lands of 'the church of St. Andrew, and others, which had 'been alienated from them.' V. *Quomodo Willelmus Rex filius Willelmi Regis rogatu Lanfranci Archiepiscopi concessit et confirmavit Roffensi Ecclesiæ S. Andreæ Apostoli ad victum Monachorum Manerium nomine Helenham; quare Gundulfus Episcopus Castrum Roffense lapideum totum de suo proprio Regi construxit.* i. e. 'How King William the Son of King William did, 'at the request of Archbishop Lanfranc, grant unto 'the church of St. Andrew the Apostle, at Rochester, 'the Manor called Hedenham, for the maintenance 'of the Monks; and why Bishop Gundulfus built for 'the King the stone castle of Rochester at his own 'expence.' VI. *Concessio Willelmi magni Regis; i. e.* 'A grant of the Great King William.' VII. *De Contentione inter Gundulfum et Pichot; i. e.* 'Of the dis-'pute between Gundulfus and Pichot.' VIII. *Donationes; i. e.* 'Benefactions' to the church of Rochester. It must not be dissembled, that Oudin (6) is of opinion, our Arnulph had no hand in this collection.

(6) Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccles. tom. ii. col. 1066. edit. Lipsi. 1722.

[E] *Tomellus, sive Epistola, &c.*] This letter was written in answer to a question proposed to Arnulph by Walkelin, in a conversation which they had at Canterbury upon this subject; *Whether a woman who had committed adultery with her husband's son by a former wife, ought to be separated from her husband.* Arnulph maintained the affirmative, and Walkelin the negative. In this letter Arnulph endeavours to shew, that all the passages of Scripture, in which divorce is prohibited, are to be understood of a voluntary separation between persons not guilty of adultery. And in confirmation of his own opinion, he alledges farther, that it was the practice of the ancient Church to prohibit the use of marriage for ever to adulterers. He asserts, that there is no injustice in separating a man from his wife for a crime, in which he himself is no way concerned (7).

(7) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. Centur. xii.

[F] *Epistola Solutiones quasdam continens, &c.*] This letter is an answer to five questions proposed by Lambert. The first is, 'Why the Eucharist was 'then given in a manner different, and almost con-'trary to that which Christ practised; it being the 'custom at that time to administer the Host dipt 'in wine, whereas our Saviour gave the bread and 'wine separately?' Arnulph replies, that our Saviour prescribed to mankind, what was necessary for the obtaining salvation, without mentioning the particular manner and circumstances of his injunctions: and that this is the reason why several practices, which were in use in the Primitive Church, had been a long time discontinued. The second question is, 'Why a 'third part of the Host is put into the chalice?' He answers, that this custom was introduced, that the Bishop or Priest, who celebrated, might communicate of that part, which he put into the chalice, and distribute the two others to the Deacon and Subdeacon, who were present. He adds a mystical reason for this practice; namely, that the body of Jesus Christ, which is offered upon the altar, is the sacrament or figure of the mystical body of Christ, which is composed of three orders, Superiors, Virgins, and Married Persons; or because it represents the mystery of the Trinity; or the three estates of our Saviour, his mortality, his death, and his resurrection. The third question is, 'Why the blood of Christ 'is received separately from his body, and whyi is 'administered without the body?' The answer is, that those who receive the Sacrament in both kinds separately, do it in imitation of our Saviour; and that though the body of Christ is received entire under each species, yet each species is received separately; because our Saviour has distinguished these two things, in order to represent to us, by the bread, his body such as it appeared, solid and entire; and, by the wine, his blood which was shed upon the cross. The fourth question is, 'Whether Jesus Christ is 'received, in the Eucharist, without a soul, or ani-'mated?' Arnulph answers, that such kind of questions are usually proposed by persons, who affect to appear learned, and endeavour to lay snares for the faith of the simple and unlearned, who believe with humility all that the Holy Ghost has taught them: that it is folly to pretend to dive into the incomprehensible mysteries of our religion; and that it is certain, that the substance of bread and wine, are changed into the body and blood of Christ, though it appears to the sense to be only bread and wine, and has all the qualities of those substances. The fifth and last question is concerning the sense of those words of the Prophet Joel, ch. ii. ver. 14. *Who knoweth if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him, &c.?* Arnulph answers, that the change of God's determination consists in the remission of sin, which he grants to those who repent; and that the meaning of the words, *leave a blessing behind him*, is, that he will bless those who follow him (8).

(8) Du Pin, ubi supra.

[These questions, and the answers to them, may afford a small specimen of the idle subjects upon which the talents of the schoolmen were employed. Many other instances might be produced, which are still more ridiculous. The ingenuity of men was exercised in a way that was totally disgraceful to the human understanding.] K.

[G] *Bale confounds our Arnulph with Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval, and Arnulphus the Presbyter.*] That author tells us, that Arnulphus went to Rome, where, inveighing strongly against the vices of the Bishops, particularly their lewdness, grandeur, and worldly-mindedness, he fell a sacrifice to the rage and resentment of the Roman Clergy, who caused him to be privately assassinated. *Quod cum fecisset tandem Romæ, Christianæ religionis propugnator egregius, in ejus necem Scribarum & Pharisæorum Clerus conspirabat. Prælatorum enim vitia insectabatur acerbe: in eorum impudicitias atque libidines perfortiter invehebat: histrionicas illorum pompas arguebat, & in corradendis divitiis immoderata improbabat studia. Illorum igitur insidiis tandem atrociter mactabatur* (9). But this is confounding him with Arnulphus the Presbyter, who, as Platina tells us, was destroyed by the treachery of the Roman Clergy, in the time of Pope Honorius II., for remonstrating with great severity against the corruptions of the Court of Rome. Nor could this possibly be true of our Arnulph, in the time of that Pope: for this Bishop of Rochester died before Honorius II. was raised to the Pontificate. As to the works ascribed by Bale to Arnulphus, such as *De Operibus sex dierum*, &c. they were written either by Arnoul Bishop of Lisieux, or by Arnoul Abbot of Bonneval. B.

(9) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. ii. c. 70.

ARNWAY (John) was descended of a very good family in the county of Salop, from which he inherited a considerable estate (a). He was born in 1601, educated in Grammatical learning in his own country, and in 1618 became a Commoner of St. Edmund's Hall, in Oxford, where he remained till he had taken his degrees in Arts, and had also received Holy Orders (b). He then went down again into Shropshire, where, in process of time, he obtained the Rectories of Hodnet and Ightfield, which he enjoyed to the breaking out of the civil war (c). He was a man of much learning

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 84.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. f. 40.

learning and very extenſive charity, ſo that though his income was very conſiderable, yet he laid up very little. It was his cuſtom to clothe annually twelve poor people according to their ſtation, and every Sunday he entertained as many at his table, not only plentifully, but with intimacy and reſpect (*d*). His loyalty to his Prince being as warm as his charity towards his neighbours, he raiſed and clothed eight troopers for his ſervice, and beſides, preached warmly againſt rebellion (*e*). The Parliament having a garriſon in the town of Wem, a detachment was ſent from thence to plunder him, which they did moſt ſucceſsfully, leaving him nothing; and beſides, terrifying him with the cruelleſt inſults (*f*). In 1640 he repaired to Oxford, to ſerve the King in perſon, having no longer any eſtate to ſerve him with. There he was created Doctor in Divinity, and had alſo the Archdeaconry of Coventry given him, on the promotion of Dr. Brownrig to the Biſhopric of Exeter (*g*). His former misfortunes did not hinder Dr. Arnway from being as active afterwards in the King's ſervice, which ſubjected him to a new train of misfortunes, his eſtate being ſequeſtered, and himſelf impriſoned (*h*). At length, after the King's murder, he obtained his liberty, and like many other loyaliſts, was compelled by the laws then in being to quit his native country, and retire to Holland. There he continued ſome time at the Hague, where, in 1650, he publiſhed two little pieces (*i*). The firſt entitled, *The Tablet: or, the Moderation of* Charles I., *the Martyr*. In which he endeavours to wipe off all the aſperſions that were thrown on that Prince's memory by Milton and his aſſociates. The ſecond is called *An Alarm to the Subjects of* England, in which he certainly did his utmoſt to picture the oppreſſions of the new government in the ſtrongeſt colours; and in this work he tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf [*A*]. His ſupplies from England failing, and his hopes in that country being alſo fruſtrated, he was compelled to accept an offer that was made him of going to Virginia, where, oppreſſed with grief and cares, he yielded to fate, in 1653, leaving behind him the character of a pious, upright, and truly conſtant man (*k*).

(*d*) Letter of Mr. Vaughan concerning the ſuffering Clergy, in the Weſtern Counties.

(*e*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 80.

(*g*) Survey of the Cathedrals by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. i. p. 410.

(*h*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 84.

(*k*) Walker, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He tells us ſome very remarkable things of himſelf.*] Both theſe books were reprinted in England, in an octavo volume, *A. D.* 1661, by the care of William Rider, of Merton College, who married a relation of our author's. But notwithſtanding this they are grown exceedingly ſcarce, and therefore I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe ſuch paſſages as relate to his own affairs. In his preface to the reader, before his Alarm to the Subjects of England, he ſays, 'He quitted a large 'fortune, of which he did not repent in his extreameſt 'penury, to ſerve that good Prince King Charles I. 'and was as ready to hazard himſelf to enthrone his 'ſon.' In another place he writes thus (1), 'Though 'I was urged with drawn ſwords and bloody halberts, 'to ſerve the idol (meaning the Covenant), I yet in'finitely more bleſs God for the deliverance of my 'ſoul from the idolatry thereof, than of my body 'from the peril of impriſonment, navigation, ſickneſs, 'and the deſert wherein I ſojourn; the three firſt of 'which I eſcaped very narrowly. They offered me 'reſtitution of 400*l. per annum*, ſweetened with the 'commendation of my abilities, to bow to it, in 'ſwallowing the oath and covenant; but Chriſt's re'jection of *hæc omnia dabo*, teaching me not to ſell 'myſelf to work wickedneſs, but to abhor preſenta'tions upon ſimoniacal contracts; I replied, I had 'rather caſt my ſtuff and tackling all overboard, to 'ſave my paſſenger and pinnace (ſoul and body), 'than ſink my paſſenger and pinnace to preſerve my 'ſtuff and tackling.' And again (2), 'Not to ſpeak 'of their other hard uſage, granting me not a Bible 'of my library to comfort me, not a ſheaf of my 'means to nouriſh me, not a ſuit of my cloaths to 'cover me, nor uſe of common air to refreſh me; 'but baniſhing me the country becauſe I would not 'be perjured with them; they haled me out of pri'ſon in the dead of the night, to tax me of Papiſtry, 'the undeſerved livery they gave to all true ſubjects 'and good Chriſtians, who, had their minds been un'ſettled in religion, haply might have thought the 'furtheſt remove from them, the neareſt approach to 'God; and ſo have been ſooner turned by their op'preſſion than by the arguments of Bellarmine.' C.

(1) Alarm to the Subjects of England, p. 88.

(2) *Id.* p. 117.

ARTHINGTON (HENRY), a gentleman of a good family in Yorkſhire who, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, engaged in ſome ſeditious practices againſt the Government (*a*). He was a man of moderate ſenſe and learning, zealouſly addicted to the Geneva diſcipline, and was engaged for ſeveral years, in diſtributing books in defence of a farther Reformation, and containing ſevere reflections on the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges, and other Magiſtrates. In the proſecution of his deſigns, he became acquainted with Mr. Edmund Coppinger, a younger brother of a good family, and ſworn ſervant to Queen Elizabeth, who was as far gone as himſelf in fanatical opinions, and who was continually repreſenting to him the neceſſity of a thorough reformation in Church and State (*b*). This acquaintance of theirs laſted ſeveral years, till by frequent converſations, hearing warm ſermons, and praying together, they had greatly heated their imaginations, in conſequence of which, they began to believe themſelves very extraordinary perſons. About the latter end of the year 1590, Coppinger informed Mr. Arthington, and Mr. Lancaſter, a School-maſter, that he had a deſire to marry a certain widow, intreating them to faſt and pray with him to obtain ſucceſs in this deſign; which they did. A little after Coppinger came to them again, and told them, that God had ſhewed him a ſecret myſtery, and that he knew a way to bring the Queen to repentance, and to cauſe all her Counſellors and Nobles to do the like immediately, otherwiſe he ſhould prove them traitors that refuſed. Mr. Arthington diſliked this diſcourſe, told him the thing was impoſſible, for that all motions of the heart depended on God alone. This, however, did not cure him, for in January 1590-91, he came again to Mr. Lancaſter's houſe in Shoe-Lane, where Mr. Arthington lodged, and there diſcourſed of his extraordinary calling, and of the means of trying whether ſuch calls came from God or not. Arthington and Lancaſter told him that they were but ordinary men,

(*a*) Camden. Annal Vol. iii. p. 631, edit. Hearne Stowe's Annals, p. 761. Collier's Eccl. Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 267.

(*b*) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 1, 2.

men, no fit counſellors for him on ſuch occaſion, and therefore deſired he would apply himſelf to ſome godly miniſters, and not trouble them with his ſecrets. But by degrees, Arthington was brought to have a better opinion of theſe manifeſtations, by means of a letter he received from one Mr. Penry, a Non-conformiſt miniſter, who was afterwards executed (*c*). He was at that time in Scotland, where ſeditious books were privately printed, and ſent thence to be diſtributed in England, and in an epiſtle to Arthington, his correſpondent, he ſignified that reformation muſt ſhortly be introduced in England. Arthington taking Penry for a Prophet, believed this, and perceiving Coppinger's pretended revelation tended the ſame way, he ſuffered him to talk more freely of his calling, but declined being informed of the particular means which were to be uſed, for bringing this great deſign about. Some time in Eaſter Term 1591, Coppinger became acquainted with Hacket, and ſoon after introduced Arthington alſo to his acquaintance. They dined together at one Lawſon's houſe near Paul's Gate, where Arthington was well pleaſed with the converſation: however he went down again into Yorkſhire, and did not return to London till the beginning of Trinity term (*d*). Then Coppinger came to him to his lodgings, and magnified Hacket as the holieſt man that had ever lived except Chriſt; which Arthington heard with diſlike. At laſt, however, he was prevailed on to viſit him, and to hear his long prayers, which appeared to him ſo divine, ſweet, and heavenly, that he was thereby drawn to have great admiration for him, as he expreſſed himſelf. But that which ſtruck him moſt, was Hacket's beſeeching God to confound him, if he did not ſeek his honour and glory, in all things he did; and he ſeeing that notwithſtanding this Hacket remained ſound and well, concluded he muſt be a moſt holy man. Coppinger farther informed Mr. Arthington, that Hacket was grievouſly tormented by ſorcerers and devils, inſomuch that he endured as cruel tortures as if he were in Hell, which being alſo affirmed by Hacket with prodigious oaths, Arthington at laſt believed. He alſo caught, by infection, his maſter's method of curſing and making horrid imprecations againſt himſelf, believing that he felt within him motions of the ſpirit, which he conceived were to be implicitly obeyed, on pain of damnation (*e*). In conſequence of theſe notions, he wrote a letter to the Queen, wherein he accuſed a great Counſellor of treaſon, offering to prove him a traitor in her preſence, by a new ſort of trial, as appears by part of his own letter cited in the note [*A*]. He was now in a manner wholly at Hacket's devotion, who wrought upon his mind very cunningly, and drew him from one thing to another, without his knowing on what grounds he acted, or what his real intention was. On Sunday the eleventh of July 1591, Arthington made a long prayer in the preſence of Hacket, wherein he beſought God to preſerve the Queen: upon this Hacket turned away his face, and did not look upon him again, until he prayed for other things. After prayers were over, Hacket caſt his arms about Arthington, told him that he loved the Queen, as well as he, or Coppinger, deſiring him not to be offended at his behaviour, which he ſaid God had commanded. Coppinger alſo told him, that the Queen might be prayed for, but not as a Sovereign, for that ſhe was not to reign but this man Hacket, and yet ſhe ſhould live better than ever ſhe did, though governed by another (*f*). On Thurſday the fourteenth, Arthington penned his prophecy of judgments againſt England, the matter of which the reader will meet with in the notes [*B*]. Coppinger alſo drew up a life of Hacket, which Arthington wrote over again fair, ſitting up for that purpoſe all

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 2—20.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.* See alſo Camd. Annal. p. 632.

(*f*) Conſpiracy for Diſcipline, p. 36, 37.

[*A*] *Cited in the note.*] Theſe new prophets, by virtue of that extraordinary power which they fancied to be committed to themſelves, deprived all ſuch of her Majeſty's Counſellors as were diſagreeable to them, that is to ſay, deprived them in the opinion of their hair-brained diſciples, calling them thenceforward, the Late Lord Chancellor, the Late Lord Treaſurer. This laſt was the famous William Lord Burleigh, particularly hated by theſe Enthuſiaſts, and, indeed, by all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth. It was of this great Counſellor that Arthington complained to her by a letter, in which he charged him to be the moſt dangerous enemy that was diſcovered ſince her Highneſs's reign, adding, *If your Majeſty cannot judge him to be ſo bad as I report him, yet give me leave in your ſacred preſence to fight the combat of prayer with him, wherein, if it pleaſe him, I will firſt begin to pray againſt myſelf, that if be be not as deeply guilty as I have charged him, then that God's vengeance may preſently conſume me both ſoul and body into Hell for ever, which if it come to paſs, the victory ſhall be his, and he return an innocent: But if he ſee me leap up for joy, as one that hath diſcovered him to be a traitor, then if he dare fall down in like ſort, and make the ſame prayer, That the like vengeance may fall upon himſelf, if he be deeply guilty as I have charged him, and if God's vengeance fall not upon him before he depart out of her preſence, let me be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for labouring to impeach a Counſellor's credit; but if he dare not thus enter the liſts with me before her Majeſty, let him be holden guilty* (1).

(1) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 35.

[*B*] *The reader will meet with in the notes.*] We have one extract of this prophecy drawn by order of the Privy Council, which contains all the matter of it, and only wants ſome of the blaſphemous expreſſions. It is entitled, A PROPHECY of JUDGMENTS againſt England. In this prophecy he firſt ſetteth down the third commandment, inferring what plagues ſhall light on himſelf if he offend therein. Then cometh he to his nine ſeveral aſſertions, adding to every one of them, The Lord to confound him, *viz.* That if he think not himſelf to be the vileſt ſinful wretch living: If he take not himſelf to be the moſt ignorant in God's Book, of any man that hath profeſſed the goſpel ſo long: If he acknowledges not himſelf moſt unfit, and unworthy of all men to ſerve the Lord Jeſus: If, nevertheleſs, he be not extraordinarily called to do the meſſage of God more faithfully than any preacher in England hath hitherto done: If the ſcripture do not juſtify extraordinary callings before the end of the world: If he know not two perſons within the city of London, that have greater extraordinary callings than himſelf, *viz.* Edmund Coppinger, and William Hacket: If the former be not a prophet raiſed up of the Lord, to bring a meſſage of great mercy to the land, if all the people truly repent of their ſins: If the latter be not the holieſt man, and of the greateſt

all night, and annexed to it his prophecy. The ſame day they penned a joint letter to Mr. Thomas Lancaſter, a ſchool maſter [C], ſigned by Coppinger as the Meſſenger of Peace, and by Arthington as the Prophet of God's Judgments, though it ſeems Arthington did not well know, why he ſtiled himſelf ſo. For on Friday the fifteenth of July, Coppinger having ſent for Arthington out of his bed, declared to him, that he had had a revelation, which aſſured him that he was Prophet of Mercy, and Arthington Prophet of Judgment; that Hacket was King of Europe, and that they were to go before him, and ſeparate the ſheep from the goats. Arthington the more readily credited this, becauſe he found a mighty burning in himſelf, which he interpreted a commencement of the angelic nature (g). Their firſt exploit was to go together to the houſe of a gentleman in the city, between ſix and ſeven in the morning, to appoint

(g) *Ibid.* p. 36, —48.

eſt power, to bring fearful judgments upon the whole earth that ever was born, Chriſt Jeſus excepted: If the ſaid Hacket (as the meſſenger of God's vengeance, where mercy is refuſed) do not bring ſuch plagues upon this realm of England, the like whereof was never ſeen: In theſe, and in every of theſe ſeveral caſes he prayeth, The Lord to confound him.

Whereupon he inferreth, that having thus denounced ſo many fearful woes againſt his own ſoul, as would ſink it into the bottomleſs pit of Hell, if he were guilty in any one of them; then thereupon, with chearfulneſs, he cometh to declare his meſſage to England, accuſing it to be the moſt rebellious, though it have been moſt bleſſed, of all nations. Then he affirmeth the city of London, and the courts of juſtice at Weſtminſter, and the counterfeit worſhip of God with croſs and ſurplice, to be worſe than Sodom and Gomorrah, or the purple Whore of Rome, or elſe deſireth to be confounded. Nay, he preferreth Rome before London; becauſe at Rome they ſin only of ignorance. Of her Majeſty he ſaith, ſhe is at leaſt guilty of the common ſins, but moſt abuſed (of any Prince that ever was) by thoſe whom ſhe hath moſt advanced.

(2) Theſe Initials ſignify, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor (Hatton), and the Lord Treaſurer (Cecil).

Then he ſpeaks to three great Counſellors (2) C. C. T. daring them to proteſt for their innocencies againſt themſelves, as deeply as he hath done, and then, if they be not ſwallowed up quick, he is contented to be hanged up in chains at Paul's Croſs. Then he threateneth them, that they three ſhall be otherwiſe detected e'er long, and all thoſe that are then partakers, when her Majeſty ſhall reign and live to ſee better days, if God give her true repentance. Then, he ſaith, he will leave all other of the clergy (as ſufficiently detected already) ſave ſuch as pretend to ſeek reformation, (who he ſaith) are as guilty (in two points) as any of the other. The firſt point, for not crying out continually againſt Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and others, as wicked uſurpers in the houſe of God. The ſecond, for not crying out againſt the magiſtrates of this land, becauſe they keep out the Elderſhip out of the Church, and maintain in their room officers and offices of Antichriſt: Hereupon gathering thus: How can God ſpare this land any longer, wherein both the magiſtrates and meſſengers of God have dealt ſo unfaithfully in the Lord's ſervice? Adding, That the fearful judgments of God ſhall be ſure to fall on the reprobate: being already prepared and put into the hands of the mighty meſſenger of God, William Hackett, to be poured out upon this great city of London, and upon all places where repentance followeth not this publication. Then he goeth about to prove all ſuch preachers to be idolaters, or conſenting to idolatry, which practiſe or conſent, and ſuffer others to uſe ſurplice and croſs, becauſe (he ſaith) they are marks of Antichriſt, preferring herein the Papiſts afore them, as ſinning herein only through ignorance, ſeeking alſo to aggravate their faults in this behalf, for that they are all hypocritical idolaters, in that (nevertheleſs) they profeſs reformation: Whereunto he addeth (he ſaith) a ſecret: That this their halting and hypocriſy hath ſo hardened God's heart againſt their requeſts, for bringing in the diſcipline, that for this unfaithful and unſingle walking in their function, he hath hitherto denied it. Neither ſhall any of them, or all of them together, have that honour given, to bring in reformation: For (ſaith he) I tell you truly, The Almighty God hath put his cup of vengeance into his truſty and faithful ſervant's hand, William Hackett, to pour it down ſhortly, upon every wilful and obſtinate ſinner that doth not repent upon the notice hereof, or elſe the Lord confound me. Laſtly, he giveth charge to have this propheſy, together with the incredible (but moſt certain) hiſtory of the holieſt ſervant of God, William Hackett, that ever hath been, is, or ſhall be born (Chriſt Jeſus only excepted), with all ſpeed poſſible, printed and publiſhed together, as in ſubſtance true (ſaith he), or elſe the Lord confound me: This wiſe prophecy is thus ſubſcribed: By your moſt unworthy ſervant, but yet a faithful prophet of the Almighty Jeſus, or elſe his wrath confound me. Henrie Arthington (3).

(3) Conſpiracy for pretended Diſcipline, p. 39 —41.

[C] *Mr. Thomas Lancaſter, Schoolmaſter.*] This whole affair relating to Hackett, Coppinger, and Arthington, hath made ſo much noiſe abroad as well as at home, and is ſo imperfectly treated by moſt of the authors who have touched upon it, for want of ſeeing the original and authentic account publiſhed by Queen Elizabeth's order, that it is become neceſſary to preſerve with all imaginable care the original papers, which manifeſt the real ſpirit and true deſign of theſe impoſtors. For this cauſe we give our readers this Letter to Mr. Lancaſter, as the fulleſt teſtimony of the characters of theſe new prophets.

If this letter be not indited by the Holy Ghost, *who hath appeared (in a far greater meaſure) to ſinful wretches, in the end of the world, even to us, whoſe names are here underwritten, and to a third perſon, in calling above all callings whatſoever (the* Lord Jeſus *excepted), The Lord confound us two with vengeance from Heaven, and carry us (with all violence) into the bottomleſs pit.*

If we have not taken the name of God in vain, it ſtandeth you upon, to read this letter with fear and trembling, with joy and gladneſs; with fear, that the Lord ſhall wooe you to do him ſervice; with joy, that he offereth you honour if you accept it. We two are meſſengers from Heaven, who have a good captain to guide us; who have received immediate callings from God, to call the whole world to repentance, and amendment of life: Otherwiſe, they are to fear, that Chriſt Jeſus his ſecond coming in glory, will be to them as a thief in the night. If I Edmund Coppinger do not preſer you before any one man in the land whatſoever, for your wiſe, holy, loving, and righteous courſe, both in the general calling of a Chriſtian, and in your particular calling, The Lord confound me body and ſoul. The reaſon why I chuſe you firſt, is, becauſe in your houſe, in your preſence, and under God (partly by your means), I had my firſt extraordinary calling, though thereof (as of all other things) the whole honour and glory be the Lord's. And of the ſame mind is my brother Arthington. In token of our extraordinary love to you, we deal as we neither have, or will do with any other; for we command in the name of the Lord, all creatures upon the earth, and they muſt obey. But with you we will diſpenſe thus far, that it ſhall be your choice to come and take a new calling (for a time, wherein we would uſe you) or refuſe it. So wiſhing to commend us and yourſelf to God, before you anſwer us, which we expect in word and not in writing, &c.

The Meſſenger of Mercy to the world if they accept me.

Edm. Coppinger.

I avouch whatſoever my brother hath written to be moſt true; and further I proteſt, That you are a more holy man than any preacher in London, or throughout the whole land, or elſe the Lord confound me. If it pleaſe you to come and ſee me joyful, you may hope this is true.

The Prophet of Judgment to the whole World, where mercy is rejected.

Hen. Arthington (4).

(4) *Ibid.* p. 41, 42.

him chief Governor under her Majeſty; but he would have nothing to do with them, nor would he ſuffer them to pray. Then they went to Wood-ſtreet Compter to Mr. Wigginton, a Miniſter, with whom they had a long conference: then they left him and went to Hacket's chamber, at the houſe of one Walker, at Broken Wharf. By this time it was eight o'clock: however Hacket was a-bed, which did not hinder Coppinger from kneeling down at the bed's feet, and making a long prayer. Arthington joined with them; Hacket came twice out of his bed in his ſhirt, and prayed likewiſe, which done, he went to bed again. Coppinger began to pray again, but Arthington interrupted him, and commanded him to ariſe and anoint the King with the Holy-Ghoſt. Coppinger preſently roſe, kiſſed the boards thrice where Hacket's feet had ſtood, and then reverently approaching him in bed, was going to lay his hand upon him, but Hacket ſaid, *You ſhall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in Heaven by the Holy Ghoſt.* Then they both demanded what his pleaſure was to have done, upon which he ſaid, *Go your way and tell them in the city, that CHRIST JESUS is come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth, and if any man aſk you where he is, tell him he lies at Walker's houſe, by Broken Wharf; and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me if they can, for as truly as CHRIST JESUS is in Heaven, ſo truly is he come to judge the world* (*h*). Coppinger upon this ran down ſtairs, and made proclamation before Arthington could get to him, afterwards they went together towards Cheapſide, by Watling-ſtreet, and the Old Change, crying out, *Chriſt is come*, &c. To this Arthington added, *Repent England, repent*; thretatening alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London [*D*]. When they came near the croſs, which then ſtood in Cheapſide, the crowd was ſo great they could not move along; ſo they got up into an empty cart, wherein they declared out of a paper the office and calling of Hacket, how he repreſented Chriſt by taking a part of his glorified body, by his principal ſpirit, and by the office of ſevering the good from the bad, with his fan in his hand, and of eſtabliſhing the Goſpel in Europe; that they were two Prophets, one of Mercy, the other of Judgments, called to aſſiſt him in this great work, wiſhing confuſion and damnation to themſelves, if all they ſpake was not true. Much more to this purpoſe they ſaid, and, at the ſame time, ſpake with great heat and violence againſt two Lords of the Queen's Council, doing all they could to inflame the people, and raiſe a rebellion. This was between ten and eleven in the morning, and they hoped before noon to have gone through the whole city; but the great crowd in the ſtreets rendered it impoſſible. A gentleman who had ſome acquaintance with Coppinger, made him get out of the cart, and go into the Mermaid Tavern, in Cheapſide, into which Arthington followed him. Then they went by back lanes to Coppinger's lodging, Arthington proclaiming as he went along, *Repent England*, &c. They found the doors ſhut againſt them, whereupon Arthington went to Hacket's lodgings. He was abroad when Arthington came, but ſoon after returned, and as ſoon as Arthington ſaw him, he ſaid, *there cometh the king of the whole earth*, for which Hacket reproved him, telling him he was too outrageous. A paper was taken out of Arthington's ſleeve, which he ſaid he was glad of, for it was an epiſtle to the Queen, which ſhe would not receive, and therefore ſhe was no longer Queen, but deprived of her dignity. About one o'clock they were apprehended and conducted to the Lord Mayor's, where ſeveral Privy Counſellors were met, to whom Arthington refuſed to ſhew the leaſt reſpect, but when Hacket came into the room, he fell down on the ground, and grovelled at his feet. He was ſo far from perceiving his error, or believing that he was deceived, that he continued to aſſert the truth of Hacket's miſſion, and of the revelations made to Coppinger and himſelf. He was alſo thoroughly perſuaded Hacket would ſhortly be releaſed, and that he and his fellow-prophet ſhould go abroad with him, in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, and to perform their offices. As often as any of his friends conferred with him, and ſought to ſhew him the folly of his diſcourſe, he would anſwer with a ſmile, *You think that we have incurred the danger of the laws herein, and that we therefore ſhall be put to death, but as ſure as God is in Heaven, the ſword ſhall not come near to hurt us, neither ſhall any man be able to touch the leaſt hair of our heads* (*i*). He did not recede in the leaſt from theſe ſtrange notions, even after he had heard that Hacket was tried and condemned; but in the afternoon of Wedneſday the twenty-eighth of July, when he was aſſured that Hacket was actually hanged, drawn, and quartered, he preſently diſcerned his own deluſion and great danger. Upon this he wrote in the moſt humble manner to the Chancellor, and to the Treaſurer, beſeeching them to pardon the injuries he had done them; and afterwards he wrote to the body of the Council, giving the beſt account he was able of the whole buſineſs,

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 48—55.

(*i*) *Ibid* p. 55—64.

[*D*] *Threatening alſo ſtrange judgments againſt the city of London.*] This judgment againſt London Arthington ſaid, he gathered out of Hacket's hiſtory, and it was to happen thus. Men were to be ſeized with a ſudden, furious, and bloody rage, and ſhould there kill and butcher one another like ſwine all the day long, and that none ſhould have either reaſon or compaſſion enough to interpoſe and ſtop ſo horrid a maſſacre. It is to be obſerved, that Arthington's inſpirations were no more than repetitions of what he had heard Hacket ſay, and that he ſtiled himſelf a prophet in conſequence of his publiſhing his maſter's revelations (5).

(5) *Ibid.*

beſeeching them to intercede with her Majeſty for him, that he might not be proceeded againſt as his companions had been. As for Coppinger, he, a little after he was apprehended, ran abſolutely diſtracted, and never recovered his ſenſes, but obſtinately refuſing all nouriſhment, died of hunger the day after Hacket was executed. It was thought proper to detain Arthington ſome time in Wood-ſtreet Compter, in order to diſcover whether his repentance was ſincere, as alſo whether there was no danger of his relapſing into his enthuſiaſtic fit. But he remaining perfectly ſober and ſenſible, the Queen was pleaſed to extend her mercy towards him, by granting him a pardon (*k*). He publiſhed a retractation under his hand, and, as an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian (*l*) informs us, had the good luck to recover his reputation ſo far, as to be thought an honeſt and ſincere, though a warm and weak man. What afterwards became of him, or when or where he died does no where appear. The conduct of theſe Enthuſiaſts, did not only kindle a great flame at that time, but hath left ſuch heat in the embers of their conſpiracy, as at this day is ſcarcely extinguiſhed. The writers againſt the Diſſenters never fail mentioning Hacket's inſurrection, as a charge upon them; and the Apologiſts for the Puritans as conſtantly treat this as a groſs calumny invented at firſt to countenance a moſt violent perſecution, which was ſet on foot againſt them, and ever ſince kept up to hinder the abating of that prejudice, which hath been ſo carefully infuſed into the vulgar, againſt their principles and practices. This is a very dark and perplexed affair, there being what may well enough be ſtyled evidence on both ſides. We pretend not therefore to decide upon this point; but to render this account of Hacket's conſpiracy as complete as we could, have added ſome particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes [*E*], on which the reader may perhaps paſs judgment; or if he thinks farther information neceſſary, will find it ſufficiently indicated where that may be met with. C.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 64—73.

(*l*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. Book ix. p. 206.

[*E*] *Some particulars relating to this diſpute in the notes.*] Dr. William Nichols charges the Puritans roundly with abetting this deſign. *Some of the Puritans of theſe times*, ſays he, *were ſo mad as to attempt a rebellion for the ſake of the diſcipline, and by the ſolicitation of ſome enthuſiaſtical men, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, proceeded to ſtir up the people to take arms againſt the Queen on that behalf* (6). Mr. Peirce, who anſwered the Doctor's book, denieth this charge, and cites Fuller, the Church Hiſtorian, as an irrefragable witneſs in favour of the Puritans (7). That author ſays, *This buſineſs of Hacket happened unſeaſonably for that party: true it is, they as cordially deteſted his blaſphemy as any. And ſuch as loved Hacket, the Nonconformiſt, abhorred Hacket the Heretic, after he had mounted to ſo high a pitch of impiety.* Mr. Neale, in his late hiſtory of the Puritans, complains loudly of the injuſtice done them, in repreſenting them as having any thing to do with theſe enthuſiaſts (8). The Rt. Rev. Author who has anſwered his book, endeavours however to pin down the charge on Cartwright and Udall, two of the moſt famous Nonconformiſt miniſters in thoſe times (9). But none of theſe writers ſeem to have conſidered the only authentic account of this whole affair, the title of which runs thus, *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation*, viz. *Preſbyterian Diſcipline. A treatiſe diſcovering the late deſignments and courſes held for advancing thereof, by William Hacket, Yeoman; Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, Gent. out of others depoſitions, and their own letters, writings, and confeſſions upon examination: Together with ſome part of the life and conditions, and the two inditements, arraignment, and execution of the ſaid Hacket: Alſo an anſwer to the calumniations of ſuch as affirm they were madmen; and a reſemblance of this action unto the like which happened heretofore in Germany*, ultimo Septembris, 1591. This was written by Dr. (afterwards Archbiſhop) Bancroft, by direction of the Council, and was publiſhed by authority. The very title ſhews that his intention was, to repreſent this conſpiracy as if it had been concerted for the eſtabliſhing Puritaniſm. In the courſe of his account he ſhews, that Arthington had a correſpondence with Mr. Penrie a zealous miniſter, who was not long after executed, and that Hacket was in partnerſhip with one Wigginton, a miniſter, as a maltſter. There are likewiſe in the ſame piece ſeveral letters to Puritan miniſters, and a long examination of Wigginton's, wherein he acknowledges his being privy to Hacket's pretences both to prophecy and to power. This ſhews what the notions of men at the helm were, concerning this extraordinary tranſaction, in which, if the Puritans had no concern, they were without all doubt very grievouſly injured, ſince in this account of the matter, publiſhed by the Queen's authority, they are inſinuated to be the exciters and promoters of this diſturbance.

(6) Defence of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of England, p. 195.

(7) In his Ch. Hiſtory, p. 205, 206.

(8) Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 537.

(9) A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worſhip of the Church of England, againſt the injurious Reflections of Mr. Neale, &c. by Dr. Madox, now Biſhop of Worceſter, p. 354.

[Fanaticiſm was ſcarcely ever carried to a greater height than in the caſes of Arthington, Coppinger, and Hacket; and their conduct may ſerve to ſhew the dangerous abſurdities into which the human mind may be led, when all reaſon is thrown away in religion, and every caprice of a heated imagination is treated as the ſuggeſtion of the divine ſpirit. Theſe men went ſo far, that they cannot well be cleared of abſolute lunacy. Nothing elſe ſeems capable of accounting for the wildneſs of their actions. To charge their behaviour upon the Puritans in general, is flagrantly unjuſt: nor will ſuch a charge be now believed by any perſon of a judicious and liberal underſtanding. Little regard ought to be paid to what is ſaid in the heat of party, or to the inſinuations of a court publication, intended to anſwer ſome private purpoſes of Government. Were we to admit, in their full extent, the truth of the facts mentioned in the note [*E*], the evidence would ſtill be totally inſufficient againſt the Puritans as a body of men. It would only apply to the two miniſters ſpoken of; and even with regard to *them*, though it might ſhew their enthuſiaſm and their folly, it would not prove their acquaintance with Arthington's, Coppinger's, and Hacket's conſpiracy. 'It is the error of zealots,' ſays a valuable correſpondent, to whom we are much indebted, 'to impute the opinions of 'even a ſingle man to all his fraternity. In this 'obſervation I make no difference as to ſects. The 'error is general; being founded in human nature. 'Nothing ought in truth to be attributed to any 'ſociety, which has not been declared to be the opi'nion of that ſociety by ſome public act; or at leaſt 'by the public and avowed declarations of the prin'cipal leaders of that ſociety; and which has not 'been as openly contradicted by others who have 'heard of ſuch declarations. In this view of the caſe, 'the Puritans were innocent: for the opinions and 'aſſertions of Penrie and Wigginton could not imply 'the conſent and approbation of the Puritans in Eng'land.' If we look narrowly into the hiſtory of the times we are ſpeaking of, it will be found, that the intolerant ſpirit of thoſe times created much of the confuſions and dangers to which they were ſubject. The minds of men, when heated by perſecution, are apt to hurry them into extravagant actions. Were ſects let alone, in every caſe in which the peace of the community is not actually violated by them, they would become ſufficiently innocent; and their enthuſiaſm would either gradually ſubſide, or, if it continued, would ſpend itſelf in exertions that could be of no prejudice to the ſtate.] K.

ARTHUR (King of the Britons) of whom, though the common opinion be, that nothing with certainty can be affirmed [*A*], from his birth to his death, yet is it but juſt, that what is related of him ſhould be told, as alſo, what is ſaid for and againſt it. Here, therefore, we ſhall report, chiefly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the common ſtory of Arthur and his exploits, and in the notes, we ſhall ſhew what is ſupported, what refuted, by more credible hiſtorians [*B*]. As to his birth, he is ſaid to have been the ſon of Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons, by Igerna, the wife of Gorlois, Duke

[*A*] *Nothing with certainty can be affirmed.*] After allowing that nothing can be more dubious than the hiſtory of Arthur is generally eſteemed, ſome readers may think his life might as well be omitted. Now as the ſame objection may be made to ſeveral other articles taken from our ancient hiſtory; it will be proper to return an anſwer once for all. In the firſt place then, one can ſee no reaſon, why we ſhould be at ſo much pains, to read and to underſtand the fabulous hiſtory of other nations, and yet abſolutely reject our own. What pains have the learned taken with the fables both of Greeks and Latins; and with what ſolemnity of late years, eſpecially, have we ſeen the Oriental romances, which in their kind exceed all others, commented upon, and thereby rendered uſeful to the judicious reader. By what figure in rhetoric ſhall we diſtinguiſh between the wiſdom ſhewn in theſe labours, and the folly of dwelling on the leſs credible hiſtory of this iſland? If under the former there may remain truths of great importance, why may not ſomething of the ſame kind be buried under the latter? But farther ſtill, what if the underſtanding of theſe fables contributes not a little to the underſtanding true hiſtory? For how fabulous ſoever a ſtory may be, yet if once it gain credit, and paſs in the opinion of men for undoubted truth, its circumſtances will in time become ſo intermixed, even with the moſt authentic relations, that without a thorough underſtanding the one, there will be no ſuch thing as coming at the true ſenſe of the other. On this account therefore the reading of fabulous hiſtory is neceſſary to avoid the believing fables; ſince if we ſhould once grow ſo nice, as to think it not worth our while to peruſe any thing branded with the name of fiction, it might become the means of our receiving, under the name of true hiſtory, the meaneſt and moſt abſurd fictions for want of knowing their origin. Add to all this, that as in the caſe of all extremes, ſo here, exceſſive incredulity becomes credulity itſelf. For, if from an apprehenſion of being thought leſs critical in taſte than others, we ſhould reject the authority of all authors whoſe credit hath been queſtioned, or reſolve to give up all facts with reſpect to which there have been any doubts, we evidently embrace the error we endeavour to ſhun, and, by affecting criticiſm, loſe all the advantages deducible from that kind of knowledge. Let us, therefore, be content, eſpecially in ſuch a work as this, to hear whatever our forefathers thought worth the leaving; to examine fairly both ſides of the queſtion, and then decide freely as the weight of evidence inclines us. It is, indeed, one great uſe of a dictionary like this, that it aſſembles in little room a multitude of paſſages relating to the ſame matter, and yet lying ſcattered in a variety of authors, whereby the reader in a few minutes becomes poſſeſſed of that knowledge, which coſt the author much pains and time to acquire.

[*B*] *What ſupported, what refuted, by credible hiſtorians.*] The hiſtory of Arthur in the text, is taken avowedly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, in his Britiſh hiſtory, treats copiouſly of the actions of this Prince. As to the credit of this author, which hath ſuffered violent attacks, we ſhall here conſider it ſo far only as it relates to the hiſtory of one King; though, at the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged that this very hiſtory drew the moſt ſevere cenſures upon our author; who, as his antagoniſt tells us, was on this very account named *Jeffery Ap Arthur*; *becauſe taking the fables of the ancient Britons concerning King Arthur out of the old romances, increaſing them with his own additions, and giving them the varniſh of the Latin tongue, he clothed them with the honourable name of Hiſtory* (1). A harſh judgment this, which however many ages after was ſupported by Polydore Vergil (2), and ſince his time by Mr. Milton (3), and many others (4), who have carried it ſo far, as to doubt very much whether there really ever was ſuch a perſon as Arthur or not. We will ſtate briefly ſome of the principal arguments urged by them, and then we will ſhew what has been ſaid in anſwer. I. If, ſay they, there had been ſuch a King as Arthur, a Prince ſo warlike and ſo great a conqueror, how can we ſuppoſe that Gildas and Bede ſhould take no notice of him, when they expreſsly name Ambroſius and other Britiſh Kings, whoſe actions it is confeſſed were inconſiderable in reſpect of thoſe reported of Arthur. II. The hiſtory of Arthur is no way reconcileable to the authentic hiſtories of thoſe times. For whereas it is aſſerted therein, that the dominion of Arthur extended not only over all this iſland, but over a great part of the Continent, it is manifeſt from theſe, that ſeveral Saxon kingdoms were actually ſet up in England (5), ſo that the ſmalleſt part of this ſtory cannot be true. III. The great deeds of Arthur, as related by his hiſtorian, are incompatible with the hiſtories of foreign nations; and ſince thoſe hiſtories are undoubtedly authentic, it follows that this is fabulous. IV. The inconſiſtency of this ſtory with others, is not greater than its inconſiſtency with itſelf. For whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth makes Arthur ſo great a conqueror, yet Karadoc, whom Geoffrey owns to be a good writer (6), ſays expreſsly, that Melvas, who was Prince of that country now called Somerſetſhire, kept his Queen from him a whole year in the town of Glaſton, and was at laſt prevailed upon to reſtore her by the intreaty of Gildas, when Arthur had tried his power in vain (7). V. It is alledged that the whole of this tale reſts on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, in compariſon of the times of which he writes, is a modern, and flouriſhed about the year 1150. From him all later writers have copied; and therefore nothing taken from them can ſtrengthen his authority. On the other ſide it is urged, that the omitting the name of Arthur in Gildas's letter (8), is ſo far from being any proof of his non-exiſtence, that it is really a circumſtance very favourable to his character. For Gildas writing only of the cauſes why the Britons were delivered up to be ſlaughtered by their enemies the Saxons, characterizes only the bad Princes living at the time he wrote, which appears to have been a little after Arthur's death. The very firſt Prince whom he upbraids for his tyranny, is Conſtantine the ſucceſſor of Arthur; and one of the facts for which he upbraids him, is for the murder of two young Princes of the royal family: theſe Princes Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us, were the ſons of Modred, the nephew of Arthur; and he relates their murder in the ſame manner as it is related by Gildas (9). But if there is no mention of Arthur in this author, he is however named by Nennius (10) a moſt ancient writer (11); ſo that this objection falls to the ground. It is alſo alledged, that though foreign hiſtorians do not ſpeak of Arthur in the ſtile of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that is, as a mighty conqueror; yet nothing can be clearer than that they acknowledge there was ſuch a Prince, and that he did alſo perform great things. Buchanan is very ſevere in his cenſure of Geoffrey; but the hiſtory himſelf gives us of Arthur, is ſuch a one as does him very great honour. Let us hear one ſentence only of it. 'To ſpeak briefly of his famous 'actions, ſays Buchanan, this is manifeſt, that he 'wholly ſubdued the forces of the Saxons, and re'ſtored peace to Britain; afterwards going over to 'Brittany in France, he entruſted the kingdom to 'Modred, his nephew; but as to his exploits in 'Gaul, we have no certainty of them.' A little after he gives us his character. 'This, ſays he, is 'certain, Arthur was a great man and very valiant, 'one who expreſſed his ſincere love to his country 'in freeing it from bondage, reforming corruptions 'in religion, and reſtoring the true worſhip of God '(12).'

(1) Gulielm. Neubrig. Proem. Hiſt.
(2) Hiſt. Anglic.
(3) See Kennet's Collection, Vol. i. p. 33.
(4) Sir W. Temple, in his Introduction to the Britiſh Hiſt &c.

(5) Spelman's Concil. tom. i. in Introd.
(6) Hiſt. Briton lib. xii. c. 20.
(7) Apud Præfat. Galfrid. Monum. p. xix.
(8) Vid. Epiſtol. Gildæ ap. Theoph. Gale Scriptor. Veter. tom. i. p. 18.
(9) Galfrid. Monumet. Hiſt. Briton. lib. xi. c. 4.
(10) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.
(11) A. D. 858.

Duke of Cornwall. This lady is held to have been in her time the greateſt beauty in Britain; and we are told, that Uther Pendragon enjoyed her by the help of Merlin's ſkill in magic, who gave this amorous Prince the form of Gorlois, ſo that Igerna taking him for her huſband, received him readily to her bed, and had by him Arthur (*a*). But though he was begotten in adultery, he was born in wedlock: for ſoon after this tranſaction, Uther Pendragon killed Gorlois, and married his widow Igerna, who was brought to bed of Arthur in 501 (*b*). This ſtory is in itſelf very incredible, but if we admit the commentary of Buchanan, it becomes as clear, and as intelligible, as we could wiſh. He ſays, that the King lay with the Duke of Cornwall's wife in that Duke's life-time, and marrying her after his deceaſe, the ſtory of the magical interview was invented to reſtore the ſplendor of the lady's honour, and make way for the King's owning Arthur for his ſon (*c*). Uther Pendragon had alſo by the ſame lady a daughter called Anne, and dying in the year 516, Arthur aſcended the throne in his place, though he was then but fifteen, or, as Buchanan ſays, eighteen years old (*d*). At this time the Saxons committed horrid devaſtations in Britain, under the command of Colgrin their Duke; wherefore Dubricius, Archbiſhop of Caerleon, ſolemnly crowned Arthur, at the requeſt of the Nobles and the people, who immediately prepared to take the field againſt the Saxons. His generoſity, perſonal bravery, and great zeal for the glory of the Britons, procured him quickly a competent army, with which he routed Colgrin and all his forces, conſiſting of Saxons, Scots, and Picts, on the banks of the river Duglas, but not without very conſiderable loſs on his own ſide (*e*). Upon this, Colgrin retired with the remains of his army into York, where Arthur beſieged him, and while he lay before the place, Cador Duke of Cornwall defeated Baldulph the brother of Colgrin, who with ſix thouſand men came to his relief. The King however could not take York; for Cheldric, or Cerdic, King of the Saxons, landing in Albania, *i. e.* Scotland, with a prodigious number of men, from on board a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, marched towards the Britons; upon which, by the advice of his council, Arthur raiſed the ſiege of York, and marched to London. On his arrival in that city, he called a general aſſembly, wherein the ſtate of affairs having been thoroughly debated, it was agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors to Hoel King of Armorica, *i. e.* Britanny, who was Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, to intreat his aſſiſtance; which being accordingly done, Hoel himſelf embarked with fifteen thouſand men, and landing at Southampton, then called the Port of Hamo, quickly found his uncle, who received him with all the affection and reſpect imaginable (*f*). Immediately after this junction, Arthur and his kinſman marched

(*a*) Galfrid. Monumeten. Hiſt. Britonum, lib. viii. c. 19. Camden. Britan. Tit. Dannon.

(*b*) Galfrid Monument. lib. viii. c. 20.

(*c*) Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*d*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 1. Buch. Hiſt. Scot. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

(*f*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 2.

'(12).' Add to this, that in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh there is a very high hill, the top of which is ſtyled Arthur's ſeat, from a tradition that Arthur ſurveyed the country from hence (13). The tradition of a people in favour of themſelves is a ſlight proof, but a tradition to their own diſhonour, cannot well be accounted for, if it be not founded in truth. As to the Saxon kingdoms founded in or before his time, Arthur might ſuppoſe himſelf ſupreme Lord of the iſland from their ſubmiſſion. In after-times Alfred and Ethelſtan were held Monarchs of England, though the Danes had erected ſeveral principalities here, which is a parallel caſe. As to the foreign conqueſts of Arthur, no body contends for them: they are fictitious circumſtances added to his hiſtory, but ſurely they cannot take away what was real. The ſuppoſed inconſiſtency between the account given alſo by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that written by Karadoc, his contemporary, may prove, that there is ſome diverſity in the records relating to the actions of this Prince; but then certainly it proves that ſuch a Prince there was. For though one, or both of theſe authors ſhould be miſtaken, it cannot from thence be inferred that the hiſtory of Arthur is a fable: the utmoſt that can be deduced is, that ſome of the circumſtances of his ſtory are doubtful, which may be affirmed of the Princes of the laſt age. The reſting of this ſtory on the authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth, is a point by no means to be admitted; Nennius, who flouriſhed many ages before him, had recorded ſeveral particulars relating to Arthur (14). Henry of Huntington touches the principal points in his hiſtory (15); William of Malmeſbury alſo, in his introduction to his hiſtory, had given a conciſe account of his reign (16); and as we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent note ſet down in another work, ſome particulars relating to Arthur, which Geoffrey of Monmouth never knew, and this from unqueſtionable authority. King Edward I, in a letter written to Pope Boniface VIII. aſſerts poſitively, that Arthur, King of the Britons, a moſt renowned Prince, ſubdued Scotland when in rebellion againſt him, and almoſt deſtroyed the whole nation. He ſays farther, that the King of Scots attended King Arthur at the city of Legions, did homage for his kingdom, and carried King Arthur's ſword before him (17). Leland alledges, that *Caire Arture* in Wales, is a plain proof there was ſuch a perſon, as alſo Arthur's gate in Montgomery (18). After all, Geoffrey of Monmouth is not the author of his book, but the tranſlator only. Though ſome have affected to doubt whether there really was any ſuch book written in the Britiſh tongue, yet in a manuſcript hiſtory of Britiſh affairs, written a hundred years ago by Mr. John Lewis, it is expreſsly ſaid by the author, that he had the very original of the Britiſh hiſtory, written in the Britiſh tongue; as he concludes from this circumſtance; that in his manuſcript, Geoffrey's preface was wanting, and the preface to his book was the ſecond chapter in Geoffrey's tranſlation, being the deſcription of Britain (19). Beſides, Giraldus Cambrenſis puts it out of diſpute, that Geoffrey was under no neceſſity of forging. For he tells us expreſsly, that even in his time the Welſh bards, and ſongſters, could recite from their ancient and authentic books, the genealogy of their Princes, which they puſhed not only as high as Arthur, but to Ænæas (20). On the whole, if the hiſtory given us by Geoffrey contains many things which are not ſtrictly true; he ought not to be reproached for them, becauſe he pretends to no greater authority than he really had, *viz.* that of the old Britiſh book; which, whether its contents were true or falſe, he was certainly commendable for publiſhing; and as to the fictions contained in it, they are not at all more glaring than thoſe in other hiſtories of the ſame ſtanding; and therefore, though they ought to have no credit themſelves, yet they cannot impeach the credit of the true hiſtory mixed with them. To conclude, if Camden doubts the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth; he in other places ſupports the hiſtory of Arthur (21). If Milton doubts whether there ever was ſuch a Prince; Leland the great antiquary hath written a treatiſe expreſsly in ſupport of his hiſtory; and the great Primate Uſher (22) thought the objections brought againſt the ſtory of his actions, but of very little weight.

(12) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(13) Tour thro' Great Britain, Vol. iii. p. 240.

(14) Hiſt. Briton. cap. lxii, lxiii.

(15) Lib. ii. p. 313.

(16) W. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 9.

(17) Apud. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, lib. iii. p. 2486.

(18) Aſſertio inclytiſſ. Arthurii Regis Britanniæ, Lond. 1544, 4to. p. 9, and 13.

(19) See Mr. Thompſon's preface to Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hiſtory in Engliſh, Lond. 1718, 8vo. p. 18.

(20) Gyrald. deſcript. Camb. cap. iii. ap. Camd. Angl. Norman. &c.

(21) Britan. tit. Cornwall, Somerſetſhire.

(22) Briten. Eccleſ. Antiquit. p. 250.

to oblige the Saxons to raiſe the ſiege of Kaerlind coit, now called Lincoln. The Saxons, upon their approach, inſtantly roſe from before the place, that with the greater conveniency they might fight the Britons. The battle was bloody and obſtinate; but at laſt the Saxons were overthrown with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, part killed, and part drowned in the rivers. The remains of the army retired to the woods of Caledon, which moſt probably are Celidon woods in Lincolnſhire, where they made a brave ſtand; but being ſurrounded by the Britons, were at laſt obliged to ſurrender upon articles, *viz.* That they ſhould leave behind them all their booty, retire peaceably to their ſhips, and tranſport themſelves back again into Germany (*g*). For the performance of theſe articles they gave hoſtages, and were then ſuffered to retire in order to embark quietly. But in their voyage repenting of what they had done, they landed at Totneſs, burnt all the country as far as the Severn ſea, ſlaughtered the peaſants, ruined the villages, and at length laid ſiege to the city of Badon, *i. e.* Bath in Somerſetſhire. When this news was brought to King Arthur, who was on the point of marching againſt the Scots and Picts, he inſtantly ordered the Saxon hoſtages to be put to death, and then marched to the relief of the beſieged city. When he drew near it, himſelf firſt made a ſpeech to the army, and then the Archbiſhop Dubricius harangued them likewiſe, and gave them his bleſſing. On the day of battle, Arthur put on an excellent coat of mail, a golden helmet, with the figure of a dragon upon the top thereof: acroſs his ſhoulder hung his ſhield, called Pridwen or Prywen, wherein was pictured the Virgin Mary, bearing the child Jeſus in her arms: he had likewiſe by his ſide his ſword called Calliburn (*b*), and in his right-hand he bore his lance Rou. Thus equipped he attacked the Saxons, who were drawn up in the form of a wedge. The battle laſted from morning till evening, when the Saxons withdrew to the top of a high hill, and there encamped. The next day Arthur attacked them again; but they made a gallant defence, till the greateſt part of the day was worn out, which ſo enraged Arthur, that he threw himſelf among the foremoſt ranks, and with great hazard of his perſon, performed there incredible feats of valour, for he ſlew with his own hand four hundred and ſeventy men. The Britons, encouraged by the example of their Prince, forced the Saxon camp on all hands, and put many thouſands of them to the ſword (*i*), amongſt whom fell Colgrin and Baldulph. But as for Cedric he carried off the remains of his army, and endeavoured to recover his ſhips. After the important victory at Badon, Arthur received advice, that the Scots and Picts had beſieged the city of Aclud, which is thought to be Dunbritton in Scotland, where he left his nephew Hoel ſick, at the time he marched back againſt the Saxons. To his aſſiſtance, therefore, the generous Britiſh Prince marched with all the alacrity imaginable, leaving Cador Duke of Cornwall, to purſue the Saxons. On his approach, the Scots and Picts not only raiſed the ſiege, but fled precipitately to Lough Lomond, where they endeavoured to fortify themſelves in the iſlands; but Arthur having quickly equipped a fleet, obliged them to ſurrender, and out of his great clemency pardoned them (*k*). In the mean time, Cador Duke of Cornwall, taking a circuit round the Saxons, and thereby giving them time to collect themſelves into a body, and to refreſh after their fatigues, ſuddenly ſeized and carried away their ſhips, and then marched in queſt of them, who, perceiving their deſperate condition, retired into the iſle of Thanet, where Cador blocked them up with their own ſhips, and after killing their commander Cedric in fight, forced them to ſurrender upon articles, and to give hoſtages once more for their departing out of the kingdom (*l*). This done, Cador rejoined the King, who kept his Chriſtmas at York, where he deſtroyed the temples of the Pagans, reſtored the Chriſtian churches, and appointed Pyramus, his Chaplain, Archbiſhop of this See (*m*). He alſo promoted Auguſel to the ſovereignty over the Scots (*n*), rewarded other perſons of diſtinction, and took himſelf to wife Guanhumara, a lady deſcended from the Romans, of exquiſite beauty, bred up in the family of Cador Duke of Cornwall (*o*). The next ſummer he fitted out a fleet, and therewith invaded Ireland, of which Guillamurius was the chief King, who, to oppoſe him, drew together a numerous army, which Arthur defeated, and made him priſoner: upon this all the petty Princes in the iſland ſubmitted. Then he ſailed to Iceland, which he likewiſe ſubdued, and received the ſubmiſſions of Doldavius King of Gothland, and Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, whom the very terror of his arms had reduced to obedience (*p*). After this he returned into Britain, and governed here twelve years in peace, with ſuch magnificence and ſplendor, that all Europe was amazed at it, and the greateſt potentates ſtood in fear of him. At length, Sichelin King of the Norwegians dying, and leaving his kingdom to Lot, Arthur's brother-in-law, the people of Norway, notwithſtanding, ſet up Riculf. On this pretence, therefore, Arthur invaded that kingdom, defeated the Norwegians, killed Riculf, conquered Norway and Dacia, that is, Denmark, and having given the whole to Lot, proceeded with his victorious army to invade Gaul, then a province, as our hiſtorian tells us, of the Roman empire. The greateſt part of the country he quickly ſubdued, blocked up the Roman Governor in Paris, and reduced him to ſuch ſtreights there, that he was on the very point of ſtarving. In this diſtreſs he challenged Arthur to a ſingle combat, which he was too gallant a man to refuſe; whereupon a bloody duel enſued, in which at firſt Arthur had the worſt, but at length he conquered and killed Flollo, upon which Paris ſurrendered. He ſpent however nine years in conquering

(*g*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 3.

(*b*) This ſword Richard I. gave, A. D. 1191, to Tancred King of Sicily. Bromton. in Chron. ap. X. Script. p. 1195.

(*i*) Galfrid. Monument. lib. ix. c. 4. Camden. Britan. Tit. Somerſetſhire.

(*k*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 6.

(*l*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 4.

(*m*) Godwin. de Præſul. P. ii. p. 2. edit. 1616.

(*n*) King Edward I. calls this King, Anſelm. Epiſt. ad P. Bonifac. VIII. ap. H. Knyghton. de Event. Angliæ, p. 283.

(*o*) Galfrid Monumet. lib. ix. c. 9.

(*p*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 10.

the reſt of France, after which he returned to that city, and kept a royal court, beſtowing Neuſtria, afterwards called Normandy, upon his butler, Bedver, and the reſt of the provinces upon his domeſtics (*q*). Upon the approach of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, Arthur determined to call a great aſſembly of the moſt noble of his ſubjects, which he appointed to be held at Caerleon in Montgomeryſhire; becauſe, ſtanding on the river Uſk, near the Severn ſea, it was both pleaſant and commodious, for the coming and going of thoſe who were invited. Accordingly there aſſembled Auguſel, King of Scotland, the King of North-Wales, the King of South-Wales, Cador, now called King of Cornwall, the Archbiſhops of London, York, and Caerleon, with a multitude of Britiſh Princes; there came likewiſe Guillamurius King of Ireland, Malvaſius King of Iceland, Doldavius King of Gothland, Gunfaſius King of the Orkneys, Lot King of Norway, Aſchillius King of the Dacians, *&c.* At this time he was ſolemnly crowned, the Kings of Scotland, Cornwall, North and South-Wales, carrying four golden ſwords before him (*r*). Not long after this, the Romans demanded tribute, which Arthur, by the advice of his council, not only refuſed, but reſolved to make war upon them. A mighty army he gathered, and marched to Southampton where he embarked, leaving the government of Britain to his nephew Modred, the ſon of Lot, by his ſiſter Anne, before mentioned. But while he was a coaſting about the iſland, he had news brought him, that a Spaniſh giant had forcibly taken away Helena, the daughter of his nephew Hoel, Duke of Britanny, whom he had carried to mount St. Michael in Cornwall [*C*]. Thither the King purſuing him, ſlew him in ſingle combat (*s*), after which he proceeded in the war he had firſt deſigned, and having therein triumphed over all the forces of the Roman empire, and ſlain with his own hand Lucius Tiberius, their General, as he was paſſing the Alps in order to go to Rome, he received advice, that Modred his nephew had revolted, and had married Guanhumara his Queen (*t*). This, ſays our hiſtorian, obliged him to deſiſt from his enterprize againſt Leo, King of the Romans: wherefore, ſending Hoel King of Britanny with a great army to ſecure the peace of Gaul, he, with the reſt of his forces, ſailed for Britain. Modred, knowing the badneſs of his cauſe, endeavoured to fortify himſelf by many and great alliances. With this view he once more called in the Saxons, and alſo invited, by promiſing great ſums of money, the Scots, Picts, and Iriſh, to fight under his banner. At length, having aſſembled eighty thouſand men, he led them down into Kent, to oppoſe his uncle, who he knew intended to land there. He could not however prevent Arthur's coming on ſhore; but he preſently engaged him, and after a bloody battle, in which many of the King's friends fell, was defeated and forced to fly to Wincheſter. As for the Queen, ſhe retired to the city of Caerleon, and there became a Nun (*u*). King Arthur purſued his nephew to Wincheſter, and there a ſecond time engaged him, beat him, and forced him to fly towards Cornwall. There, on the banks of the river Camel, Modred made a ſtand again with ſixty thouſand men, with whom Arthur fought a third battle, wherein, after thouſands had been ſlain, and amongſt them, many of the moſt honourable perſons on both ſides, at length, Modred himſelf was killed, and his army totally routed. In this engagement, however, our hero Arthur received ſeveral wounds, which forced him to retire into the iſland of Avalon, where, feeling himſelf extremely weak, he reſigned the crown to Conſtantine, the ſon of Cador Duke of Cornwall, and a few days after died, A. D. 542 (*w*). It is neceſſary to add a little ſober truth to this romantic ſtory, and therefore let us conclude this article with obſerving, that Henry II., who was the firſt of the Plantagenet line, being, in the laſt year of his reign, at Pembroke, and hearing there a Welſh bard ſinging to his harp, the ſtory of our Arthur, concluding with an account of his death and burial, in the church-yard of Glaſtenbury, between two pyramids [*D*]; the King inſtantly gave orders that the matter ſhould be enquired into, and the body dug up. This was done as the King directed,

(*q*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 11.

(*r*) *Id.* lib. ix. c. 12 Epiſt. Edward I. ad Bonafac. VIII. P. M. Ypodigma Neuſtria, p. 492. Vita S. Dubricii, ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. ii. p. 657.

(*s*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. ix. c. 3.

(*t*) *Id.* lib. x. c. 13. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v.

(*u*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 1.

(*w*) Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xi. c. 2.

[*C*] *Mount St. Michael in Cornwall.*] William of Malmeſbury, in his Antiquities of Glaſtenbury, gives us a very circumſtantial account of King Arthur's carrying one *Ider*, a Prince of the blood royal, to try his valour at a certain mount, called *Brentenol*, where he behaved very gallantly; but falling, through wearineſs, at length into a ſwoon, Arthur left him there for dead, which proved the cauſe of his really breathing his laſt in that place through want of help; to expiate which involuntary offence, Arthur gave to the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, lands ſufficient for the maintenance of twenty-four Monks to pray for the ſoul of Ider; and alſo beſtowed on them gold and ſilver veſſels, and other eccleſiaſtical ornaments (23). The ſame author, in his catalogue of gifts made to the monaſtery, hath theſe words. 'Imprimis Rex Arthurus 'tempore Britonum dedit Brentemaris, Poweldon, 'cum multis aliis terris in confinio ſitis, pro ani-'ma Ider, ut ſupra tactum eſt, quas terras per 'Anglos, tunc Paganos, ſupervenientes ablatas; ite-'rum poſt eorum converſionem ad fidem reſtitue-'runt cum pluribus aliis; i. e. *In the firſt place,* 'King Arthur, *in the time of the* Britons, *gave* Brentemar, Poweldon, *with many other lands in the* 'neighbourhood, *for the ſoul of* Ider, *as is before men-*'tioned, *which lands on the coming of the* Engliſh, *then* 'Pagans, *were taken away; and after their coming to* 'the knowledge of the faith reſtored, *with many others* '(24).' It is to be obſerved, that this fact does not reſt at all on the credit of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or of his original author, but was taken from the records of the Abbey of Glaſtenbury.

(23) De Antiquitat. Eccleſ. Glaſton. ap. Scriptor. Veter. a Th. Gale, ed. Vol. i. p. 326.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 326.

[*D*] *Between two pyramids.*] As to the diſcovery of King Arthur's body, we have not only the teſtimony of Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was an eye-witneſs of it (25), but we have alſo a very long account in Bromton's Chronicle, who takes occaſion from thence to ſpeak of various circumſtances relating to the hiſtory of King Arthur, from other authorities than that of Geoffrey of Monmouth. For inſtance, he tells us, that in certain Chronicles it was noted, that Arthur having again and again vanquiſhed Cerdic the Saxon, and finding that he ſtill brought new armies into the field, being quite tired out, he granted him Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, where he eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons.

(25) Camden. Britan. tit. Somerſetſhire.

directed, and at the depth of ſeven feet, was found a vaſt ſtone, whereon was faſtened a leaden croſs, with this inſcription on the inſide: Hic Jacet Sepultus Inclytus Rex Arturius in Inſula Avalonia; *i. e. Here lieth the famous King Arthur, buried in the Iſle of Avalon.* Digging ſtill lower, they found the King's body in the trunk of a tree, his beautiful Queen

Saxons. He ſays likewiſe, that in the Engliſh Chronicles, it was recorded, that when Modred rebelled againſt his uncle, he purchaſed the aſſiſtance of Cerdic by a new grant, and as it ſhould ſeem, by releaſing him from all homage. For thereupon Cerdic was crowned after the cuſtom of the Pagans at Wincheſter, and Modred at London. This writer reduces the victories gained by Arthur over the Saxons to nine, whereas all other authors reckoned them twelve: he fixes, however, the laſt of them at Lanſdown. He alſo fixes the year in which King Arthur's body was found to the 13th of the reign of Henry II., and to the year of our Lord 1180 (26). He differs in this from another very authentic account of this fact, not in any circumſtance, but in the date, which in the Annals of Margan is 1191. Therein it is ſaid, that digging under the two pyramids to bury a Monk, there was firſt found the body of a woman, after that the body of a man, and a great way below both the ſtone and croſs, bearing the inſcription mentioned in the text, under which lay the body of King Arthur. The firſt is ſuppoſed to be the body of his Queen, and the ſecond that of his nephew Modred (27). Not to tire the reader, let us ſhut up this matter with one obſervation more; which is, that in the larger Hiſtory of Wincheſter, we are told, that Arthur yielded, in the ſecond year of his reign, to Cerdic the Saxon, Hampſhire, Surrey, Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire, to which Modred when he rebelled, added Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and part of Cornwall. The author of this hiſtory, is ſo far from tranſcribing Geoffrey of Monmouth, that he inveighs bitterly againſt his work, and therefore muſt have taken theſe paſſages from what he thought better authority (28).

(26) Chron. Johan. Brompt. ap. X. Scriptor. p. 1152.

(27) Annal. de Margan. ap. Hiſt. Anglican. Script. à Th. Gale, edit. Vol. ii. p. 10.

(28) Thom. Rudborne Hiſtor. Major. Winton. ap. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Vol. i. p. 187.

[The following obſervations, on what is alledged, in the note [*B*], from Buchanan, and King Edward the firſt's letter, have been tranſmitted to us, by a learned correſpondent, to whom we have already ſeveral times been obliged. 'Buchanan was altogether ignorant of Britiſh Antiquity. His aſſerting, or denying Arthur to have exiſted can have no effect in the preſent controverſy. *Arthur Seat*, is ſaid to be derived, or rather corrupted from *A'rd Seir*, "a place or field of arrows, where people ſhot at a mark." And this not improperly, for among theſe cliffs is a little plain where the wind can ſcarcely reach, now called the *Hunters Bog*. See Gordon's *Itinerarium Boreale*. I think I have heard Preſident Forbes ſay, that he was puzzled as to the etymology of *Arthur's Seat*.——— King Edward ſaid what he thought moſt conducive to his own cauſe; though, indeed, the conqueſts of a Britiſh King could give little authority to the claim of a Saxon or Norman King, after the interval of many hundred years.'

As to the queſtion concerning the credit which is due to Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory, it is not our intention to enter minutely into it, at leaſt in this place. Nevertheleſs, we cannot avoid obſerving, that Mr. Thompſon's vindication of that hiſtory, in his long preface to his tranſlation of it, hath afforded us, upon the whole, very little ſatisfaction. Biſhop Tanner doth not ſeem to have been much pleaſed with this preface, as he gives it the appellation of *ſatis longa* (29). In a letter of Biſhop Lloyd's, lately publiſhed, concerning Geoffrey of Monmouth's hiſtory, he treats Geoffrey with great contempt, and ſays, that 'the few truths he lighted upon, and prickt in here and there among his fictions, are ſo crudely delivered, and ſo confounded with his miſtakes, that it had been almoſt as good that they had been quite loſt, as that they had been no otherwiſe preſerved (30).' But however fabulous the work may be, it ſeems to be certain that it was not wholly, or principally, the invention of Geoffrey. 'About the year 1100,' ſays Mr. Warton, 'Gualter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man, and a diligent collector of hiſtories, travelling through France, procured in Armorica an ancient Chronicle, written in the Britiſh or Armorica language, entitled BRUTY BRENHINED, OR THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN. This book he brought into England, and communicated it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welch Benedictine Monk, an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably ſkilled in the Britiſh tongue. Geoffrey, at the requeſt and recommendation of Gualter, the Archdeacon, tranſlated this Britiſh Chronicle into Latin; executing the tranſlation with a tolerable degree of purity, and great fidelity, yet not without ſome interpolations.—Geoffrey confeſſes, that he took ſome part of his account of King Arthur's atchievements from the mouth of his friend Gualter, the Archdeacon; who probably related to the Tranſlator ſome of the traditions on this ſubject, which he had heard in Armorica, or which at that time might have been popular in Wales.—He alſo owns, that Merlin's Prophecies were not in the Armorican original.—The ſpeeches and letters were forged by Geoffrey; and in the Deſcription of Battles, our Tranſlator has not ſcrupled frequent variations and additions (31).' Mr. Warton has added ſome curious remarks, concerning Geoffrey's original, and his tranſlation, communicated by Mr. Morris of Penbryn, an ingenious Antiquarian in Britiſh Literature. This Gentleman has in his poſſeſſion a very ancient manuſcript of the original, and has been many years preparing materials for giving an accurate and faithful tranſlation of it into Engliſh (32).

(29) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 306, note [*F*].

(30) Owen's Britiſh Remains, p 85.

(31) Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, Vol. i. Diſſ. i. p. 7, 8.

(32) *Ibid.*

There is no late Writer who hath entered ſo fully into the hiſtory and exploits of Arthur as Mr. Whitaker, from whom we ſhall tranſcribe what he hath ſaid in vindication of the exiſtence and the real tranſactions of that celebrated hero: 'The hiſtory of the famous Arthur has raiſed up two parties in the republic of letters, and engaged them in an attack upon its credit and a vindication of its authenticity. And theſe, like other factions in other republics, in their mutual zeal for the truth, have overleaped all the limits of moderation and propriety. By one ſet of hiſtorians, the whole account of Arthur, loaded as it is with falſehoods, and pregnant with abſurdities, is actually admitted as genuine. And by another, even thoſe parts of it, which exhibit the faireſt features of truth, and are marked with the ſtrongeſt ſignatures of authenticity, are abſolutely rejected as ſpurious. The hero is exalted into the little arbiter of the fates of Europe by the one. And even his exiſtence is denied as a fiction by the other. A long and continued oppoſition of ſentiment, in two contending parties, almoſt always reduces the judgment of both under the tyranny of the paſſions.

'Many of the actions, which are attributed to Arthur by the Welch chronicles of Britain, are as abſurd in themſelves, as they are ſpurious in their authority. Written, as thoſe narratives were, many centuries after the facts, and being merely the authentic accounts of Arthur, embelliſhed with the fictions, and diſtorted by the perverſions of folly; they are inconſiſtent equally with the ſtate of the times, and the hiſtory of the continent and the iſland. And the ignorance of the forgers, and the credulity of their abettors, can be equalled only by the injudiciouſneſs and incredulity of the opponents to both. If ſome accounts of Arthur and Cunobeline in theſe hiſtories be certainly ſpurious, others are as certainly genuine. And the relations of Suetonius, Dio, and Nennius, are not to be rejected, becauſe of the falſehoods which impoſture has engrafted upon them, and abſurdity admitted with them.

'The exiſtence of Arthur is evinced by that of the fables, which have at once annihilated his actions, and his name with the miſ-judging critic. And the reaſoner's own arguments actually turn againſt himſelf, and demonſtrate the point which they were intended to diſprove. The annals of Wales have long laboured in Arthur's commendation. The Highlanders have long had a poetical hiſtory of his exploits in their own language. The whole iſland is in traditionary poſſeſſion of his character. And ſix or ſeven hundred places within it are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by his name.

Queen lying by him, with long flowing hair, in colour bright as gold, which however ſunk into duſt when touched. The King's bones were very large ſized, and in his ſkull there were ten wounds or more, all cicatrized, except that of which he died. This diſcovery was made in the year 1189, as Giraldus Cambrenſis tells us, who ſaw theſe bones

'The genuine actions of the Chief are mentioned 'by his own hiſtorians, with a modeſty and conciſe-'neſs that is no bad argument of the truth, and 'with a particularity of time and place that is a good 'evidence of the facts. They are noticed by men, 'whom the death of the hero had exempted from all 'temptation to flattery. They are recited by per-'ſons, whom a proximity to the times had precluded 'from all poſſibility of miſtake. And they are atteſt-'ed by the beſt hiſtorical authority, writers who lived 'cotemporary with him, authors who converſed with 'his warriors, and hiſtorians that wrote within a few 'years after him. He is ſpoken of as the ho-'nourable father of the Britiſh heroes by the aged 'Llomarch, a writer actually cotemporary with him, 'and ſome time reſident at his court. One of his 'greater actions is incidentally recorded by Talieſ-'ſin, an hiſtorical bard living under Maelgwn 'Gwined, who was a ſovereign among the Britons 'in the days of Arthur, Gildas, and Llomarch. 'Another of his conſiderable exploits is caſually in-'timated by Myrdhin Wylht or Merlinus Caledo-'nius, who complains of the ſevere treatment which 'he himſelf received from Rydderch Hael, a king 'cotemporary with Urien Reged, and engaged with 'him in a war againſt the Saxons on the death of Ida 'in 560. And all his actions are particularly recited 'by Nennius.

'The Hiſtoria Britonum of this laſt author con-'ſiſts at preſent of two parts, the original accounts 'and the additional notices. And theſe are plainly 'diſtinguiſhed in ſome places by the groſs contra-'dictions in the chronology. Thus in chapter the 'firſt we have the date of the work ſettled at the 'year 800, and in preface the firſt at 858. And 'the Picts are ſaid in the ſecond chapter to have 'formerly inhabited Britain, priùs habitabant, and 'in the fifth to poſſeſs a third part of it even to that 'period, tenent uſque nunc. But the original date 'of the work may be eaſily aſcertained, and the ori-'ginal parts of it readily diſtinguiſhed, in general. 'And the concluſion of the hiſtory demonſtrates it to 'have been compoſed betwixt 547 and 560. The 'original detail of tranſactions is terminated in the 'ſixty-fourth chapter, and at the ſettlement of Ida 'on the throne of Bernicia in 547. And the further 'ſucceſſes of Ida and his conqueſt of Deira before '560, in the ſixty-fifth and the firſt appendix, are 'expreſsly declared to be added by an enlarger of 'the hiſtory. And ſince all the facts, that are men-'tioned in Nennius antecedent to this epocha, ought 'generally to be conſidered as the original incidents 'of the work, thoſe parts of it which continue the 'regular chain of tranſactions, and relate to the 'greater events of the national annals, ſhould be 'particularly admitted as genuine. Such is the ac-'count of Arthur's military actions. It is all con-'ſiſtent with the real date of the work. It is a 'neceſſary link in the chain of related events. And 'it is a ſeries of incidents the moſt important in all 'the national hiſtory.

'Among this aſſemblage of authors, almoſt all the 'writers in the age of Arthur whoſe works have 'deſcended to us, and *all* unqueſtionable witneſſes 'of his fame; the ſilence of Gildas concerning him 'has been frequently alledged. But the argument 'is of no avail. If this was of moment againſt the 'actions of Arthur, the ſilence of Nennius would be 'of equal againſt thoſe of Ambroſius. And, if Gil-'das's omiſſion was of any authority againſt that 'hero, it ſhould certainly be of equal, and even of 'greater, againſt Vortimer. Gildas does not merely 'paſs over the actions of the latter, but abſolutely 'precludes them by his manner. And all the ex-'ploits of Vortimer are virtually denied by Gildas, 'while the greateſt of Arthur's is actually mentioned 'by him; mentioned without an author by Gildas 'and expreſsly aſcribed to Arthur by Talieſſin. But 'the mere ſilence of an hiſtorian is a weak argument 'in itſelf. The omiſſion made by one writer, amid 'a variety of equal and atteſting hiſtorians, is 'the moſt frivolous of all reaſons. And the ſilence 'of Gildas concerning a train of military exploits, 'when they are noticed by others fully equal to him 'in authenticity, and when he expreſsly profeſſes 'non tam fortiſſimorum militum enunciare pericula 'quàm deſidioſorum, not to tell the deeds of the 'hero, but expoſe the conduct of the ſcoundrel, is 'not even the ſemblage of an argument at all.

'Arthur was the Arth-uir, great man, or ſovereign 'of the Proper Silures, and therefore denominated 'King of Gwent, the Venta Silurum of the Ro-'mans, and the Britiſh metropolis of the nation. 'So the Kings of the Creones and the Iriſh, as I 'have already ſhewn, were denominated from the 'places of their reſidence and the capitals of their 'dominions, Sovereigns of Selma and Monarchs of 'Temora. And thoſe of North and South Wales, 'during the tenth century, were denominated the 'Brenin of Aberffraw and the Arglwydd of Dinevor. 'At the requiſition of the Pendragon, Arthur had 'brought up his complement of troops to the ſouthern 'army, and been trained to war under the auſpices 'of Ambroſius. His valour diſtinguiſhed him a-'mong the aſſembled monarchs in the ſervice. And 'his conduct pointed him out to their diſcerning 'commander. Ambroſius pitied the diſtreſſes of the 'northern Britons, and was alarmed at the progreſs 'of the Saxons among them. He relieved the one, 'and ſtopt the other, effectually. He ſent Arthur 'into the North. And this officer he honourably 'ſingled out from the reſt, for the arduous and im-'portant province of rallying the routed, teaching 'the runaways to encounter their conquerors, and 'leading the beaten troops to victory and glory.

'The Saxon conqueſts in the North appear to have 'been principally obtained by the weight of num-'bers. The Angles poured ſo continually into the 'provinces, that they left their own country entirely 'deſtitute of people for ages; and ſome parts of it 'were actually diſpoſſeſſed of their inhabitants, even 'in the days of Hengiſt and before 488. And the 'ſubſequent hiſtory of their many defeats ſhews their 'numbers to have been extremely great. For the 'fortune of the Saxons was now reverſed. They 'encountered a new general and additional forces. 'They were repeatedly beaten. And all the country 'was recovered.

'The victories of Arthur over the Saxons are thus 'recorded by Nennius. The firſt battle was fought 'at the mouth of the river, which is denominated 'Glem. The ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth were 'upon another river, that is called Duglas, and lies 'in the region Linuis. The ſixth was on a ſtream, 'which bears the appellation of Baſſas. The ſeventh 'was in the wood of Celidon, that is, in Cat Coit 'Celidon. The eighth was at Caſtle Gunnion. 'And the ninth was at the city of the Legion. The 'tenth was on the bank of the river Ribroit, the 'eleventh at the hill Agned Cathregonion, and the 'twelfth at Mount Badon.

'Theſe twelve battles of Arthur are deſcribed to 'us in the ſame manner as Vortimer's three. Only 'the general facts are mentioned, and only the 'common names of places are recited, in both. 'And from the whole air and aſpect of the hiſtory, 'the remarkable conciſeneſs with which the notices 'are given, and the great eaſe with which the places 'are pointed out, the detail appears to have been 'drawn up at the diſtance only of a few years from 'the tranſactions, and when theſe little references 'were ſufficiently underſtood (33).'

(33) Whitaker's Hiſt. of Manchester, Vol. ii. p. 31—35. For the Authorities, see p. 40, 41.

Mr. Whitaker proceeds to aſcertain the ſcenes of Arthur's battles; after which he gives a relation of them, with a ſurprizing particularity. A ſevere critic might be apt to ſay, that it requires all our faith in the author's judgment, as well as in his ingenuity and learning, not to ſuſpect, that he ſometimes allows too much ſcope to fancy and conjecture. However, the whole of what he hath advanced is ſingularly curious, and deſerves peculiar attention and conſideration. And no one can help admiring the penetration with which he hath formed ſuch a regular detail of facts, from the combined aid of hiſtory, romance, and tradition (34). According to Mr. Whitaker Arthur's principal exploits were a-

(34) *Ibid.* p. 35—62.

bones, and examined the whole matter carefully (z). There was also a table containing this story, set up in the monastery of Glastenbury, and the leaden cross with the inscription remained there till the dissolution of the monastery, where it was seen by the great antiquary, Leland (y), but what is become of it since, does not appear. C.

(z) Camden. Britan. tit. Somersetshire. Speed's Chron. p. 273.

(y) Asser. Artur.

gainst the northern Saxons, whilst he was only Prince of the Silures, and Ambrosius was the Dictator, or Pendragon, of the Britons. 'In a series probably 'of five campaigns, and in a succession certainly of 'eleven victories, this great commander had re-'pelled the Saxons from the north of Flavia, dis-'lodged them from all Maxima, and dispossessed 'them of all Valentia. And these were successes so 'unchequered with misfortunes, so great in them-'selves, and so beneficial to the Public, that the 'name of Arthur claims the first rank in the list 'of military, and the better one of patriot, 'heroes (35).' The twelfth battle of Arthur was fought in the south of England, after he was elected to the Pendragonship, against Cerdic the Saxon. 'This, says Mr. Whitaker, was a most extraordinary 'victory, and compleats the circle of Arthur's mili-'tary glories (36).' In the author's account of this Prince's conduct in peace, he asserts, that Arthur saw that an appointment was wanted, which should at once be a more regular and more honourable signature of merit; by the certainty of the honour and the greatness of the dignity, call out all the worth of all the worthy in the nation; and collect it round the throne of the Pendragon. Accordingly, he established a military order. It was the first that had ever been instituted in the island; and it has since been imitated by all the nations on the Continent. 'By means of this association, Arthur raised 'among the provincials a general glow of ingenuous 'heroism, the first spirit of chivalry that ever ap-'peared in Europe; that manly and honourable 'gallantry of soul, which has made him and his 'Worthies the subject of romantic histories over all 'the west of it. By this, and this alone, could he 'have been what history represents him, the Reve-'rend Father of the British Heroes in general, even 'to the conclusion of the sixth century, and nearly 'the middle of the seventh. The order naturally 'survived its founder. And the members of it were 'denominated the warriors of Arthur, though the 'persons were born half a century after his death.' Mr. Whitaker goes on to inform us, that, under the prudent management of Arthur for twenty years together, a fair prospect dawned upon the Britons, and long scenes of future glories opened to their imaginations. 'But the gay vision was destroyed at 'once, by the commencement of a civil war. Many 'towns still remained in ruins, the memorial of the 'former wars, and the disgrace of the present. The 'diffused spirit of chivalry was turned upon the na-'tion, and heroism became the tool of dissension. 'And the dreadful combination of civil evils was 'begun and consummated, at once, by the death 'of the renowned Arthur in battle. Thus died the 'incomparable hero in 542 (37).'] K.

(35) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(36) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 63, 64.

ARTHUR, (Duke of Britany) was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, fourth son of Henry II., King of England, and of Constantia sole daughter and heiress of Conan Duke of Britany, and Earl of Richmond. This Arthur was a posthumous son, his father being unfortunately slain, while his mother was with child of him, whom she brought into the world on Easter-day, which fell on the thirty-first of March, *Anno Dom.* 1187 (a). In right of his mother he was heir-apparent to the dukedom of Britany, and to many lordships; and on this account he was left under the care of his mother, notwithstanding the relation he had to the royal family of England [A]. The Lady Constantia did not long remain a widow, but took for her second husband the Earl of Chester (b), however she had still the care of her son, and in all probability was well treated, and her son for some years beloved, and caressed by her brother-in-law King Richard, who had so great a respect to the right of succession, and such an affection for his young nephew, that in the year 1190, in a letter directed to the Pope, and dated from Messina in Sicily, on the eleventh of November (c), he declares his dearest nephew Arthur his heir, in case he died without issue by his Queen; and also by an article in his treaty with Tancred King of Sicily, he stipulated that this nephew, Arthur, when he grew up, should take to wife the daughter of the King of Sicily. The next year after he provided, by a treaty with the King of France, that the dukedom of Britany should be for ever held of the Duke of Normandy, and that the Duke of Normandy should answer to the King of France for both dukedoms (d). Yet in the year 1199, when this Prince was so unfortunate as to receive a mortal wound before the castle of Chalus, he devised to his brother John the kingdom of England, and all his other dominions, caused such as were present to swear fealty to him, directing also that his castles should be immediately put into his hands, with three-fourths of his treasures (e). In all probability, it was the Queen-mother Eleanor who persuaded King Richard to take this step in disinheriting his nephew Arthur, who was then but twelve years old; neither are our ancient historians silent, as to the motives which induced the old Queen to act in this manner. She was, as all writers agree, a proud, ambitious woman, and the Lady Constantia, Dutchess of Britany, having also a very high spirit, the Queen foresaw that in case her son ascended the throne, she should thenceforward have little or no credit, which made her, to the utmost of her power, promote her son John's claim,

(a) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 364. Matth. Paris, p. 143. N. Trivet, Annal. p. 89. Walsingham, fol 452. Stowe, Hollinshed, Speed, ad ann. 1187.

(b) Roger. de Hov. Annal. p. 796.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 677.

(d) Roger. de Hov. p. 688. Matth. Paris, p. 163.

(e) Roger. de Hov. p. 791. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 135.

[A] *Royal Family of England.*] His father Geoffrey fourth son to Henry II. King of England, was born on the 23d of September 1158 (1), and his father, King Henry, while he was yet a child, declared he should marry Constantia heiress of Britany, who was also a child, and under colour of this marriage reduced the whole Dutchy under his obedience (2). In the year 1186, he had the misfortune to fall off his horse at a tournament in Paris, and being trampled under feet, was so terribly bruised that he died, leaving by his wife, Constantia, an only daughter Eleanor, to whom Philip King of France claimed to be guardian, which was disputed by King Henry of England, and in the interim Constantia was delivered of Arthur (3). That on the demise of Richard I. Arthur should claim his succession in England and in France, appears highly reasonable from this account of his birth. On the other hand, he had some other pretensions at least to friends and favourers, derived to him from his mother; for her mother was Margaret, sister to William King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, right heir to the Crown of England of the Saxon line (4).

(1) Rad. de Diceto, col. 531.

(2) Joh. Bromt. col. 1059.

(3) Roger. de Hov. p. 363, 364.

(4) Hollinshed, Vol. ii. p. 164. a.

againſt that of her grandſon Arthur's. Several of the Norman, and moſt of the Engliſh lords, ſtuck to the firſt mentioned Prince, who, very ſhortly after, cauſed himſelf to be inveſted Duke of Normandy, and declared King of England. The inequality indeed was great between the competitors, for King John was in the prime of life, being in his thirty-third year, whereas Arthur was not much above twelve (*f*). Yet there wanted not ſome perſons of diſtinction, who, out of pure reſpect to juſtice, eſpouſed his quarrel. Thomas Defurnes, governor of the city of Angiers, rendered it with the caſtle to Duke Arthur, and the Barons and great men of Anjou, Tourain, and Main, having met together, recognized the young Prince for their Lord, whom his mother brought to the city of Tours, and there delivered him to Philip King of France, who ſolemnly received him, and all his dominions, under his protection (*g*). This ſo provoked his competitor John, that he immediately attacked the city of Main, and having reduced it, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, for the affection they had ſhewn to Duke Arthur. After this exploit, John went over into England to be crowned, while Arthur remained in the court of King Philip, who gave him ſtrong aſſurances of his favour and aſſiſtance (*h*). In purſuance of theſe promiſes, King Philip committed many hoſtilities in the countries belonging to King John, and having raiſed a conſiderable army in the ſummer, he, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, knighted his pupil Arthur, and received his homage for Anjou, Poictou, Tourain, Main, Britany, and Normandy, ſo that he ſeemed now abſolutely engaged in the cauſe of the young Prince. King John returning into Normandy, firſt ſought to have entered into a treaty with King Philip, and being diſappointed therein, prepared the beſt he could to reſiſt his enemies. In the beginning of the month of October, the King of France took the caſtle of Balun, and put a garriſon into it. This highly offended William de Roche, whom the Latin writers call *de Rupibus*, who commanded the forces of Duke Arthur; inſomuch that after having expoſtulated, to no purpoſe, with King Philip, he reconciled the young Prince to his uncle, to whom he delivered the city of Mans, of which he was governor, and put Duke Arthur and his mother Conſtance into the King's hands. Things did not long continue in this condition; for the Lady Conſtantia, and thoſe about her, ſuſpecting King John intended to impriſon her ſon, made haſte away with him to the city of Angiers, where, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Pope, Lady Conſtantia quitted her ſecond huſband the Earl of Cheſter, and married Guy de Tours (*i*). In the beginning of the next year, there were ſome negotiations between the Kings of France and England, which at length ended in a peace, wherein Duke Arthur was included, and the two Kings having an interview, near the city of Vernon, Arthur, by conſent of the French King, did homage to his uncle for the dukedom of Britany, and this ceremony over returned with King Philip to Paris, as having no great confidence in King John (*k*). In the year 1201, that King returned into Normandy, and, on an invitation from King Philip, went to Paris, where he was kindly received, though, after his return into Normandy, ſome diſputes grew between them. In 1202, the Kings had another interview, at which Philip haughtily required King John, to yield to his nephew all that he poſſeſſed in France without exception, and this extraordinary demand occaſioned a war. In the courſe of theſe diſputes Duke Arthur, with a conſiderable army, entered Poictou, and having ſubdued it, with the countries of Tourain and Anjou, he ſuddenly came with his forces before the caſtle of Mirabeau, where Queen Eleanor, his grandmother, at this time had her reſidence. The ſucceſs of this young Prince had drawn numbers into his ſervice, ſo that he attacked the place with a great army, and made himſelf maſter of all but the middle tower where the Queen was: in this diſtreſs ſhe wrote to her ſon John, earneſtly beſeeching him to come to her aſſiſtance. The King, extremely alarmed at his mother's danger, marched night and day to afford her relief; inſomuch that he appeared before Mirabeau at a time when he was not expected, and taking advantage of the enemy's confuſion, he attacked, and entirely defeated them. This was on the firſt of Auguſt 1202, as appears by King John's letter to the Barons of England, wherein he gives them a full account of this victory, and of his taking his nephew Arthur, and many other noble priſoners. This blow was fatal to our young Prince, and to his family. He had been a little before contracted to the King of France's youngeſt daughter; but now all hopes of his conſummating that marriage were loſt. His only ſiſter, Eleanor, named, by the common people, the Damſel of Britain, fell likewiſe into the hands of King John, who ſent her over into England, where ſhe remained a priſoner many years in the caſtle of Briſtol (*l*). As for Duke Arthur, the King ſent him to the caſtle of Falais, under the cuſtody of his Chamberlain Hubert, and not long after the King went thither himſelf. There, it is ſaid, he treated his nephew very gently, intreated him to lay aſide all thoughts of adhering, as hitherto he had done, to the French King, exhorting him rather to depend, as he ought, on him his uncle and Sovereign. To theſe ſpeeches the young Prince ſomewhat unadviſedly anſwered, that he was the lawful heir, not only of his uncle Richard's French dominions, but of the crown of England alſo, which if he did not yield to him, he ſhould not long wear in peace. This anſwer was certainly bold enough; but as it came from a boy ſcarcely turned of fifteen years of age, it ought not to have provoked the King ſo much as it ſeems it did; who thereupon cauſed him to be removed to the caſtle of Rouen, where, under the

(*f*) Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed, ad ann. 1199.

(*g*) J. de Serres. Chronique de Normand. fol. 94, 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 792. Matth. Paris, p. 196. Nich. Trivet, p. 138.

(*h*) Roger. de Hov. p. 793. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

(*i*) Roger. de Hov. p. 795, 796. Matth. Paris, p. 198.

(*k*) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Roger. de Hov. p. 814. Matth. Paris, p. 200. Nich. Trivet. p. 140. Chronicon Johannis Abbat. S. P. de Burgo ap. Script. var. à Joſepho Sparke, edit. p. 91.

(*l*) Roger. de Hov. p. 823. Matth. Paris, p. 207. Nich. Trivet. p. 143. See alſo Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed, ad ann. p. 1202.

cuſtody of Robert de Vypont, he was much more cloſely confined than before (*m*). After this King John returned into England, where he continued not long before he entertained ſtrange thoughts with reſpect to his unhappy nephew. He was it ſeems ſo apprehenſive of the claim that he, and his deſcendants, might have to the dominions of King Richard, that he reſolved to have Arthur's eyes put out, and to have him farther deprived of the power of begetting children. From this barbarous project however he was diſſuaded, either by his Chamberlain Hubert, or by his mother Queen Eleanor, who began now (when it was too late) to expreſs a great tenderneſs for her unhappy grandſon, for whoſe misfortunes it is ſaid ſhe not long after broke her heart (*n*). But though the King was diverted from one cruel deſign, it hath been always ſtrongly ſuſpected that he put another in practice, ſince, in the ſpring of the next year, Duke Arthur diſappeared, and was never more ſeen (*o*). The French authors in general, and not a few Engliſh writers, charge King John expreſsly either with committing, or commanding the murder; and though ſome very learned men have taken no ſmall pains to free that Prince's memory from ſo foul a ſtain, yet ſo weak are their arguments, that, to any impartial reader, they muſt rather prejudice than promote the opinion they maintain [*B*]. Our excellent Shakeſpeare, in his life and death of King John, has given us an admirable picture of this tranſaction, wherein (ſo far as we can gather from hiſtory) he preſents to the eyes of his audience the true characters of thoſe

(*m*) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Jode Serres. Matth. Paris, p. 207, 208.

(*n*) R. Coggeſhall, as cited in Hollinſhed's Chronicle.

(*o*) Matth. Paris, p. 208. Nich. Trivet, p. 144. Peter Langtoff's Chronicle, Hearne edit. p. 206.

[*B*] *The opinion they maintain.*] The honour of King John in this particular, is beſt ſupported in that chronicle which paſſes under the name of Speed, but is in truth the work of ſeveral hands, this reign particularly being written by the learned Dr. Barkham (5). 'As the tongues of paraſites, ſays he, are 'no true ſcales to weigh the worth and virtues of 'great men; ſo neither ought we to judge of their '(or any man's) blemiſhes, by the deforming pencils 'of envy or rancour; with one of which, no emi-'nency, either of place or virtue, was ever unattend-'ed. And that this bloody aſperſion on the King, 'came from no other fountain but malignity; ſuch 'as then lived, and might therefore beſt know the 'truth, and were alſo (as Monks generally were) his 'moſt bitter taxers, and therefore far from ſalving his 'infamy with partial falſhood, can but witneſs. It 'was (ſaith one) (6) by certain perſons avowed, that 'Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, 'was by caſualty drowned in the river Seyne (on 'which the caſtle of Roan is ſeated); and yet the 'Frenchmen, the King's mortal enemies (and there-'fore plenary credit not to be given them), give 'it out that he was murdered by the King's com-'mand, yea and by his own hands; thus by the 'malice of ſlanderers, England's King became not a 'little defamed, with whom other the approvedſt 'authors accord (though differing in the manner 'of his death), that this imputation ſprang only from 'the French emulation, as ſince it hath been kept 'on foot, only by French and Italianate ſpirits, one 'of which hath not bluſhed to charge King John 'with murdering of his own brother King Richard '(7), and another with killing Arthur's ſiſter, who 'yet outlived him twenty-four years (8); ſo ſhame-'leſsly will the pen blur the truth of actions, where it 'is once dipped in gall againſt the perſon.' Stripped of the Doctor's affectedly fine language, there is not either argument or authority in any thing he ſays. Paraſites ſeldom ſpeak evil of princes, and as to the only author he cites in King John's favour, I mean Matthew Paris, he ſays in his larger hiſtory (9), which is alſo moſt authentic, what does not make for the Doctor's purpoſe at all. 'Sed non multo poſt, 'idem Arthurus ſubito evanuit, modo fere omnibus 'ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invida; *i. e. Not 'long after this, Arthur ſuddenly vaniſhed in a man-'ner few are acquainted with, not I hope as ſpite-'ful report ſpeaks!*' Trivet, whom he likewiſe cites, ſays only that King John was ſcandalized about his death (10), which is no proof that he did not kill him. Then as to charging King John with the murder of Duke Arthur's ſiſter, he is not quite ſo clear of it as might be wiſhed. She was his lawful Sovereign after the death of her brother, and yet he kept her a cloſe priſoner ſo long as he lived, and left her in that priſon where ſhe died (11). If only French writers reported that he murdered his nephew, we might be inclined to ſuſpect their authority, but it is in truth affirmed by all ſorts of writers foreign and domeſtic. It is aſſerted in the old Chronicles of Normandy, that the King cauſed him to be drowned (12), and from thence I ſuppoſe the French writers borrowed it, as we ſhall hear more at large hereafter. Thomas Sprott, who wrote in the reign of Henry III. ſon to King John, tells us roundly, 'Iſte interfecit Arturum Nepotem 'ſuum; i. e. *This man murdered his nephew* Arthur '(13).' In thoſe days very probably it was not ſafe to ſay more. However, an author whoſe works are ſtill preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, tells the tale out. 'Dum adhuc eſſet in 'Aquitanum comprehenſum puerum (ſcilicet Arthu-'rum Nepotem ſuum), dolo tenuit & occidit per ma-'num Armigeri ſui Petri de Malo Lacu, cui poſtea 'heredem Baroniæ de Mulgreffe dedit in uxorem (14); '*i. e. While he was in Aquitain, he ſeized the young Man, '(Arthur his nephew) kept him baſely, and cauſed 'him to be ſlain by the hand of his Eſquire, Peter 'de Malo Lacu, to whom afterwards he gave the 'heireſs of the Barony of Mulgreffe to wife.*' This ſeems to be the truth, and therefore I publiſh it. The Chronicle of Godſtow Abbey places the fact in a worſe light, for he tells us, that on the day of April 1203, King John, having taken his nephew in battle, directed ſome of his knights to go and murder him in priſon; but they refuſing, himſelf entered the place where Arthur was, and drawing his ſword, thruſt the lad through as he was upon his knees (15). This murder is reported after another manner by Rapin (16). There want not, ſays he, ſome hiſtorians who write that John cauſed him to be put into a boat in a very dark night, at the foot of the Tower where he had been kept priſoner, where he ſtabbed him with his own hands, and then ordered the body to be carried ſome leagues below Rouen, and there thrown into the Sein. Theſe diſcordant accounts of the murder are very far from deſtroying the credit of each other, becauſe ſuch murders as this was, muſt be ſecret in their nature, and conſequently, though the fact were ever ſo certain, there would be various reports about it. The thing, however, was ſo flagrant, that King John, as Duke of Normandy, was charged with it before his Peers at Paris; and, on his non-appearance, condemned to loſe all the lands he held in France. Camden tells us (17), that he offered to appear if he might have had a ſafe conduct, which however was refuſed him, on account perhaps of the nature of the crime with which he was charged. Dr. Barkham, in his before-mentioned hiſtory, is pleaſed to ſay, that the King might have juſtified his putting his nephew to death, whom he took in open arms fighting againſt him his Sovereign (18). This, however, is odd doctrine, conſidering who Arthur was, and how indiſputable his title to thoſe lands for which he fought. On the whole therefore, how much partiality ſoever there may be in the Monkiſh writers againſt King John in other reſpects, in this they ſeem to have done him no great wrong; and if he was innocent, he ſhewed little care to do himſelf right; otherwiſe he might certainly have given a clearer account of this affair, or at leaſt he might have told where his nephew was buried.

(5) See his article in this Dictionary.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. min. MS. Trivet, p. 144.

(7) Sabellicus Ennead. 9. l. 5.

(8) John Harding in his Chronicles, c. 142.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

(10) Annal. p. 144.

(11) Nich. Trivet, p. 145. 194.

(12) Chronique de Normand. fol. 95. Chron. Johan. Abbat. S. P. de Burgo, p. 91.

(13) MS. p. 74. col. 2.

(14) Chronic. Radulphi niger in Bibliothec. Coll. Sanct. Trinitat. Cantab. fol. 94.

(15) MS. in Bibliothec. Harl. p. 93.

(16) Hiſt. D'Angleterre, tom. ii. p. 296.

(17) In tit. Richmond. in Deſcrip. Britan.

(18) Speed's Chronicle, p. 490.

illuſtrious

illuſtrious perſons he introduces, inſomuch that whoever reads this play, after conſulting our beſt hiſtorians, will read it with double pleaſure, as perceiving thence, after how exquiſite a manner this great genius hath united truth and poetry (*p*) [*C*]. Some authors inform us, that Conſtantia, Dutcheſs of Britany, and mother of Arthur, appealed King John before Philip, and the Peers of France, for the murder of her ſon Arthur (*q*). Yet this admits of ſome doubt; ſince Roger Hoveden, who lived in thoſe times, and who concludes his hiſtory the year before the battle of Mirabell, mentions the death of Conſtantia (*r*), and there are other authors who agree in the ſame date. But that ſuch a ſuit was commenced againſt King John, and judgment given thereupon, is certain (*s*); as alſo that the famous John de Courcy, Earl of Ulſter in Ireland, openly called him traitor, murderer, and refuſed to pay him any obedience on account of this murder (*t*), which, as Matthew Paris tells us, it was commonly reported the King committed with his own hand (*u*). C.

(*p*) This Play is the laſt in the third Volume of the new edition in 12*mo*, London, 1740.

(*q*) Stowe, Holinſhed, and Speed.
(*r*) Annal. p. 822.
(*s*) Rapin, Hiſt. D'Angl. Vol. ii. p. 296.
(*t*) Stowe, p. 186, b.
(*u*) Hiſt. Angl. p. 208.

[*C*] *This great genius hath united truth and poetry.*] The whole Tragedy of the Life and Death of King John, is truly beautiful. In this note, however, I ſhall meddle with nothing, but what relates to the ſtory of Arthur. In the firſt place, I muſt remark the wiſdom, as well as juſtice of the poet, in making John thought by every body, nay even by himſelf, an intruder, and no lawful poſſeſſor either of the Crown of England, or of the Dutchy of Normandy. In this he kept cloſe to hiſtory; for in reality he was never owned for ſuch, but by thoſe who found it their intereſt. Hubert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as appears by his oration (19), which is ſtill extant, would have made him an elective King. If ſo, this would ſerve his purpoſe only in England: in France the title of Duke Arthur was clear: he claimed the French dominions as heir to his Uncle Richard, and the great lords in thoſe countries, who were the beſt judges of the rule of deſcent, acknowledged his title. On this ground, Conſtance, throughout the Play, refuſes all kind of treaty with King John, which is conſiſtent with her character, though not exactly agreeable to hiſtory. The quarrels between her and Queen Eleanor, are founded on the teſtimony of credible authors, and, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, the poet makes her ſay nothing, but what we may well ſuppoſe ſhe might have ſaid. The reproaches thrown on Philip King of France, for owning and diſowning the cauſe of Arthur, juſt as his intereſt led him, are juſt and grounded in reaſon. The character of Arthur, was entirely in his own hands: he was at liberty to give that young Prince what manners he pleaſed, provided only he gave him ſpirit, of which our hiſtories aſſure us he had a large ſhare. The ſcenes between the Prince and Hubert are ſtrong and lively, agreeing perfectly well with the account given us by Coggeſhal. It may not be amiſs, to note here, that this Hubert, Chamberlain to King John, is the famous Hubert de Burgh, of whom the reader may ſee more in another place. As to the manner of Arthur's death, Shakeſpeare might take what tale he had liked beſt; and accordingly, he has taken that which leaſt injured the memory of King John, whom he treats as a lawful Prince in the latter part of the Play. On the whole therefore, as the force of his genius ſtrikes us at firſt ſight, ſo a reverence for his deep judgment and great knowledge in Engliſh hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily ariſe from an attentive conſideration of this, and indeed of all his performances of this kind.

(19) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 197.

[It is evident, from Rymer's Fœdera, that Conſtantia died before her ſon; for we find in that work a patent of King John to the Barons of Britany, *De Teſtamento Conſtantiæ quondam Comitiſſæ Britanniæ obſervando*, which is dated on the 30th of January, 1202 (20). —— Though Arthur had an undoubted right to the Crown of England and the Dutchy of Normandy, according to the rules of ſucceſſion and repreſentation which have long been eſtabliſhed, it ought to be remembered, that theſe rules were by no means clearly underſtood, or ſtrictly attended to, during a conſiderable part of the feudal ages. We meet with many inſtances, in the hiſtory of Europe, in which a younger ſon or brother, as nearer in deſcent, was preferred to the grandſon or nephew by an elder ſon or brother; and it was very gradually that mankind in general arrived to thoſe rational and juſt ſentiments upon the ſubject which now obtain. The ideas of men upon this head were, indeed, much improved in the time of King John, though perhaps the improvement was greater in France than in England. But in no country were the laws of ſucceſſion and repreſentation ſo compleatly received and ſettled, as to make his uſurpation appear in that flagrant and unjuſtifiable light in which it would at preſent univerſally be regarded.] K.

(20) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. i. p. 127.

ARVIRAGUS, an antient Britiſh King, flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian [*A*], when Salluſtius Lucullus was Lieutenant for the Romans in Britain (*a*). The Britiſh hiſtorians, eſpecially Geoffrey of Monmouth, place him in the reign

(*a*) Camden's Britannia, publiſhed by Biſhop Gibſon, folio, Vol. i. col. 77.

[*A*] *Arviragus —— flouriſhed in the time of the Emperor Domitian.*] This appears from the following paſſage of Juvenal, which is a compliment to that Emperor:

Non cedit Vejento; ſed ut fanaticus œſtro
Percuſſus, Bellona, tuo, divinat, &, ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi.
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus (1).

(1) Juvenal. Sat. iv. ver. 123.

Nor came Veiento ſhort, but as inſpired
By thee, Bellona, by thy fury fired,
Turns prophet: See, the mighty omen, ſee,
He cries, of ſome illuſtrious victory!
Some captive King thee his new Lord ſhall own;
Or, from his Britiſh chariot headlong thrown,
The proud Arviragus come tumbling down.
Rev. Mr. Richard Duke.

The author of the Chronicle of Dover (2) underſtands this paſſage as addreſſed to Nero; I ſuppoſe, becauſe the poet introduces the ſtory, of which they are a part, with theſe lines:

(2) Chron. Dover. *apud* Leland, Collectan. Vol. ii. p. 50.

Cum jam ſemianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
Ultimus, & calvo ſerviret Roma Neroni (3).

(3) Juv. ib. ver. 37.

When he, with whom the Flavian race decay'd,
The groaning world with iron ſcepter ſway'd,
When a bald Nero reign'd, and ſervile Rome
obey'd. Ibid.

But this is a plain deſcription of the Emperor Domitian, who was the laſt and worſt of the Flavian family, and is here called *calvus Nero* (a *bald Nero*) both on account of his *cruelty*, in which he reſembled that Emperor, and his *baldneſs*, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from him. Let us add, that the above-mentioned compliment would have been a very inſipid piece of flattery to Domitian, unleſs Arviragus were a conſiderable Prince then living, and an enemy to the Romans. And therefore there is no ground for the opinion of Alford (4), who contends, that Arviragus is the ſame as *Caractacus*, who was conquered by Claudius, and that Juvenal uſes the name by a poetical licence, though he lived long before. The probability of the caſe ſeems to be, that, in Domitian's time, after the recalling Agricola, and taking away the life of Salluſtius Lucullus his ſucceſſor, the Britons took up arms under Arviragus. And the learned Primate of Armagh (5) mentions an old Britiſh coin in Sir R. Cotton's Collections, with theſe letters on it,

(4) Annal. Eccleſ. *ad an.* 45. n. 9.

(5) *In Primord.* p. 583.

ARIVOG.

reign of the Emperor Claudius, whoſe enterprize againſt Britain he is ſaid to have oppoſed. The account we have of Arviragus in that author is generally eſteemed to be fabulous: however, the ſubſtance of it is as follows: Kymbelinus, when he had governed Britain ten years, begat two ſons, the elder named Guiderius, and the younger Arviragus. Kymbelinus being dead, Guiderius, who ſucceeded him, reſolved to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and began with refuſing to pay the uſual tribute: whereupon the Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain (*b*) [*B*]. In a battle which enſued between the Romans and the Britons, Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo, a Roman [*C*]: upon which Arviragus, putting on his brother's habiliments, and heading the Britons, gained a victory over Claudius (*c*) [*D*]. But being ſoon after beſieged by that Prince in the city of Wincheſter, he made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and, in conſequence of the treaty, married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa (*d*) [*E*]. Matters being thus accommodated, Claudius returned to Rome, and left to Arviragus the government of the Britiſh iſlands (*e*). After the departure of the Romans, Arviragus became a very powerful Prince; and this ſo elevated him with pride, that he diſdained any longer ſubjection to the Romans, and aſſumed to himſelf an independent authority. Whereupon Veſpaſian was ſent againſt him into Britain [*F*]; and, upon the arrival of this General, a great battle was fought, in which neither ſide got the victory: but, the morning after the fight, by the mediation of Queen Genuiſſa, the two leaders were reconciled; Veſpaſian returned to Rome, and Arviragus remained in Britain. This monarch lived to a good old age, governing his kingdom in peace,

(*b*) Galfrid Monumeth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(*c*) *Ibid.* c. 13.

(*d*) *Ibid.* c. 14.

(*e*) *Ibid.* c. 15.

from whence he thinks his true name was *Arivogus*, which the Romans changed to *Arviragus*. The Britons being now up in arms, as far as we can learn, were not repreſſed till the Emperor Adrian came over in perſon, and built the firſt wall, to keep them out of the Roman Province. For, before this time, Spartian (6) tells us, the Britons could not be kept in ſubjection to the Roman power. So that here was a fit ſeaſon, in Domitian's time (Agricola being recalled in the beginning of that Emperor's reign) for ſuch a King as Arviragus to appear at the head of the Britons, and it was then a ſuitable compliment to Domitian to wiſh him a triumph over Arviragus.

(6) *In* Hadriano.

[*B*] *The Emperor Claudius undertook an expedition into Britain.*] He was attended in this expedition (ſays the Monmouth hiſtorian) by the commander of his army, who was called in the Britiſh tongue Leuis Hamo; by whoſe advice the ſucceeding war was to be carried on. This man therefore, arriving at the city of Portceſtre, began to block up the gates with a wall, and denied the citizens all liberty of paſſing out. For his deſign was, either to reduce them under ſubjection by famine, or to kill them without mercy (7). Guiderius, upon the news of Claudius's coming, aſſembled all the ſoldiery of the kingdom, and marched to meet the Roman army, which he attacked with great eagerneſs, doing more execution with his own ſword, than the greater part of his ſoldiers (8).

(7) Galfrid. Monumeth. Hiſt. Brit. lib. iv. c. 12.

(8) *Ibid.* c. 13.

[*C*] *Guiderius was treacherouſly killed by Leuis Hamo.*] Claudius was now juſt upon retreating to his ſhips, and the Romans very near routed, when the crafty Hamo, throwing aſide his own armour, put on that of the Britons, and as a Briton fought againſt his own men. Then he exhorted the Britons to a vigorous aſſault, promiſing them a ſpeedy victory. For he had learned their language and manners, as having been educated among the Britiſh hoſtages at Rome. By this means he approached by little and little to the King; and ſeeing his opportunity of acceſs, he ſtabbed him while under no apprehenſion of danger, and then eſcaped through the enemies ranks, to return to his men with the news of this deteſtable exploit (9).

(9) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *Arviragus —— gained a victory over Claudius.*] The Britons, knowing nothing of Guiderius's death, fought courageouſly, under the conduct of Arviragus, and killed no ſmall number of the enemy. At laſt the Romans gave ground, and dividing themſelves into two bodies baſely quitted the field. Claudius, with one part, to ſecure himſelf, retired to his ſhips; but Hamo to the woods, becauſe he had not time to get to the ſhips. Arviragus, thinking that Claudius fled along with Hamo, purſued him with ſpeed, nor left off haraſſing them from place to place, till he overtook them upon a part of the ſea-coaſt, which from the name of *Hamo* is now called *Southampton*. There was at the ſame place a convenient haven for ſhips, and ſome merchant-ſhips at anchor. And juſt as Hamo was attempting to get on board them, Arviragus came upon him unawares, and forthwith killed him. And ever ſince that time the haven has been called *Hamo*'s port (10).

(10) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *He made his ſubmiſſion to the Romans, and married the Emperor's daughter Genuiſſa.*] Claudius having employed variety of engines againſt the city, Arviragus aſſembled his troops, and opened the gates, to march out and give him battle. But juſt as he was ready to begin the attack, Claudius, who feared the boldneſs of the King, and the bravery of the Britons, ſent a meſſage to him with offers of peace; as chuſing to reduce the Britons by wiſdom and policy, rather than hazard a battle. To this purpoſe he offered a reconciliation with him, and promiſed to give him his daughter, if he would acknowledge the kingdom of Britain to be ſubject to the Roman State. The nobility hereupon perſuaded Arviragus to lay aſide thoughts of war, and be contented with Claudius's promiſe; repreſenting to him, that it was no diſgrace to be ſubject to the Romans, who enjoyed the empire of the whole world. By theſe and many other arguments he was prevailed upon to hearken to their advice, and ſo made his ſubmiſſion to Cæſar. Which done, Claudius ſent to Rome for his daughter, and then, with the aſſiſtance of Arviragus, reduced the Orkney and the Provincial Iſlands under his power (11). As ſoon as the winter was over, thoſe who were ſent for Claudius's daughter, returned with her, and preſented her to her father. The damſel's name was *Genuiſſa*, and ſo great was her beauty, that it raiſed the admiration of all who ſaw her. After her marriage to the King, ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendant over his affections, that he in a manner valued nothing but her alone: inſomuch that he was deſirous to have the place honoured where the nuptials were ſolemnized, and moved Claudius to build a city in memory of ſo great and happy a marriage. Claudius conſented thereto, and commanded a city to be built, which after his name was called *Kaerglou*, that is, *Glouceſter*, being ſituated on the confines of Demetia and Loegria, upon the banks of the Severn. But ſome ſay, it derived its name from *Gloius*, who was born to Claudius there, and to whom, after the death of Arviragus, fell the Dukedom of Demetia (12). This ſtory of Arviragus's marriage muſt be a mere fiction, if Claudius had no daughter named *Genuiſſa*. But the Roman Hiſtorians, who ſhould beſt know, mention only three daughters of that Emperor, named Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia.

(11) *Ibid.* c. 14.

(12) *Ibid.* c. 15.

[*F*] *Veſpaſian was ſent againſt Arviragus into Britain.*] As Veſpaſian was juſt arrived at the haven of *Rutupi*, Arviragus met him, and hindered him from entering the port. For he had brought ſo great an army along with him, as was a terror to the Romans, who for fear of his falling upon them durſt not come aſhore. Upon this Veſpaſian withdrew from that port, and ſhifting his ſails arrived at the ſhore of Totneſs. As ſoon as he was landed, he marched directly to beſiege *Kaerpenhuelgoit*, now *Exeter*; and after lying before the town ſeven days, he was overtaken by Arviragus and his army, who gave him battle (13).

(13) *Ib.* c. 16.

confirming the old laws of his anceſtors, enacting new ones, and liberally rewarding perſons of merit: ſo that his fame ſpread all over Europe; and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the ſubject of their diſcourſe more than any King of his time. After his death, he was buried at Glouceſter, in a certain temple, which he had built and dedicated to the honour of the Emperor Claudius (*f*). This is the ſubſtance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative. There is an old tradition, that, in the time of this Britiſh King, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here [*G*].

(*f*) *Ibid.* c. 16.

[*G*] *An antient tradition, that, in the time of Arviragus, Joſeph of Arimathea came over into Britain, and planted the Goſpel here.*] Though it will appear preſently that this tradition has really nothing to do with King Arviragus, yet ſince the pretended coming of Joſeph of Arimathea into Britain has been aſcribed to the times of that Prince, and Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been a benefactor to that Miſſionary and his companions, I think proper to take notice here of ſo remarkable a piece of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The tradition in queſtion is to be found in William of Malmſbury's Book *Of the Antiquity of the Church of Glaſſenbury*. That writer, after ſome prefatory diſcourſe to Henry of Blois, nephew to King Henry I. and at that time Biſhop of Wincheſter and Abbot of Glaſſenbury, proceeds in his narrative of the antiquities of that church in the manner following. 'After 'the glorious Reſurrection and triumphant Aſcenſion 'of our bleſſed Saviour, and the Deſcent of the 'Holy Ghoſt, the ſucceſs of the Goſpel began to 'ſpread, the number of believers increaſed daily, 'and all of them maintained ſuch a friendly and 'charitable correſpondence, that they ſeemed to have 'but *one heart and one ſoul*. The Jewiſh Prieſts, 'with the Scribes and Phariſees, growing envious at 'the progreſs of Chriſtianity, ſtirred up a perſecution 'againſt the Church, murdered the Protomartyr St. 'Stephen, and made the country too troubleſome for 'the reſt. Thus the ſtorm blowing hard in Jewry, 'the diſciples diſperſing went off into ſeveral coun-'tries, according to their reſpective commiſſions, and, 'as they travelled along, preached the Goſpel to the 'Gentiles. Among theſe holy men, St. Philip (as 'Freculphus relates, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 4.) arriving in the 'territories of the Franks, converted a great number 'of them: and being deſirous to enlarge his maſter's 'kingdom, he picked out twelve of his diſciples, and 'diſpatched them to preach the Goſpel in Britain; 'Joſeph of Arimathea, as it is ſaid, being one of the 'number, and conſtituted a ſuperior to the reſt. 'Theſe holy Miſſionaries coming into Britain, in the 'year of our Lord 63, and in the 15th of the bleſſed 'Virgin's Aſſumption, publiſhed the doctrine of 'Chriſt with great induſtry and courage. But the '*barbarous King* and his ſubjects being ſomewhat 'alarmed at ſo unuſual an undertaking, and not 'reliſhing a perſuaſion ſo different from his own, 'refuſed to become a proſelyte; but in conſideration 'of the length of their journey, and being ſome-'what charmed with their unexceptionable behaviour, 'gave them a little ſpot of ground, ſurrounded with 'fens and buſhes, to dwell in. This place was called '*Ynſwitrin* by the natives, and ſituated upon the 'confines of his dominions. Afterwards two other 'Pagan Kings, being affected with their remarkable 'ſanctity, gave each of them a certain proportion of 'ground, and, at their requeſt, ſettled twelve *Hides* 'of land on them, by inſtruments in writing, ac-'cording to the cuſtom of the country: from 'whence it is ſuppoſed the *twelve Hides*, now part 'of the Abbey's eſtate, had their denomination (14).' Malmſbury proceeds to relate the occaſion and manner of theſe Miſſionaries building a church, which, he ſays, was the firſt in the iſland. The place where it was built was afterwards called *Glaſtonia* or *Glaſſenbury*; and the King, who was thus kind to Joſeph of Arimathea and his companions, is ſaid to be Arviragus:

(14) *Apud* Uſſer. Britan. Eccleſ. Antiq. Lond. 1687, c. 2. p. 7.

Glaſtoniæ bis ſex Hidas dedit Arviragus Rex (15).

(15) Ex Appendice Chronici Glaſtonienſis MS. in Biblioth. Cotton.

I ſhall not enter upon the queſtion concerning the authenticneſs of this tradition, any farther than to ſhew, that, at the time of Joſeph's ſuppoſed arrival, there could be no ſuch Britiſh King as Arviragus is ſaid to have been. For, according to the tradition, Joſeph of Arimathea came into Britain in the year of our Lord 63. Now the more ſouthern parts of the iſland, where Glaſſenbury ſtands, were ſeized by the Romans, and formed into a province, before that time. For, as Tacitus reports (16), the hithermoſt part of Britain was gained and planted by Aulus Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, and ſeveral colonies of the veteran troops were fixed there. Now between theſe two governors, and Suetonius Paulinus, were Didius Gallus and Veranius; and probably the *Belgæ* were ſubdued by Veſpaſian, who commanded under Plautius, of whom Suetonius relates (17), that he conquered here two powerful nations, above twenty towns, and the Iſle of Wight. By which we may conclude his expeditions lay weſtward. Now the *Belgæ* and *Danmonii* were the two powerful nations that way; and in all the progreſs of the war againſt the Britons afterwards, we find no care taken by the Roman Generals to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Belgæ*, as they did againſt the *Brigantes* and *Silures*, among whom Caractacus commanded: ſo that there could be no ſuch Britiſh King at that time among the *Belgæ*, as Arviragus is ſuppoſed to have been. For had there been ſuch a Prince among that people, we cannot ſuppoſe that, when Oſtorius marched northward againſt the *Cangi* or *Cheſhire-men* (18), he would have fixed his garriſons on the Severn and the Avon, to ſecure the province. For, had there been ſuch a Britiſh King as Arviragus among the *Belgæ*, what would the fortifying the Severn have ſignified, when the enemies to the Romans lived on the Roman ſide? B.

(16) *In* Vita Agricolæ, c. 14.

(17) *In* Veſpaſiano, c. 4.

(18) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 31, 32.

ARUNDEL (Thomas), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV. and Henry V., was the ſecond ſon of Robert Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel and Warren, and brother of Richard Earl of Arundel, who was afterwards beheaded. He was but twenty-two years of age when, from being Archdeacon of Taunton, he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Ely [*A*], by the Pope's proviſion [*B*], and conſecrated at Otteford, April 6, 1375, in the fiftieth year of King Edward III. He was a conſiderable benefactor

[*A*] *At twenty-two years of age —— he was promoted to the Biſhopric of Ely.*] This is, I believe, the only inſtance of ſo young a prelate in all the Engliſh hiſtory. The King, it ſeems, had deſigned another perſon for that See, but could not carry his point. For, hearing of the death of Dr. John Barnet Biſhop of Ely, he wrote a very preſſing letter to the Chapter, deſiring them to elect his Confeſſor, John Woodroof. But the Monks, diſregarding the King's recommendation, met together, and unanimouſly choſe one Henry Wakefield. The Pope thought fit to ſet aſide this election, and, by virtue of his apoſtolical authority, declared Thomas Arundel, Archdeacon of Taunton, Biſhop of Ely. Biſhop Godwin mentions this new prelate's age with an ironical ſneer. 'Pontifex (*ſays he*) ex plenitudine po-'teſtatis Epiſcopum Elienſem declaravit, annoſum 'quendam, quemque virum facile credas graviſſimum, 'Thomam Arundellum, Roberti Comitis Arundellæ 'et Warrenæ filium, Tauntonenſem archidiaconum, 'cum jam (ô capularem ſenem) ætatis annum exple-'viſſet fere viceſimum ſecundum, et ſubdiaconus nu-'per factus eſſet (1). —— *The Pope, by his own 'authority, advanced to the See of Ely a perſon of great age*

(1) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Eliens. an. 1375.

benefactor to the church and palace of that See; and, among other donations, he preſented them with a very curious table of maſſy gold, enriched with precious ſtones; which had been given to Prince Edward by the King of Spain, and ſold by the latter to Biſhop Arundel for three hundred marks. In the year 1386, the tenth of Richard II., this Prelate was made Lord High Chancellor of England (*a*); but reſigned that poſt upon his advancement afterwards to the See of Canterbury (*b*). After he had ſat a little more than fourteen years in the See of Ely, he was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of York, by virtue of the Pope's Bull, dated April 3, 1388 (*c*), and received the Pall the fourteenth of September following. He expended a very large ſum of money in building a palace for the Archbiſhops of that See; and, beſides other rich ornaments, he gave to that church ſeveral pieces of ſilver-gilt plate. In 1393, being then Chancellor, he removed the courts of juſtice from London to York [*C*]; and, as a precedent for ſo doing, he alledged the example of Archbiſhop Corbridge, who had taken the ſame ſtep eighty years before (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Dr. William Courtney, Archbiſhop Arundel was tranſlated thither by a papal proviſion. The Bull of tranſlation was publiſhed at Canterbury the eleventh of January 1396. The Croſier was delivered into his hands by Henry Chellenden, Prior of Canterbury, in the preſence of the King, and a great number of the nobility. On the tenth of February following, he received the Pall, and on the nineteenth was enthroned with great pomp at Canterbury (*e*). It is obſervable, that this was the firſt inſtance of the tranſlation of an Archbiſhop of York to the See of Canterbury (*f*). He was ſcarcely fixed in that See, when he had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation [*D*]; which was determined by King Richard, to whom the deciſion was referred, in favour of the Archbiſhop (*g*). At his Viſitation in London, he revived an old conſtitution, firſt ſet on foot by Simon Niger, Biſhop of London; by which the inhabitants of the reſpective pariſhes were obliged to pay to their Rector one halfpenny in the pound out of the rent of their houſes (*h*). In the ſecond year of his tranſlation, a Parliament was held at London; in which the Commons, with the King's leave, impeached the Archbiſhop, together with his brother the Earl of Arundel, and the Duke of Glouceſter, of

(*a*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſ. Elienſ. *an.* 1375.

(*b*) *Id. ibid. inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) *Idem, inter* Archiepiſc. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(*f*) *Idem, inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

(*g*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, B. i. p. 197, &c.

(*h*) Math. Parker. Antiq. Britan. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

' *age and weight, namely Thomas Arundel, ſon of Ro-*
' *bert Earl of Arundel and Warren, and Archdeacon of*
' *Taunton, when he was juſt ſtepping into his grave,*
' *being then very near two and twenty years of age,*
' *and lately made a Subdeacon.*'

[*B*] — *By the Pope's proviſion.*] The reality of this papal proviſion, in favour of Arundel, is diſputed. For Godwin tells us (2), ſome writers are of opinion, he was canonically elected, becauſe at that time the papal proviſions were prohibited in England by authority of Parliament. It is true, the Statute of Proviſors, whereby the Pope's authority in filling up the vacant biſhoprics was taken away, is by the ſtatute-books aſſigned to the year 1350 (3), twenty-five years earlier than the time in queſtion. But it is certain the Pope ſtill continued to exerciſe that power, ſince it was found neceſſary to confirm that Act with new penalties, in the year 1390 (4). To which may be added, that though the State was willing to get rid of this encroachment of the See of Rome, the clergy were not ſo ready to part with it: for when the Statute abovementioned was confirmed, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops made a ſolemn proteſtation in open Parliament, that they would not aſſent to any law, which ſhould reſtrain the Pope's authority (5). But if there could be any doubt in this matter, the preſent article affords us two other unqueſtionable inſtances of the exerciſe of this power in the tranſlations of Arundel to the Sees of York and Canterbury.

(2) Ubi ſupra.

(3) 25 Edw. III.

(4) 13 Rich. II.

(5) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. i. B. vi. p. 592.

[*C*] *He removed the Courts of Juſtice from London to York.*] This he did, in order, as he ſaid, to mortify the inſolence and pride of the Londoners, with whom the king was at that time highly diſpleaſed. But whatever he might pretend, the Londoners affirmed, he did it only to gratify and enrich the inhabitants of York. Our author adds, that this deſign did not take place long: for after one or two Terms, the Courts returned to their old place. *Summa Angliæ Tribunalia Londino Eboracum traduxit, eo pacto optime dicens caſtigari Londinenſium proterviam atque ſuperbiam, quibus rex ea tempeſtate fuit admodum infenſus. —— Quicquid vero ille obtenderet, Eboracenſes ſuos juvandi et locupletandi gratia hæc ipſum molitum Londinenſes affirmabant. Quocunque id fecerit conſilio, non diurnavit hoc ejus inſtitutum, judiciis poſt Terminum unum aut alterum ad priſtinum locum revocatis* (6).

(6) Godwin, ubi ſupra, *inter* Archiepiſc. Ebor. *an.* 1388.

[*D*] *He had a conteſt with the Univerſity of Oxford about the right of viſitation.*] The Canoniſts and Civilians of Oxford, being uneaſy at ſome ſtatutes made to the diſadvantage of their profeſſion, preferred a complaint againſt the Univerſity to the Convocation then ſitting at London. Their Delegate for this buſineſs was Michael Sergeaux Doctor of Laws, who ſet forth, that the Univerſity of Oxford had procured a Bull to exempt themſelves from the juriſdiction both of their Dioceſan and Metropolitan: that this Bull was rather a diſſervice than an advantage to that learned body, as it deprived the members of a remedy, in caſe of any injuſtice done to them by the Chancellor. This faculty therefore intreated the Archbiſhop, ſince he had an undiſputable right to viſit their Univerſity, that he would exert his authority, and revoke the Chancellor's pretended exemption. It was called a *pretended Exemption*, becauſe, as Sergeaux alledged, the Bull had neither the Pope's ſeal, nor the ſubſcription of any public Notary, to prove it authentic. Notwithſtanding this objection, Dr. Hyndman, the Chancellor, who was preſent in the Convocation, inſiſted upon the inſtrument, and entered a proteſt againſt any farther proceedings. After the breaking up of the Convocation, the Archbiſhop, deſigning to viſit the univerſity, was informed, that the Chancellor and Proctors were reſolved to inſiſt upon the Pope's Bull, and oppoſe the viſitation. Whereupon a writ was iſſued out by the King's order, directed to the Chancellor and Students, requiring them not to oppoſe the juriſdiction of their Ordinary and Metropolitan, to renounce the Bull in form, and to ſend their act of renunciation to the King. It does not appear, that this writ was obeyed, or the Bull given up. However, that ſome kind of ſubmiſſion was made, is very probable, ſince the Archbiſhop went to Oxford the *May* following, with a deſign to viſit. It is true, he was oppoſed in the exerciſe of this juriſdiction; but it was upon a new plea: for now the Univerſity, waving their former privilege, pretended they were viſitable by the Crown only, and not by the Archbiſhop. This created a new diſpute; which being at laſt referred to the King, his Highneſs gave the cauſe againſt himſelf, and decided in favour of the Archbiſhop. But, notwithſtanding this ſentence, the viſitation did not go on at that time (7).

(7) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford, B. i. p. 197, &c.

high-

high-treaſon [E], for compelling the King, in the tenth year of his reign, to grant them a commiſſion to govern the kingdom (i). The Archbiſhop was ſentenced to be baniſhed, and had forty days allowed him to prepare for his exile; within which time he was to depart the kingdom on pain of death (k). Being thus driven from his country and his See, he retired firſt into France, and then to the Court of Rome, where Pope Boniface IX. gave him a very friendly reception, and wrote a letter to King Richard, deſiring him to paſs by the offence, and receive the Archbiſhop again into favour. But not meeting with ſucceſs, his Holineſs reſolved to interpoſe his authority in favour of Arundel. Accordingly he nominated him to the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, and (which was a more diſobliging ſtroke) declared his intention of giving him ſeveral other preferments in England, by way of proviſion (l). The King, being informed of the Pope's deſign, wrote an expoſtulatory letter to him [F]; which had ſo good an effect upon his Holineſs, that he not only withheld the intended favours from Arundel, but likewiſe, at the King's requeſt, promoted Roger Walden (m), Dean of York, and Lord Treaſurer of England, to the See of Canterbury. That Prelate was inſtalled the twenty-fifth of March 1398 (n); but was ſoon obliged to quit his new dignity: for, the next year, Archbiſhop Arundel returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter [G], after-

(i) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 368.
(k) *Ibid.*
(l) *Ibid.*
(m) See the article WALDEN (Roger).
(n) *Ibid.* p. 408.

[E] *The Commons — impeached the Archbiſhop — of high-treaſon.*] The chief article of the charge was, *that being Biſhop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, he was traiterouſly aiding, procuring, and adviſing, in making a commiſſion directed to Thomas Duke of Glouceſter, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others, and procured himſelf, as one of the chief Miniſters of State, to be put into the ſaid commiſſion; which commiſſion was apparently prejudicial to the King's prerogative and dignity; and that the ſaid Thomas put the ſaid commiſſion in execution* (8). The King, to whom the Commons applied for leave to carry on the proſecution againſt the Archbiſhop, told them, that, in regard the impeachment concerned ſo great a perſon and a peer of the realm, he would be farther adviſed. But the Commons reſolving not to give over, and preſſing the King farther, his Highneſs replied, that the Archbiſhop had confeſſed to him before ſeveral Lords, that he had been guilty of imprudence in executing that commiſſion, and threw himſelf upon the King's mercy. However, this not ſatisfying the Commons, the King conſented to the impeachment; and the Archbiſhop was adjudged a traitor, by the Lords temporal, and Sir Thomas Piercy Proctor for the Biſhops and Clergy (9). It will not be improper to obſerve, that Archbiſhop Arundel, though in the Parliament-houſe at his firſt impeachment, yet was abſent the next day when ſentence was pronounced againſt him. It ſeems, the King had commanded him not to come into the houſe, having firſt made him a promiſe of his friendſhip, and given him his oath that the Lords ſhould do nothing to his prejudice (10). I ſhall ſubjoin Mr. Collier's remarks upon this impeachment. 'This caſe affords 'another precedent of a Biſhop's being tried by 'his Peers, it being plain by the record, that judg-'ment was given by the Houſe of Lords; and that 'the Lords proceeded not in a legiſlative, but in a 'judicial way, is evident by the Commons being 'only proſecutors in the caſe; whereas, had the 'Archbiſhop been found guilty by a bill of attain-'der, the votes of the Commons would have been 'neceſſary. And whereas none of the Commons are 'concerned as judges in this trial, excepting Sir 'Thomas Piercy, who repreſented the Biſhops and 'Clergy; we may obſerve from hence, in the ſe-'cond place, that the Biſhops withdrawing from the 'Houſe of Lords in cauſes of blood was only a vo-'luntary abſence, occaſioned by the reſtraint of the 'Canons. Their retiring, I ſay, was a compliance 'with the diſcipline of the Church, and not any 'neceſſity forced upon them by the civil conſtitu-'tion. For now we ſee, ſince they had appointed 'a Lay-Proxy, their right of judging in criminal 'matters is not queſtioned. For the record informs 'us, that Sir Thomas Piercy, Proxy for the Prelates, 'gave judgment with the Temporal Lords againſt 'the Archbiſhop. Now this gentleman was no more 'than a Commoner, and acted only upon the ſtrength 'of his repreſentation. If therefore the Biſhops had 'been barred by the conſtitution from being judges 'in capital cauſes, Sir Thomas Piercy's powers 'would have been conteſted, neither would he have 'been allowed an equal ſhare with the Temporal 'Peers in pronouncing this ſentence: for a delegation 'cannot reach beyond the right of the principal, nor 'can any Proxy have more authority than the perſon 'he repreſents (11).' It may be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding this laſt remark, to obſerve, that Sir Thomas Piercy, as Proctor for the Clergy, not only concurred in giving judgment againſt the Archbiſhop, but likewiſe in paſſing ſentence on the Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded.

(8) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 308.
(9) *Ibid.*
(10) Hollinſhed's Chronicle, p. 490.
(11) Collier, ubi ſupra.

[F] *The King — wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Pope.*] It was couched in the following terms: 'Thomas, for his treaſonable conſpiracy againſt our 'crown and royal dignity, has been ſentenced only to 'perpetual baniſhment; whereas, had he been dealt 'with anſwerably to his demerits, he ought to have 'ſuffered the puniſhment of high-treaſon: but in 'conſideration of his character, and out of regard to 'religion, we have thought fit to grant him his life, 'and abated of the rigour of the law. But, ſince his 'going beyond ſea, both ourſelf and our ſubjects are 'much ſurprized at the turn of his fortune: for we are 'informed, he has been invited to your Holineſs's 'court, countenanced in his miſbehaviour, taken into 'your protection, and put in hopes of recovering 'his See, or at leaſt of being promoted in our 'kingdom to benefices of greater value than thoſe 'he enjoyed before. How deſtructive ſuch unac-'countable favours as theſe muſt be to our dignity 'and government, and to what apparent danger it 'may expoſe us, is eaſy to imagine. For which rea-'ſon, we are reſolved not to bear with ſuch treatment, 'though the whole world were of a different opinion. 'For we are thoroughly acquainted with this man: 'We know him to be of a turbulent, ſeditious tem-'per; who, if he were permitted to live in our do-'minions, would return to his old practices, poiſon 'our ſubjects with miſreporting the adminiſtration, 'and endeavour to undermine our government. For 'it is probable, he would uſe ſufficient precaution not 'to fall under the laſh of the law. We deſire there-'fore, that your Holineſs would prevent theſe oppor-'tunities of miſchief, and not ſhock our intereſt and 'inclinations by ſuch favours. For ſhould ſuch mea-'ſures be put in execution, it is poſſible they might 'create ſuch miſunderſtandings between the Crown 'and the Mitre, as it might prove difficult to remove. 'For, to ſpeak plainly, we cannot take that perſon 'for our friend, who careſſes our enemies, and takes 'them by the hand in ſo loving a manner. However, 'if you have a mind to provide for him otherwiſe, 'we have nothing to object; only we cannot allow 'him to *dip in our diſh*. We heartily deſire you 'would take this matter into ſerious conſideration, as 'you tender our royal regards, and expect a compli-'ance with any future requeſt your Holineſs may 'make to us (12).'

(12) Matth. Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, p. 407.

[G] *He returned into England with the Duke of Lancaſter.*] The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of England, having been for ſeveral years intolerably oppreſſed and ſlighted by King Richard and his favourites, contrived to ſettle the Crown on another head, which might govern them with greater prudence and lenity.

The

afterwards King Henry IV.; upon whoſe acceſſion to the throne, the Pope revoked the Bull granted to Walden, and reſtored Arundel to his See (*o*). Among the articles of miſgovernment brought againſt King Richard, one was his uſage and baniſhment of this Prelate [*H*]. The throne being vacant by Richard's reſignation, and the Duke of Lancaſter's title being allowed in Parliament, Archbiſhop Arundel took that Prince by the hand, and led him to the throne; where when he was ſeated, the Archbiſhop made a kind of ſermon or oration to the aſſembly [*I*]. He had the honour to crown the new King,

(*o*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 354. & Antiq. Brit. ubi ſupra, p. 409.

The perſon, whom they pitched upon as fitteſt to ſway the ſcepter, was Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaſter and Hereford; who, being the ſon of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III., was nearly allied to the Crown. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of this conſpiracy againſt King Richard, which ended in placing the Duke of Lancaſter on the throne; but ſhall confine myſelf to that part of it, in which Archbiſhop Arundel was concerned. The Duke of Lancaſter, it is well known, had been baniſhed by King Richard, and was in France when he was ſolicited by the nobility and others to take the crown. This their requeſt they drew up in a letter, and ſent it over by faithful meſſengers to Archbiſhop Arundel, who was then in Britany, deſiring him to be their advocate upon this occaſion with the Duke. The Archbiſhop, being a fellow-ſufferer, gladly accepted the office, and went with the meſſengers to the Duke at Paris; where they delivered the letters from the Nobles and Commons of England, and the Archbiſhop ſeconded them with the beſt arguments reaſon could invent, or rhetoric urge. He repreſented to the Duke the preſent miſerable ſtate of the Engliſh nation: 'That it was utterly ruined 'by the miſmanagement of public affairs; in which 'though the King himſelf were not actually con'cerned, yet, ſo long as he employed and ſupported 'unfit miniſters, he could not be thought fit to go'vern: that it was far more intolerable to be ſlaves 'to ignoble perſons, than to the King; and there'fore, ſo long as the King continued to maintain the 'pride and tyranny of ſuch perſons over his ſubjects, 'it could be no crime to depoſe him: that the pre'ſent ſtate of the nation was ſo diſordered, that no'thing but immediate help could ſave it from entire 'deſtruction; for the ancient courage of the Engliſh 'was ſunk into effeminacy, the men of bravery and 'conduct either put to death or baniſhed, the nobility 'contemned and ſlighted, the gentry abuſed, and the 'Commons oppreſſed with heavy taxes, not to ſup'port the government, but the pride and avarice of 'their fellow-ſubjects.' The Archbiſhop added, 'That 'the nation placed all their hopes in him (the *Duke*) 'and expected the redreſs of their grievances only at 'his hands, both on account of his perſonal courage 'and atchievements, and the near relation he ſtood 'in to the Crown; and therefore he was bound in ho'nour and duty to anſwer the reaſonable expectations 'of his countrymen, eſpecially as they had reſolved 'to ſtand by him in the attempt; which could hardly 'prove unſucceſsful, where ſo much affection, power, 'and intereſt were united.' The Duke of Lancaſter did not immediately cloſe with this inviting offer, but objected to the Archbiſhop the unlawfulneſs of the deſign; to which Arundel thus replied: *Examples of caſting a King out of his ſtate are not rare (as you affirm) nor long ſince put in practice, nor far hence to be fetched. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubjects, oftentimes impriſoned and put to their fine. The Princes of Germany, about an hundred years paſt, depoſed Adolphus the Emperor, and are now in hand to depoſe their Emperor Wenceſlaus. The Earl of Flanders was a while ſince driven out of his dominions by his own people, for uſurping greater power than appertained to his eſtate. The ancient Britons chaſed away their King Caractacus, for the lewdneſs of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Bernredus King of Mercia, for his pride and ſtoutneſs towards his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe Alcredus and Ethelbertus, Kings of Northumberland, were for their diſorders expelled by their ſubjects. Since the conqueſt of the Normans, the Lords endeavoured to expel King Henry III., but they were not able; yet were they able to depoſe King Edward II., and to conſtitute his young ſon Edward King in his ſtead. Theſe are not all, and yet enough to clear this action of rareneſs in other countries, and novelty in ours* (13). The event of this negotiation is too well known, to need mentioning in this place.

(13) Life and Reign of Richard II. in the Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p 282.

[*H*] *One of the articles —— againſt King Richard was, his baniſhment of Arundel.*] To give a better colour to their proceedings, the Lords drew up a charge of male-adminiſtration, digeſted into thirty-three articles. Theſe articles were publickly read in the Parliament-houſe, and alledged as a ſufficient ground for depoſing King Richard. What relates to his treatment of our Archbiſhop is contained in the *thirtieth* and *thirty-third* articles. The 30th article complains, 'That the ſaid King having perſuaded 'Thomas Arundel Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his 'ſpiritual father, to abſent himſelf from the Parlia'ment-houſe, dealt inſincerely with the ſaid Arch'biſhop, took advantage of his abſence, and, with'out any legal proceſs of law, adjudged him to per'petual baniſhment.' The 33d article reports this grievance more at large, and ſets forth, 'That, after 'one of the knights for the county had wrongfully 'impeached the Archbiſhop of Canterbury of high'treaſon, the ſaid Archbiſhop immediately ſtood up, 'and offered to anſwer to the charge in Parliament, 'and deſired the King would permit him the liberty 'to make his defence: that the King, out of a deſign 'to ruin the Archbiſhop, adviſed him to wave his de'fence, to reſerve himſelf for a better opportunity, 'and forbear coming to the houſe five or ſix days; 'promiſing him withal, that he ſhould receive no 'prejudice by his abſence; and yet the ſaid King, in 'the Parliament above mentioned, procured a ſen'tence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, 'without calling him to his anſwer, or allowing him 'the benefit of the law.' The ſame article charges the King with farther inſtances of inſincerity; *viz.* 'That he promiſed him, that, upon his going down 'to Southampton in order to quit the kingdom, the 'Queen ſhould intercede for the reverſing the ſen'tence; and in caſe the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould be 'forced to depart the kingdom, the King engaged to 'recall him before the Eaſter following; notwith'ſtanding which promiſe, ſolemnly ſworn upon the 'croſs of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the King forced 'the Archbiſhop to quit the kingdom, and abſolutely 'deprived him of his See (14).'

(14) Rotulus Parliamenti, &c. de Depoſitione Richardi II. *apud* X Scriptores, p 2753, 2754, 2755.

[*I*] *He made a kind of ſermon or oration in the Parliament-houſe.*] His text was: *And when Samuel ſaw Saul, the Lord ſaid unto him, behold the Man, whom I ſpake to thee of; this ſame ſhall reign over my people*, 1 Sam. ix. 17. 'In theſe words (ſays the 'Archbiſhop) God Almighty deſcribes the qualifica'tions of a governor: and ſince they may be truly 'applied to our preſent Prince, they afford us a very 'comfortable proſpect. For now we have no reaſon 'to fear that threatning denounced againſt the Jews 'by the prophet Iſaiah; *I will give children to be 'their princes*, chap. iii. 4. For God has been pleaſed 'in his wrath to remember mercy, to viſit his people, 'and not, as formerly, *to ſuffer babes to rule over us.* 'To thoſe Princes who have lately governed us, 'thoſe words of St. Paul may be applied without 'ſtraining the compariſon, *When I was a child, I 'ſpake as a child, I underſtood as a child, I thought as 'a child*, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. Firſt, as to ſpeech, 'tis 'certain a child is very inſignificant and variable: 'truth and falſehood are almoſt indifferent to him; 'he is forward to promiſe, but quickly forgets the 'performance. Theſe qualities are very unfortunate 'in a Prince, neither is it poſſible for a kingdom to be 'happy, where the crown is no better furniſhed. But, '*cum vir dominatur populo*, when the people have a 'man to reign over them, there will be none of theſe 'defects in the adminiſtration. For it is the property 'of a man to govern his tongue and guard his lan'guage. This is our caſe; we have now a man to 'reign over us, of whom I hope that ſaying of the

King; and, at the Coronation-dinner, ſat at his right hand; the Archbiſhop of York being placed at his left (*p*). In the firſt year of King Henry's reign, this Archbiſhop ſummoned a Synod [*K*], which ſat at St. Paul's (*q*). Harpsfield, and the Councils from him, have miſtaken this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See [*L*]. This Prelate, by his courage and reſolution, preſerved ſeveral of the Biſhops, who were in King Henry's army, from being plundered of their equipages and money [*M*]. The next year, the Commons having moved, that the revenues of the Church might be applied to the ſervice of the Public, Archbiſhop Arundel oppoſed the motion ſo vigorouſly [*N*], that the King and Lords promiſed him, the Church ſhould never be rifled in their time (*r*). After

(*p*) Fabian's Chron. fol. 163. & Antiq. Brit. *ib.*

(*q*) Antiq. Brit. *ibid.*

(*r*) Walſingh. H. P. 371, 372.

' ſon of Sirach may be verified; *Happy is the man that* ' *hath not ſlipt with his tongue.*' The Archbiſhop proceeds to comment on the above-mentioned text of St. Paul, and upon theſe words, *I underſtood as a child*, he obſerves, that *a child reliſhes nothing but what pleaſes his humour, and flatters his weakneſs: as for remonſtrance and plain-dealing, ſuch freedoms are always unacceptable.* Then he goes on: ' But ſuch has ' formerly been the misfortune of this kingdom; for ' truth was in a manner clapt under hatches, and no ' man had the courage to deliver his thoughts. From ' whence it is plain, the ſcepter was in a child's hand: ' for a man carries his thoughts farther, and has a ' more abſolute command over his paſſions. And to ' come to the advantage of our preſent circumſtances, ' now, by God's aſſiſtance, that of the ſon of Sirach, ' *Bleſſed is the man, who is ſtayed upon wiſdom*, may ' juſtly be affirmed of his royal perſon. For as a ' child is fond of trifles and flattery, ſo a man loves ' truth and prudent advice. In the laſt place, the ' Apoſtle tells us, *I thought as a child.* And what are ' the thoughts of a child? A child follows only the ' ſolicitations of appetite. Thus, when a child go- ' verns, reaſon is diſcarded, humour is abſolute, and ' will carries all before it. But, where caprice reigns, ' and reaſon is forced to retire, the adminiſtration ' muſt needs be unſteady and ill directed. But now, ' having a man at the helm, we are reſcued from the ' danger of ſo unhappy a conduct. The Prince, ' who now rules over us, being a man both in age ' and underſtanding, will readily acknowledge the ' proper buſineſs of his ſtation, and make no ſcruple ' to ſay, *I come not to do my own will, but the will of* ' *him that ſent me*, that is, God's will. And there- ' fore we may promiſe ourſelves, *that he will be ſtayed* ' *upon wiſdom:* that he will ſeriouſly conſider the pro- ' vidence of God, and govern his practice by the rules ' of religion; in ſhort, that he will conduct the ad- ' miniſtration in ſuch a manner, that the promiſe in ' Holy Scripture may not be unapplicable to his go- ' vernment, *A King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs, and* ' *do judgment and juſtice in the earth* (15).'

(15) Cotton's Abridgment, p. 389. *and* Fabian's Chronicle, fol. 154.

[*K*] *He ſummoned a Synod,*] King Henry ſent the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland to this Synod, not to preſs any ſubſidy, but only to deſire the prayers of the clergy for the proſperity of the King and nation. *Reſtitutionis ejus anno primo Synodum indixit, quo acceſſerunt Northumbriæ & Weſtmorlandiæ Comites, dicentes, à rege quidem miſſos ſeſe, ſed nuntium ſolitum haudquaquam apportare; ſiquidem ideo ſe venire, non ut pecunias flagitent, ſed orationes eorum, pro ipſo, regnique incolumitate fundendas* (16). But this diſintereſted Prince, who ſeemed at this time to deſpiſe money, was ſo changed before two years were ended, that he refuſed a voluntary offer made him by the clergy of a tenth of their revenues, and demanded a larger ſum. *Hic tantus pecuniarum contemptor, ante elapſum biennium ita mutatus eſt, ut annui cenſus ſimplicem decimam in proxima Synodo oblatam ultro, aſpernaretur, multo majora poſtulans* (17).

(16) Godwin, *inter* Arch ep. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(17) *Id. ibid.*

[*L*] *Harpsfield —— miſtook this Synod for one held during the vacancy of the See.*] That author tells us (18), that, during the exile of Arundel, a Synod was held at Canterbury; that it was ſummoned by the Prior and Chapter of Chriſt's-church; and that the King ſent the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland to this convocation, with the meſſage above-mentioned (19). But Harpsfield is undoubtedly miſtaken: for, firſt, Walden being Archbiſhop of Canterbury that year, the Prior and Chapter could have no pretence to ſummon a convocation. In the next place, the circumſtance of King Henry's ſending the Earls of Weſtmorland and Northumberland is a proof that Arundel was reſtored; ſince that Prelate came over with the Duke of Lancaſter, and crowned him upon his ſeizing the government.

(18) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 617.

(19) See the preceding remark.

[*M*] *He prevented ſeveral of the Biſhops —— from being plundered of their equipages and money.*] Walſingham (20) informs us, that the King having marched his army into Yorkſhire, and ſettled the northern parts, projected an expedition againſt the Welſh, who had lately made depredations upon the Engliſh; but, his exchequer being low, he wanted money to ſubſiſt and pay his troops. That the deſign might not be dropt upon this account, ſome of the officers ſuggeſted an expedient to the King. They told him, there were ſeveral Biſhops in the army in a condition to ſupply his Highneſs: that theſe Prelates ought to be ſent home on foot, and their equipages and money taken from them for the public ſervice. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury being preſent when the motion was made, replied, *That if any of the ſoldiers offered to plunder his retinue, they might expect to be well drubbed for their pains.* This reſolution of the Archbiſhop checked the intended outrage, and made the officers deſiſt. This is Walſingham's account of the matter. The author of the *Life and reign of Henry* IV. (21) relates the ſame ſtory with this difference, that the King was adviſed to ſeize the *lands* and treaſures of the Biſhops, not their *equipages*; for he ſays nothing of their being in the King's army. That writer adds, that ' though the King was not for- ' ward to meddle with the church-men, yet this ad- ' vice put him in mind of the riches and plenty of ' the clergy; which being beſtowed on perſons, whoſe ' beſt character it is to be deſpiſers of the world, ' might beſt be ſpared at this juncture; and there- ' upon, though he would uſe no force, yet he dealt ' with the Archbiſhop to procure him a ſupply in this ' exigency, and ſo prevailed with him, that, calling ' a Synod of the clergy, he obtained a tenth of them ' for him; and the King ſent the Prince, with his ' army, into Wales.'

(20) Hypodigm. Neuſt. p. 561.

(21) In the Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 288, 289.

[*N*] *Arundel vigorouſly oppoſed the motion for applying the revenues of the Church to the ſervice of the public.*] On the 6th of October, 1404, the King held a Parliament at Coventry. It was called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*, becauſe it was compoſed of none but illiterate perſons, all others, eſpecially Serjeants and Barriſters at Law, being, by the King's expreſs direction, excluded (22). M. Rapin thinks, there is room to doubt whether theſe orders were ſo poſitive as is affirmed. However he is of opinion, the court took care, upon this occaſion, that ſuch perſons chiefly ſhould be elected, as were leaſt likely to be prejudiced in favour of the clergy; and that for reaſons, which will preſently appear (23). When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor laid before them the neceſſities of the Public; that the Scots and Welſh, the French and Flemings, were ready to invade the kingdom; that the Exchequer was greatly exhauſted, and the King's revenues unable to furniſh the neceſſary defence. The Commons hereupon remonſtrated, that the clergy had engroſſed a great part of the wealth of the kingdom; that they lived in idleneſs, and contributed very little to the public advantage: whereas the laity hazarded both their perſons and fortunes in the ſervice of their country. They therefore were of opinion the King ſhould ſeize the revenues of the Church, and apply them to the public ſervice of the nation. Archbiſhop Arundel, who was preſent at the motion, roſe from his ſeat, and repreſented, ' That the Clergy had ' always contributed more to the public ſervice than ' the Laity, and had more frequently granted the ' Crown a tenth, than the others had done a fifteenth; ' and though they did not ſerve the King in perſon ' in his wars, yet they ſent their tenants to aſſiſt him, ' and

(22) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 290.

(23) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, liv. 11. *an.* 1404.

After this, he viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge; where he made ſeveral ſtatutes, ſuppreſſed ſeveral ill cuſtoms, and puniſhed the ſtudents for their miſbehaviour. And, when the viſitation was ended, at the requeſt of the Univerſity, he reſerved all thoſe matters and cauſes, which had been laid before him, to his own cognizance and juriſdiction (*s*). In the year 1408, Arundel began to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the Lollards or Wickliffites (*t*). To this end, he ſummoned the Biſhops and Clergy at Oxford, to check the progreſs of this new ſect, and prevent that Univerſity's being farther tinctured with their opinions (*u*). But the doctrines of Wickliff ſtill gaining ground in that ſeat of learning, the Archbiſhop reſolved to viſit the Univerſity, and apply ſome farther remedy. Accordingly he went down, attended by the Earl of Arundel, his nephew, and a ſplendid retinue. When he came near the town, he was met by the principal members of the Univerſity, who told him, that, if he came only to ſee the town, he was very welcome; but if he came in the character of a Viſitor, they refuſed to acknowledge his juriſdiction. The Archbiſhop, reſenting this treatment, left Oxford in a day or two, and wrote to the King on account of his diſappointment. After a warm conteſt between the Univerſity and the Archbiſhop, both parties agreed to refer the diſpute to the King's deciſion; who, governing himſelf by the example of his predeceſſors (*w*), gave ſentence in favour of the Archbiſhop [*O*]. Soon after this controverſy was ended, a Convocation being held at St. Paul's in London, the Biſhops and Clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford [*P*], and preſſed the Archbiſhop to viſit that Univerſity. Hereupon Arundel wrote to the Chancellor and others, giving them notice, that he intended to hold a Viſitation in St. Mary's Church. His delegates for this purpoſe were ſent down ſoon after, and admitted by the Univerſity; who, to make ſome ſatisfaction for their backwardneſs in cenſuring Wickliff's opinions, wrote to the Archbiſhop, and aſked his pardon (*x*): after which they appointed a Committee of twelve perſons, to examine heretical books, particularly thoſe of Wickliff. Theſe Inquiſitors into heretical pravity, having cenſured ſome concluſions extracted out of Wickliff's books, ſent an account of their proceedings to the Archbiſhop, who confirmed their cenſures, and ſent an authority in writing to ſome eminent members of the Univerſity, empowering them to inquire into perſons ſuſpected of heterodoxy, and oblige them to declare their opinions. Theſe rigorous proceedings made Arundel extremely hated by the Wickliffites, who would ſometimes compliment him with a curſing letter. However he went on with the proſecution, and not only ſolicited the Pope to condemn the abovementioned concluſions, but deſired likewiſe a Bull for the digging up Wickliff's bones. The Pope granted the firſt of theſe requeſts, but refuſed the other, not thinking it any uſeful part of diſcipline to diſturb the aſhes of the dead (*y*). Arundel's warm zeal for ſuppreſſing the

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 411.

(*t*) See the article WICKLIFF.

(*u*) Spelman's Councils, Vol. ii. p. 662.

(*w*) See the remark [*D*].

(*x*) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205.

(*y*) *Id. ib.* p. 206.

'and were at leaſt as ſerviceable to him by their in-'ceſſant prayers for his ſucceſs, as the Laity were by 'their arms.' The Speaker of the Houſe, Sir John Cheney, took up the Archbiſhop, and publickly declared, he thought the prayers of the Church a very ſlender ſupply, and that their lands would do the Church and nation more good. This anſwer fired the Archbiſhop, who, getting up, declared with warmth, 'That the King and kingdom could not expect to 'thrive, ſo long as the Prayers of the Clergy were 'deſpiſed.' *And as for you, Sir*, continued he, turning to the Speaker, *who take the liberty to rally the functions of the Clergy, I believe you will find it no eaſy undertaking to invade the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church.* Then, perceiving the King, who was preſent at the conteſt, inclining to favour the deſign of the Commons, he went up to him, and, on his knees, beſought him to conſider the oath he had taken at his coronation, to maintain the rights of the Church, and afford the Clergy his favour and protection. Whether the King was really affected with the Archbiſhop's diſcourſe, or began to ſee the difficulty of the enterprize, he bad him riſe and go to his place, aſſuring him, he was fully reſolved not to hearken to theſe new meaſures, but to leave the Church rather in a better condition than he found it. Arundel, encouraged by this promiſe, turned to the Commons, and let them know, he ſaw through the whole deſign, telling them, 'That their wicked advice was intend-'ed more for their own, than the King's advantage.' *You, Gentlemen*, ſays he, *and others governed by the ſame views, have perſuaded the King and his predeceſſors to ſeize the revenues of the Friars alien, on pretence of augmenting the royal revenues, but in reality to get them into your own hands: for you have defeated the Crown of thoſe eſtates, and begged them for yourſelves. And the ſame would be the caſe, ſhould the King comply with this execrable project: he would not be a farthing the richer in a year's time.* This courage in the Archbiſhop, and the King's declaration, ſilenced the Commons, and put a ſtop to the deſign for the preſent. However, Arundel thought it beſt to ſecure a party in the Houſe of Lords againſt the intended bill, in caſe the project ſhould be revived. At laſt the Commons themſelves aſked the Archbiſhop's pardon, admired his reſolution, and confeſſed the injuſtice of their expedient (24).

(24) Walſingh. Hiſt. Angl. p. 371, 372. See alſo Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 290.

[*O*] ——— *After a warm controverſy between the Univerſity and the Archbiſhop, &c.*] The heads of the univerſity were ſent for up to court, and the Chancellor and Proctors turned out of their office. The ſtudents were ſo far diſconcerted by theſe rigours, that they diſcontinued the public lectures, and were even upon the point of breaking up, and diſſolving their body. The King being informed of what paſſed, ſent them a reprimanding letter at firſt, but afterwards was pleaſed to treat them more gently. His Highneſs's award in favour of the Archbiſhop was confirmed by act of Parliament (25). And to fortify himſelf ſtill farther, Arundel procured a Bull from the Pope, to revoke the exemption granted to the univerſity by Boniface. But this Bull of revocation was afterwards voided by Sixtus IV. who, as much as in him lay, reſtored the Univerſity to their former immunities (26). As to the King's deciſion, in caſe the Univerſity did not abide by it, but diſturbed the Archbiſhop or his ſucceſſors in their viſitation, they were to forfeit a thouſand pounds, and their franchiſes to be ſeized, and remain in the King's hands, till they ſubmitted to the award (27).

(25) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. iv. p. 166. *Ex* Rotul. *in* Turri Lond.

(26) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf. p. 205. *and* Cotton's Abridgment, p. 480.

(27) *Ibid.*

[*P*] *The Biſhops and Clergy complained of the growth of Wicklevitiſm at Oxford.*] *An Univerſity*, they ſaid, *which was formerly the ſeat of learning and virtue, a ſupport of the Catholic Faith, and a place of exemplary obedience and good behaviour: but now the ſtudents were ſtrangely degenerated, ſtrove to diſtinguiſh themſelves by contumacy and rebellion, and made it their buſineſs to ſow tares among the wheat.* They added farther, that this heterodox party in the Univerſity had robbed the treaſury, and, without the privity of the Doctors and Maſters, made uſe of the public ſeal to give a recommendation to Hereſy (28).

(28) Wood, ubi ſupra.

Lollards,

Lollards, or Wickliffites, carried him to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities [Q] againſt the heads of that ſect, particularly againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham (z); and induced him to procure a Synodical Conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue [R]. This Prelate died at Canterbury, after having ſat ſeventeen years, the twentieth of February 1413. The Lollards of thoſe times pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death [S]. He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury, near the weſt end, under a monument erected

(z) See the article OLDCASTLE (Sir JOHN).

[Q] *He was carried to ſeveral unjuſtifiable ſeverities againſt the Lollards.*] It cannot be denied, that the Lollards had given the Archbiſhop great provocation (if any could be great enough) for perſecution. They attacked him in the authority of his character, and ſtruck directly at the rights and poſſeſſions of the Church. It is true, they had began a reformation in religion, but maintained withal ſeveral groſs and capital errors (29). But on the other ſide, the perſecuting theſe people to the ſtake, was carrying the rigour of diſcipline too far; and acting in a manner not ſuitable to Chriſtian Charity, and the tenderneſs of the Epiſcopal character.

(29) See the article WICKLIFF.

[R] *He procured a ſynodical conſtitution, which forbad the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue.*] Let us hear what Biſhop Godwin ſays of this matter. 'Cumque nihilo ſecius iſtorum homi-'num creſcere indies numerum conſpiceret; ut caligi-'nem offunderet oculis eorum, ne illos defigere poſ-'ſent amplius in pravis illis ſuperſtitionibus quæ in 'eccleſiam jam olim paulatim irrepſerant; Scripturas 'ſacras in vernaculam Anglicanam converti, vel con-'verſas legi vetuit in Synodo; cum non ita pridem 'in funere Annæ Reginæ concionatus, haud alio no-'mine eam magis laudaverit, quam quod Evange-'lia in Anglicanum idioma converſa aſſidue lecti-'taret (30). —— *And obſerving that the number of 'theſe Sectariſts daily increaſed, that he might in ſome 'meaſure put a ſtop to thoſe erroneous opinions and 'practices, which had by degrees crept into the Church, 'he forbad, by a ſynodical decree, the tranſlating the 'Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the reading them 'when tranſlated: Arundel, I ſay, did this; who not 'long before, in a ſermon preached at the funeral of 'Queen Anne, commended her for nothing more than 'her daily reading the Scriptures tranſlated into Eng-'liſh.*' Let us ſee how Mr. Collier endeavours to vindicate the Archbiſhop from this charge of inconſiſtency. 'To this it may be anſwered, that the 'Archbiſhop's conſtitution declares only againſt a 'tranſlation made by a private hand; and that no 'verſion of the Holy Scriptures ſhould be uſed till it 'was allowed by a provincial Synod, or at leaſt by 'the Biſhop of the dioceſe (31). Now without doubt 'the Archbiſhop was ſo far in the right, as not to 'allow every private perſon the liberty of tranſlating 'the Scriptures. To have done otherwiſe might have 'been a dangerous permiſſion. It might have opened 'a paſſage to hereſy and error, put it in the power 'of ignorant and deſigning men to corrupt the holy 'text, and poiſon the fountain of life (32).' With ſubmiſſion to this ingenious author, this does not amount to a juſtification of Arundel. For what difference is there between obliging the people to receive ſuch a tranſlation or interpretation of the Scriptures as the Church ſhall think fit, and withholding the uſe of it entirely from them; ſince in both caſes the people muſt pin their faith upon the Church's ſleeve?

(30) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(31) Lindwood, Provincial. lib. v. tit. 4. p. 286.

(32) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 635.

[S] *The Lollards pretended to diſcover the immediate hand of Heaven in the manner of his death.*] He died of an inflammation in his throat. It is pretended, he was ſtruck with this diſeaſe, as he was pronouncing ſentence of excommunication and condemnation on the Lord Cobham; and from that time, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance of medicines, he could ſwallow neither meat nor drink, and ſo was ſtarved to death. The Lollards imputed this lamentable end to the juſt judgment of God upon him, both for his ſeverity towards that ſect, and forbidding the Scriptures to be tranſlated into Engliſh (33). Biſhop Godwin tells us the ſame. *Juſto Dei judicio factum ferunt, ut is qui verbum Dei, animæ pabulum, ſubtraxerat popularibus; clauſis per anginam aut morbum aliquem conſimilem faucibus, aliquanto ante mortem tempore, nec verbulum potuerit fari, nec cibi vel minimum deglutire, adeoque mutus fameque tandem enectus inedia interierit* (34). B.

(33) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 311.

(34) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[We ſhall ſelect, from the Parliamentary Hiſtory, and Mr. Bentham's Antiquities of the Church of Ely, ſome circumſtances relative to Archbiſhop Arundel, which are either differently ſtated or not mentioned in the preceding article. The writer of it, following Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ, hath ſaid that Thomas Arundel was conſecrated Biſhop of Ely, April 6, 1375: but we learn from Mr. Bentham, that he was conſecrated on the 9th of April, 1374; and that, on the 20th of April 1376, he was enthroned at Ely, with the uſual ſolemnities. Whilſt he held this See, he almoſt rebuilt the epiſcopal palace in Holborn (35). In 1386, according to Knyghton, Biſhop Arundel, by common conſent of the whole Parliament, was deputed, together with the Lord Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Glouceſter, to preſent a ſevere remonſtrance to King Richard the Second, upon his mal-adminiſtration, and abſenting himſelf from his Parliament. The remonſtrance is very remarkable, and contains ſeveral bold ſentiments in favour of the rights of the people; but the authenticity of it hath been diſputed. When, a few days after, Arundel was appointed Lord High-Chancellor of England, it was at the particular inſtance of Parliament, and not with the good-will of the King; who was obliged, with great reluctance, to remove from the Chancellorſhip his favourite, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. The Earl of Suffolk was immediately impeached by the Commons, in full Parliament, of high crimes and miſdemeanors. Arundel did not continue in the poſt of Chancellor, without interruption, till he was advanced to the See of Canterbury. In 1389 he reſigned that office, and was again appointed to it in 1391 (36). In 1390, Arundel, being then Archbiſhop of York, united with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (William Courtney) in making a proteſtation, in open Parliament, for themſelves and the whole Clergy of their provinces, 'That they neither intended or would aſſent to any 'ſtatute or law to be made againſt the Pope's autho-'rity;' which proteſtation, at their requeſt, was entered upon the roll (37). Two ſpeeches of Arundel, upon the occaſion of Henry the Fourth's acceſſion to the crown, are given in the Parliamentary Hiſtory; the laſt of which is the ſame with that in the note [I]; but with a conſiderable difference in the language of the different tranſlations (38). Our predeceſſor has followed Mr. Daniel in making the *parliamentum indoctum* to be held on the 6th of October 1404; but, according to the Parliamentary Hiſtory, it did not meet till 1405 (39). In 1406, when the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons preſented ſome excellent regulations for the right government of the nation, to be ſworn to by the King's Council, Archbiſhop Arundel, for himſelf, and others, refuſed to take the oath; but offered to do what they could towards the obſervance of the articles. However, upon the King's charging them, on their allegiance, to comply with the requiſition, they thought proper to ſubmit (40). In the Parliament which met in 1407, the Archbiſhop, who ſeems to have been then a third time Lord Chancellor, opened the ſeſſion and the cauſe of the meeting with a ſpeech; and the text which he took for his ſubject was, *Regem honorificate* (41). —— Some particulars concerning Arundel's tranſactions with the univerſity of Cambridge, whilſt he was Biſhop of Ely, though not of a very intereſting nature, are related by Mr. Bentham (42). ——The Archbiſhop's treatment of the Lollards is much too tenderly ſpoken of in the note [Q]. How far theſe people maintained ſeveral groſs and *capital* errors, will properly be conſidered in another place. We are clearly of opinion, that Arundel's perſecution of the followers of Wickliff, was

(35) Bentham's Hiſt. and Antiquities of the Church of Ely, p. 104—106.

(36) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 419—423 Bentham, ubi ſupra, p. 166.

(37) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 469.

(38) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 5, 6. 30—32.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 103.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 108.

(42) Bentham, ubi ſupra.

erected by himself in his life-time. He was a considerable benefactor to that church: for he built the Lanthorn Tower, and great part of the Nave; and gave a ring of five bells, called from him *Arundel's Ring*, and distinguished by the names of *Trinity*, *Mary*, *Gabriel*, *Blasius*, and *John* (*aa*). He gave likewise to that church several rich vestments, a mitre enchased with jewels, a silver gilt crosier, a golden chalice for the high altar, and another to be used only on St. Thomas Becket's day. He gave also the church of Godmersham; out of the income of which, he ordered six shillings and eight pence to be given annually to every Monk of the convent, on the aforesaid festival. Lastly, he gave several valuable books, particularly two Missals, and a collection in one volume of St. Gregory's works, with *Anathema* to any person, who should remove it out of the church (*bb*). Archbishop Arundel seems to have been a person of great natural capacity, well improved by study and experience; but is deservedly censured for the great share he had in dethroning King Richard, and his cruelty towards those whom he esteemed heretics. B.

(*aa*) Godwin, *inter* Archiepisc. Cantuar. *an.* 1396.

(*bb*) Dies Obitus Archiepisc. Cantuar. *apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, t. I. p. 62.

was vastly more criminal than the share he had in the deposition of King Richard; though it is not our intention to enquire into the lawfulness and regularity of an event which hath been discussed by our historians in general, and a very large account of which, may be seen in the first and second volumes of the Parliamentary History.] K.

ASAPH (*St.*) gave his name to the Episcopal See of *St. Asaph* in Wales (*a*). He was descended of a good family in North-Wales, and became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern the Scotch Bishop of that place presided [*A*]. That Prelate, being recalled to his own country, resigned both his convent and cathedral to Asaph, who demeaned himself with such sanctity, that after his death Llan-Elvy lost its name, and took that of the saint. He was a diligent preacher, and had frequently this saying in his mouth; *They who withstand the preaching of God's word, envy man's salvation.* St. Asaph flourished about the year 590, under Carentius King of the Britons. He wrote the *Ordinances* of his Church, the *Life* of his Master Kentigern, and some other pieces. The time of his death is not certainly known (*b*). Bale tells us, he was the first who received unction from the Pope [*B*]. After his death, the See of St. Asaph continued vacant above five hundred years, till Geoffrey of Monmouth was placed therein [*C*].

(*a*) Baleus, de Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 1. c. 68. & Pits, de illustr. Britan. Scriptor. *an.* 590.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Asaph. init.

[*A*] *He became a Monk in the convent of Llan-Elvy, over which Kentigern ——— presided.*] Capgrave, who tells us this (1), gives Asaph a very advantageous character. His words are these: 'Erat 'in prædicta literatorum multitudine Asaph quidam genere & specie clarus, ab ipso pubertatis 'flore virtutibus et doctrina fulgens, qui vitam magistri in omni sanctitate et abstinentia sequi satagebat. ——— *Amidst this great number of learned* 'men was one *Asaph, descended of a good family, and* 'eminent, *from his very youth, for his virtues and* 'learning; *who diligently followed his master's example* 'in all holiness and godliness of living.'

(1) *Apud* Godwin de Præsul. Angl. *inter* Episc. Asaph. *in t.*

[*B*] *Bale pretends, he was the first who received unction from the Pope.*] *Primus hic erat,* (says he) *qui a Romano Pontifice Unctionem accepit* (2). It is not easy to say what our author's meaning is in these words. Pits, who is very ready to steal from Bale, especially whatever may seem of advantage to the papal cause, has entirely dropped this circumstance.

(2) De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. 1. c. 68.

[*C*] *The See of St. Asaph continued vacant above five hundred years.*] For Henry of Huntington, who wrote about the year 1150, which is 560 years after St. Asaph flourished, in reckoning up the Welsh Sees, mentions only Bangor, Landaff, and St. David's (3). B.

(3) *See* Godwin, ubi supra.

ASCHAM (Roger) was born at Kirby-Wiske, near North-Allerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 515 (*a*). His father's name was John Ascham, a man of a moderate fortune, but of a very extraordinary character, both for his understanding, and probity, and steward to the noble family of Scroop; his mother's name was Margaret, descended of a genteel family, and allied to several persons of great distinction. Besides this Roger, these good people had two other sons, Thomas, and Anthony, and several daughters. As they lived in great credit in their country, so their conduct was very exemplary; the education of their children their principal concern, and their behaviour towards their neighbours equally honest and courteous; by which means they were universally beloved, and many honourable persons interested themselves in providing for their children. One thing is so remarkable of them, that it ought not to pass unmentioned: after living together forty-seven years in the greatest harmony, and with the most cordial affection, the good old people died the same day, and almost in the same hour (*b*). As for him of whom we are speaking (their third son Roger), some time before his father's death, he was taken into the family of the Wingfields, and at the expence of the then Sir Anthony Wingfield, studied with his two sons under the care of Mr Bond. The brightness of his genius, and his great affection for learning, very early discovered themselves, by his eager reading all the English books which came to his hands. This propensity for study was encouraged by his generous benefactor, who, when he had attained the elements of the learned languages, sent him, about the year 1530, to St. John's College in Cambridge (*c*). It was extremely happy for Mr. Ascham, that, at this time, St. John's College was one of the most flourishing in the university. Its master, Nicholas Medcalf, was a great encourager of learning, and a most generous patron to such as addicted themselves thereto; and his tutor, Mr. Hugh Fitzherbert, had not only much knowledge, but also a most graceful and insinuating method of transfusing it

(*a*) Edwardi Grant, Oratio de vita & obitu Rogeri Aschami, &c. p. 4. Thuan. Hist. lib. xliii. Teissier, Elog. T. i. p. 323.

(*b*) Grant, p. 5.

(*c*) Grant, ubi supra.

into his pupils, amongſt whom were very many, who, in proceſs of time, became the greateſt and the brighteſt men of the age (*d*). No wonder then, that to a genius naturally prone to learning, Mr. Aſcham added a ſpirit of emulation, which, together, induced him to ſtudy ſo hard, that, while a perfect boy, he made a prodigious progreſs in polite learning, and became exceedingly diſtinguiſhed, even amongſt thoſe who were the moſt eminent wits in the univerſity [*A*]. He took his firſt degree of Bachelor of Arts on the twenty-eighth of February, 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age; and on the twenty-third of March following, was elected fellow of his college by the intereſt of the maſter (*e*), though Mr. Aſcham's propenſity to the Reformed Religion had induced him to ſpeak a little indiſcreetly, and thereby put Dr. Medcalf to no ſmall trouble, in carrying his good intention into act, as our author himſelf tells us. Theſe honours ſerved only to excite him to ſtill greater vigilance in his ſtudies, particularly in that of the Greek tongue, wherein he attained an excellency peculiar to himſelf, and read therein, both publickly for the univerſity, and privately in his college, with univerſal applauſe. At the commencement held after the feaſt of St. Peter and St. Paul, in 1536, he was inaugurated Maſter of Arts, being then twenty-one years old (*f*). By this time many of his pupils came to be taken notice of for their extraordinary proficiency, inſomuch that William Grindal, who was one of them, at the recommendation of Mr. Aſcham, was made choice of by Sir John Cheke, to be tutor to the lady Elizabeth. One may juſtly wonder, that he did not accept at this time of ſo great an honour himſelf: but it ſeems he was ſo delighted with an academical life, that he was not very deſirous of changing it for one at court (*g*). His affection for his friends, though it filled him with a deep concern for their intereſts, and a tender regard for their perſons, yet could not induce him to give up his underſtanding, eſpecially in points of learning. For this reaſon he did not go immediately into the new pronunciation of the Greek, which his intimate friend, Sir John Cheke, laboured, by his authority, to introduce throughout the univerſity (*h*); yet when he had thoroughly examined, he came over to his opinion, and defended the new pronunciation with that zeal and vivacity which gave a peculiar livelineſs to all his writings. In July 1542, he ſupplicated the univerſity of Oxford, to be incorporated Maſter of Arts, but whether he was or was not incorporated, does not appear by the regiſter (*i*). To divert him after the fatigue of ſeverer ſtudies, he addicted himſelf to archery, which innocent amuſement drew upon him the cenſure of ſome envious perſons. Whereupon he ſet himſelf to ſhew the expediency of ſuch ſort of divertiſements in general, and the innocency and uſefulneſs of ſhooting with the long-bow in particular, in a ſmall treatiſe, intitled, *Toxophilus*; which book he publiſhed in 1544, and dedicated it to King Henry VIII., then about to undertake his expedition againſt Boulogne. This work was very kindly received [*B*]; and the King, at the recommendation of Sir

(*d*) Schoolmaſter, B. i. p. 21. B. ii. p. 54. firſt edition. Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(*e*) Schoolmaſter, B. ii. fol. 54.

(*f*) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

(*g*) Aſcham. Epiſtol. l. i. epiſt. 5. Grant, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Grant, p. 10. 11.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 65.

[*A*] *The moſt eminent wits in the univerſity.*] At firſt Mr. Aſcham applied himſelf to teaching Greek for the ſake of learning it thoroughly himſelf; to which courſe he was adviſed by his great friend Mr. Robert Pember, who told him, that he would acquire more knowledge by reading to a boy a ſingle fable out of Æſop, than by hearing others read Latin lectures on the whole Iliad (1). The ſame gentleman directed him in his choice of Latin authors. By degrees, he became himſelf ſo perfect a judge both of ſentiment and ſtile, that he loſt no time in the peruſal of mean or unprofitable books. Cicero and Cæſar he ſtudied, eſpecially, for the ſake of their language; and whoſoever conſiders his letters attentively, will find that he rarely makes uſe either of words or of phraſes, but what are to be found in them. Among the philoſophers, he read chiefly Plato and Ariſtotle. Thucydides and Herodotus were his favourite hiſtorians; Demoſthenes and Iſocrates, the orators he ſtudied moſt (2). On theſe two laſt-mentioned authors, he read privately to his pupils, as he did likewiſe on the beſt and moſt famous of the Greek poets. By this means, he came to excel in Philology, of which there cannot be a ſtronger teſtimony, than his excellent letter to Hubert Languet, in defence of the new pronunciation of the Greek tongue (3), of which it is hard to ſay, whether the critical knowledge contained therein, or the elegance of the ſtile in which it is written, ought moſt to commend it. There is extant in the Oxford edition of his letters, Languet's anſwer (4), which is alſo well worth reading, by ſuch as are deſirous of underſtanding thoroughly that controverſy, and the reaſons which induced Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, to ſupport that which is now ſtiled the Engliſh pronunciation of the Greek.

(1) Ed. Grant Orat. de vita & obit. Rogeri Aſcham, p. 7.

(2) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, B. ii. p. 51—54.

(3) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 12.

(4) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 404.

[*B*] *This work was very kindly received.*] The title of the book mentioned in the text, as it ſtands in the copy I have before me is this, *Toxophilus. The Schole or Partitions of ſhooting contayned in two Bookes, written by* Roger Aſcham, 1544. *And now newlye peruſed. Pleaſaunt for all gentlemen and Yomen of England, for theyr Paſtime to reade, and profitable for their Uſe to followe both in Warre and Peace, Anno* 1571. *Imprinted at London in Flete-ſtreat, near to Saint Dunſtone's Churche, by Thomas Marſhe.* Before it ſtands a copy of Latin verſes by Dr. Walter Haddon. This ſecond edition hath a dedication prefixed to it, addreſſed to all the gentlemen and yeomen of England; though, as is obſerved in the text, the firſt edition is dedicated to King Henry. There is among our author's letters, one addreſſed to his patron Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, wherein he ſpeaks out plainly, what his deſign was in writing that book, and what he aimed at by writing it. As to the firſt, he acknowledges his intention was to introduce an eaſy and natural ſtile, in the writing of Engliſh proſe, inſtead of that forced and frothy language, which was the foible of moſt writers of his time. With reſpect to the ſecond, he owns that he had at that time a deſire of travelling into Italy, and was in hopes of obtaining, by the dedication of his book to the King, a penſion, which might enable him to fulfil his deſire (5). Without all doubt, this little treatiſe may ſtill be ſtiled a maſter-piece in its kind, whether we conſider the manner in which he handles his ſubject, or the matter which his book contains (6). His words are always ſuited to the nature of his diſcourſe, never riſing above, never ſinking beneath it, but ſo naturally expreſſive of their author's ſentiments, that the reader is never at a loſs, as he never can be diſpleaſed with their meaning. Much learning he does indeed ſhew, where one would little expect it; but this he does ſo modeſtly, with ſuch a graceful propriety, and ſo much to the peruſer's advantage, that it is impoſſible to miſtake that for pedantry, which is the pure effect of ſuperior knowledge. So perſpicuous, ſo natural is his

(5) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

(6) Grant, p. 11.

Sir William Paget, was pleaſed to ſettle a ſmall penſion upon him, which, after that Prince's death, was for ſome time diſcontinued, but at length reſtored to him, during pleaſure, by Edward VI., and confirmed by Queen Mary, with an addition of ten pounds *per annum* (*k*). Among other accompliſhments, he was remarkable for writing a very fine hand, for which reaſon he was made uſe of to teach that art to Prince Edward, the Lady Elizabeth, the two brothers Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and for many years wrote all the letters of the univerſity to the King, and to the great men at Court (*l*). The ſame year that he publiſhed his book he was choſen univerſity orator, in the room of Mr. John Cheke, an office which ſuited him extremely well, as gratifying his ſtrong paſſion for an academical life, and affording him frequent opportunities of diſplaying his ſuperior eloquence in the Latin and Greek tongues (*m*). In 1548, on the death of his pupil, Mr. Grindal, he was ſent for to Court, in order to inſtruct the Lady Elizabeth in the knowledge of the learned languages, which duty he diſcharged for two years, with great reputation to himſelf, and with much ſatisfaction to that illuſtrious perſon (*n*). For ſome time he enjoyed as great comfort and content at Court as he had done at College: but at length, on account of ſome ill-judged and ill-founded whiſpers, Mr. Aſcham took ſuch a diſtaſte at ſome in the Lady Elizabeth's family, that he left her a little abruptly, which he afterwards heartily repented, and took great and not unſucceſsful pains, to get himſelf reſtored to her good graces (*o*). On his returning to the univerſity, he reſumed his ſtudies, and the diſcharge of his office of public orator, his circumſtances being at this time pretty eaſy [*C*], by reaſon

(*k*) Grant, ubi ſupra, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 9.

(*l*) Idem, p. 9.

(*m*) Grant, p. 14.

(*n*) Aſcham. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 40.

(*o*) Grant, p. 16. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 43. l. iii. ep. 5, 7.

his method, that if for no other reaſon yet for this, I ſhould be glad to ſee it taken out of its black letter'd garb, and put into the hands of young gentlemen at the univerſity. But there is another reaſon which renders this ſtill more deſirable. It abounds with fragments of Engliſh hiſtory, curious in themſelves, and ſo loſt in the ocean of our hiſtories, that ſhould they be at any time revived, they would certainly have all the charms of novelty. It would be unjuſt to conclude this note without remarking, That as this treatiſe gave the firſt riſe to our author's fortunes, ſo it was the review of it by Biſhop Gardiner, which reſtored them when the author thought them ſhipwrecked by the death of King Edward; for in his letter to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he takes notice of its being peruſed and approved by the lords of the council, and being the means of introducing its author into their favour (7).

(7) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 25.

[*C*] *His circumſtances being pretty eaſy.*] Among our author's firſt patrons, are to be reckoned the following illuſtrious perſons, viz. Edward Lee, Archbiſhop of York, a Prelate diſtinguiſhed no leſs by his extraordinary learning, untainted integrity, and extenſive beneficence, than by his exalted ſtation. He took our author early under his care, and beſides many other ſervices, which, in reſpect to his merit he rendered him, was pleaſed to allow him an annual penſion out of his pocket. Among our author's letters, there are extant ſeveral to this Archbiſhop full of profound acknowledgments, and of panegyricks in the ſtrongeſt and ſweeteſt ſtrain (8). This prelate died in 1544, when Mr. Aſcham was in the thirtieth year of his age (9). He was alſo much careſſed by the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and had in ſome meaſure her ſons, Henry and Charles, entruſted to his care (10). Anne, Counteſs of Pembroke, and ſiſter to the Marquis of Northampton, was another auſpicious patroneſs and his pupil in the Latin tongue, as appears by two letters ſtill extant in that language to that noble lady (11). To theſe we may add the Chancellor Wriotheſley, Sir John Cheke, and many others (12). To all of whom, Mr. Aſcham was peculiarly grateful: for a due ſenſe of obligation was in him a predominant virtue, and no doubt, this thankfulneſs in his temper was no inconſiderable help to his promotion. All the ſtations of life he occupied, were diſcharged with decency and honour; but he ſeems to have ſhone moſt in his poſt of public orator at the univerſity, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with a zeal equally laudable and happy: for as a certain humorous writer expreſſes himſelf, he did good ſervice in the hindering thoſe ſacrilegious perſons who had *dined* upon the *Church* from *ſupping* on the *Univerſities* (13). This ought to be remembered to his everlaſting honour, for many reaſons, but for this eſpecially, that it may provoke others to a like diligence, and a like reſpect for thoſe luminaries of ſcience which once eclipſed, we ſhould ſoon fall into more than Egyptian darkneſs.

(8) Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 1. 3. 5, 6.
(9) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. ii. p. 86.
(10) Grant, p. 15.

(11) Aſcham Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 31, 32.
(12) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(13) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 613.

[The character which Dr. C. has given of Archbiſhop Lee, in the above note, ſeems to require ſome conſiderable abatement. This prelate was a great enemy to Eraſmus; and Dr. Jortin, in his life of that great man, repreſents Lee in a very unfavourable light. 'Edward Lee,' ſays he, 'began about this 'time (1517) to attack Eraſmus, and to ſtir up the 'divines againſt him; in which attempt the Domi'nicans were no leſs buſy. He not only treated 'Eraſmus as one of little erudition and no judg'ment, but as an heretic and an enemy to the 'church; and did all that lay in his power to run 'him down and ruin him. Eraſmus in return hath 'often ſaid of him, that the earth never produced 'an animal more vain, more arrogant, more ſcur'rilous, more ignorant, more fooliſh, and more 'malicious, than he. Yet this man advanced him'ſelf at court, and became an Archbiſhop. He muſt 'have had ſome dexterity, ſays Le Clerc, unleſs his 'elevation was owing to the caprice of the King, or 'of Dame Fortune, who loves to divert herſelf, and 'play her gambols (if we may ſpeak in a Pagan 'ſtyle) at the expence of poor mortals.

'Lee was of a reputable family, was educated at 'Oxford and Cambridge, afterwards chaplain and 'almoner to Henry VIII. then employed by the 'king on ſeveral embaſſies, then made Archbiſhop of 'York, A. D. 1531, and died 1544.

'He was, as Antony Wood and ſome others have 'ſaid, not only profoundly learned, and an incom'parable divine, but a pious Chriſtian, an able and 'aſſiduous preacher, extremely charitable to the 'poor, and univerſally lamented, when he departed 'this life. It is very well: but whence came our '*Antiquaries* to know all this? Why, even from his '*Epitaph*. As if ſtones could not exaggerate! Thus 'much is certain, that he was always an enemy to 'the reformation.

'Sir Thomas More was a conſtant friend to Lee, 'and yet much diſpleaſed at his quarrelling with 'Eraſmus. He wrote three letters to Lee on that 'occaſion; which inform us, that he would have 'diſſuaded Lee from printing his cenſures upon 'Eraſmus; that he was very ſorry, when they were 'publiſhed; that he thought Lee to be no match 'for Eraſmus, but far inferior to him both in know'ledge and abilities, and in credit and intereſt with 'the learned world; and judged that this exploit 'would draw infamy and contempt upon the writer, 'and even an odium upon the nation.

'Thus our Lee, who, if he had kept the fool with'in doors, might have paſſed off for a tolerable di'vine, choſe rather to purchaſe renown, ſuch as it 'was, by heading the clamorous, unlearned, or 'half-learned cenſurers of Eraſmus, and of all refor'mation. Amongſt theſe indeed he might hope to 'make a figure, though not amongſt more eminent 'perſons; and it is no wonder, that an ambitious 'man ſhould chuſe rather to be the leader of a paltry 'ſect, than loſt amongſt ſcholars of the ſecond or

'third

reaſon of conſiderable aſſiſtances from lovers of learning, and a ſmall penſion allowed him by King Edward (*p*). In the ſummer of 1550, he went into Yorkſhire to viſit his family and relations, from whence he was recalled to Court, in order to attend Sir Richard Moryſine, who was then going Ambaſſador to the Emperor Charles V. In his journey to London, he went to viſit the Lady Jane Gray, at her father's houſe at Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, with whom he had been well acquainted at Court, and for whom he had already a very high eſteem. At this viſit it was, that he ſurpriſed her reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, in the abſence of her tutor Mr. Aylmer, in the article of whoſe life, a full account is given of their converſation and its effects (*q*). In September following, he embarked with the before-mentioned Ambaſſador for Germany, where he remained three years, and during that ſpace, left nothing omitted which might ſerve to perfect his knowledge of men as well as books (*r*). As he travelled with an Ambaſſador he thought it became him to make Politics ſome part of his ſtudy, and in this he ſucceeded perfectly well, as appears from a ſhort but very curious tract [*D*] which he wrote, concerning Germany, and of the affairs of Charles V. He was alſo of great uſe to the Ambaſſador, as well in the management of his public concerns, as in being the companion of his private ſtudies (*s*), which were for the moſt part in the Greek language, wherein he read Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Demoſthenes, three days in a week: the other three he copied the letters which the Ambaſſador ſent to England (*t*). While he was thus employed, his friends in England procured for him the poſt of Latin Secretary to King Edward, for which he was in a particular manner obliged to the kind interceſſion of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State (*u*). But whatever ſatisfaction reſulted to him from hence, he did not enjoy it long, being recalled on account of the King's death, whereby, for the preſent, he loſt all his places, together with his penſion, and, which was worſe, all expectation of obtaining any farther favours at Court. In this ſad ſituation he was at firſt in a manner hopeleſs, and therefore retired to the univerſity, merely to indulge his melancholy (*w*). But the proſpect quickly became more promiſing. His friend the Lord Paget mentioned him to Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High Chancellor, who very frankly received him into his favour, notwithſtanding Mr. Aſcham remained firm to his religion, which was ſo far from being a ſecret to the Biſhop, that he had many malicious informations given him on that head, which however he treated with contempt, and abated nothing in his friendſhip to our author on that account [*E*]. He in the firſt place procured him the re-eſtabliſhment of his penſion, which

(*p*) Grant, ubi ſupra. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. ii. ep. 48.

(*q*) Grant, p. 17. Schoolmaſter, B. i. *fol.* 11. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep 7.

(*r*) Grant, p. 17. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 3, 4, 6, &c.

(*s*) Grant, p. 19.

(*t*) Grant, ubi ſupra.

(*u*) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 2. Grant, p. 20.

(*w*) Grant, p. 21. Aſcham. Epiſt. l. iii. ep. 18.

'third claſs. In the opinion of Dr. Knight, Lee 'acted alſo with a view to preferment, and thought 'it a probable way of riſing in the church at that 'time*.] T.

* Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 98, 99, 100.

[*D*] *A ſhort and very curious tract.*] The title of this treatiſe runs thus: *A Report and Diſcourſe, written by Roger Aſcham, of the Affairs and State of Germany, and the Emperor Charles his Court, duryng certain Yeares, while the ſaid Roger was there. At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Alderſgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis per Decennium.* My copy is without a date, nor does Anthony Wood mention when it was printed, though he mentions the book. This treatiſe is written in the form of a letter, addreſſed to John Aſtley, in anſwer to one of his which is prefixed: he was a domeſtic of the lady Elizabeth, and his letter bears date the 19th of October 1552. The anſwer muſt have been written the ſame year, ſince there is no mention therein of King Edward's death, which happened the next. It is without compliment to Mr. Aſcham, one of the moſt delicate pieces of Hiſtory that ever was penned in our language, and ſhews its author to have been a man as capable of ſhining in the cabinet as in the cloſet. He firſt tells his friend, that the Emperor Charles V. was in peace with all the world in the year 1550, and yet at the time he was writing, which as we have ſhewn, was in the latter end of 1552, found himſelf ſo preſſed by open, and ſo embarraſſed by ſecret enemies, that after flying out of Germany, he was now in a manner at his wits end, and knew not what to do. The plan therefore that he propoſes to himſelf, is to enter into and to explain the cauſes of theſe diſorders, the conſequences of them, and the characters of thoſe from whom they chiefly proceeded. Previous to this, he makes ſome obſervations on the various methods of writing hiſtory, and the ſeveral kinds thereof. In the courſe of it he renders unknown things clear, by comparing them with ſuch as are perfectly known, and throughout the whole, writes nothing which he knew not to be true of his own experience, or from the authority of ſuch as either, in reſpect to their offices, or characters, were not above all ſuſpicion. On the whole, this ſhort piece gives the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct account of the motives which led to one of the greateſt events in that age, viz. the Emperor's reſignation, and contains ſuch a number of curious facts, with ſuch natural and pertinent reaſonings upon them, as can ſcarcely be found within the ſame compaſs in our own, or perhaps in any other modern language. This is by much the ſcarceſt and the leaſt known of all our author's writings, and even among the copies that are now and then to be met with, there is hardly one perfect.

[*E*] *Abated nothing in his friendſhip to our author on that account.*] One cannot help being aſtoniſhed at Mr. Aſcham's good fortune under the reign of Queen Mary, conſidering that he never made any ſecret, not only of his being a Proteſtant, but of his being zealouſly ſo, while in the mean time, his friend and patron, Sir John Cheke, was in the Tower for his religion, and converted by this ſole argument, *Chuſe whether you will ſign yourſelf a recantation, or have a warrant ſigned for your execution* (14). The former of which he choſe; and there is amongſt Mr. Aſcham's letters, that very one which was written by or for Sir John Cheke, upon this occaſion (15). This was owing in all probability to two cauſes, the innocency of his life, and the uſefulneſs of his pen. The former made it unreaſonable to proceed harſhly againſt him, and the latter conſidering that Queen Mary's miniſtry were moſt of them men of great parts and learning, made his ſervice appear more neceſſary than it would have done at another time. How well he anſwered their expectations, may be gathered from the many letters of his which are extant, and how aſſiduous he was in the diſcharge of his duty, may be underſtood from this inſtance; that in the beginning of the reign of Philip and Mary, he wrote in three days ſeven and forty letters to perſons of ſuch high rank, that the loweſt in dignity was a Cardinal (16). His duty and diligence anſwering ſo fully the character which Lord Paget had given him, and his other patrons, Pole and Gardiner, being the Queen's chief miniſters ſo long as ſhe lived, we may thence gather, that a

(14) See the article CHEKE.

(15) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 436.

(16) Grant, p. 22.

which consisted of but ten pounds a year, with the addition of ten pounds a year more: he fixed him in the post of Latin Secretary to the King and Queen, and by her Majesty's interest and his own, kept him in the fellowship of St. John's, and in his place of orator to the university, to Midsummer 1554 (*x*). He was likewise well known to, and in great credit with, Cardinal Pole, who though he wrote elegantly in the Latin tongue, yet he would sometimes make use of Mr. Ascham's pen, and particularly in translating his speech to the Parliament, which he made as the Pope's Legate, and of which translation he sent a copy to the Pope (*y*). On the first of June 1554, he married Mrs. Margaret Howe, a lady of a good family, and with whom he had a very considerable fortune, of whom he himself gives an excellent character, in one of his letters to his friend Sturmius (*z*). His favour with Queen Mary's ministers lasted as long as they were in power, and he was even so happy as to enjoy the countenance of the Queen herself, who conversed with him often, and was much pleased with his company (*a*). On her death, however, he was so far from losing any of his preferments, that, on the contrary having been previously reconciled to the Lady Elizabeth, he was immediately distinguished by her, on her accession to the throne. Thenceforward to the day of his death he was always constant at Court, very fully employed in the discharge of his two great offices, the one of Secretary for the Latin tongue, and the other of Tutor to her Majesty in the learned languages, wherein he read some hours with her every day. This interest of his at Court, would have procured a man of a more active temper many considerable advantages: but such was either Mr. Ascham's indolence, or disinterestedness, that he never asked her Majesty any thing, either for himself or his family, though he received several considerable benefactions without asking, particularly the Prebend of Westwang in the church of York, in 1559, which he held to his death (*b*). Yet how cold soever he was in regard to his own affairs, he was very far from being negligent in those of his friends; for whom he was ready to do any good office in his power, and in nothing readier than in parting with his money, though he never had much to spare. He was always in company with the greatest men of the Court; and having once in conversation heard the best method of educating youth debated with some heat, he from thence took occasion, at the request of Sir Richard Sackville, to write his *Schoolmaster*, which he lived to finish*, but not to publish [*F*]. His application to study rendered him infirm throughout his whole life, and at last he grew so weak, that he was unable to read in the evenings or at night; to make amends for which he rose very early in the morning. The year before his death he was seized with a hectic, which brought him very low; and then, contrary to his former custom, relapsing into night-studies, in order to compleat a Latin poem with which he designed to present the Queen on the new year, he, on the twenty-third of

(*x*) Ascham. Epist. l. i. ep. 2, 3. 18, 19. 23. Grant, p. 22.

(*y*) Grant, p. 23—25.

(*z*) Grant, p. 22. Ascham. Epist. 1, 2.

(*a*) Grant, p. 25.

(*b*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 65.

* It appears, from the omission of a full and distinct character of Tully, and from one or two other circumstances, that the *Schoolmaster* was not quite finished when Mr. Ascham died.

man of Ascham's prudence, was pretty safe even in those troublesome times. Yet neither his complaisance, nor the care he had of his own safety, could divorce him from his Protestant friends: he took care to maintain his interest with the lady Elizabeth, when it was dangerous to seek such an interest, and he lived in such strict friendship with Sir William Cecil, as contributed not a little to his prosperity in the succeeding reign.

[*F*] *He lived to finish but not to publish.*] This work of his, which is that whereby he is chiefly known to posterity, bears in its original edition this title. *The Schole-master. Or a plain and perfite Way of teaching Children, to understand, write, and speake the Latin Tonge, but especially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houses, and commodious also for all such as have forgot the Latin Tonge, and would by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short Tyme, and with small paines, recover a sufficient Habilitie to understand, write, and speake Latin, by Roger Ascham, Ann.* 1571. *At London, Printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate. Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majestati, per Decennium.* Notwithstanding this date in the title-page, the colophon tells us, it was printed in 1573. This work is now well known to the world by Mr. Upton's edition, illustrated with notes (17). The occasion of the author's composing this book, is briefly touched in the text; but it may not be amiss to insist a little more particularly upon it here. When the great Plague was at London, in 1563, Queen Elizabeth lay at her castle of Windsor, where it so fell out, that on the 10th of December there dined in Sir William Cecil's lodgings, Sir William Petre, Sir J. Mason, Dr. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville, Treasurer of the Exchequer; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Haddon, Mr. Astley, Master of the Jewel-house; Mr. Hampton, Mr. Nicasius, and our author. At dinner Secretary Cecil happened to say that he had heard strange news that morning, viz. That several scholars at Eaton, had run away on account of their master's severity, which he condemned as a very great fault in such as had the education of youth. Sir William Petre maintained the contrary, and being a severe man in his temper, pleaded warmly in defence of the rod. Dr. Wotton, in a soft voice and with smooth words, supported what the secretary had said; Sir John Mason merrily bantered both sides, without adhering to either. Mr. Haddon seconded Sir William Petre, and, in defence of what he advanced, observed, that the best school-master then in England, was the greatest beater. This provoked our author to speak; who said, that if it was so, it was owing to the boy's parts, and not to their master's beating, which he was sure did often harm, and seldom, if ever, good. Sir William Cecil being mightily pleased with what Mr. Ascham said, engaged into discourse more largely upon the subject; to which also Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Astley, and the rest, spoke a little, only Sir Richard Sackville said not a word. After dinner Mr. Ascham went to the Queen, with whom he read one of the orations of Demosthenes. Sir Richard Sackville coming up, and finding him in the Queen's privy-chamber, as soon as company came in, took him aside to a window: there he told him, that though he spoke nothing, he would not have been from that dinner for a great deal of money; that he knew to his cost, the truth of what Mr. Secretary Cecil had said, since the beating of such a schoolmaster at fourteen, had given him an aversion to learning, which he said should make him the more careful of his grandson Robert Sackville. On this account he proposed to Mr. Ascham, that he should fix upon a good schoolmaster, and send his own son Giles, to be bred up together with his grandson under his care, by those rules, which, as Sir Richard said, he thought our author could draw up the best of any man (18). This is the accident which gave birth to Ascham's School-master, a book that will be always useful, and everlastingly esteemed on account of the good sense, judicious observations, excellent characters of antient authors, and many pleasant and profitable passages of English history, which are plentifully sprinkled therein.

(17) Printed first in 1711.

(18) See the preface to the Schoolmaster.

December 1568, was attacked by an aguiſh diſtemper, which threatened him with immediate death. He was viſited in his laſt ſickneſs by Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, who found him perfectly calm and chearful, in which diſpoſition he continued to the thirtieth of the ſame month, when he expired (*c*). On the fourth of January following, he was interred according to his own directions, in the moſt private manner, in St. Sepulchre's church, his funeral ſermon being preached by the before-mentioned Dr. Nowell. He was univerſally lamented, and even the Queen herſelf not only ſhewed great concern, but was alſo pleaſed to ſay, that ſhe had rather have loſt ten thouſand pounds than her tutor Aſcham. His character is very well drawn by Buchanan in the following ſhort epigram, which he conſecrated to the memory of his friend:

(*c*) Grant, p. 25—29.

Aſchamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camænæ
Et Latiæ vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit (*d*).

(*d*) Buchan. E. pigram. lib. ii, p. 339.

With thine, the Greek and Latin Muſes join,
O Britain! to lament at Aſcham's ſhrine.
To Princes dear, delightful to his friends,
He liv'd on little, yet to mighty ends.

His only failing was too great a propenſity to dice and cock-fighting, which the learned Biſhop Nicolſon would perſuade us to be an ill-grounded calumny (*e*); but as it is mentioned by Camden (*f*), as well as ſome other contemporary writers (*g*), we dare not omit it. Certain it is, that he died in very indifferent circumſtances, as may appear from theſe two inſtances. Firſt, the addreſs of his widow to Sir William Cecil, in her dedication of his *Schoolmaſter*, wherein ſhe ſays expreſsly, that Mr. Aſcham left her a poor widow with many orphans, and this only to comfort them, that, as his relations, they would be under the protection of that honourable perſon to whom ſhe addreſſes herſelf. Secondly, it appears from Dr. Grant's dedication of Aſcham's letters to Queen Elizabeth; wherein he moſt pathetically recommends to her his pupil, Giles Aſcham, the ſon of our author, telling her, that he had loſt his father who ſhould have taken care of his education, and that he was left poor and without friends, having indeed a mother who had the will, but not the means of affording him ſuch breeding, as the ſon of ſuch a father deſerved. Beſides this ſon he had two others, Dudley and Sturmur, of whom we know little. But as for Giles Aſcham, Lord Burleigh took him under his protection, by whoſe intereſt he was commended to a ſcholarſhip of St. John's, and afterwards by the Queen's mandate, to a fellowſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and was celebrated, as well as his father, for his admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings (*h*) [*G*].

(*e*) Engliſh Library, p. 247.

(*f*) Annal. ſub an. 1568.

(*g*) Clark's Mirror, c. 61. p. 240. See alſo Wood's Athen. Oxon. and Lloyd's State Worthies.

(*h*) Grant, p. 30. —38.

[Since the above article was written, a new edition has been publiſhed, in 1761, in one volume, 4to, of the Engliſh works of our very learned author, by Mr. James Bennett, to which a life of him is prefixed, written by Dr. Samuel Johnſon (*i*). From this life of Aſcham we ſhall ſelect a few remarks, and alſo make one or two other additional obſervations relative to him and his works. He entered the univerſity about the time

(*i*) That this life was written by Dr. Johnſon is manifeſt from the ſtyle, which cannot eaſily be miſtaken by thoſe who are acquainted with his writings, and it has alſo been publiſhed as his in the Fugitive Pieces printed for T. Davies, vol. i. p. 235. —253.

[*G*] *Admirable Latin ſtile in epiſtolary writings.*] As to the Epiſtles of our author, which were alſo a poſthumous work, collected however very ſoon after his death by Mr. Grant, maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, in order to recommend his ſon, as we have in the text noted, to Queen Elizabeth's favour, let their character be firſt ſeen by Biſhop Nicolſon's account of them, and of their author, and then we will ſpeak of their ſeveral editions. 'Theſe letters, 'ſays that learned Prelate, have, chiefly on account 'of their elegancy, had ſeveral editions. The au-'thor was ſome time an inſtructor in the Latin 'tongue, and afterwards Latin ſecretary to King Ed-'ward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and 'in this latter ſtation, was frequently employed to 'tranſlate ſeveral letters of the then Engliſh mi-'niſters of ſtate, to foreign Princes, Ambaſſadors, 'and other great men. In theſe we have all the 'fine variety of language that is proper, either for 'rendering a petition or complaint the moſt agree-'able, and withal a very great choice of hiſtorical 'matter that is hardly preſerved any where elſe. 'Together with the author's own letters, we have 'a good many that are directed to him, both from 'the moſt eminent foreigners of his time, ſuch as 'Sturmius, Sleidan, &c. and the beſt ſcholars, as 'well as the wiſeſt ſtateſmen of his own country. 'And the publiſher of theſe aſſures us, that he had 'the peruſal of a vaſt number of others in the 'Engliſh tongue, which were highly valuable. His 'attendance on Sir Richard Morriſon, in his Ger-'man embaſſy, gave him an intimate acquaintance 'with the affairs of that country, and the extraor-'dinary freedom and familiarity, with which the 'two Siſter Queens treated him here at home, af-'forded him a perfect knowledge of the moſt ſe-'cret myſteries of ſtate in this kingdom; ſo that 'were the reſt of his papers retrieved, we could not 'perhaps have a more pleaſing view of the main 'Arcana of thoſe reigns, than his writings would 'give us (19).' Mr. Grant's firſt edition came out in 1576; there was another in 1577; a third in 1578; a fourth in 1590, all at London, in 8vo. There were two editions at Hanau, one in 1602, the other in 1610; alſo one at Nurembergh in 1611. The laſt and beſt edition is that of Oxford in 1703, publiſhed by the celebrated Mr. Elſtob, who has added from MSS. many letters, which were not in the former editions; but hath omitted Mr. Aſcham's Poems, which are to be met with in the reſt. Mr. Wood mentions another work of our author's, intitled, Apologia contra Miſſam, &c. *i. e. An Apology againſt the Maſs*, &c. ſaid to be printed in 1577, in 8vo (20). Some writers mention a treatiſe *de Imitatione*, but that is included in the laſt edition of his Letters (21). C.

(19) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(20) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 65.

(21) Aſcham. Epiſt. lib. i. ep. 1.

of the reſurrection of letters [*H*]; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, as hath been already obſerved, when he was only eighteen years of age; " a time of life," ſays Dr. Johnſon, " at which it is more common now to enter the univerſities than to take degrees, " but which, according to the modes of education then in uſe, had nothing of remark- " able prematurity (*k*)." His deſign in publiſhing his *Toxophilus* [*I*], was to vindicate himſelf from the imputation of ſpending too much time in archery, and alſo, as the learned writer juſt mentioned obſerves, " to give an example of diction more natural, " and more truly Engliſh, than was uſed by the common writers of that age, whom he " cenſures for mingling exotic terms with their native language, and of whom he com- " plains, that they were made authors not by ſkill or education, but by arrogance and " temerity.——He has not failed in either of his purpoſes. He has ſufficiently vindicated " archery as an innocent, ſalutary, uſeful, and liberal diverſion [*K*]; and if his precepts " are of no great uſe, he has only ſhewn by one example among many, how little the " hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can contribute to dexterity. In " every art practice is much; in arts manual practice is almoſt the whole. Precept can " at moſt but warn againſt error, it can never beſtow excellence (*l*)."

(*l*) Life prefixed to Bennet's edition of his works, p. 3.

(*l*) Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. 6.

Dr Johnſon remarks, that Aſcham " appears to have been not much qualified for the " improvement of his fortune. His diſpoſition was kind and ſocial; he delighted in the " pleaſures of converſation, and was probably not much inclined to buſineſs. This " may be ſuſpected from the paucity of his writings. He has left little behind him, and " of that little nothing was publiſhed by himſelf but the *Toxophilus*, and the account of " Germany. The *Shoolmaſter* was printed by his widow, and the epiſtles were collected " by Grant, who dedicated them to Queen Elizabeth, that he might have an oppor- " tunity of recommending his ſon Giles Aſcham to her patronage."——" Whether he " was poor by his own fault, or the fault of others [*L*], cannot now be decided; but " it

[*H*] *He entered the univerſity, &c.*] ' Aſcham ' entered Cambridge,' ſays Dr. Johnſon, ' at a time ' when the laſt great revolution of the intellectual ' world was filling every academical mind with ar- ' dour or anxiety. The deſtruction of the Conſtan- ' tinopolitan empire had driven the Greeks with their ' language into the interior parts of Europe, the art ' of printing had made the books eaſily attainable, ' and Greek now began to be taught in England. ' The doctrines of Luther had already filled all the ' nations of the Romiſh communion with controverſy ' and diſſenſion. New ſtudies of literature, and new ' tenets of religion, found employment for all who ' were deſirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. ' Learning was at that time proſecuted with that ' eagerneſs and perſeverance, which in this age of ' indifference and diſſipation it is not eaſy to con- ' ceive. To teach or to learn was at once the buſi- ' neſs and the pleaſure of the academical life; and ' an emulation of ſtudy was raiſed by Cheke and ' Smith, to which even the preſent age perhaps owes ' many advantages, without remembering or know- ' ing its benefactors.— Aſcham ſoon reſolved to unite ' himſelf to thoſe who were enlarging the bounds of ' knowledge, and immediately upon his admiſſion ' into the college, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of ' Greek. Thoſe who were zealous for the new ' learning, were often no great friends to the old ' religion; and Aſcham as he became a Grecian, ' became a Proteſtant. The reformation was not ' yet begun, diſaffection to Popery was conſidered as ' a crime juſtly puniſhed by excluſion from favour ' and preferment, and was not yet openly profeſſed, ' though ſuperſtition was gradually loſing its hold ' upon the public. The ſtudy of Greek was reputa- ' ble enough, and Aſcham purſued it with diligence ' and ſucceſs equally conſpicuous (22).'

(22) Life, p. 2.

[*I*] *His deſign in publiſhing his Toxophilus.*] This work is written in ſo agreeable a manner, that it may be read with great pleaſure even by thoſe who have little taſte for diverſions of this kind. It abounds with erudition, and with ingenious obſervations on life and manners.

It has been queſtioned whether Aſcham was really addicted to Cock-fighting: but the following paſſage, in his *Schoolmaſter*, ſeems to be a ſufficient evidence of his attachment to that diverſion. ' Of all kinds ' of paſtimes, fit for a gentleman, I will, God will- ' ing, in fitter place more at large declare fully, in ' my *Book of the Cockpit*, which I do write to ſatisfy ' ſome, I truſt with ſome reaſon, that be more cu- ' rious in marking other men's doings, than careful ' in mending their own faults*.' It cannot reaſon- ably be ſuppoſed, that Aſcham would have thought of writing on this ſubject, if he had not been ad- dicted to cock-fighting; and it is, perhaps, a cir- cumſtance favourable to his memory, that he did not execute his intended work.

* Bennet's edition of Aſcham's Eng. Works, p. 239.

[*K*] *He has ſufficiently vindicated archery, &c.*] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, in the life of Aſcham above referred to, that ' the bow has been ſo long diſuſed, that ' moſt Engliſh readers have forgotten its importance, ' though it was the weapon by which we gained the ' battle of Agincourt, a weapon which when handled ' by Engliſh yeomen, no foreign troops were able ' to reſiſt. We were not only abler of body than ' the French, and therefore ſuperior in the uſe of ' arms, which are forcible only in proportion to the ' ſtrength with which they are handled, but the na- ' tional practice of ſhooting for pleaſure or for prizes, ' by which every man was inured to archery from his ' infancy, gave us inſuperable advantage, the bow ' requiring more practice to ſkilful uſe, than any ' other inſtrument of offence.'

[*L*] *Whether he was poor by his own fault, or the fault of others.*] This learned writer in another place intimates, that Queen Elizabeth might be leſs libe- ral to Aſcham, on account of her knowledge of his imprudencies, and that this may be conſidered as an apology for her conduct in this reſpect. But there is the leſs reaſon for admitting this juſtification of Elizabeth, becauſe ſhe is well known to have behav- ed in a manner ſhamefully penurious to ſome of the moſt meritorious of her ſervants. Her conduct to Aſcham may ſo naturally be accounted for by that exceſſive parſimony to which ſhe was addicted, that there can be no neceſſity for ſuppoſing that it aroſe from her knowledge of his want of oeconomy, or from any motive of that kind.

Another obſervation of Dr. Johnſon ſeems to be better founded. He objects to what has been inti- mated by Dr. Campbell, in note [*E*] of the preced- ing article, that Aſcham owed his ſafety from perſe- cution in the reign of Queen Mary to his innocence and uſefulneſs, that it would have been unpopular to attack a man ſo little liable to cenſure, and that the loſs of his pen could not have been eaſily ſupplied. ' But the truth is,' ſays Dr. J. ' that morality was ' never ſuffered in the days of perſecution to protect ' hereſy; nor are we ſure that Aſcham was more ' clear from common failings than thoſe who ſuffered ' more; and whatever might be his abilities, they ' were not ſo neceſſary but Gardiner could have ' eaſily filled his place with another ſecretary. No- ' thing is more vain than at a diſtant time to examine ' the motives of diſcrimination and partiality; for ' the inquirer having conſidered intereſt and policy, ' is obliged at laſt to omit more frequent and more ' active

" it is certain, that many have been rich with leſs merit. His philological learning " would have gained him honour in any country, and among us it may juſtly call for that " reverence which all nations owe to thoſe who firſt rouſe them from ignorance, and " kindle among them the light of literature. Of his manners nothing can be ſaid but " from his own teſtimony and that of his contemporaries. Thoſe who mention him " allow him many virtues. His courteſy, benevolence, and liberality, are celebrated; " and of his piety we have not only the teſtimony of his friends but the evidence of his " writings (*m*)."

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 15, 16.

In Mr. Bennet's edition of our author's Engliſh works, are ſome of his letters which were never before printed, from which we ſhall ſelect a few extracts, which will be found in the note [*M*]. If literary performances were always ſought after in proportion to their merit, there can be no doubt but the works of Aſcham would have paſſed through more editions than they have done. They have, however, been deſervedly held in great eſtimation by the truly learned; and an Upton and a Johnſon have been laudably employed in doing juſtice to his memory, and extending his reputation.

It has been obſerved of Aſcham, that " he loſt no time in the peruſal of mean, or un- " profitable books." This is a remark that deſerves to be attended to; and the conduct of Aſcham, in this reſpect, is worthy of imitation by every ſtudent. Much time may be ſpent in reading to little purpoſe, if men peruſe the authors that may fall into their hands indiſcriminately, without any regular views, and without making any juſt diſtinction between truly valuable authors, and thoſe of inferior merit, or perhaps of no merit at all. More real and uſeful knowledge may be derived from an accurate acquaintance

' active motives of human conduct; caprice, accident, ' and private affections. At that time, if ſome were ' puniſhed, many were forborne; and of many why ' ſhould not Aſcham happen to be one? He ſeems ' to have been calm and prudent, and content with ' that peace which he was ſuffered to enjoy; a mode ' of behaviour that ſeldom fails to produce ſecurity ' (23).'

(23) Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. 12.

[*M*] *Some letters which were never before printed*, &c.] In one of theſe letters, addreſſed to Mr. Raven, fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, are the following paſſages: ' As I wrote in my laſt letter, ' 3d Oct. we came to Mechlin. I told you at large ' both of the abbey with 1600 nuns, and alſo the ' landgrave (of Heſſe), whom we ſaw priſoner. He ' is luſty, well favoured, ſomething like Mr. Hebil- ' throut in the face; haſty, inconſtant; and to get ' himſelf out of priſon, would fight, if the emperor ' would bid him, with Turk, French, England, ' God, and the Devil. The Emperor perceiving ' his buſy head without conſtancy, handles him ' thereafter: his own *Germano*, as it is ſaid, being ' well content that he is forthcoming.

' John Frederick is clear contrary, noble, courageous, conſtant, one in all fortunes, deſired of his ' friends, reverenced of his foes, favoured of his ' emperor, loved of all. He hath been proffered of ' late, it is ſaid, by the emperor, that if he will ' ſubſcribe to his proceedings, to go at large, to ' have all his dignities and honour again, and more ' too. His anſwer was from the firſt one, and is ſtill, ' that he will take the emperor for his gracious ſo- ' vereign lord: but to forſake God and his doctrine, ' he will never do, let the emperor do with his body ' what he will.

' At Mechlin we ſaw a ſtrange bird. The emperor ' doth allow it 8d. a day. It is milk-white, greater ' than a ſwan, with a bill ſomewhat like a ſhovel, ' and having a throat well able to ſwallow, without ' grief or touch of creſt, a white penny loaf of Eng- ' land, except your bread be bigger than your bread- ' maſter of St. John's is wont willingly to make it. ' The eyes are as red as fire, and, as they ſay, an ' hundred years old. It was wont in Maximilian's ' days to fly with him whitherſoever he went.

' 4th Octob. we went to Bruſſels, twelve miles. ' In the mid-way is a town called *Vilfort*, with a ' notable ſtrong hold of the emperor's in it. Trai- ' tors and condemned perſons lie there. At the ' town's end is a notable ſtrong place of execution, ' where worthy Will. Tyndall was unworthily put to ' death. Ye cannot match Bruſſels in England, but ' with London.

' At afternoon, I went about the town. I came ' to the friar Carmelites houſe, where Edward Bil- ' lick was warden; not preſent there, but being ' then at Colen, in another houſe of his, I heard ' their even-ſong: after I deſired to ſee the library. ' A friar was ſent to me, and led me into it. There ' was not one good book but Lyra. The friar was ' learned, ſpoke Latin readily, entered into Greek, ' having a very good wit, and a greater deſire to ' learning. He was gentle, and honeſt; and being a ' Papiſt, and knowing me to be a Proteſtant, yet ' ſhewed me all gentleneſs, and would needs give me ' a new book in verſe, titled *De Ruſticitate Morum*.

' I have ſeen the emperor twice, firſt ſick in his ' privy-chamber, at our firſt coming. He looked ' ſomewhat like the parſon of Epurſtone. He had a ' gown on of black taffety, and a furred night-cap on ' his head, Dutch-like, having a ſeam over the ' crown.——I ſaw him alſo on St. Andrew's day, ' ſitting at dinner at the feaſt of Golden Fleece; he ' and Ferdinando both under one cloth of eſtate; ' then the prince of Spain; all of one ſide, as the ' knights of the garter do in England; after orderly, ' Mr. Buſſie, maſter of the horſe, Duke d'Alva, a ' Spaniard, Dux Bavariæ, the prince of Piedmont, ' the count of Hardenburgh.

' I ſtood hard by the emperor's table. He had ' four courſes: he had ſod beef very good, roaſt mut- ' ton, baked hare: theſe be no ſervice in England. ' The emperor hath a good face, a conſtant look: he ' fed well of a capon. I have had a better from mine ' hoſteſs Barnes many times in my chamber. He and ' Ferdinando eat together very handſomely, carving ' themſelves where they liſt, without any curioſity. ' The emperor drank the beſt that ever I ſaw; he ' had his head in the glaſs five times as long as any of ' us, and never drank leſs than a good quart at once of ' Rheniſh wine. His chapel ſung wonderful cun- ' ningly all the dinner-while.

In another letter to the ſame gentleman, he ſays, ' England need fear no outward enemies. The luſty ' lads verily be in England. I have ſeen on a ſunday ' more likely men walking in St. Paul's church than ' I ever yet ſaw in Auguſta, where lieth an emperor ' with a garriſon, three kings, a queen, three princes, ' a number of dukes, &c.——I ſtudy Greek apace, ' but no other tongue; for I cannot. I truſt to ſee ' England ſhortly, God willing. I am ſorry that I ' hear no word from Ireland. Commendations to ' you all, becauſe I would leave out none; to Dr. ' Haddon, father Bucer, John Scarlett, mine hoſteſs ' Barnes.'

In another letter he ſays, ' If ye will know how I ' do, I think I ſhall forget all tongues but the Greek ' afore I come home. I have read to my lord ſince I ' came to Auguſta, whole Herodotus, five tragedies, ' three orations of Iſocrates, ſeventeen orations of ' Demoſthenes. For underſtanding of the Italian, I ' am meet well; but ſurely I drink Dutch better than ' I ſpeak Dutch. Tell Mr. D. Maden, I will drink ' with him now a carouſe of wine; and would to God ' he had a veſſel of Rheniſh wine, on condition that ' I paid 40s. for it: and perchance, when I come ' to Cambridge, I will ſo provide here, that every ' year I will have a little piece of Rheniſh wine ' (24).']

(24) Bennet's edition of Aſcham's Engliſh works, p. 369—383.

‡ with

with a few good authors, than from running through a multitude of books in a careleſs and deſultory manner, without judgment, and without ſelection.]

T.

ASCOUGH (a) (William), Doctor of Laws, and Biſhop of Saliſbury, in the reign of King Henry VI., was deſcended from a very ancient family, ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire (b) [A]. He was conſecrated to the aforementioned See in the chapel of Windſor, July 20, 1438: ſoon after which he was appointed the King's Confeſſor, this being the firſt inſtance of a Biſhop's diſcharging that office. The moſt remarkable particular concerning this Prelate was the tragical manner of his death. For after he had ſat near twelve years, the famous rebel Jack Cade and his followers, coming to Edington in Lincolnſhire, where the Biſhop then was, and being joined by ſeveral of that Prelate's own tenants, fell upon his carriages and plundered them, taking away no leſs than ten thouſand merks in money. The next day they aſſaulted the Biſhop himſelf, whilſt he was officiating at the altar, and dragged him away to a neighbouring hill, where they barbarouſly murdered him [B], by daſhing out his brains: then tearing his bloody ſhirt in pieces, to be preſerved in memory of the action, they left his body naked on the place. This maſſacre happened the 29th of June 1450 (c).

(a) Godwin, ubi infra, calls him *Aſcath.*

(b) Fuller's Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire, p. 156.

(c) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Saliſbur. *an.* 1438.

[A] *He was deſcended from a very ancient family, ſeated at Kelſey in Lincolnſhire.*] Dr. Fuller (1) collects this chiefly from Biſhop Aſcough's *arms*, which, he ſays, he ſaw at Saliſbury, 'With *alluſion* to the *arms* 'of that houſe, and ſome *epiſcopal addition.*' This *likeneſs*, the Doctor tells us, 'Is with him a better 'evidence, than a *ſameneſs* of *arms* would have been, 'knowing (as he expreſſes it) that the Clergy in that 'age delighted to diſguiſe their *coats* from their *pater-* 'nal bearing.'

(1) Worthies of England, Lincolnſhire, p. 156.

[B] *They barbarouſly murdered him.*] Upon the mention of this tragedy, Dr. Fuller (2) gives us the following diſtich:

Sic concuſſa cadit populari Mitra tumultu,
Protegat optamus nunc Diadema Deus.

By people's fury Mitre *thus caſt down,*
We pray henceforward God preſerve the Crown.

(2) Ubi ſupra, p. 157.

Biſhop Godwin is at a loſs for the reaſon of this cruel treatment. *Illi quam ob cauſam infenſi non habeo compertum* (3). But Dr. Fuller conceives it was 'Be- 'cauſe he was *learned*, *pious*, and *rich*, three *capital* 'crimes in a clergyman (4)'. The laſt-mentioned circumſtance is ſufficient to account for this horrid tragedy: for it is more than probable they murdered the good Biſhop, the better to ſecure the riches they had robbed him of.

B.

(3) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

['The tearing the bloody ſhirt to pieces to be pre- 'ſerved in memory of the action,' doth not carry the appearance of its having proceeded from avarice in the murderers. The circumſtance of the Tenants of the Biſhop having joined in the attack, ſeems to point out that he was, though perhaps unjuſtly, held a haughty or cruel maſter.]

K.

ASGILL (John), an ingenious and celebrated writer at the cloſe of the laſt, and the beginning of the preſent century, was deſcended of parents in a middle ſtate of life, who gave him a good education, and then ſent him to London, in order to acquire ſome knowledge of the Laws, whereby he might gain his living. The natural quickneſs of his genius, joined to the good fortune he had of rendering himſelf agreeable to the gentlemen of Lincoln's-Inn, proved the means of recommending him to Mr. Eyre, a very eminent Lawyer, and one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, in the reign of King William (a). Under ſo able a maſter, he quickly acquired a competent knowledge of the Laws, and was thereupon called to the bar, and was ſoon taken notice of, as a riſing man in his profeſſion (b). His talent for politics, and a very uncommon vein of wit and humour, which was diſcovered in two pamphlets he publiſhed in the year 1698, drew the eyes of the world ſtill more upon him, and acquired him the univerſal character of a perſon of extraordinary, though ſingular genius [A]. Dr. Barebone, the famous projector, who built the

(a) MS. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Aſgill by his intimate Friend, Mr. A. N. p. 1.

(b) See the Preface of an Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands.

[A] *Perſon of extraordinary, though ſingular genius.*] Of this he afforded the world ſufficient evidence, in the two pamphlets mentioned in the text. The firſt was entitled, *Several Aſſertions proved, in order to create another Species of Money than Gold and Silver*; the ſecond, *An Eſſay on a Regiſtry for Titles of Lands*, London, 1698, 12*mo*. This, though written in a humorous ſtile, muſt be allowed to be as ſenſible a piece as was perhaps ever written on that important ſubject, and is become extremely ſcarce. It may not therefore be amiſs to give the reader a ſpecimen, as well of this piece, as of our author's method of handling grave ſubjects in a merry way. His fourth aſſertion runs in theſe words, *That all objections made againſt ſuch regiſtry, on account of reducing the practice of the Law, are one good reaſon for it*, which he thus proves: 'The practice of the 'Law in civil cauſes is divided into three ſorts; firſt, 'the transferring of titles, which is called Convey- 'ancing. Secondly, the ſhewing forth and defending 'theſe titles in forms of Law, and this is called Plead- 'ing. Thirdly, the arguing upon theſe conveyances 'and pleadings (when they come in conteſt) before 'the Judges, and this is called, Practice at the bar. 'So that the practice of the two latter doth ariſe 'from the errors or incertainties of the former. Were 'the titles of lands, once made certain (which they 'may be by a regiſtry, and no otherwiſe), I know what 'I think of the future gains of the Law: the profit of 'the Law ariſes from the incertainty of property, and 'therefore as property is more reduced to a certainty, 'the profit of the Law muſt be reduced with it, the 'fall of one muſt be the riſing of the other. Actions 'of ſlander and battery, and cauſes on the crown ſide, 'would ſcarce find ſome of the circuiteers periwigs, 'and yet (if we obſerve evidence) they ſtand obliged 'to diſputes in titles for many of theſe. Thief and 'whore, kick and cuff, are very often the effect of 'forcible entries, treſpaſſes, and ſerving of proceſs, in 'which the title comes frequently in queſtion. But 'the reducing this part of the practice of the Law, are 'things not ſeen as yet. The *proximus ardet* will fall 'upon the conveyancers, and that not by altering the 'forms of legal conveyances, or taking them out of 'their hands, or putting any ſtop to the dealing in 'lands (for that will be increaſed), but by expoſing 'their manner of practice in this conveyancing part of 'the Law. For as it was numbered among the ſins 'of one of the Kings of Iſrael, that he made prieſts of 'the meaneſt of the people; ſo it is the misfortune of 'the people of England, that conveyancers are fre- 'quently made out of old attornies, or noblemens 'leaſe-makers, fumpt up in bar gowns. Two quali- 'fications are neceſſary to a compleat conveyancer. 'Firſt, that he be incapable of diſpatching buſineſs ſo 'faſt as he ſhould; ſecondly, that he doth not diſpatch 'it ſo faſt as he can. Not to ſpeak of bantering their 'clients with their ſeeming care and caution in delay- 'ing their buſineſs, ſhewing great trunks of old writ-

the new ſquare in Lincoln's-Inn, and who, by a multitude of ſchemes, had brought his affairs into a very perplexed ſituation, made choice of Mr. Aſgill, firſt for his friend and counſel, and afterwards for his executor, for a very odd reaſon (*c*), of which the reader may be informed in the note [*B*]. His own affairs were a good deal embarraſſed before he took upon him this truſt, which ſerved to increaſe his difficulties not a little; ſo that upon the act for reſuming forfeited eſtates in Ireland, paſſing in the year 1699, and appointing Commiſſioners to hear and determine claims, he reſolved to go over into that iſland (*d*). Before his departure he publiſhed that ſtrange treatiſe on *The Poſſibility of avoiding Death*, which made him ſo well known to the world, and which will hinder his being ever forgotten. A treatiſe ſo amazing as to its matter, and dreſſed out in ſuch an unuſual manner, that in all probability it will be ever read, though never believed (*e*) [*C*]. On his arrival in Ireland, the favour of the Commiſſioners, and Mr. Aſgill's own merit, got

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, p. 1.

(*d*) See Mr. Aſgill's Defence on his expulſion, p. 39.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 40, 41.

ings in their chamber, calling to their clerks (before them) for one Lord's ſettlement, and another Lady's jointure, to tell what great clients they have: and when they come to be paid, they reckon their fees by longitude and latitude. I have ſeen an original mortgage of one ſkin bred up by a ſcrivener (in ſix years) to one-and-twenty, by aſſigning it every year, and adding one ſkin to every aſſignment, by recitals and covenants. As cows after three years old have one wrinkle added to each horn for every year after, which ſhews their age; and I am informed, that one deed of ſixty ſkins, was heaved out of a conveyancer's office the other day. At this rate, in a little time, the clients muſt drive their deeds out of their lawyers chambers in wheel-barrows. Theſe aſſignments, and re-aſſignments of ſecurities, have been a pretty ſort of perquiſites, eſpecially if they have but an old judgment or ſtatute kept on foot, theſe are certain annual incomes. I knew two Serjeants at Law (uſurers) made it their common practice every long vacation, to ſwop ſecurities with one another, to make their mortgagees pay for the aſſignments; and (doing this without advice of counſel) they once merged an old term, and thereby ſpoiled their title to ſecure their fees; which (as to them) anſwers the character given of theſe graduates by a foreign hiſtorian, *Eſt in Regno Angliæ Genus Hominum doctorum indoctiſſimum communiter vocat, The learned Serjeants at Law:* Now I cannot think but theſe conveyancers and aſſigners would be aſhamed to produce ſuch things to a regiſtry; and that therefore they muſt either abbreviate their conveyances, or loſe their practice. But whether this regiſtry will make theſe reductions: 1. Of the length of conveyances. 2. The incertainties of titles: and, 3. By conſequence, the other practice in the Law, I cannot tell: however, I hope it, and believe ſome of them fear it. But if the cries of Monks and Friars had been regarded, we had never heard of the diſſolution of monaſteries; and if the clamours of Maſters of Requeſt, Clerks, and Eſcheators, had prevailed, the Court of Wards and Liveries had been ſtanding to this day; and yet, perhaps, moſt of theſe had either purchaſed their places, or were bred up to that part of the Law only (1).' This excellent pamphlet is, amongſt many other curious pieces, preſerved in the large collection of State Tracts in the reign of King William III. (2), where we alſo find another treatiſe in anſwer to ſome objections made to ſuch regiſtry, which by the ſtile ſhould ſeem to be Mr. Aſgill's alſo, only his name is not prefixed, as his manner was to every thing he publiſhed (3).

(1) Eſſay on a Regiſtry for titles of Lands, p. 18.

(2) Vol. ii. p. 693.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 704.

[*B*] *Of which the reader may be informed in the note.*] Dr. Barebone was not only a ſchemiſt, but a humouriſt, which the following ſtory will illuſtrate. He had drawn a gentleman in the city into a building project there, by which he loſt a conſiderable ſum of money. To make him amends, he engaged him in another ſcheme of building in the fields, where he buried the remainder of his fortune. Whether the gentleman had really any foul play, or whether his misfortunes rendered him ſuſpicious, ſo it was, that meeting Barebone in Leiceſter-Fields, he clapt his hand upon his ſword, and bid him draw, *Draw*, ſaid the Doctor calmly, *why, where would you have me draw you, I have already drawn you from one end of the town to the other* (4). Such was the man who fixed upon Mr. Aſgill for his executor, and the ſole cauſe he aſſigned for it was, *That he ſhould never pay his debts.* As ſoon therefore as the teſtator was dead, Mr. Aſgill ſummoned his creditors to Lincoln's-Inn Hall, where he produced the Will, and to avoid drawing things into length, or feeding them with falſe expectations, he made them a very laconick ſpeech. *You have heard*, gentlemen, *the* Doctor's *teſtament, and I will religiouſly fulfil the will of the dead.* The gentleman who furniſhed theſe memoirs rightly obſerves, that the Doctor and the Counſellor reſembled each other ſtrongly, and that there was not, perhaps, ſuch another pair in the three kingdoms. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that his being Dr. Barebone's executor, gave him an intereſt in the borough of Bramber, for which he ſate as Burgeſs in ſeveral Parliaments (5).

(4) Britiſh Journal, No. 39.

(5) Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Aſgill, p. 1.

[*C*] *It will be ever read, though never believed.*] The title of this treatiſe was, *An Argument, proving, That according to the Covenant of eternal Life revealed in the Scriptures, Man may be tranſlated from hence into that eternal Life, without paſſing through Death, although the Human Nature of Chriſt himſelf, could not be thus tranſlated till he had paſſed through Death.* It was printed originally in the year 1700, and has been privately reprinted ſeveral years ſince. To give the reader any notion of this piece, in any other than its author's words is impoſſible. Thus then he ſpeaks of it himſelf: 'To them that knew not the reaſon, it looked like a whim, for the man in the Goſpel to walk about the ſtreets with his bed upon his back on the Sabbath-day, while the reſt of the people were at their devotion, and perhaps it may ſeem more odd in me, to bolt out an argument in Divinity (as a bone of contention) into the world, at a time when the reſt of mankind are ſo deeply engaged in ſecular affairs. But he that regardeth the wind will never ſow; and he that waiteth for times and ſeaſons will never do buſineſs. And as that ſeeming whimſical man ſaid to them that reproved him, He that made me whole, the ſame ſaid unto me, take up thy bed and walk: ſo ſay I to them that affront me, He that revealed this unto me, the ſame bad me tell it abroad, as a watch-word to be given out from one to another (every man to his fellow) as faſt as he receives it: Let him that heareth, ſay, come! And having thus delivered my part of the meſſage, I look upon myſelf to have no more to do with it afterwards than you have. But hereby I ſhall know, whether this doctrine be mine or no. If it be mine, it will ſink and fall and die, but if it be his, that I think it is, it will kindle itſelf like a firebrand from one to another, till it hath ſet the world in arms againſt death. And having thus left the deciſion of the truth of it to the ſucceſs, I begin to feel myſelf more eaſy under it. And as the four leprous men ſaid to one another in the gate of Samaria; if we ſit here we are ſure to die with famine, and if we go into the camp of the Syrians, we can but die by the ſword: ſo I have ſaid to myſelf, if I ſubmit to death, I am ſure to die, and if I oppoſe it, I can but be killed and die. And ſhould I be baffled in this eſſay, I can loſe nothing by it, but that little credit with the world which I value not, in compariſon of this attempt. And as thoſe four deſperate men venturing themſelves upon this reſolution, did thereupon find, that they had been before more afraid than hurt; ſo in making this ſally againſt death, methinks I have diſcovered it to be rather a bugbear than an enemy. And therefore as they having filled themſelves with plunder, thought it their duty to go, and tell the news to them that were ready to periſh: So I cannot ſatisfy myſelf to eat my morſel alone, without communicating to them, who I know with myſelf muſt, by reaſon of death, be all their life-time ſubject to bondage. And as their glad tidings of plenty was nevertheleſs welcome to the King and people of Iſrael, for being brought to them by men poor and miſerable;

got him into excellent practice. The whole nation almoſt was then engaged in law-ſuits, and among theſe, there were few conſiderable ones in which Mr. Aſgill was not retained on one ſide or other; ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time, he became maſter of a conſiderable fortune, which, however, inſtead of making him happy, became his ruin. He purchaſed a large eſtate for the life of Nicholas Brown, Eſq; commonly called Lord Viſcount Kenmare (*f*), having been ſo created by King James II. This eſtate, which was worth about three thouſand five hundred pounds a year, he bought for a very ſmall conſideration, in truſt, as it was ſuggeſted, for the family of that unfortunate Lord. The intereſt this eſtate gave him, occaſioned Mr. Aſgill's being elected a member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, an honour which he did not long enjoy. He was in Munſter when the ſeſſions began, and before he could get to Dublin, he was informed, that, upon a complaint, the Houſe had voted his book to be a blaſphemous libel, and had ordered it to be burnt: however, he ventured to take his ſeat in the Houſe, where he ſat juſt four days, when he was expelled for his performance (*g*). We have an account of this matter given by himſelf, which is a very fair one, and will certainly divert the reader [*D*]. His affairs made him very uneaſy in Ireland, where he involved himſelf in various ſuits, with the unfortunate Lord Kenmare's family, notwithſtanding he married his daughter, a lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty and merit, and for whom Mr. Aſgill had a moſt tender affection (*h*). In order to deliver himſelf from theſe troubles, he diſpoſed of part of his intereſt, which created freſh diſputes, and a new train of law-ſuits. His expulſion ſeems to have been in the year 1703, and in 1705 he returned into England, where he was choſen a member for the borough of Bramber in the county of Suſſex, and ſat without diſpute or interruption for ſeveral years (*i*). But in an interval of privilege in 1707, being taken in execution at the ſuit of Mr. Holland, he was committed to the Fleet. The Houſes meeting in November, Mr. Aſgill applied, and on the ſixteenth of December he was demanded out of cuſtody by a Serjeant at Arms with the mace, and the next day took his ſeat in the Houſe. Between his application and his diſcharge, complaint was made to the Houſe, of the Treatiſe ſo often mentioned, and a Committee was appointed to

(*f*) MS. Memoirs of Mr. Aſgill, p. 3. Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

(*g*) Defence on his expulſion, p. 41.

(*h*) See P. S. to his Defence, p. 60.

(*i*) See the Liſt of this Parliament at the end of the Hiſtory of Europe for 1705.

'miſerable; ſo if my news be true in itſelf, why 'ſhould it fare the worſe for being told by the greateſt 'of ſinners? And perhaps this qualifies me to be the 'meſſenger, leſt one more holy ſhould ſeem to be ho'noured with it for his own perſonal ſanctity. I re'member a ſudden retort once given me by a Lady '(to whom I excuſed this my emulation by the exam'ple of Enoch), but you are not ſo good as he was; 'for Enoch walked with God. And this might have 'puzzled me, had not Paul (in his liſt of worthies) 'counted upon the tranſlation of Enoch, as done by 'faith: By faith Enoch was tranſlated, that he ſhould 'not ſee death. Why then, if I have as good a faith 'for this purpoſe as he had, I am in this point *(quoad 'hoc)* as good a man as he was, though I fall ſhort of 'him, in all his other qualities. Nor is it to be ex'pected, that any aſſembly of divines ſhould be em'ployed in ſuch a buſineſs as this. They incloſe them'ſelves within the pale of their own Church, and who'ever breaks through that fence, is proſecuted as a 'treſpaſſer upon their juriſdiction. And thus the Jew'iſh prieſts excommunicated a layman for teaching 'them religion, Thou waſt altogether born in ſin, and 'doſt thou teach us? and they caſt him out. But he 'that had opened his eyes took him in. And ſuch an 'exchange I ſhould reckon no great misfortune. But 'is it not a ſhame, that this Enoch in the beginning 'of time, ſo long before the receipt of the promiſe, 'ſhould attain to that faith in Chriſt, which we, that 'have ſeen him crucified before our eyes, think a ſin 'to offer at? But having been tempted to commit this 'ſin (like a true mother child of my grand parent 'Eve), I would tempt my friends to do ſo too. 'And all I aſk of them is this; having abſtracted the 'ſtudy of ſeven years recluſe into leſs than two hours 'reading, I only deſire the peruſal of it at a time of 'leiſure, when men and women deſign to be ſerious, 'and think moſt for themſelves. And then I flatter 'myſelf, that they will find it not the moſt unpleaſant 'hour that ever they ſpent in their life. For this I 'know, that nothing is more pleaſant to us than 'news; and what I have ſaid, was never ſaid by 'man before. And this I know, that (notwith'ſtanding the defection of our natures) nothing is 'more pleaſant to man than truth. And what I 'have ſaid is true. And a truth that all the gain'ſayers ſhall not be able to reſiſt, though it be in 'contradiction to the moſt received truth in the world, 'That all men muſt die (6).' It is ſcarcely to be conceived how great a noiſe this ſmall tract raiſed, and how general an outcry was made againſt its author. The Rev. Dr. Sacheverell mentioned it among other blaſphemous writings, which induced him to think the Church in danger (7). The poets too were very hard upon Mr. Aſgill; and what is not a little ſtrange, almoſt all the world concluded that Mr. Aſgill muſt be an Atheiſt, becauſe he had taken ſo much pains about religion. The truth ſeems to be, that he was a violent Enthuſiaſt, and having ſtudied the Scriptures in his mother tongue, and without conſulting any commentators, in conſequence of which he frequently miſtook their meaning; this led him to believe ſo much, that thoſe who believed leſs, in order to vindicate themſelves, would needs have it, that he did not believe at all. To ſupport what has been ſaid, as well as to gratify the curioſity of the reader, it will be neceſſary to add, in other notes, a ſpecimen or two of that wit, which Mr. Aſgill's book occaſioned.

(6) Preface to the Argument, &c. by Mr. Aſgill.

(7) See Dr. Sacheverell's Trial, p. 295.

[*D*] *Will certainly divert the reader.*] This we find in a tract of the author's, publiſhed in the year 1712. 'Having,' ſays he, 'condemned and executed 'the book without hearing me, there was nothing 'left between that, and my expulſion, but to prove 'me the author; which no one can think I intend'ed to diſown, when I had publiſhed it with my 'name to it. Yet, as it happened, I had then an 'opportunity to put them upon the proof of it. 'The Printer having ſold off his firſt edition, broke 'the preſs. And the demands for more putting him 'upon a ſecond, he committed in that, above thirty '*errata's* from the firſt. And my accuſer in Ireland, '(who, I hear, is ſince promoted to be Secretary to the 'French prophets) having one of this ſecond edition 'in his hand, demanded of me a categorical anſwer, 'whether I was the author? To which I replied, that 'I was author of a treatiſe written upon that argu'ment; but that if I muſt be categorical, what he 'then ſhewed me, was not a print from my copy. 'And therefore, ſince he had accuſed me of (a crime 'higher than high-treaſon) blaſphemy; I did demand 'it, as the juſtice of the houſe, that they would not 'admit any leſs evidence to convict me of this crime, 'than if I ſtood indicted of high-treaſon. Upon this, 'up ſtood two volunteer evidence. The firſt a gentle'man of the Law, who at my coming to Ireland '(about three years before) had invited me to dine 'with him at his own houſe (where I never was either 'before or after). And his evidence was, That 'there was then ſome jocular diſcourſe about a book. 'The other was a member (with whom I had a ſuit of 'law) and his evidence was, That I had turned about 'upon my heel, and ſaid I had wrote a book, and did 'not care who knew it. And upon this evidence, I 'was expelled that houſe for blaſphemy (8).'

(8) Defence on his expulſion, p. 42, 43.

examine

examine it. Of this Committee, Edward Harley, Eſq; was Chairman, who made a report, That the book contained ſeveral blaſphemous expreſſions, and ſeemed to be intended to expoſe the Scriptures. Thurſday the eighteenth of September, 1707, was appointed for him to make his defence, which he did with infinite wit and ſpirit; but inaſmuch as he ſtill continued to maintain the aſſertions he had laid down in that Treatiſe, he was expelled (*k*) [*E*]. Many have ſurmiſed, and indeed Mr. Aſgill himſelf was of opinion, that though his book was made the handle, yet his circumſtances were the true cauſe of his being thus ſeverely treated. It was indeed the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt Parliament of Great Britain, and the memoirs I have ſuggeſt, that ſeveral of the North Britiſh members were ſcandalized at a perſon's ſitting in the Houſe, and diſpoſing of other folk's property, who, by his lying in priſon, had viſibly no property of his own (*l*). Thenceforward Mr. Aſgill's affairs grew worſe and worſe. He retired firſt to the Mint, and then became a priſoner in the King's-Bench, removed himſelf thence to the Fleet, and in the rules of one or other of theſe priſons continued thirty years, during which time he publiſhed a multitude of ſmall political pamphlets, which were moſt of them well received [*F*]. He alſo drew bills and anſwers, and did other buſineſs in his profeſſion with great dexterity. He had ſomething extremely ſingular in his perſon, his air, his dreſs, and his manner of ſpeaking. His converſation was inexpreſſibly lively and entertaining, and his vivacity continued, in ſpite of old age and infirmities, to the laſt. He had a very unaccountable contempt for money, parting with it very readily on all occaſions, though he acquired it hardly. The death of his wife affected him more than all the reſt of his misfortunes (*m*) [*G*]. But even the ſenſe of this he wore off by degrees, and continued a boon

(*k*) See his Defence on his expulſion, p. 37.

(*l*) MS. Memoirs, &c. p. 5. Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399.

(*m*) Defence on his expulſion, p. 60.

[*E*] *He was expelled.*] Out of the long defence of Mr. Aſgill, wherein he accounts for this notion coming into his head, his writing a treatiſe to ſupport it, and his publiſhing that treatiſe when it was written, it will be neceſſary to ſelect only one paſſage, becauſe therein we have his anſwer to the charge brought againſt him, and the moſt material evidence to juſtify that character which we have given of him. 'I find,' ſays he, 'the report of the Committee is not levelled at 'the argument itſelf which I have advanced; nor yet 'againſt the treatiſe I have publiſhed to prove it: But 'againſt ſome expreſſions I have uſed in that proof, 'and which I intend to give particular anſwers to. 'But there is ſomething elſe laid to my charge (as my 'deſign in publiſhing that argument) of higher con'cern to me, than any expreſſions in the treatiſe, or 'any cenſure that can fall on me for it. As if I had 'wrote it with a malicious intention to expoſe the 'Scriptures as falſe, becauſe they ſeemed to contain 'what I have aſſerted. And that therefore, if that aſ'ſertion did not hold true, the Scripture muſt be falſe. 'Now, whether this was my intention or no, there is 'but one witneſs in heaven or earth can prove, and 'that is he that made me, and in whoſe preſence I 'now ſtand; and who is able to ſtrike me dead in 'my place. And to him I now appeal, for the 'truth of what I proteſt againſt: That I never did 'write or publiſh that Argument or Treatiſe upon it, 'with any intention to expoſe the Scriptures. But, 'on the contrary (though I was aware that I might 'be liable to that cenſure, and which I knew not 'how to avoid), I did both write and publiſh it, 'under a firm belief of the truth of the Scriptures: 'And with a belief (under that), that what I have 'aſſerted in that Argument is within that truth. 'And if it be not, then I am miſtaken in my Ar'gument, and the Scripture remains true: Let God 'be true, and every man a liar. And having made 'this proteſtation, I am not much concerned, whe'ther I am believed in it or no. I had rather tell 'a truth, than be believed in a lie at any time. 'But having made this proteſt againſt an accuſation, 'greater than the charge in the report, it is time 'for me to come to the report itſelf. But by what 'I apprehend from the nature of the exceptions 'thereby taken, I may firſt offer one general anſwer 'to moſt, if not all, of them, before I deſcend to 'particulars. I do own, that, in that Treatiſe (the 'ſubject whereof relates to eternal ſalvation), I have 'uſed ſome familiar expreſſions of common things, 'which I did with intent to be ſooner read, and 'more readily underſtood: All men in the world 'being (in this thing) like children, moſt affected 'with what is ſpoken in their own dialect. From 'whence any one of our Saviour's ſhort parables, 'in comparing the kingdom of God to ſmall and 'trivial things, hath proved more inſtructive in re'ligion and morality, than all the works and ora'tions of the learned philoſophers (9).' To this let us add, an account of his expulſion from an impartial writer. There was, ſays he, one Mr. John Aſgill, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who, at the opening of this ſeſſion of Parliament, was unhappily laid under execution in the Fleet priſon; and his adverſary Mr. Holland, a Staffordſhire gentleman, being apprehenſive leſt he might plead his privilege, he petitioned the Houſe, that he might not be allowed it, till he had made juſt ſatisfaction for the debt he owed him. Now the Houſe having appointed a Committee to examine this affair, and Mr. Aſgill having ſome years before publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, *An Argument*, &c. this, inſtead of the matter of privilege, was wiſely made a handle to expel him the Houſe; which, when Mr. Aſgill, who was then in the Houſe, ſaw would unavoidably befal him, he went out, and by a ſtratagem made his eſcape from thoſe that lay in wait for him at the door (10).

(9) *Ibid.* p. 44, 45.

(10) Compleat Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 399, 400.

[*F*] *Which were moſt of them well received.*] It would be a very difficult thing, to attempt making an exact catalogue of Mr. Aſgill's writings, ſince there were few public diſputes after his expulſion, in which he did not take a ſhare. The moſt conſiderable of his works, however, which have not been already taken notice of, are theſe, *De Jure Divino, or, an Aſſertion, That the Title of the Houſe of Hanover to the Succeſſion of the Britiſh Monarchy (on failure of Iſſue of her preſent Majeſty) is a Title hereditary and of divine Inſtitution*, 1710, 8vo. *Mr. Aſgill's Defence on his Expulſion, to which are added an Introduction and Poſtſcript*, 1712, 8vo. Of the firſt pamphlet there were ſeveral editions: however, not long after it was publiſhed, he ſent abroad another treatiſe, under the title of, *Mr. Aſgill's Apology for an Omiſſion in his late Publication, in which are contained Summaries of all the Acts made for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Succeſſion*, for which Mr. Aſgill was a ſtrenuous advocate. Another pamphlet of his was, *The Pretender's Declaration abſtracted from Two anonymous Pamphlets: The one entitled, Jus Sacrum; the other, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George, with Memoirs of Two other Chevaliers in the Reign of Henry* VII., 1713, 8vo. *The Succeſſion of the Houſe of Hanover vindicated, againſt the Pretender's ſecond Declaration in* folio, entitled, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England aſſerted*, &c. 1714, 8vo. This was in anſwer to Mr. Bedford's famous book, and indeed the beſt anſwer it ever had; for Mr. Aſgill was a good lawyer, and knew better what he was about than that Rev. Divine, or any of his aſſiſtants. *The Pretender's Declaration from Plombiers*, 1714, *engliſhed, with a Poſtſcript before it, in relation to Dr. Leſley's Letter ſent after it*, 1715, 8vo. Beſides theſe he wrote *An Eſſay for the Preſs. The Metamorphoſes of Man. Aſgill againſt Wolſton*, and many other things.

[*G*] *The death of his wife afflicted him more than all his misfortunes.*] The truth of this cannot be doubted,

a boon companion till within a few weeks before his death, which happened in the rules of the King's-Bench, ſome time in November 1738, when he was upwards of fourſcore (*n*); or, according to ſome accounts, near one hundred years of age (*o*). E.

(*n*) MS. Memoirs, p. 11.

(*o*) Sir William Muſgrave's MS. Collections and Anecdotes.

if we will take his own word for it. In the poſtſcript to his defence he writes thus: 'Under this confinement God hath been alſo pleaſed to take away the deſire of mine eyes with a ſtroke, which hath (however) drowned all my other troubles at once (for the leſs are merged in the greater). *Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus ſupereminet omnes.* And ſince I have mentioned her, I'll relate this of her. She having been educated a Proteſtant of the Church of England, by a Lady her grandmother (her immediate parents, and other relations being Roman Catholics), an honeſt gentleman of that perſuaſion, who knew her family, preſented her (while ſhe was my fellow-priſoner) with a large folio volume (being the Hiſtory of the Saints canonized in that Church), for her reading; with intention (as I found) to incline her that way. With which (delighting in reading) ſhe entertained herſelf till ſhe had gone through it. And ſome time after that ſhe told me, that ſhe had before ſome thoughts towards that religion; but that the reading that hiſtory had confirmed her againſt it. And in truth, were I to preſcribe an antidote againſt Popery, I can't think of a better, than to have that legend reprinted, and read in Proteſtant churches. And yet ſhe would never read the book I was expelled for, till after my laſt expulſion. But then reading it through, told me ſhe was reconciled to the reaſons of it, though ſhe could not ſay ſhe believed it. However, ſhe ſaid ſomething of her own thoughts with it, that hath given me the ſatisfaction that ſhe is dead in Chriſt, and thereby ſure of her part in the firſt reſurrection: The dead in Chriſt ſhall ariſe firſt. And this *Pars deceſſa mei* leaving me half dead (while ſhe remains in the grave) hath ſince drawn me (in diving after her) into a nearer view, and more familiar (though more unuſual) thoughts of that firſt reſurrection, than ever I had before (13)' This Lady, for whom Mr. Aſgill expreſſes ſo much tenderneſs and reſpect, is ſaid to have broke her heart on account of the misfortunes of her family, which were chiefly owing to her huſband's management.

(13) Defence on his expulſion, p. 60.

[Though Mr. Aſgill was an ingenious man, the character given of him, in the preceding article, is carried too high. It is by no means true, that his Treatiſe on *the Poſſibility of avoiding Death* will, in all probability, be for ever read; for it ſeems, at preſent, to be almoſt ſunk into oblivion: and I know, from experience, that the peruſal of this abſurd and fantaſtical performance (the novelty of its doctrine being now over), is tedious and diſagreeable. It is no otherwiſe deſerving of notice, than as it ſhews to what lengths a perſon may be led by enthuſiaſm. That Mr. Aſgill was an Enthuſiaſt, and not an unbeliever, is evident from his ſolemn declarations, inſerted in the note [*E*]. The buſtle that was made about his writings, and the perſecutions raiſed againſt him, are much to the diſhonour of the times in which he lived. If his deſign was unfavourable to Revelation, he was capable of being eaſily confuted. As a ſincere Enthuſiaſt, he ought only to have excited contempt or pity. It was, therefore, ridiculous to ſee the Houſes of Commons, in Ireland and England, employed on ſo inſignificant an object. It is happy that the good ſenſe of the preſent age thinks the publications, whether of Infidels or Enthuſiaſts, worthy of no other regard than what may be paid to them by individuals, with a view of refuting them.] K.

ASHLEY (ROBERT), a Wiltſhire gentleman (*a*), deſcended from the family of that name reſiding at Naſhhill in that county, was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in the year 1580, being then fifteen years of age. From the univerſity he removed to the Middle-Temple, where he was called to the dignity of Barriſter at Law. After ſome time, he travelled into Holland, France, &c. [*A*], converſing with the learned, and frequenting the public libraries. Being returned into England, he lived many years in the Middle-Temple, and honoured the commonwealth of learning with ſeveral of his lucubrations. He died in a good old age, the beginning of October, 1641, and was buried in the Temple-Church, the fourth day of the ſame month. He gave ſeveral books to that Society. We ſhall mention ſome of his works in the remark [*B*]. B.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 11, 12.

[*A*] *He travelled into Holland, France, &c.*] Mr. Wood tells us, that Mr. Aſhley, 'finding the practice thereof *(the Law)*, to have ebbs and tides, applied himſelf to the learning of the languages of our neighbours, the French, Dutch, Spaniard, and Italian; to the end that he might be partaker of the wiſdom of thoſe nations, having been many years of this opinion, that *as no one ſoil or territory yieldeth all fruits alike, ſo no one climate or region affordeth all kind of knowledge in full meaſure* (1).' The ſame author tells us, Mr. Aſhley returned from his travels, *a very knowing and complete gentleman* (2).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 11.
(2) *Ibid.*

[*B*] *We ſhall mention ſome of his works.*] I. *A Relation of the Kingdom of Cochin-China, containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Country.* London, 1633, 4to. This book is chiefly, if not entirely, taken from an Italian relation (then lately preſented to the Pope) of Chriſtopher Barri, who lived ſeveral years in that country. II. A tranſlation from *French* into *Latin verſe* of Du-Bartas's Urania, *or Heavenly Muſe*; in about two ſheets *quarto*, dedicated to Sir Henry Unton of Wadley. London, 1589. III. A tranſlation from *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh* of *Almanſor, the learned and victorious King that conquered Spain; his Life and Death.* London, 1627, quarto. It was printed in Spaniſh at Saragoſſa, 1603, from an Arabian copy remaining in the Eſcurial; where, our author ſays, he once ſaw *a glorious golden library of Arabian books.* IV. A Tranſlation from *Italian* into *Engliſh* of *Il Davide perſeguitate*; i. e. *David perſecuted.* London, 1637. Written originally by the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi. Mr. Wood tells us, that part of the impreſſion of this book had a new title put to it bearing date 1650, with the picture before it of King Charles I., playing on a harp, like King David, purpoſely to carry off the remaining copies; *ſuch* (ſays that author) *are the uſual ſhifts which Booksellers uſe* (3).

(3) *Ibid.* & col. 12.

ASHMOLE (ELIAS), an eminent Philoſopher, Chemiſt, and Antiquary, of the laſt century, and founder of the noble Muſæum at Oxford, which ſtill bears his name (*a*). He was the only ſon of Mr. Simon Aſhmole, of the city of Litchfield, in Staffordſhire, Sadler, by Anne, the daughter of Mr. Anthony Boyer, of Coventry, in Warwickſhire, Woollen-Draper (*b*). He was born May 23, 1617, a little after three in the morning, as himſelf informs us, with other particulars relating to his tender years, which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembering (*c*) [*A*]. It happened that his mother's ſiſter was married

(*a*) Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; drawn up by himſelf, by way of Diary, publiſhed by Charles Barman, Eſq; 1717, 12*mo*. The article of ASHMOLE, in Collier's Hiſtorical Dictionary, Vol. iii. in the ſecond Alphabet. Plot's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire.

(*b*) Diary, p. 1. Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 886.
(*c*) Diary, p. 1, 2, 3. Lilly's Nativities, MS. p. 95.

[*A*] *Which for their ſingularity he thought worth remembering.*] As this gentleman had a very ſtrong turn to Aſtrology, he was ſingularly nice in his dates, and I am apt to think, the minuteneſs of ſuch remarks in many old diaries is owing to the ſame cauſe. The following circumſtances from our author's diary, are ſuch as

married to James Paget, Esq; Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, and his second son Thomas being extremely fond of his cousin Ashmole, proved the cause of his future preferment, which our author gratefully recorded both in his memory and diary (*d*). On this gentleman's motion he was taught Music as well as Grammar, and having a genius thereto, succeeded so well, as to become a Chorister in the cathedral at Litchfield. When he had attained the age of sixteen, young Mr. Ashmole was sent for up to London, and taken into Baron Paget's family (*e*). In the month of June, 1634, he lost his father, of whom he has left us a very modest and candid character [*B*]. He continued for some years after in his dependance on the Paget family, during which time he made a considerable progress in the Law, and spent his leisure hours in perfecting himself in Music and other genteel accomplishments (*f*). In the year 1638, he settled himself in the world, and on the twenty-seventh of March, married Eleanor, daughter of Mr. Peter Manwaring, of Smallwood, in the county Palatine of Chester, and in Michaelmas term the same year, became a Solicitor in Chancery (*g*). On the eleventh of February, 1641, he was sworn an Attorney of the Court of Common Pleas (*h*), and on the fifth of December, in the same year, he lost his wife, who died suddenly, and of whom he has left us a very natural and affectionate memorial [*C*]. The troubles coming on, he retired from London, agreeable to his principles, being always a zealous and steady Loyalist, and on the ninth of May, 1645, he became one of the gentlemen of the ordnance in the garrison at Oxford (*i*), from whence he removed to Worcester, where he was Commissioner, Receiver, and Register of the Excise, became soon after Captain in the Lord Ashley's regiment, and Comptroller of the ordnance (*k*). In the midst of all this business he was far from neglecting his studies. On the contrary, having entered himself of Brazen-Nose-college, in Oxford, he applied himself vigorously to the sciences, but more particularly to Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and Astronomy; and his intimate acquaintance with Mr., afterwards Sir George Wharton, gave him a turn to Astrology, which was in those days in greater credit than now (*l*). In the month of July, 1646, he lost his mother, who had always been a very kind parent to him, and for whom he had a very pious regard, as appears by the fair account he has given of her in his diary [*D*]. On the sixteenth of October the same year, he was elected a brother of the ancient and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons (*m*), which he looked upon

(*d*) Page 3.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 886.

(*f*) Memoirs of his life prefixed to his Antiquities of Berkshire, p. 111.

(*g*) Diary, p. 6.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(*i*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii col. 836, where he says they were five. Diary, p. 11. Mr. Ashmole says there were but four.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 5. Diary, p. 14.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 886. Diary, p. 11.

(*m*) Memoirs, p. 6. Diary, p. 15, 16.

as were collected for rectifying the scheme of his nativity when he first studied that art; and I am inclined to believe, that he then began to keep so exact an account of his actions. 'I was born the 23d of May, '1617 (and as my dear and good mother hath often 'told me), near half an hour after three o'clock in the 'morning. When I rectified my nativity, *An.* 1647, I 'found it to be eight hours and 25 minutes, 49 seconds, 'A. M. the quarter 38 of ♊ ascending. But upon 'Mr. Lilly's rectification thereof, *Anno* 1667, he 'makes the quarter 36 ascending. I was baptised the '2d of June following, at St. Mary's church in Litch-'field; my Godfathers were Mr. Christopher Baxter, 'one of the Proctors of the Bishop's Court, and Mr. 'Thomas Offey, Sacrist of the cathedral church. Be-'fore I was carried to church, it was agreed my name 'should be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But 'when the minister had name the child, my godfather 'Offey answered Elias, at which his partners wonder-'ed, and being (at their return home) asked why he so 'called me, he could render no account, but that it 'came suddenly into his mind by a more than ordi-'nary impulse of spirit. My godmother's name was 'Mrs. Bridges. When I was about a year old, and sat 'by the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right side of 'my forehead; it resting upon the iron bar of the 'grate (of which a scar always remained), but my 'good mother being near, presently took me up and 'applied something for the cure. I had the small-pox '(yet but few), as also the swine-pox and measles, 'when I was young, but know not the certain time of 'either. Being about eight or ten years old (but the 'year I cannot remember), my mother and I were in-'vited to my cousin Blackburn's in Longparish: at 'that time they were building a barn, and I getting 'up by ladders, to the top thereof, fell down; in 'which fall the inside of my right knee struck against 'the edge of a great beam, which thereby received a 'great triangular gash, of which I lay a long time 'before I was cured (1).'

(1) Ashmole's Diary, p. 2, 3.

[*B*] *A very modest and candid character.*] It is generally allowed our author penned his diary for private use, and never intended it for public inspection. But why so? Did he set down his father and mother's names for fear he should forget them? Or is it not more probable, that he committed these particulars to writing, that they might be preserved and read? I therefore commend him for speaking so of his father, as to render his best qualities conspicuous, at the same time he throws a decent veil of obscurity over the rest: '1634 my father died about eleven o'clock before 'noon: Mr. Simon Martin's letter, who gave me 'notice of his death, bears date the 22d of June. 'My father was born upon a Whitsunday in the morn-'ing, he was bred up by his father to his trade. Yet 'when he came to man's estate, followed it but little. 'He more affected war than his profession, and spent 'many of his years abroad, which drew on him a 'course of expences and ill husbandry. His first voy-'age was into Ireland with Robert Earl of Essex, *anno* '1599.—Two other voyages he afterwards made with 'his son Robert Earl of Essex, into the Palatinate, 'from whom he received good respect. He was an 'honest fair conditioned man, and kind to others; 'yet through ill husbandry became a great enemy to 'himself and poor family (2).'

(2) *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

[*C*] *A very natural and affectionate memorial.*] It appears by the diary, that in the summer of 1641, Mr. Ashmole and his wife were in the country together, and that he came up to London without her, because she was with child. A maid of his died the same year of the plague; but whether his wife died of the same distemper is uncertain. His entry concerning her death runs thus: 'December 5, My dear wife fell suddenly 'sick about evening and died (to my own grief and 'the grief of all her friends), she was buried the next 'night about 9 o'clock in Atburry church in Cheshire, 'near the entrance of the south isle of that church, '*viz.* the west end of that isle. December 14, I went 'from London towards Cheshire, 16th arriving at 'Litchfield, I first heard of my wife's death: she was a 'virtuous, modest, careful, and loving wife, her affec-'tion was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to 'her, which caused us to live so happy together. Nor 'was I less beloved and esteemed both by her father 'and mother, insomuch as at her funeral her mother 'sitting near the corps, with tears professed to the Ba-'ron of Kinderton's Lady (who after told it to me), 'and others present, that she knew not whether she 'loved me or her only son better (3).'

(3) *Ibid.* p. 9.

[*D*] *The fair account he has given of her in his diary.*] At the time of her demise, he was besieged in Worcester. His entry on hearing the news of her death, runs in the following terms, 'July 31, 1646, 'Mr.

upon as a very diſtinguiſhing character, and has therefore given us a very particular account of the lodge eſtabliſhed at Warrington in Lancaſhire; and in ſome of his manuſcripts, there are very valuable collections relating to the hiſtory of the Free Maſons [*E*]. The King's affairs being now grown deſperate, Mr. Aſhmole withdrew himſelf, after the ſurrender of the garriſon of Worceſter, into Cheſhire, where he continued till the end of October, and then came up to London, where he became acquainted with Mr., afterwards Sir Jonas Moore, Mr. William Lilly, and Mr. John Booker, eſteemed the greateſt Aſtrologers in the world, by whom he was careſſed, inſtructed, and received into their fraternity, which then made a very conſiderable figure, as appeared by the great reſort of perſons of diſtinction to their annual feaſt, of which Mr. Aſhmole was afterwards elected Steward (*n*). In 1647 he went down into Berkſhire, where he made choice of the pleaſant village of Englefield, for the place of his retirement. There he purſued his ſtudies very cloſely, and having ſo fair an opportunity, and the advantage of ſome very able maſters, he often went a Simpling, and very ſoon became an eminent Botaniſt; for it was the peculiar felicity of this man's genius, that he ſpeedily attained whatever he attempted (*o*). Here, as appears from his own remarks, he enjoyed in privacy the ſweeteſt moments of his life, the ſenſation of which perhaps was quickened, by his juſt idea of the badneſs of the times (*p*). It was in this retreat that he became

(*n*) Lilly's Hiſtory of his Life and Times.

(*o*) Plot's Staffordſhire, p. 276. Diary, p. 19.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 17.

' Mr. Richard Harriſon miniſter of Tettnal formerly, ' and afterwards of Litchfield, told me of my mother's ' death, and that ſhe died about the 8th or 9th of July ' of the Plague, not long before, that city being vi- ' ſited this ſummer. She was a diſcreet, ſober, provi- ' dent woman, and with great patience endured many ' afflictions. Her parents had given her exceeding good ' breeding, and ſhe was excellent at her needle, which ' (my father being improvident) ſtood her in great ' ſtead. She was competently read in Divinity, Hiſto- ' ry, and Poetry, and was continually inſtilling into my ' ears, ſuch religious and moral precepts as my younger ' years were capable of; nor did ſhe ever fail to cor- ' rect my faults, always adding ſharp reproofs and ' good lectures to boot: ſhe was much eſteemed by ' perſons of note with whom ſhe was acquainted, ſhe ' lived in much friendſhip among her neighbours, and ' left a good name behind her; in fine, ſhe was truly ' religious and virtuous (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 15.

[*E*] *Collections relating to the hiſtory of Free-Maſons.*] He made very large collections on almoſt all points relating to Engliſh hiſtory, of which ſome large volumes are remaining at Oxford, but much more was conſumed in the fire at the Temple (5), which will be hereafter mentioned. What is hinted above, is taken from a book of letters, communicated to the author of this life, by Dr. Knipe, of Chriſt-church, in one of which is the following paſſage relating to this ſubject. ' As to the ancient ſociety of Free-Ma- ' ſons, concerning whom you are deſirous of know- ' ing what may be known with certainty, I ſhall ' only tell you, that if our worthy brother, E. Aſh- ' mole, Eſq; had executed his intended deſign, our ' fraternity had been as much obliged to him as ' the brethren of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. ' I would not have you ſurpriſed at this expreſſion, or ' think it at all too aſſuming. The Sovereigns of ' that order have not diſdained our fellowſhip, and ' there have been times when Emperors were alſo ' Free-Maſons. What from Mr. E. Aſhmole's collec- ' tion I could gather, was, that the report of our ' Society's taking riſe from a Bull granted by the Pope, ' in the reign of Henry III., to ſome Italian Ar- ' chitects, to travel over all Europe, to erect chapels, ' was ill-founded (6). Such a Bull there was, and thoſe ' Architects were Maſons; but this Bull, in the opi- ' nion of the learned Mr. Aſhmole, was confirmative ' only, and did not by any means create our frater- ' nity, or even eſtabliſh them in this kingdom. But ' as to the time and manner of that eſtabliſhment, ' ſomething I ſhall relate from the ſame collections. ' St. Alban, the Proto-Martyr of England, eſtabliſhed ' Maſonry here, and from his time it flouriſhed more ' or leſs, according as the world went, down to the ' days of King Athelſtane, who, for the ſake of his ' brother Edwin, granted the Maſons a charter; ' though, afterwards growing jealous of his brother, ' it is ſaid, he cauſed him together with his Page, to ' be put into a boat and committed to the ſea, where ' they periſhed (7). It is likely that Maſons were ' affected by his fall, and ſuffered for ſome time; ' but afterwards their credit revived, and we find ' under our Norman Princes, that they frequently re- ' ceived extraordinary marks of royal favour. There ' is no doubt to be made, that the ſkill of Maſons, ' which was always tranſcendent, even in the moſt ' barbarous times, their wonderful kindneſs and at- ' tachment to each other, how different ſoever in ' condition, and their inviolable fidelity in keeping ' religiouſly their ſecret, muſt expoſe them in igno- ' rant, troubleſome, and ſuſpicious times, to a vaſt ' variety of adventures, according to the different ' fate of parties, and other alterations in government. ' By the way, I ſhall note, that the Maſons were al- ' ways loyal, which expoſed them to great ſeverities ' when power wore the trappings of juſtice, and ' thoſe who committed treaſon, puniſhed true men ' as traitors. Thus in the third year of the reign ' of Henry VI., an Act of Parliament paſſed to aboliſh ' the Society of Maſons (8), and to hinder, under ' grievous penalties, the holding chapters, lodges, or ' other regular aſſemblies. Yet this Act was after- ' wards repealed, and even before that King Henry ' VI., and ſeveral of the principal Lords of his ' court became fellows of the Craft (9). Under the ' ſucceeding troubleſome times, the Free-Maſons ' through this kingdom became generally Yorkiſts, ' which as it procured them eminent favour from Ed- ' ward IV., ſo the wiſe Henry VII., thought it bet- ' ter by ſhewing himſelf a great lover of Maſons to ' obtrude numbers of his friends on that worthy ' fraternity, ſo as never to want ſpies enough in ' their lodges, than to create himſelf enemies, as ſome ' of his predeceſſors had done by an ill-timed per- ' ſecution (10). As this Society has been ſo very ' ancient, as to riſe almoſt beyond the reach of re- ' cords, there is no wonder that a mixture of fable ' is found in its hiſtory; and methinks it had been ' better, if a late inſidious writer had ſpent his ' time in clearing up the ſtory of St. Alban, or the ' death of Prince Edwin, either of which would ' have found him ſufficient employment, than as he ' has done in degrading a Society with whoſe foun- ' dation and tranſactions he is viſibly ſo very lit- ' tle acquainted (11), and with whoſe hiſtory and con- ' duct Mr. Aſhmole, who underſtood them ſo much ' better, was perfectly ſatisfied, &c. (12).' I ſhall add to this letter, as a proof, of its author's being exactly right as to Mr. Aſhmole, a ſmall note from his diary, which ſhews his attention to this Society, long after his admiſſion, when he had time to weigh, examine, and know the value of the Maſons ſecret (13).

(5) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 888.

(6) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 3.

(7) Ex Rotulo membranaceo penes Cæmentariorum Societatem.

(8) Ferd. Puſton's Collect. of Statutes, 3 Hen. VI. chap. 1.

(9) Hiſtory of Maſonry, p. 29.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 19.

(11) Plot's Nat. Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 316, 317, 318.

(12) Dr. W. to Sir D. N. June 9, 1687.

(13) Diary, p. 66.

' 1682, Mar. 10. About five Hor. poſt Merid. I re- ' ceived a ſummons to appear at a lodge to be ' held the next day at Maſons-hall, in London. 11th, ' accordingly I went, and about noon, were admitted ' into the fellowſhip of Free-Maſons, by Sir William ' Wilſon, Knight; Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr. ' William Woodman, Mr. William Grey, Mr. Samuel ' Taylour, and Mr. William Wiſe. I was the ſenior ' follow among them (it being thirty-five years ſince ' I was admitted): there was preſent, beſides myſelf, ' the fellows after-named; Mr. Thomas Wiſe, Maſter ' of the Maſons Company, this preſent year; Mr. ' Thomas Shorthoſe, &c. We all dined at the Half- ' Moon Tavern in Cheapſide, at a noble dinner pre- ' pared at the charge of the new Accepted Maſons.'

acquainted

acquainted with a fair Lady, whom he afterwards married, though the proſpect of that marriage had very near coſt him his life. This Lady's name was Mary, ſole daughter of Sir William Forſter, of Aldermarſton, in the county of Berks, Bart. who was firſt married to Sir Edward Stafford, after his deceaſe to one Mr. Hamlyn, and laſtly to Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Knt. Recorder of Reading, and one of the Maſters in Chancery. Mr. Humphrey Stafford, her ſecond ſon, had ſuch a diſlike to this match, that when Mr. Aſhmole was very ill, he broke into his chamber, and if he had not been prevented, would have murdered him (*q*). In the latter end of 1648, Lady Mainwaring conveyed to him her eſtate at Bradfield, which was ſoon after ſequeſtered on account of Mr. Aſhmole's loyalty; but the intereſt he had with William Lilly, and ſome others of that party, enabled him to get that ſequeſtration taken off (*r*). On the ſixteenth of November, 1649, he married Lady Mainwaring, upon which he ſettled in London, and his houſe became the receptacle of the moſt learned and ingenious perſons that flouriſhed at that time (*s*). It was by their converſation, that Mr. Aſhmole, who had been more fortunate in worldly affairs than moſt ſcholars are, and who had been always a curious collector of manuſcripts, was drawn to think of publiſhing a treatiſe written by Dr. Arthur Dee, relating to the Philoſopher's ſtone, together with another tract on the ſame ſubject, by an unknown author, which pieces actually came abroad in the year following; but Mr. Aſhmole was ſo cautious, or rather modeſt, as to publiſh them by a fictitious name (*t*) [*F*]. He at the ſame time addreſſed himſelf to a work of greater conſequence, which was the preparing for the preſs,

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(*r*) Memoirs, p. 8.

(*s*) Lilly's Hiſt. of his Life and Times. Memoirs, p. 8, 9, 10.

(*t*) Vide James Haſolle, Eſq.

[*F*] *To publiſh them by a fictitious name.*] The firſt ſtep into the world in print, is, for a modeſt man, always a little hard, let his abilities be what they will. But beſides the uſual inconveniences, Mr. Aſhmole laboured under many, from the ſubject he had choſen to cultivate; and very probably this it was that induced him to break the ice, by publiſhing other mens works, and to appear as an editor and tranſlator, before he took upon him the character of an author. The title of this piece was, I. FASCICULUS CHEMICUS: *or* Chymical Collections *expreſſing the* Ingreſs, Progreſs, *and* Egreſs, *of the ſecret* Hermetick Science, *out of the choiceſt and moſt famous Authors. Whereunto is added, the* Arcanum, *or* Grand Secret *of* Hermetick Philoſophy. *Both made Engliſh by* James Haſolle, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuphilus Anglicus, London*, 1650, 12*mo*. In his *Prolegomena* to the *ingeniouſly elaborate Students of Hermetick Learning* he ſpeaks thus: 'I here preſent you with 'a ſummary collection of the choiceſt flowers growing in the Hermetick gardens, ſorted and bound 'up in one compleat and lovely poſy, a way whereby 'painful inquiſitors avoid the uſual diſcouragements 'met with in a tedious wandering through each long 'walk, or winding maze; which are the ordinary and 'guileful circumſtances, wherewith envious Philoſophers have enlarged their labours, purpoſely to puzzle 'or weary the moſt reſolved undertakings. 'Tis true, 'the manner of delivery uſed by the ancients upon 'this ſubject, is very far removed from the common 'path of diſcourſe; yet I believe they were conſtrained (for the weight and majeſty of the ſecret) 'to invent thoſe occult kind of expreſſions in Ænigmas, Metaphors, Parabols, and Figures.

'Now amongſt the catalogue of authors that have 'treated of this ſacred learning, I have chiefly obſerved four ſorts.

'The firſt, are ſuch whoſe well-mindedneſs and 'honeſty have cauſed them to lay down the whole 'myſtery, faithfully and plainly, giving you a clew, 'as well as ſhewing you a labyrinth; and they only 'are to be ſtudied.

'The ſecond, are thoſe whoſe magiſterial handling 'a part, or branch thereof, did it rather to diſcover 'themſelves maſters, than with intent to inſtruct 'others: Theſe may be read, but they are too ſublime for thoſe who ſtand in need of any introduction.

'Others there are, who, out of ignorance or miſtake, have delivered blind and unbottomed fictions, 'which have too much deluded and abuſed the credulous world; ſo that of this ſort, I may ſay (not 'blemiſhing the honour, which ſome of them have 'juſtly acquired in other parts of learning), their 'works are like Pygmalion's image (full of exquiſite 'proportion, feature, delicacy, and beauty, but not 'animated with the life and ſoul of truth), and 'whilſt a man conſults with ſuch, he ſhall always 'doubt, whether what he reads be to the matter or 'not; however, the judicious may ſmell their levity 'by the rankneſs of their impertinencies.

'But the laſt and worſt ſort of all, are thoſe who, 'through envy, have ſcattered abroad their unfaithful recipes and falſe gloſſes (taking for preſident 'the devil, that can ſow tares and transform himſelf into an angel of light), with intent to choak and 'obfuſcate the more evident light of the plain-dealing 'Philoſophers; and to diſcern theſe impoſtures, requires a judgment able to divide a hair.

'From this variety of writers it is, that many, 'otherwiſe ſteady minds, are toſſed up and down, 'as from racket to racket, being forced to change 'their thoughts as often as they change their authors; and conceiving they have ſettled right upon 'a point (juſt like tickliſh weather-cocks), are neceſſitated to ſhift with the next puff (although 'but of an empty windy conceit). New diſcoveries 'begetting new opinions, which raiſe more untoward 'and turbulent doubts, than their greateſt ſtrength 'of judgment can conjure down. Thus (unhappy 'men) thinking themſelves ready to anchor, a croſs 'guſt blows them off the ſhore, perhaps into a rougher 'ſea of debate and perplexity than before, and with 'greater hazard and danger of ſplitting.

'I know that the truth of the proper argent, its 'preparation, and the fire (the three moſt important 'ſteps to this bleſſed work) with the whole proceſs is 'by ſome philoſophers ſo ſincerely laid down and 'unfolded, that, to a knowing artiſt, it is a cauſe 'of much wonder, why he that reads (though but 'ſmatteringly acquainted with nature), ſhould not 'meet with clear ſatisfaction: But here is the reaſon, '*many are called but few are choſen*. 'Tis a haven 'towards which many ſkilful pilots have bent their 'courſe, yet few have reached it. For as amongſt 'the people of the Jews, there was but one that 'might enter into the Holy of Holies (and that but 'once a year), ſo there is ſeldom more in a nation 'whom God lets into this *ſanctum ſanctorum* of 'Philoſophy; yet ſome there are. But though the 'number of theſe Elect are not many, and generally the fathom of moſt mens fancies, that attempt 'the ſearch of this vaſt and ſubtle myſtery, too narrow 'to comprehend it, and their ſtrongeſt reaſon too weak 'to pierce the depth it lies obſcured in; being indeed ſo unſearchable and ambiguous, it rather exacts the ſacred and courteous illuminations of a 'Cherub, than the weak aſſiſtance of a pen to reveal it. Yet let no man deſpair; *For ſurely there 'is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding*. And though all things 'before us ſeem huddled up in a deformed chaos, 'yet can he place them in comelineſs and order. For 'many Philoſophers cloſely ſhut up, or concealed 'divers things, which they left the ingenious inquirer to ſift into, or find out, preſuming to whom 'God intended the diſcovery of the wonder, he 'would afford eyes that ſhould pierce through the 'midſt of words, and give them a ray of light, 'which ſhould lead them through this darkneſs. *To 'find out that path which no fowl knoweth, and 'which the vulture's eye hath not ſeen*. For if ſe-

'rioufly

preſs, a complete collection of the works of ſuch Engliſh Chemiſts, as had till then remained in MS. which coſt him a great deal of labour, and for the embelliſhment of which he ſpared no expence, cauſing the cuts that were neceſſary, to be engraved at his own houſe in Black-Friars, by Mr. Vaughan, who was then the moſt eminent artiſt in that way in England (*u*). He was brought to have this affection for Chemiſtry, by his intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Backhouſe, of Swallowfield in the county of Berks, who was reputed an adept, and whom, from his free communication of chemical ſecrets, Mr. Aſhmole was wont to call Father, agreeably to the cuſtom which had long prevailed among the lovers of that art (*w*) [G]. He likewiſe employed a part of his time in

(*u*) Diary, p. 25.

(*w*) Theatr. Britan. p. 440.

' rioufly peruſed, you will find their books are much ' like drawers, that lead to ſome choice and ſecret ' box in a cabinet, (one opening the way to the ' reſt) which if heedfully revolved, the ſatisfaction ' you miſs of in one author, you will meet with ' in another; and all perhaps may at length diſcover ' ſuch pregnant and ſublime ſecrets, as ſhall mani- ' feſt thee to be one of thoſe choſen veſſels ordain- ' ed to be informed of this knowledge, which ſome- ' times *God hath hid from the wiſe and prudent, but ' revealed unto babes* (14).' The bringing ſo much of this introductory diſcourſe into public view, may be of ſervice to the inquiſitive reader, as it ſhews him at once, what ſort of learning this was, and what kind of phraſeology was thought requiſite to recommend it. Mr. Aſhmole's Prolegomena alone contains thirty-one pages, excluſive of the poſtſcript, which accounts for the publication of the ſecond piece in the collection. The former of theſe prefaces is dated March 1, 1649-50; the ſecond, April 1, 1650. As for the original author of the Faſciculus, we ſhall have occaſion to mention him at large hereafter (15); but as for the author of the Arcanum, he was not known to Mr. Aſhmole, which is one good reaſon to ſuſpect he was not one of the *Adepti*, as will be ſhewn in its proper place. Before we quit this treatiſe it is requiſite to obſerve, that before it there is a kind of hieroglyphical frontiſpiece in ſeveral compartments. At the top there is the repreſentation of a King (Phœbus), ſitting on a lion, holding the reſemblance of the Sun in his hand at one end of the page, and oppoſite to him a lady (Diana) with the Moon in one hand and an arrow in the other, ſitting on a crab. Between them is the figure of Hermes, on a tripod, with the ſcheme of the heavens in one hand, and his caduceus in the other. Theſe are intended to expreſs the materials of the ſtone, and the proper ſeaſon for the proceſs. In the middle of the page is an altar, with the buſt of a man, to the middle of his neck, his head being covered by an aſtrological ſcheme, dropped by a hand from the clouds. In the middle of this ſcheme are theſe words, *Aſtra regunt homines*, i. e. The ſtars mankind command. On the altar are theſe words, *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*; i. e. The Engliſh lover of Hermetic philoſophy. On the right ſide of the frontiſpiece is the ſun, moon, and croſs, in conjunction, and from them hangs down a ſcrowl with theſe words, *Quod eſt ſuperius, eſt ſicut inferius*; i. e. What is above, is as what is beneath. Under this ſcrowl is a tree, and a creature gnawing the root. On one ſide is a pillar adorned with muſical inſtruments, rules, compaſſes, and mathematical ſchemes; on the other, a pillar of the like kind, with all ſorts of martial muſic, and inſtruments of war. At the bottom of the page, this tetraſtich ſtands by way of explication.

(14) Prolegom. p. 1—6.

(15) See DEE (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

These Hieroglyphicks vaile the vigorous beames
Of an unbounded ſoul; the ſcrowle and ſchemes
The full interpreter: But how's conceal'd,
' Who thro' Ænigmaes lookes, is ſo reveal'd.'

T. W. M. D.

Theſe letters ſignify Thomas Wharton, Doctor of Phyſic. Anthony Wood (16), gives a large but incorrect account of this picture, in which we find aſſembled all the learned fooleries of that age, which becauſe untouched by Wood, I will endeavour to explain. The ſcrowl from above, and the *mole* at the foot of the *aſh*-tree, expreſs the author's name, which is alſo anagramized in *James Haſole*; i. e. *Elias Aſhmole*. The column on the right hand refers to his proficiency in muſic, and his being a Free-Maſon, as

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 891.

that on the left does to his military preferments; and thus with Dr. Wharton's leave, theſe Ænigmas, as he calls them, are revealed.

[G] *Prevailed among the lovers of that art.*] As to this gentleman's kindneſs to our author, he mentions it frequently in his Diary, and tells us expreſsly, that after revealing to him ſo many of his ſecrets, Mr. Backhouſe told him, he muſt needs be his ſon. Yet ſomewhat he long concealed, for we find this entry in Mr. Aſhmole's Diary after this (17). ' 1653, ' May 13, My father Backhouſe, lying ſick in Fleet- ' ſtreet, over-againſt St. Dunſtan's church, and not ' knowing whether he ſhould live or die, about ' eleven of the clock, told me in ſyllables, the true ' matter of the Philoſopher's ſtone, which he be- ' queathed to me as a legacy.' The nature of this kind of philoſophic adoption, is very copiouſly explained by our author himſelf, in his notes on Norton's Ordinal (18), and perhaps the paſſage may not be diſagreeable to the reader.

(17) Page 29.

' There has ever been a continued ſucceſſion of ' Philoſophers in all ages, although the heedleſs ' world hath ſeldom taken notice of them; for the ' ancients (uſually before they died) adopted one or ' other for their ſons, whom they knew well fitted ' with ſuch like qualities, as are ſet down in the letter ' that Norton's maſter wrote to him, when he ſent ' to make him his heir unto this ſcience, and other- ' wiſe than for pure virtue's ſake, let no man expect ' to attain it, or, as in the caſe of Tonſile,

(18) Theatrum Chemicum Britan. p. 440.

(19) ' —— For almes I will make no ſtore,
' Plainly to diſcloſe it, that was never done before.

(19) Norton's Ordinal. *apud* Theatr. Chemic. p. 41.

' Rewards nor terrors (be they never ſo muni- ' ficent or dreadful) can wreſt this ſecret out of the ' boſom of a Philoſopher, amongſt others, witneſs (20) ' Thomas Daulton.

(20) Norton's Ordinal, p. 35.

' Now under what ties and engagements, this ' ſecret is uſually delivered (when beſtowed by word ' of mouth), may appear in the weighty obligations ' of that oath, which Charnock took before he ob- ' tained it: For thus ſpake his maſter to him (21),

(21) Breviary of Philoſophy, chap. v.

' Will you with me to-morrow be content,
' Faithfully to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament.
' Upon this oath that I ſhall here you give;
' For ne gold, ne ſilver, as long as you live:
' Neither for love you bear towards your kinne,
' Nor yet to no great man, preferment to winn,
' That you diſcloſe the ſecret that I ſhall you teach
' Neither by writing, nor by no ſywſt ſpeeche;
' But only to him which you be ſure,
' Hath ever ſearched after the ſecrets of nature;
' To him you may reveale the ſecret of this arte,
' Under the covering of Philoſophie, before this
' world yee depart.

' And this oath he charged him to keep faith- ' fully, and without violation, as he thought to be ' ſaved from the Pit of Hell.

' And if it ſo fell out, that they met not with ' any, whom they conceived in all reſpects worthy ' of their adoption (22) they then reſigned it into ' the hands of God, who beſt knew where to beſtow ' it. However, they ſeldom left the world, before ' they left ſome written legacy behind them, which ' (being the iſſue of their brain) ſtood in room and ' place of children, and becomes to us both parent ' and ſchoolmaſter, throughout which they were ſo ' univerſally kind, as to call all ſtudents by the dear ' and affectionate title of Sons (23), (Hermes, giving ' the firſt precedent) wiſhing all were ſuch, that take ' the true pains to tread their fathers ſteps, and

(22) Norton's Ordinal, chap. ii. in the ſtory of Thomas Daulton a famous Hermetic Philoſopher, who flouriſhed under the reign of Edward IV.

(23) Hermes in Pimandro.

in acquiring the art of engraving ſeals, caſting in ſand, and the myſtery of a working Goldſmith (*x*). But all this time, his great work of publiſhing the ancient Engliſh writers in Chemiſtry, went on; and finding that a competent knowledge of the Hebrew, was abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding and explaining ſuch authors as had written on the Hermetic ſcience, he had recourſe to Rabbi Solomon Frank (*y*), by whom he was taught the rudiments of the ſacred tongue, which he found very uſeful to him in his ſtudies. At length, towards the cloſe of the year 1652, his *Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum* appeared, which gained him great reputation in the learned world, as it ſhewed him to be a man of a moſt ſtudious diſpoſition, indefatigable application, and of wonderful accuracy in his compoſitions; and as it was then very much admired, ſo it is ſtill highly eſteemed, by ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning (*z*) [*H*]. The reputation this work

(*x*) Diary, p. 24.

(*y*) Memoirs, p. 7.

(*z*) See his character from foreign writers in a ſucceeding note.

‘ induſtriouſly to follow the rules and dictates they ‘ made over to poſterity, and wherein they faithfully ‘ diſcovered the whole myſtery.

‘ As lawfully as by their fealty thei may,
‘ By lycence of the dreadful Judge at domeſday (24).

(24) Norton's Ordinal, in his Introduction.

‘ In theſe legitimate children, they lived longer ‘ than in their adopted ſons; for though theſe cer- ‘ tainly periſhed in an age, yet their writings (as if ‘ when they died, their ſouls had been tranſmigrated ‘ into them) ſeemed as immortal, enough at leaſt to ‘ perpetuate their memories, 'till time ſhould be no ‘ more: And to be the father of ſuch ſons, is (in ‘ my opinion) a moſt noble happineſſe.’ Our author's Commentary making this point quite clear, there is no neceſſity of inſiſting farther upon it; only it may be proper to obſerve, that Mr. Aſhmole's father, Backhouſe, did not die till May 30, 1662, as appears by our author's Diary (25). He was eſteemed a very great Chemiſt, and admirably verſed in what was ſtyled the Roſicrucian learning, and he was ſo; but it appears plainly from Mr. Aſhmole's writings, that he underſtood his father Backhouſe, in too literal a ſenſe, and did not diſcover the confuſion occaſioned by applying a method of removing all the imperfections of metals to phyſic, and thereby miſleading people on that ſubject, by the promiſes of an univerſal medicine, true perhaps in the leſs obvious ſenſe, and falſe in the other, in which however it is generally taken. This I only hint, and that for a reaſon which will be more fully inſiſted on in the enſuing note.

(25) Page 28.

[*H*] *By ſuch as are addicted to that kind of learning.*] There are very few books that have been printed in our language, which have made ſo much noiſe abroad, and yet are ſo little known at home, as this piece of our author's, which however brought him into eſteem and credit with all the Virtuoſi, who were living at the time of its publication. The title at large ran thus:

II. Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, *containing ſeveral poetical pieces of our famous* Engliſh Philoſophers, *who have written the* Hermetique Myſteries, *in their own ancient language. Faithfully collected into one Volume, with Annotations thereon, by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1652, 4*to.*

The authors publiſhed in this collection are, I. Thomas Norton's Ordinal of Alchemie. II. George Ripley's Compound of Alchemie. III. *Pater Sapientiæ*, i. e. the Father of Wiſdom, by an anonymous writer. IV. Hermes's Bird, written originally in Latin, by Raymund Lully, and done into Engliſh verſe by Abbot Cremer, of Weſtminſter. V. Sir Geoffrey Chaucer's Chanons Yeoman's Tale. VI. Daſtin's Dream, which ſeems to be a verſion of the Latin Poem of John Daſtin, entitled his Viſion. VII. Pearce, the Black Monk, on the Elixir. VIII. Richard Carpenter's work, which ſome think, and not without ſome colour of reaſon, ought rather to be aſcribed to John Carpenter, Biſhop of Worceſter, who was one of the beſt chemiſts of his time. IX. Hunting of the Green Lion, by Abraham Andrews; but there is alſo a ſpurious piece, with the ſame title. X. Breviary of Natural Philoſophy, by Thomas Charnock. XI. Ænigmas by the ſame perſon. XII. Bloomfield's Bloſſoms, which is likewiſe entitled the Camp of Philoſophy, by William Bloomfield. XIII. Sir Edward Kelle's Work. XIV. His Letter to G. S. Gent. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that this gentleman's name, even by Mr. Aſhmole, is written Kelley, though Sir Edward himſelf, wrote it Kelle. XV. Dr. John Dee's Teſtament, which appears to be an Epiſtle to one John Gwin, written A. D. 1568, and a third letter, the two firſt being wanting. XVI. Thomas Robinſon, of the Philoſopher's Stone. XVII. Experience and Philoſophy, by an anonymous author. XVIII. The Magiſtery, by W. B. *i. e.* William Bloomfield. XIX. John Gower, on the Philoſopher's Stone. XX. George Ripley's Viſion. XXI. Verſes belonging to Ripley's ſcrowle. XXII. Myſtery of Alchymiſts. XXIII. Preface to the Medulla of George Ripley. XXIV. Secreta Secretorum, by John Lydgate. XXV. Hermit's Tale, anonymous. XXVI. Deſcription of the Stone. XXVII. The ſtanding of the glaſs, for the time of the putrefaction and congelation of the medicine. XXVIII. Ænigma Philoſophicum, by William Bedman. XXIX. Fragments by various authors.

Our learned author, in his Prolegomena to this work, having firſt magnified the Science of Alchymy, as it is called, proceeds next to an hiſtorical account of Engliſh writers on that ſubject, which is extremely to our purpoſe, as containing many curious ſtrokes not to be found elſewhere. His words are theſe:

‘ Our Engliſh Philoſophers generally (like Prophets) ‘ have received little honour (unleſs what has been ‘ privately paid them) in their own country, nor have ‘ they done any mighty works amongſt us, except in ‘ covertly adminiſtring their medicine to a few ſick, ‘ and healing them (for greater experiments than ‘ what it performs in Phyſic, they never publickly ‘ made ſhew of). Thus did I. O. (one of the firſt ‘ four fellows of the Fratres R. C.) in curing the ‘ young Earl of Norfolk of the leproſy, and Dr. ‘ B. in carrying off the virulency of the ſmall-pox, ‘ twice from Queen Elizabeth; inſomuch that they ‘ never appeared: But in parts abroad, they have ‘ found more noble reception, and the world greedy ‘ of obtaining their works, nay, (rather than want ‘ the ſight thereof) contented to view them through ‘ a tranſlation, witneſs what Maierus, Hermannus, ‘ Combachius, Faber, and many others have done: ‘ the firſt of which came out of Germany, to live ‘ in England, purpoſely that he might ſo underſtand ‘ our Engliſh tongue, as to tranſlate Norton's Ordinal into Latin verſe, which moſt judiciouſly and ‘ learnedly he did; yet (to our ſhame be it ſpoken) ‘ his entertainment was too, too coarſe for ſo deſerving a ſcholar.

‘ How great a blemiſh is it then to us, that re- ‘ fuſe to read ſo famous authors in our natural lan- ‘ guage, whilſt ſtrangers are neceſſitated to read them ‘ in ours, to underſtand them in their own; yet ‘ think the ſubject much more deſerving than their ‘ pains. If this we do but ingenuouſly conſider, we ‘ ſhall judge it more of reaſon, that we look back ‘ upon, than neglect ſuch pieces of learning as are ‘ natives of our own country, and by this inquiſi- ‘ tion, find no nation has written more or better, ‘ although at preſent (as well through our own ſu- ‘ pineneſs, as the decrees of fate) few of their works ‘ can be found. John Leland took very much pains, ‘ even at the yielding up of the ghoſt of our Engliſh ‘ learning, to preſerve its lateſt (but weakeſt, cauſe ‘ almoſt ſpent) breath; and from him John Bale, ‘ with John Pitts (who indeed is but Bale's plagiary), ‘ hath left us a catalogue of the writers of this na- ‘ tion, and that's near all: Yet poſterity for this ‘ is deeply obliged. What puniſhment then did ‘ their peſtilent malice deſerve, who robbed us of ‘ their whole works?

‘ A judi-

work gave him, extended his acquaintance conſiderably; inſomuch, that the great Mr. Selden took notice of him in the year 1653, encouraged his ſtudies, and lived in great friendſhip with him to the day of his death (*a*). He was likewiſe very intimate with Mr. Oughtred, the famous Mathematician, and with Dr. Wharton, a Phyſician of great character and experience (*b*). His marriage with Lady Mainwaring involved him firſt in abundance of law-ſuits with other people, and at laſt produced a diſpute between themſelves, which came to a hearing on the eighth of October 1657, in the Court of Chancery, where Serjeant Maynard having obſerved, that in eight hundred ſheets of depoſitions taken on the part of the Lady, there was not ſo much as a bad word proved againſt Mr. Aſhmole, her bill was diſmiſſed, and ſhe delivered back to her huſband (*c*). He had now for ſome time addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquity and records, for

(*a*) Diary, p. 29.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 25—31. Memoirs, p. 9.

(*c*) Diary, p. 34.

'A judicious author, ſpeaking of the diſſolution 'of our monaſteries, ſaith thus; Many manuſcripts, 'guilty of no other ſuperſtition than the red letters 'in their front, were condemned to the fire, and here 'a principal key of antiquity was loſt to the great 'part of poſterity (ſuch was learning's misfortune at 'that great devaſtation of our Engliſh libraries that), 'where a red letter or a mathematical diagram ap-'peared, they were ſufficient to entitle the book to 'be Popiſh or Diabolical.'

Our author then ſtrikes out into the praiſes of the Druids among the Britons, the learned Philoſophers among the Saxons, and the politer writers amongſt the Normans. He next turns to the particular ſubject of Hermetic philoſophy, and though he intimates he never adventured to practiſe it, he ſeems confident, that he knows what he ſpeaks of thus:

'I muſt profeſs, I know enough to hold my tongue, 'but not enough to ſpeak; and the no leſs real than 'miraculous fruits I have found, in my diligent en-'quiry into theſe Arcana, lead me on to ſuch de-'grees of admiration; they command ſilence, and 'force me to loſe my tongue. Yet as one greatly 'affecting my native country, and the ſatisfaction 'of all ingenious artiſts, I have publiſhed (for their 'uſe) theſe enſuing collected Antiquities, and ſhall 'here ſay ſomething more than they ſpeak of.

'He who ſhall have the happineſs to meet with 'St. Dunſtan's work *de Occulta Philoſophia* (a book, 'which E. G. A. I. made much uſe of, and which 'ſhall chiefly back what here I am about to ſay), 'may therein read ſuch ſtories as will make him 'amazed, to think what ſtupendious and immenſe 'things, are to be performed by virtue of the Phi-'loſopher's mercury, of which a taſte only and no 'more.

'And firſt of the mineral ſtone, the which is wrought 'up to a degree only, that hath the power of tranſ-'muting any imperfect earthy matter into its utmoſt 'degree of perfection; that is, to convert the baſeſt 'metals into perfect gold and ſilver, ſlints into all 'manner of precious ſtones, (as rubies, ſaphirs, eme-'ralds, and diamonds, &c.) and many more experi-'ments of the like nature. But as this is but a part, 'ſo it is the leaſt ſhare of the bleſſing which may be 'acquired by the Philoſopher's materia, if the full 'virtue thereof were known. Gold, I confeſs, is a 'delicious object, a goodly light which we admire 'and gaze upon, *ut pueri in Junonis avem*, but as to 'make gold (ſaith an incomparable author) is the 'chiefeſt intent of the Alchymiſts, ſo was it ſcarce 'any intent of the ancient Philoſophers and the low-'eſt uſe the adepti made of this materia.

'For they being lovers of wiſdom more than world-'ly wealth, drove at higher and more excellent 'operations. And certainly he to whom the whole 'courſe of nature lies open, rejoiceth not that he can 'make gold and ſilver, or the Devils, to become 'ſubject unto him, as that he ſees the heavens open, 'the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending, and 'that his own name is fairly written in *the book of life*.

'Next to come to the vegetable, magical, and 'angelical ſtones, the which have in them no part of 'the mineral ſtone (*quatenus* ſtone fermented with 'metalline and earthly nature), for they are marvel-'louſly ſubtil, and each of them differing in opera-'tion and nature, becauſe fitted and fermented for 'ſeveral effects and purpoſes. Doubtleſs Adam, '(with the fathers before the flood and ſince) Abra-'ham, Moſes, and Solomon, wrought many won-'ders by them, yet the utmoſt of their virtues they 'never underſtood, nor indeed any *but God the 'maker of all things in heaven and in earth, bleſſed for 'evermore*.

'For by the vegetable may be perfectly known the 'nature of man, beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, together with 'all kind of trees, plants, flowers, &c. and how to 'produce and make them grow, flouriſh, and bear 'fruit. How to increaſe them in colour and ſmell, 'and when, and where we pleaſe, and all this not 'only at an inſtant, *experimenti gratia*, but daily, 'monthly, yearly, at any time, at any ſeaſon, yea, 'in the depth of winter; and therefore not unlike 'the walnut-tree which anciently grew in Glaſſen-'bury's church-yard, and never put forth leaves be-'fore St. Barnabies-day, yet then was fully loaded 'with them, as alſo the hawthorn there, ſo greatly 'famed for ſhooting out leaves and flowers at Chriſt-'mas; together with the oak in New Foreſt, that 'bore green leaves at the ſame ſeaſon, may be ſome 'experiments made of the vegetable ſtone.

'Beſides the maſculine part of it which is wrought 'up to a ſolar quality, and through its exceeding heat 'will burn up and deſtroy any creature, plant, &c. 'That which is lunar and feminine (if immediately 'applied) will mitigate it with its extreme cold, and 'in like manner the lunar quality benumbs and con-'geals any animal, &c. unleſs it be preſently helped 'and reſolved by that of the Sun. For though they 'both be made out of one natural ſubſtance, yet in 'working they have contrary qualities, nevertheleſs 'there is ſuch a natural aſſiſtance between them, that 'what the one cannot do, the other doth, can, and 'will perform. Nor are their inward virtues more 'than their outward beauties; for the ſolar part is of 'ſo reſplendent tranſparent luſtre, that the eye of 'man is ſcarce able to endure it. And if the lunar 'part be expoſed abroad in a dark night, birds will 'repair to (and circulate about) it as a fly round a 'candle, and ſubmit themſelves to the captivity of 'the hand. And this invites me to believe, that the 'ſtone which the ancient Hermit (being then 140 'years old) took out of the wall in his cell, and 'ſhewed Cornelius Gallus, *An.* 1602, was of the 'nature of this vegetable ſtone; for (upon opening 'the golden box wherein it was incloſed) it dilated 'its beams all over the room, and that with ſo great 'ſplendor, that it overcame the light that was kindled 'therein. Beſides, the Hermit refuſed to project it 'upon metal (as being unworthy of it) but made his 'experiment upon veronica and rue.'

It is very ſtrange, that a perſon of ſuch admirable natural parts, and of ſo much acquired learning, ſhould expreſs himſelf with ſo great vehemence, and venture his reputation ſo boldly in a matter of this nature, which he very well knew, laboured under ſo many ſuſpicions: but he was ſo led away by the exterior appearances, and relied ſo entirely on what the ſages he had read delivered, that he never once ſuſpected that this univerſal medicine acted only within its own kingdom, and that what he repreſents as the loweſt, was in truth its higheſt effect. But it may juſtly be alledged, in favour of Mr. Aſhmole, that he ſtudied the hiſtory of the ſcience, rather than the ſcience itſelf, and knew more of the Philoſopher's ſtone by reading than practice, which, however it might ſhew his own wiſdom, contributed very little to that of his reader. This preface is dated January 26, 1651-2; but the book itſelf did not appear till about that time twelve-month, and was then extremely well received by the Virtuoſi, who grew wonderful well pleaſed with our author, and offered him all manner of encouragement for the compleating his deſign, by publiſhing the proſe as well as poetic authors.

which he had a wonderful genius. This recommended him to the intimate acquaintance of Mr., afterwards Sir William Dugdale, whom about this time he attended in his ſurvey of the Fens, and was very uſeful to him in that excellent undertaking; the conſequence of which ſhortly appeared to the world, in the moſt valuable performance that ever fell from the pen of that great writer, and indefatigable Antiquary, whoſe writings do ſo much honour to his country (*d*). Mr. Aſhmole himſelf ſoon after took the pains to trace the Roman road, which in Antoninus's Itinerary is called Bennevanna, from Weeden to Litchfield, of which he gave Mr. Dugdale an account, in a letter addreſſed to him upon that ſubject (*e*). It is very probable, that after his ſtudies had thus taken a new turn, he loſt ſomewhat of his reliſh for Chemiſtry, ſince he diſcontinued the *Theatrum Chemicum*, which, according to his firſt project, was to have made ſeveral volumes: yet he ſtill retained, as moſt people do who dip into that kind of ſtudy, ſuch a remembrance of it, as induced him to part civilly with the ſons of art, which he did, by publiſhing a treatiſe in proſe on the Philoſopher's ſtone, to which he prefixed an admirable preface, wherein he ſeems to have apologized for taking leave of the ſubject, as he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe (*f*) [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1658, our author applied himſelf to the collecting materials for his hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, which he afterwards lived to finiſh, and thereby rendered both the order and himſelf immortal, the juſt reward of the prodigious pains he took in ſearching records in

(*d*) The title of this work of Sir W. D.'s was, *The Hiſtory of imbanking and draining divers Fens and Marſhes, &c. extracted from Records, &c.* London, 1662. fol.

(*e*) See a book intitled, *Miſcellanies on ſeveral curious Subjects, publiſhed from their reſpective Originals.* Lond. 1714. 8vo.

(*f*) See that part of his Preface in the note.

[*I*] *As he appears to have done by ſending abroad this treatiſe.*] It was with a view to continue and complete his former deſign, that Mr. Aſhmole got this, and many other pieces of a like nature, into his cuſtody, from ſuch of the Literati as were his friends; as appears plainly, from the beginning of his preface to this very piece, the next book he publiſhed, which was, III. *The Way to Bliſs, in three Books, made public by* Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; *Qui eſt Mercuriophilus Anglicus.* London 1658, 4*to.* He opens himſelf thus to the world on that occaſion.

'It is now ſomewhat above ſix years, ſince I 'publiſhed the firſt part of my *Theatrum Chemicum* '*Britannicum*, immediately after which, my ſtudies 'of that nature received moſt unfortunate interrup- 'tions from the commencement of ſeveral vexatious 'ſuits againſt me; but God, not only enabled me 'to endure thoſe impetuous, multiplied ſtorms, but 'ſome few months ſince, was pleaſed to ſweeten my 'long ſufferings with a fair and peaceful iſſue.'

How he came to alter his purpoſe of publiſhing ſeveral ſuch volumes, and to ſend this piece ſingly into the world, we are frankly told by him in theſe words.

'All this while, I hoped to meet with one or other, 'who (inclined to advance the honour of Hermes his 'family) would have taken the pains of adding a 'ſecond volume, to my ſaid *Theatrum*, in regard 'thoſe ſucceſſive troubles (hanging ſo long, and hea- 'vily upon me) had denied me the leiſure; nor were 'either my invitations to it wanting, or the free 'contributions of whatever I had ſo painfully col- 'lected unoffered, to the end (my deſign of letting 'the world ſee, what excellent men we had once 'of our nation, famous as well for that kind of 'philoſophy as any other learning, and maſters of 'ſo tranſcendent a ſecret) might have been further- 'ed. Notwithſtanding this, I hear of nothing (hi- 'therto) done, nothing endeavoured: But inſtead 'thereof, I lately met with a pretended copy of the 'following diſcourſe, ready fitted for the preſs, 'which (upon peruſal) I found mutilated with many 'imperfections, much injured by ſeveral incongruous 'additions, and they, confeſſed to be only made up 'of ſome ſcattered ſhreds and fragments, collected 'from the whole work, and beſides intended, that 'the world ſhould take it for the child of one Euge- 'nius Theodidactus, being (by re-baptization) called 'the *Wiſe-Man's Crown*, or *Roſie-cruſian Phyſic*, un- 'der which titles notice hath been given of its coming 'abroad, by other books ſince pupliſhed.

This perſon E. Theodidactus, was one John Heydon, a great pretender to Roſicruſian knowledge, who married the widow of Nicholas Culpepper, the famous quack, and publiſhed abundance of idle books, in ſome of which, he abuſed Mr. Aſhmole on this ſubject (26), though certainly there was no compariſon between the men, one being as deſpicable as the other was juſtly eſteemed. In the ſame preface, Mr. Aſhmole gives us the following ingenuous account of the original author of this treatiſe.

'As for our author, he was without doubt an 'Engliſhman, but has hitherto paſſed with us among 'the anonymi, and the book (his off-ſpring) ſhews 'itſelf ſufficiently legitimate, though the true father 'thereof be as yet unknown. I have heard ſome 'notable ſtories, and thoſe backed with perſuaſive 'circumſtances, to make an eaſy faith think the pro- 'vidence very obſervable, that not only furniſhed a 'laborious ſearcher into this myſterious learning with 'the original itſelf, but moſt fortunately directed 'him to three grains of the powder cloſed up be- 'tween two leaves thereof, with which he made 'projection; but I affect not to fly-blow the ears of 'my readers, only this I can modeſtly aver, that my 'copy was a tranſcript of that original.

'The work ſeems to be written about the begin- 'ning of the laſt (or end of the former) century, 'the main drift of the author being from weighty 'and ſerious arguments and examples, to prove the 'poſſibility of ſuch a thing as the Philoſopher's ſtone, 'whereby is largely manifeſted, that nature has ex- 'hibited greater wonders to the view of the world; 'and as great things have been (and conſequently 'may be) performed by other weaker and leſſer 'means, where a due, friendly, and philoſophical 'conjunction of art and nature is fully underſtood, 'and yet how be it (becauſe ſuch are familiar unto, 'and ordinary among us) we conſider them not; 'tis 'a diſcourſe fraught with variety of excellent rational 'matter, and fitted to the learned, as well as meaner 'capacities; nay, ſuch as I boldly perſuade myſelf, 'will fully ſatisfy both, beyond any thing yet extant 'of this nature. And I believe many captious argu- 'ments, heretofore uſed and urged againſt the truth 'of this ſo infallible a ſcience, will here meet with 'ſatisfactory ſolutions, and henceforth find no fur- 'ther place in any diſcourſe ſavouring but of ſo- 'briety.

'I muſt alſo acquaint the reader, that this piece 'was of ſo high a value with the induſtrious Doctor 'Everard, as it invited him to beſtow his pains in 'the marginal notes; wherein (like a ſkilful Philo- 'ſopher, whoſe firſt operation is to make hidden 'things manifeſt) he drew forth and diſcovered, that 'which our author's magiſterial pen thought fit to 'conceal, and having obtained thoſe notes (they 'being added to a tranſcript of this work, and both 'fairly written in the Doctor's hand) from a very 'intimate friend (one extraordinarily learned, and a 'great ornament of our nation) I was willing to 'make them public alſo (27).'

This addreſs to the reader, which is dated April 16, 1658, was a kind of farewel to Hermetic philoſophy from Mr. Aſhmole. For though he afterwards depoſited many valuable MSS. ralating to this ſcience in a public library for the benefit of poſterity, yet he wrote nothing more upon the ſubject. The book itſelf, deſerved the pains that both Dr. Everard and Mr. Aſhmole beſtowed about it; for beyond all doubt, in this genuine edition of our author, it is the beſt and moſt ſenſible book in our language, containing as much truth, and much more learning and reaſon, than the boaſted performances of Eugenius, or of Irenæus Philalethes.

(26) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 891.

(27) Our author had this book from his father Backhouſe, tho' he does not mention ſo much, and therefore to him we muſt refer the ſtory of the powder between the leaves, and the projection.

the

the Tower, and elſewhere, comparing them with each other, and obtaining ſuch lights, as were requiſite to render ſo perplexed a ſubject clear, and to reduce all the circumſtances of ſuch a vaſt body of hiſtory into their proper order (*g*). In September following he made a journey to Oxford, where he was extremely well received, and where he undertook the making a full and diſtinct deſcription of the coins given to the public library by Archbiſhop Laud, which was of great uſe to him in the works which he afterwards compoſed (*h*). He had lodged and boarded ſometimes at a houſe in South Lambeth, kept by Mr. John Tredeſcant, whoſe father and himſelf had been phyſic-gardeners there for many years, and had collected a vaſt number of curioſities, which, after mature deliberation, Mr. Tredeſcant and his wife determined to beſtow on Mr. Aſhmole, and accordingly ſealed and delivered a deed of gift for that purpoſe, on the ſixteenth of December 1659 (*i*). Upon the happy reſtoration of King Charles II., Mr. Aſhmole was early introduced into the preſence and favour of his Majeſty, and on the 18th of June 1660, which was the ſecond time he had the honour of diſcourſing with the King, he graciouſly beſtowed upon him the place of Windſor Herald (*k*) A few days after, he was appointed by the King to make a deſcription of his medals, and had them delivered into his hands, and King Henry VIIIth's cloſet aſſigned for his uſe, being alſo allowed his diet at Court (*l*). On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt in the ſame year, he preſented the three books which he had publiſhed to his Majeſty, who, as he both loved and underſtood chemiſtry, received them very graciouſly (*m*). On the third of September he had a warrant ſigned for the office of Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, in conſequence of a letter written by his Majeſty's expreſs command, to the Earl of Southampton, then Lord High-Treaſurer, by Mr. Secretary Morris (*n*). About this time, a commiſſion was granted to him as incidental to the care of the King's medals, to examine the famous, or rather infamous, Hugh Peters, about the contents of the royal library which had fallen into his hands, and which was very carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect (*o*) [*K*]. On the ſecond of November he was called to the bar in Middle-Temple hall (*p*). On the fifteenth of January 166⅟, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society (*q*). On the 9th of February following, the King ſigned a warrant for conſtituting him Secretary of Surinam in the Weſt Indies (*r*). In the beginning of the year 1662, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for recovering the King's goods (*s*), and about the ſame time he ſent a ſet of ſervices and anthems to the cathedral church of Litchfield, in memory of his having been once a Choriſter there, and he gave afterwards twenty pounds towards repairing the cathedral (*t*). On the twenty-ſeventh of June 1664, the *White Office* was opened, of which he was appointed a Commiſſioner (*u*). On the ſeventeenth of February 1665, Sir Edward Byſhe ſealed his deputation for viſiting Berkſhire, which viſitation he began on the eleventh of March following (*w*). On the ninth of June 1668, he was appointed by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, Accomptant General, and Country Accomptant in the Exciſe (*x*). His ſecond wife, Lady Mainwaring, dying on the firſt of April in the ſame year, he ſoon after made his addreſſes to Mrs. Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to his good friend Sir William Dugdale, Knt. Garter King at Arms, and to this lady, who was his third wife, he was married in Lincoln's-Inn chapel, on the third of November, by Dr. Lloyd, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter (*y*). The Univerſity of Oxford, conſidering the many favours they had received from Mr. Aſhmole, on the nineteenth of July 1669, created him Doctor of Phyſic by diploma, which was preſented to him on the third of November following, by Dr. Yates, Principal of Brazen-Noſe College, in the name of the Univerſity (*z*). He

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 888.

(*g*) See the Preface to his Hiſt. of the Garter. Memoirs, p. 9. Diary, p. 35.

(*i*) Diary, p. 36.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. 10. Diary, p. 37.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 887. Diary, p. 37.

(*m*) See his Majeſty's Character, by Sheffield Duke of Buckingham.

(*o*) This paſſage is omitted in Bp. Kennet's Regiſter, though he ſets down ſo many minute circumſtances.

(*p*) Memoirs, p. 11.

(*q*) Diary, p. 37.

(*r*) Memoirs, p. 12. Diary, p. 37.

(*n*) I have ſeen this letter which is without date, and the Lord Treaſurer is told therein, that treating Mr. Aſhmole kindly, would be very acceptable to his Majeſty.

(*s*) Diary, p. 38.

(*t*) Diary, p. 38, 39.

(*u*) Memoirs, p. 40.

(*w*) Diary, p. 40.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 887.

(*y*) Diary, p. 42.

(*z*) Memoirs, p. 12.

[*K*] *Carefully and punctually executed, but to very little effect.*] It was a thing notorious, that this enthuſiaſtical buffoon, Hugh Peters, had gotten poſſeſſion of the King's library and cloſet, in thoſe times of rebellion and confuſion, and it was no leſs notorious, that the moſt valuable curioſities in them were embezzled and diſſipated all over Europe, and therefore the Parliament ſhewed an early care in this reſpect (28); and the King alſo iſſued the following warrant, for obtaining the beſt account that could be had of his royal father's effects.

(28) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 36.

CHARLES REX.

To our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Robinſon, Knt. and Bart. Lieutenant of our Tower of London.

OUR will and pleaſure is, that you permit Thomas Roſs, and Elias Aſhmole, Eſquires; to ſpeak with and examine Hugh Peters, concerning our books and medals, that have been embezzled, and this to be performed in your preſence; for which this ſhall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 10th day of September 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Upon this Mr. Aſhmole, and Mr. Roſs, who was Tutor to the D. of Monmouth, did accordingly take ſome pains with Hugh Peters, on this head, but with how ſmall effect the following report ſhews.

An Account of what Mr. Hugh Peters gave upon his Examination before the Honourable Sir John Robinſon, Lieutenant of his Majeſty's Tower, taken by Mr. Roſs and Mr. Aſhmole, aſſigned thereunto 12 Sept. 1660.

The examinant ſaith, That about the year 1648, in Auguſt, he preſerved the library in Saint James's, againſt the violence and rapine of the ſoldiers, and the ſame continued three or four months under his cuſtody, and that he did not take there any thing, but left it unviolated as he found it. He doth confeſs that he ſaw divers medals of gold, ſilver, and braſs, and other pieces of antiquity, as iron rings, and the like, but that he took nothing thence, and then delivered up the key and cuſtody of them, to Major-General Ireton; and further he ſaith, that he never had or ſaw any thing belonging thereto.

Given upon oath before me John Robinſon, Lieutenant of the Tower (29).

HUGH PETERS.

(29) Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. i. p. 103, 104.

was now courted and eſteemed by the greateſt people in the kingdom, both in point of title and merit, who frequently did him the honour to viſit him at his chambers in the Temple, and whenever he went his ſummer progreſs, he had the ſame reſpect paid him in the country, more eſpecially at his native town of Litchfield, to which when he came, he was ſplendidly entertained by the Corporation (*a*). On the eighth of May 1672, he preſented his laborious work on the moſt noble order of the Garter, to his moſt gracious maſter King Charles II., who not only received it with great civility and kindneſs, but ſoon after granted to our author, as a mark of his approbation of the work, and of his perſonal eſteem for him, a privy ſeal for 400 pounds out of the cuſtom of paper (*b*). This was his greateſt undertaking, and indeed if he had publiſhed nothing elſe, it ought to have preſerved his memory for ever, ſince it is in its kind one of the moſt valuable books in our language [*L*]. On the twenty-ninth of January 1675, he reſigned his office of Windſor Herald, which, by his procurement, was beſtowed on his brother Dugdale (*c*). It was with great reluctancy that the Earl Marſhal parted with him, and it was not long after, that he beſtowed on him the character of being *the beſt officer in his office* (*d*). On the twentieth of February 1677, Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, deceaſed, upon which a controverſy grew between the King and the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl Marſhal, about the right of diſpoſing of his place, on which Mr. Aſhmole was conſulted, who declared in favour of the King, but with ſo much prudence and diſcretion as not to give any umbrage to the Earl Marſhal (*e*). He afterwards refuſed this high office, which was conferred on his father in-law Sir William Dugdale,

(*a*) Diary, p. 46.

(*b*) Memoirs, p. 13.

(*c*) Diary, p. 53.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(*e*) Memoirs, p. 13.

[*L*] *One of the moſt valuable books in our language.*] The title of this excellent work at large runs thus. IV. *The Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. Collected and digeſted into one body by* Elias Aſhmole, *of the Middle-Temple, Eſquire*; Windeſore *Herald at Arms. A work furniſhed with variety of matter relating to Honour and Nobleſſe.* Lond. 1672, Folio. It is, beyond compariſon, the moſt finiſhed piece that ever fell from the hand of our author, and contains a vaſt treaſure of hiſtory and antiquities, which had they not been thus preſerved, had been unqueſtionably loſt to all poſterity. As to the deſign of the performance, the preface, which is very ſhort, and written in a much plainer and more correct ſtile, than any thing he had formerly penned in the ſame way, ſufficiently informs us, as well as the manner in which it is diſpoſed; and therefore we have tranſcribed two or three of the moſt remarkable and material paragraphs, in order to confirm theſe remarks to the reader.

'As I ever had a great veneration for the moſt 'noble order of the Garter, ſo muſt it needs be 'imagined, that I was accordingly much concerned 'in the late unhappy times, to ſee the honour of it 'trampled on, and itſelf ſunk into a very low eſteem 'among us. That reflection put me upon thoughts, 'not only of doing ſomething, that might inform the 'world of the nobleneſs of its inſtitution, and the 'glory which in proceſs of time it acquired, both 'at home and abroad, but alſo of drawing up, in 'the nature of a formulary, both the legal and cere-'monial part thereof, for the better conduct of ſuch 'as might be therein afterwards concerned, in caſe 'the eclipſe it then laboured under in our horizon, 'ſhould prove of ſo long continuance, as that many 'occurrences, worthy of knowledge, might come to 'be in a manner forgotten.

'Upon the firſt communication of my deſign, to 'the late Reverend Doctor Chriſtopher Wren, Re-'giſter of the ſaid order, it received not only his 'approbation, but alſo his ready aſſiſtance in the uſe 'of the annals thereof, then in his cuſtody. From 'theſe and other authentic manuſcripts and auto-'graphs, particularly relating to the order, and a 'painful and chargeable ſearch of our public records, 'I had collected the greateſt part of my materials 'before the happy reſtoration of his now Majeſty, 'the preſent Sovereign of this moſt noble order; who 'being afterwards acquainted with what I had done, 'was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to countenance it, and 'encourage me in the proſecution thereof.

'The work in general contains an hiſtorical ac-'count of the laws and ceremonies of the ſaid moſt 'noble order; but more particularly its inſtitution, 'the manner and order obſerved in elections, inveſti-'tures, and inſtallations of Knights, the holding of 'chapters, celebration of feſtivals, the formality of 'proceedings, the magnificence of embaſſies, ſent 'with the habit to ſtranger Kings and Princes, in ſum 'all other things relative to the order. In the 'illuſtration whereof, I have inſerted (where they 'properly occurred) the moſt eminent and conſider-'able caſes, which have required and received diſ-'cuſſion in chapters, the determination thereupon, 'becoming rules and laws; whence it may be ob-'ſerved, that the foundation and ſuperſtructures of 'the order were laid and raiſed upon the exacteſt 'rules of honour. And to ſupply the failure and de-'fects of the annals, I have been forced to make 'uſe of memorials and relations, yet ſuch as were 'taken notice of and committed to writing, either 'by ſome of the officers of the order, or thoſe of 'arms, during the times of their attendance on the 'ſervice of the order, and conſequently of ſufficient 'authority for me to rely on.

'To uſher in thoſe, I have given a proſpect of 'knighthood in general, of the ſeveral orders of 'knighthood, as alſo of the antiquity of the caſtle 'and college of Windſor, and cloſed all with the 'honours, martial employments, and famous actions, 'the matches, and iſſues of the founder, and firſt 'knights-companions; as alſo a perfect catalogue of 'their ſucceſſors to this very preſent. All which are 'adorned with variety of ſculptures, properly relating 'to the ſeveral parts of the work.'

He was not only ſo happy as to receive thoſe extraordinary marks of the Sovereign's favour, mentioned in the text, but was complimented in an obliging manner, by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York; who, though then at ſea againſt the Dutch, ſent for his book by the Earl of Peterborough, and afterwards told our author he was extremely pleaſed with it (30). The reſt of the Knights-companions of the moſt noble order, received him and his book with much reſpect and civility, and yet the regard ſhewn to it, and to its author abroad, was much more ſingular (31). It was repoſited by the then Pope, in the library of the Vatican. King Chriſtiern of Denmark, ſent him, in 1674, by Thomas Henſhaw, Eſq; the King's Reſident at Copenhagen, a gold chain and medal, which, with the King's leave, on certain high feſtivals he wore. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburgh, ſent him the like preſent, and ordered his book to be tranſlated into High-Dutch (32). He was afterwards viſited by the Elector Palatine's, the grand Duke of Tuſcany's, and other foreign Princes Miniſters, to return him thanks for this book, which he took care ſhould be preſented them, and thereby ſpread the fame of the Garter, the nation, and himſelf, all over Europe (33). Yet it does not appear, that this laborious and exquiſite performance advanced at all the deſign he had formed ſome years before, of getting himſelf appointed Hiſtoriographer to the order, to which propoſal ſome objections were made, and by our author fully anſwered (34), although we find no mention of this circumſtance in any memoirs of Mr. Aſhmole hitherto extant.

(30) Diary, p. 46, 47.

(31) Memoirs, p. 12.

(32) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 889.

(33) Chriſt. Gryphius de Scriptor Hiſt. Sec. xvii. p. 355.

(34) This piece is amongſt the MSS. of Mr. Aſhmole at Oxford, Cod. 741.

for

for whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt (f) [M]. About the cloſe of the year 1677, a propoſal was made to Mr. Aſhmole to become a candidate for the city of Litchfield, with which it was with ſome difficulty that he cloſed, and when he did, he found

(f) See the article of DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

[M] *For whom he employed his utmoſt intereſt.*] This was one of the nobleſt and moſt generous actions of our author's life, and he has left a particular account of it under his own hand, which not being included in the Diary of his life, that has been printed, ſeems the rather to deſerve a place here (35). 'February 21, My Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr. Seth Ward) having been at my houſe in Sheere-Lane, (which then ſtood empty, having ſome time before retired into the country to dwell) and at my chamber in the Temple; but miſſing me at both places, heard at length I dwelt at South-Lambeth, whereupon the next day he ſent me an obliging letter (Feb. 22) to acquaint me, that as ſoon as he heard of Sir Edward Walker's death, he endeavoured to find me out, but being not able, he immediately ſpoke to the Duke of York, and ſome other Knights of the Garter, to move the King on my behalf to ſucceed him. But the Duke wiſhed him rather to move the matter to the King, becauſe he was pre-engaged, *viz.* to the Earl-Marſhal, and immediately gave him an opportunity to do it. The King gave him ſuch an anſwer, as cauſed him to believe and hope his inclinations were very good to me; but it appeared after, that the Earl-Marſhal had acquainted the King, with a claim himſelf had of the diſpoſing of that office, which induced his Majeſty to give the Biſhop no poſitive anſwer.

'The letter his Lordſhip ſent me by one of his gentlemen, who found me at home, under a fortnight's ill indiſpoſition, by whom I returned my moſt humble thanks, and informed him I had no inclination to accept of the place, and therefore deſired him to preſs it no farther, and that I would attend him as ſoon as I was able to ſtir out of doors, and then acquaint him with the reaſons of my refuſal.

'March 3d, I went to give my Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, my perſonal thanks, for ſo real a kindneſs, and told him I was retired into the country, with reſolutions to take upon me no new employments, and had (to make my retirement more comfortable and eaſy) reſigned my Herald's place, and thrown off all other kinds of buſineſs (except the Comptrollerſhip of the Exciſe), and for that reaſon was not willing to enter again upon any other whatſoever; and that in caſe his Majeſty ſhould enquire of him, why he did not preſent his ſuit on my behalf, he ſhould be ready to anſwer, that my employment in the Exciſe took up my whole time, and I was doubtful, leaſt my attendance at White-Hall, the Heralds-Office, or elſewhere, upon matters relating to this office, might occaſion me to neglect that ſervice, which ſo nearly related to his Majeſty's profit and advantage.

'March 7th, This morning I went to wait upon my Lord Marſhal, who told me, he heard I uſed means to the King, to obtain Garter's place, but conceived it was his right, as Earl-Marſhal, to diſpoſe of it. I repeated him the reaſons I had before given his ſecretary, why I was of opinion it was the King's right, not his, and denied that I ſo much as looked after the place, and therefore acquainted him firſt with what the Biſhop of Saliſbury, out of kindneſs to me had done (though without my knowledge), next that I had entreated him to proceed no further, and laſtly gave his Lordſhip the ſame reaſons for declining the employment, which I had before given to the Biſhop. He thereupon deſired me to give him leave to tell the King ſo much, which I readily did. He then told me, he heard Sir William Howard made means to the King for it, and aſked my opinion whether he could be Garter, who was not of the Office of Arms. I anſwered, there had antiently been two perſons made Garter, who had not been officers of Arms; but I hoped the King would not ſo far diſcourage the preſent officers, as to chuſe a ſtranger in the place. Whereupon he aſked me leave to let the King know this was my ſenſe, which he did: then I acquainted him, that the King had commanded me to aſſiſt the Chancellor, in making out his right to the nomination of Garter, and though I refuſed the place, yet I durſt not deny him that ſervice: This he did not very well like, but I told him I knew not which way to avoid it.

(35) Aſhmole's Memoirs, p. 14—20.

'March 31, 1677. The next morning after the Earl-Marſhal's pretenſions to the right of nominating Garter, had been heard before the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, I had occaſion to attend my Lord Treaſurer Danby, about ſome buſineſs in the exciſe-office. Mr. Ch. Bertie, his ſecretary ſeeing me there, aſked me why I did not ſeek after the place? and intimated that my Lord Treaſurer thought me the fitteſt perſon for it; but I told him I had no ambition towards it, and feared that my attendance about this place, might occaſion ſome neglect in the exciſe-office; and though this excuſe ſtood me in ſome ſtead, and ſeemed conſiderable to others, to whom I had made uſe of it, yet he preſently replied, my Lord Treaſurer would give me leave to execute my Comptroller's place by deputy. To which I had nothing to reply, but that I had many other reaſons that induced me to wave the employment: upon this he told me, my Lord would ſpeak with me in the Park, where I attended till he came thither. When he came, he began to aſk me ſome few queſtions about the preparations he was to make againſt his Inſtallation, and who he ſhould ſend for to inform him therein. I anſwered it was the duty of Garter to inform him; and that this affair being debated the night before (where his Lordſhip was, and of the Committee), I preſumed would be known ere long what was then determined. He anſwered, the matter had that night before the Committee roſe, been determined on the King's ſide againſt my Lord Marſhal; upon which I told his Lordſhip, I preſumed within a few days, Garter would be nominated, and in regard it was above a fortnight to the day of his Inſtallation, it would be time enough to attend him, and make all things ready againſt that time. And here I preſume (by what I gathered from Mr. Bertie's preſſing me to make friends to obtain Garter's place) his Lordſhip expected I would have moved him to have ſpoke to the King for me, and pauſing a little while, aſked me, if I had any thing to ſay to him, I anſwered no, and ſo took my leave.

'In the afternoon Mr. Bertie meeting me again, aſked me what diſcourſe paſſed between his Lordſhip and me. I told him, who wondered I would not move him to ſpeak for me, and uſed many arguments to induce me yet to do it, and told me how unfit Mr. Lee (whom my Lord Marſhal intended for the place) was for it, nor was capable of it, not being a Gentleman of Blood; as he heard the conſtitution of the order required. I ſtill ſhewed my unwillingneſs and left him: notwithſtanding which, on Monday morning April the 1ſt, after he ſat more earneſtly again upon me, and told me he heard the place muſt ſpeedily be diſpoſed of, becauſe the day appointed for Inſtallation approached; and moſt earneſtly preſſed me to apply myſelf to the King to obtain it, but I told him, I was unfit for the place; at which he wondered I ſhould alledge that, when it appeared by my Book of the Garter, there was no Man fitter. I anſwered, my unfitneſs grew from deafneſs increaſing upon me, from decay of my eye-ſight, and greater decay in my memory, all which conſidered, did very much incapacitate me from that ſervice, to which he replied, he never knew any man diſcommend himſelf before, when ſo fair a way lay open for his preferment; I then gave him many hearty thanks for his kind inclinations to me, and ſo parted.

'April the 2d, The next morning my Lord Marſhal coming out of the Lords houſe, he told me, the King had pitched upon my father Dugdale to be Garter, and believed it would not diſpleaſe me. I anſwered, I was very glad of it, and I thought it was the beſt choice; but he being in Warwick-

found the magiſtrates and ſome other leading perſons of the place, notwithſtanding both their obligations and their invitations, ſo far from being cordial, that he thought it prudent to draw off in time (*g*). On the twenty-ſixth of January, 1679, about ten in the morning, a fire began in the Middle Temple, in the next chambers to Mr. Aſhmole's, by which he loſt a library he had been collecting thirty-three years; but his MSS. eſcaped, by their being at his houſe in South Lambeth. He likewiſe loſt a collection of 9000 coins, ancient and modern; but his more valuable collection of gold medals were likewiſe preſerved by being at Lambeth; his vaſt repoſitory of ſeals, charters, and other antiquities and curioſities, periſhed alſo in the flames (*b*). In 1683, the univerſity of Oxford having finiſhed a noble repoſitory near the Theatre, Mr. Aſhmole ſent thither that great collection of rarities which he had received from the Tredeſcants beforementioned, together with ſuch additions as he had made to them, and to this great benefaction he afterwards added that of his MSS. and Library (*i*), which ſtill remain a monument of his generous love to learning in general, and to the univerſity of Oxford in particular [*N*]. In the beginning of the year 1685, he was invited by the magiſtrates, and by the Dean of Litchfield, to repreſent that corporation in Parliament; but upon King James's intimating to him by the Lord Dartmouth, that he would take it kindly if he would reſign his intereſt to Mr. Lewſon, he waited upon his Majeſty and told him, that he was all obedience (*k*). On the tenth of January, 1686, died his father-in-law, Sir William Dugdale, on which occaſion Mr. Aſhmole declined a ſecond time the office of Garter King at Arms, and did all that was in his power to recommend his brother Dugdale,

(*g*) Diary, p. 59.

(*b*) See an extract of Dr. Plott's letter, giving an account of this loſs, in Athen Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 889.

(*i*) Memoirs, p. 22.

(*k*) Diary, p. 73.

'ſhire, his Lordſhip added, he would ſend for him 'up by that night's poſt.

'I have been thus particular, becauſe after this 'time, ſome of the officers of Arms (Mr. Hold-'ford, &c.) aſſerted, my Lord Marſhal had ſaid, (and 'it was moſt certain) I ſought underhand to get Gar-'ter's place, though openly I ſeemed to decline it; 'which I could not but wonder at, becauſe I had 'been ſo clear with his Lordſhip, in averring the 'contrary; and alſo becauſe his Lordſhip had told 'my father, upon his coming to town, that I had 'carried myſelf very fairly in the managing the 'buſineſs againſt him. Though both honour and profit 'lay on this occaſion before me; yet God having 'taken from me both ambition and covetouſneſs, 'I ſet more value upon the retired life I was entered 'into, than all the advantage and honour I ſhould 'reap by that office.'

[*N*] *To the univerſity of Oxford in particular.*] The reaſon why our author had ſo warm an affection for Oxford, was plainly from his becoming a member thereof, in thoſe dreadful times of public confuſion, when all who were loyal reſorted to Oxford, and that moſt tender mother of arts, and nurſe of all virtues, opened her arms to embrace all who were loyal, let their circumſtances be what they would. This correſpondence begun in difficult, continued in diſmal times, begat on one ſide regard for ſo eminent a perſon, as appears by the notice taken of him among the writers of Brazen-noſe college (36), and on the other, the deepeſt reſpect for ſo venerable a body in a happier age, when peace, proſperity, and learning returned with the King. Theſe ſentiments diſcovered themſelves on both ſides, by a variety of public acts, which are mentioned in the text, and were cloſed by this. It was towards the latter end of October 1677, that he made an offer to the univerſity, of beſtowing on it all that valuable collection of the *Tredeſcants*, which was ſo well known to the learned world, and which had been exceedingly improved ſince it came into his poſſeſſion, together with all the coins, medals, and manuſcripts of his own collecting, provided they would erect a building fit to receive them; to which propoſition the univerſity willingly aſſented (37). Accordingly on Thurſday the 15th of May 1679, the firſt ſtone of that ſtately fabric, afterwards called *Aſhmole's Muſæum*, was laid on the weſt ſide of the theatre, and being finiſhed by the beginning of March, 1682, there were put therein on the 20th of the ſame month, about twelve cart-loads of rarities, ſent to Oxford by Mr. Aſhmole, which being fixed in their proper places, by Robert Plott, LL.D. who before had been intruſted with the cuſtody of the ſaid Muſæum, were firſt of all publicly viewed on the 21ſt of May following, by his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, his royal Conſort Joſepha Maria, Princeſs Anne, and their attendants, and on the 24th of the ſame month, by the Doctors and Maſters of the univerſity. In a convocation held on the 4th of June following (1683) were letters openly read, whereby Mr. Aſhmole gave for ever to the univerſity of Oxford, all the ſaid rarities, notwithſtanding he had been courted by ſome to beſtow them elſewhere, and that others had offered great ſums for them. Whereupon a Latin letter of thanks, penned by him who was then deputy orator, being publicly read, was forthwith ſent to Mr. Aſhmole at South Lambeth (38). In July 1690, he viſited the univerſity with his wife, and was received with all imaginable honour, and entertained at a noble dinner in his Muſæum; upon which occaſion Mr. Edward Hannes, A. M. the Chemical Profeſſor, afterwards an eminent phyſician, made an elegant oration to him (39). His benefaction to the univerſity was very conſiderably enlarged at his death by the addition of his library, which conſiſted of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-eight books, of which ſix hundred and twenty were manuſcripts, and of them three hundred and eleven folio's, relating chiefly to Engliſh Hiſtory, Heraldry, Aſtronomy, and Chemiſtry, with a great variety of pamphlets, part of which had been ſorted by himſelf, and the reſt are methodized ſince, and a double catalogue made, one claſſical, according to their various ſubjects, and another alphabetical (40). He bequeathed alſo to the ſame place, two gold chains and a medal, the one a philigreen chain of ninety links, weighing twenty-two ounces, with a medal of the Elector of Brandenburg, upon which is the effigies of that Elector, and on the reverſe, a view of Straelſund, ſtruck upon the ſurrender of that important city, a Collar of S.S. with a medal of the King of Denmark, and a gold medal of the Elector Palatine, and a George of the Duke of Norfolk, worn by his grandfather, when he was ambaſſador in Germany. All theſe he had received as acknowledgments of the honour which he had done the Garter, by his labours on that ſubject (41). Over the entrance to the Muſæum, fronting the ſtreet is the following inſcription in capital letters:

(36) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. P. ii. p. 224.

(37) Memoirs, p. 22.

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 889.

(39) *Id. ibid.*

(40) Memoirs, p. 23.

(41) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 889.

Muſæum Aſhmoleanum, Schola Naturalis Hiſtoriæ, Officina Chymica.

That is,

Aſhmole's Muſæum, the Natural Hiſtory School, the Chemical Laboratory.

Over the door of Mr. Aſhmole's library, at the top of the ſtairs is the following inſcription in letters of gold, *viz.*

Libri impreſſi et manuſcripti e donis clariſſ. virorum D. Eliæ Aſhmole, *et* Martini Liſter; *Quibus non paucos addidit Vir induſtrius, nec infime de Re Antiquariâ Promeritus D.* Joannes Aubrey, *de* Eaſton Peirce, *apud Wiltonienſes, Arm. et Soc. Reg. Socius.*

In Engliſh thus,

The printed and manuſcript books beſtowed by thoſe moſt famous men Elias Aſhmole, and Martin Liſter; to which not a few were added by that induſtrious man, and no mean deſerver in things relating to antiquity, John Aubrey, of Eaſton Peirce, in Wiltſhire, Eſq; and F. R. S. (42)

in

(42) Diary, p. 82.

in which, though he did not fully ſucceed, yet he procured him the place of Norroy (*l*), and this was one of the laſt public acts of his life, the remainder of which was ſpent in an honourable retirement to the day of his demiſe, which happened on the eighteenth of May, 1692, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age (*m*). He was, beyond a queſtion, one of the greateſt men, and one of the greateſt patrons of learning in the laſt century. He was a great lover of Chemiſtry, and by his care and diligence, preſerved many valuable MSS. relating to that ſcience, beſides thoſe that he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed [*O*]. He had a great genius for hiſtory and antiquities, as ſufficiently appears by his learned and laborious works, both printed and manuſcripts [*P*]. He was likewiſe a generous encourager and protector of ſuch ingenious and learned men, as were leſs fortunate in the world than himſelf, as appears by his kindneſs to Sir George Wharton in the worſt of times (*n*), his reſpect to the memory of his friend Mr. John Booker (*o*), and the care he took in the education of the late eminent Dr. George Smalridge (*p*), as will be ſhewn in our article of him. His corpſe was interred in the church of Great Lambeth in Surrey, on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1692, and a black marble ſtone laid over his grave, with a Latin inſcription, in which, though there is much to his honour, there

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 890.

(*n*) Diary, p. 23.

(*o*) Lilly's Hiſt. of his own Life and Times. Diary, p. 44.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1065. Diary, p. 67. Memoirs, p. 2.

[*O*] *Beſides thoſe he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed.*] After Mr. Aſhmole once addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquities and records, he never deſerted it, or could be prevailed upon to reſume his deſign of ſending abroad the works of the other Engliſh *Adepti*, though he had made large collections towards it. I have a very good authority for what I ſay. Mr. William Cooper in his preface to one of Philalethes's pieces, which he publiſhed in 1678, ſpeaking of our author's Theatrum Chymicum Britannicum, ſays (39), *I heartily wiſh that the learned Philoſophers of our age, could prevail with him to publiſh his ſecond volume of that collection, which he had almoſt finiſhed almoſt twenty years ſince (as I had it from his own mouth) and hath lain a-ſleep ever ſince, and likely ſo to lye; for to the perfecting thereof, he is now unwilling to be brought, unleſs ſome worthy friend of his can be wrought upon to prevail with him, before the ſleep of death ſeizes him, and leaves theſe rare pieces of antiquity to be inevitably loſt, to the prejudice of all philoſophers, and great diſhonour to the Engliſh nation.* This very complaint, ſhews how well (even then) he ſtood with the Hermetic tribe, of whom this Mr. Cooper was the moſt zealous encourager, and yet no reaſon is aſſigned for his remiſſneſs, which ſuits ſo little with the character of the indefatigable Mr. Aſhmole, that I am convinced he was with-held by ſome more worthy motive. In ſhort, I am perſuaded ſome of the abler Alchemiſts ſhewed him his miſtakes, as to what he had already publiſhed, particularly as to the Arcanum beforementioned, which he calls the work of a concealed author, though in what ſeems to be the motto, *viz.* the words *Penes nos unda Tagi*, the very name of the author was expreſſed, *viz. Jean Eſpagnet.* He was Preſident of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and is eſteemed the ableſt writer on this ſort of learning, whoſe works are extant. But this piece publiſhed by Mr. Aſhmole, was only the ſecond part of Eſpagnet's work, the firſt being publiſhed under this title, *Enchiridion Phyſicæ reſtitutæ cum Arcano Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1623, 8*vo. i. e.* The Enchiridion of revived Phyſick, with the ſecret of the Hermetic Philoſophy. In the title of this work, the author's name is concealed under another anagrammatical motto, *viz. Spes mea in agno eſt.* The ſecond part was entitled, *Enchiridium Philoſophiæ Hermeticæ.* Pariſ. 1628, 8*vo.* It was printed again in 1647, and a third time in 1650, and from this laſt edition our author tranſlated it. The truth is, and the Abbé Freſnoy has very juſtly obſerved it, our author was never an Adept, and began to write when he was but a diſciple (40). He grew afterwards more cautious, and though he never miſſed any opportunity of purchaſing chymical MSS., yet he was cured of the itch of publiſhing them, and held it ſufficient to depoſit them in the Bodleian library, for their greater ſecurity, and for the benefit of ſociety. As this has not been taken notice of at all by any of the writers of his life, I imagine, I may do ſome ſervice to the lovers of Chemiſtry, if I juſt mention a few of thoſe pieces, thus preſerved by the care of Mr. Aſhmole. 1. *Geberi, ſuper Artem Alchymiæ*, lib. vi. *i. e.* Geber's Art of Alchemy in ſix books, a quarto MS. on parchment. 2. *Albohali*; *i. e. Avicennæ liber de rebus Alchymicis*; e. Albohali; that is, Avicenna's Treatiſe on Chemical Matters. This piece is highly valuable and curious. 3. *De diſtinctione Mercurii Aquarum, liber unus*; i. e. Of the Diſtinction of the Mercury of Waters. This piece is aſcribed to Morienus, a Roman Hermit, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. 4. *Pupilla oculi*; i. e. The Apple of the Eye; by Sir George Ripley. This was to have been included in the ſecond volume of his *Theatrum*, and this copy he had prepared for the preſs. 5. *De Regimine Ignium Philoſophorum & quibuſdam Experimentis probatiſſimis*; i. e. Of the management of the Philoſophers Fires, together with ſome approved Experiments. This treatiſe was written alſo by Sir George Ripley, and was to have made a part of the ſame collection. I might add to theſe, a noble copy of the Chemical works of Raymond Lully, in two folios, and many others; but theſe are more than ſufficient to ſhew the curious and intelligent reader, how induſtrious and careful, and, at the ſame time, how capable, and how accurate, a collector he was of treatiſes of this kind, having wonderfully improved himſelf in this knowledge, after he declined writing more upon it, or at leaſt the publiſhing of what he wrote. In foreign countries he was highly extolled for the pains he took in collecting, publiſhing, and explaining, the Engliſh authors on Hermetic Philoſophy, and when his work of the Garter made him ſtill more known to the Princes of Germany, he received their complements on his former performance (41). Neither has his reputation abroad been at all injured by time: for ſince the very learned Olaus Borrichius, Morhoff, Boerhaave, and other great men, have ſhewn the ignorance of ſuch as ran down Chemical writers without diſtinction, and have revived, very deſervedly, the reputation of ſome of theſe old authors; Mr. Aſhmole, who ſaved ſo many of the beſt of them from oblivion, has been juſtly mentioned, as a great preſerver, patron, and protector of learning, which indeed was a character he very juſtly merited, ſince no man ever ſhewed in this reſpect, either more zeal, diligence, or public ſpirit. If therefore we conſider him in this light, we muſt allow that he very worthily filled that poſt which he aſſigned himſelf, when declining the arduous labours which were neceſſary to the gaining his father Backhouſe's legacy, and becoming an Adept, he modeſtly and truly ſtiled himſelf *Mercuriophilus Anglicus*; a title ſo juſt, and ſo expreſſive of his real deſerts, that one would have thought he had exerted his ſkill as a Herald, in deviſing it, if we had not known that Chemiſtry was his firſt, and to his laſt continued his favourite ſtudy.

(39) *See his advertiſement to the reader before* Ripley revived, or an Expoſition on Sir George Ripley's Hermetico-Poetical works. Written by Eyrenæus Philalethes, London, 1678, 8*vo.*

(40) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Tom. iii. p. 105, 106.

(41) Theoph. Sincer. Narichten. p. 190.

[*P*] *Laborious works both printed and manuſcripts.*] We have already given an exact account of all the works that were publiſhed by our author in his lifetime; it remains therefore, that we ſay ſomething of ſuch as were publiſhed after his deceaſe, and of thoſe that ſtill continue in MS. V. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Feneſtral Inſcriptions, with the Draughts of the Tombs*, &c. *in all the Churches in Berkſhire.* It was penned in 1666; and the original viſitation taken in the two preceding years, in virtue of his deputation from Sir Edward Byſhe, Clariencieux King at Arms, which makes another folio volume, ſtands next to this in Mr. Aſhmole's collection of MSS., but both have been publiſhed to the world within theſe few years, under another title than their author ever deſigned them. VI. *Familiarum illuſtrium Imperatorumq; Romanorum*

there is nothing which exceeds the truth [Q]. It was the peculiar happineſs of Mr. Aſhmole, that, living and dead, a due reſpect was paid to his learning, virtue, and public ſpirit. His unſhaken loyalty to his Royal Maſter, in the worſt of times, recommended him to the worthieſt men in the kingdom, as his application to the Sciences then moſt in eſteem, gained the friendſhip of the powerful and conſiderable amongſt the other party, by which he ſecured peace, and the leiſure neceſſary to follow his private ſtudies, when it was no longer poſſible for him to ſerve the Public. But notwithſtanding he concealed, he never changed, or made a ſhew of changing his principles; ſo that on the Reſtoration of King Charles II., he ſtood ſo clear in his Majeſty's opinion, that, by his order, Mr. Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lord High-Treaſurer, Southampton, that Mr. Aſhmole was a perſon that his Majeſty had a *more than ordinary deſire to prefer*, adding, on his own knowledge, that he was a very deſerving perſon, and a man of more than ordinary parts. The learned Dr. Plott thought our author an honour to the country in which he was born, and therefore places him amongſt the moſt eminent men it had

Romanorum Numiſmata Oxoniæ in Bodleianæ Bibliothecæ Archivis deſcripta & explanata; that is, The Medals of the illuſtrious Families and Roman Emperors, preſerved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, deſcribed and explained. This work was finiſhed by the author in 1659, and given by him to the Public Library in Oxford, in 1666, in three volumes in folio, as it was fitted for the preſs. VII. *A Deſcription and Explanation of the Coins and Medals, belonging to King Charles II.* a folio MS. in the King's cabinet. VIII. *A brief Ceremonial of the feaſt of St. George, held at White-hall* 1661, *with other papers relating to the Order.* IX. *Remarkable Paſſages in the Year* 1660, *ſet down by Mr. Elias Aſhmole.* X. *An Account of the Coronation of our Kings, tranſcribed from a MS. in the King's private cloſet.* XI. *The Proceedings on the Day of the Coronation of King Charles II.*, mentioned by Anthony Wood, as printed in 1672, but he owns he never ſaw it (42). XII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, &c. in ſome Churches and Houſes in Staffordſhire*, taken when he accompanied Sir William Dugdale in his Viſitation. XIII. *The Arms, Epitaphs, Inſcriptions, &c. in Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, &c.* taken at the ſame time. Biſhop Nicolſon, tells us ſomething of his intention to write *the Hiſtory and Antiquities of his native Town of Litchfield*, which it may be preſumed his Lordſhip took upon memory, ſince in the ſame paragraph, he calls Mr. Aſhmole, Garter King at Arms, which ſhews no great attention to what he was writing (43). XIV. *Anſwers to the Objections urged againſt Mr. Aſhmole's being made Hiſtoriographer to the Order of the Garter*, A. D. 1662. XV. *A Tranſlation of* John Francis Spina's *Book of the* Cataſtrophe of the world, to which was ſubjoined *Ambroſe Merlin*'s Prophecy. Mr. Wood tells us, that he was not informed by Mr. Aſhmole's letter (44), when or where this tranſlation was publiſhed, and indeed I make ſome doubt, whether it was publiſhed at all. Father Niceron (45), in his ſhort account of the life of Aſhmole, which is entirely tranſcribed from Wood, mentions none but the books publiſhed in his lifetime, and is not very correct even as to theſe; but we have fully ſhewn that what he printed, was but a very ſmall part of what he wrote; and indeed there is ſcarcely any branch of our Engliſh hiſtory and antiquities, on which he has not left us ſomething valuable, of his own compoſing, in that vaſt repoſitory of papers, which make ſeveral folios, in his Collection of MSS., under the title of XVI. *Collections, Remarks, Notes on Books, and MSS.*, which is a noble proof of his induſtry and application. To cloſe this account, and to give the reader ſome notion of a piece which we have ſo often cited, we ſhall laſtly mention, XVII. *The Diary of his Life*, written by himſelf, which was publiſhed at London 1717, in 12°. with the following title. *Memoirs of the Life of that learned Antiquary, Elias Aſhmole, Eſquire, drawn up by himſelf by way of Diary, with an Appendix of Original Letters. Publiſhed by Charles Burman, Eſquire.* The editor tells us in the preface. 'That the copy from 'whence theſe papers were publiſhed, was in the 'hand-writing of Dr. Robert Plott, chief keeper of the 'Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford, and Secretary of the 'Royal Society, and was tranſcribed by him for the 'uſe of a near relation of Mr. Aſhmole's, a private 'gentleman in Staffordſhire: That they had been 'collated a few years before, by David Perry, 'M. A. of Jeſus College, in Oxford, and chief keeper 'to the Muſæum, who corrected from the ori-'ginal manuſcripts (46) ſome few literal errors.' The editor concludes with obſerving, *that he ſhall not deſcant upon the uſefulneſs of theſe kind of works, but only ſay thus much, That they let us into the ſecret hiſtory of affairs of their ſeveral times, diſcover the ſprings of motion, and diſplay many valuable, though minute circumſtances, overlooked, or unknown to our general hiſtorians; and, to conclude all, ſatiate our largeſt curioſity.* The appendix contains a letter of thanks, dated January 26, 1666, from the corporation at Litchfield, upon the receipt of a ſilver bowl preſented to them by Mr. Aſhmole: A preface to the catalogue of Archbiſhop Laud's medals, drawn up by Mr. Aſhmole, and preſerved in the public library at Oxford: A letter from Dr. Thomas Barlow, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, to Mr. Aſhmole, dated December 28, 1668, on the preſent of his books, deſcribing Archbiſhop Laud's cabinet of medals: A letter from John Evelyn, Eſq; to recommend Dr. Plott to him for reader in Natural Philoſophy, and another from Mr. Joſhua Barnes, dated from Emanuel college, Cambridge, October 15, 1688, wherein he deſires Mr. Aſhmole's pardon, for having reflected upon his Order of the Garter, in his own hiſtory of King Edward III., with Mr. Aſhmole's anſwer to that letter, dated October 23, following. How dry and unentertaining ſoever the peruſal of ſuch a note-book may be in itſelf, yet, as a ſupport in regard to facts and authorities, it is certainly impoſſible to find one that deſerves greater credit.

(42) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 890.

(43) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 132.

(44) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 890.

(45) Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſt. Tom. xxii. p. 363.

(46) In Mr. Aſhmole's Collection at Oxford the original ſtands, Cod. 1136.

[Q] *There is nothing which exceeds the truth.*] This truly worthy and great man, lies buried in the ſouth iſle, at the eaſt end, and on the north ſide of the iſle, in ſouth Lambeth church, and the inſcription above referred to, runs thus (47):

Hic jacet inclytus ille & Eruditiſſimus
ELIAS ASHMOLE Leichfeldenſis Armiger,
Inter alia in Republica Munera,
Tributi in Cerviſias contra Rotulator,
Fæcialis autem Windſorienſis titulo
Per annos plurimos dignatus,
Qui poſt duo connubia in uxorem duxit tertiam
ELIZABETHAM GULIELMI DUGDALE,
Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum filiam;
Mortem obiit 18 Maii, 1692. anno ætatis 76.
Sed durante Muſæo ASHMOLEANO, Oxon.
Nunquam moriturus.

(47) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey. Maitland's Hiſt. of London, p. 790. Aſhmole's Memoirs, p. 24.

In Engliſh thus:

Here lies the celebrated and moſt learned
Elias Aſhmole of Litchfield, Eſq;
Amongſt other public offices
Thoſe of Comptroller of the Exciſe
And Windſor Herald at Arms
For many years he worthily diſcharged,
Who after two marriages took for his third wife
Elizabeth, of William Dugdale
Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms, the daughter;
Breath'd his laſt, 18 *May,* 1692, *in the* 76 *year of his age.*
But while the Aſhmoleum Muſæum at Oxford ſtands
He ſhall never die.

Near it is an atchievement ſet up for the ſame perſon, whereon is the following coat of arms, *viz.* Quarterly *Sable* and *Or*, the firſt quarter on a *Fleur de lis*; of the ſecond: *Aſhmole* impaling *Dugdale, viz. Argent*, a Croſs Malines *Gules*, and a Torteaux with this motto — *Ex una omnia.*

produced,

produced, and to juſtify this, gives him the following character (*q*). ‘ The worſhipful ‘ Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; of Brazen-Noſe college, Oxon, was born at Litchfield in this ‘ county, who for his general ſkill in all the politer ſorts of learning, ſuch as Heraldry, ‘ Antiquities, Chemiſtry, Aſtrology, Natural Philoſophy, *&c.* was made firſt Windſor ‘ Herald, and had the ſuperviſing and ordering the King's cabinet of coins, and made ‘ catalogues of thoſe in the univerſity of Oxford, which univerſity, upon his extraordinary ‘ merit, ſent him a diploma, for his Doctor's degree in the faculty of Phyſic, *ex mero ‘ motu*, without his knowledge or ſeeking; he was alſo honoured in the Inns of Court, ‘ with the title and degree of Barriſter at Law. Laſtly, our late dread Sovereign, King ‘ Charles II., being conſcious of his great knowledge, induſtry, and fidelity, made him ‘ Comptroller of all the Exciſe in England and Wales; he hath obliged the learned ‘ world with many curious books, and lately the univerſity of Oxford, with the beſt ‘ Hiſtory of Nature, Arts, and Antiquities, to be ſeen any where in the world, ‘ not in print or ſculpture, but in a generous donation of the real things themſelves, where- ‘ with they have furniſhed the new Muſæum, lately there erected, and gratefully ſtiled it, ‘ (as a perpetual memorial of ſo noble a benefaction) the *Muſæum Aſhmoleanum*.’ It is true, Dr. Plott had great obligations to our author, and therefore it may be ſuſpected (eſpecially as Mr. Aſhmole was living at the time of his publiſhing that work) that his gratitude had a large ſhare in his eulogium; but nothing of this ſort can be objected to Anthony Wood, who wrote after Mr. Aſhmole's deceaſe, and ſeldom erred on the ſide of panegyric. He ſays, ſpeaking of our author, ‘ I muſt take leave to tell the reader, he was the greateſt Virtuoſo ‘ or Curioſo that ever was known or read of in England before his time. *Uxor ſolis* took ‘ up its habitation in his breaſt, and in his boſom the great God did abundantly ſtore up the ‘ treaſures of all ſorts of wiſdom and knowledge (*r*).’ This we muſt allow to be an extraordinary commendation from ſo ſplenetic a writer, who has not failed giving place to every thing he had heard, that might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon [*R*], as well as to theſe juſt praiſes, which envy herſelf could not refuſe him. But the univerſity of Oxford, more courteous than her Antiquary, expreſſes our author's merit in few words, in the diploma, by which, without his ſolicitation (or ſo much as his knowledge), ſhe created him Doctor in Phyſic; for there his profound learning, as well as his benevolence to that learned body, is ſaid to have rendered him moſt dear to the univerſity. *Ob eruditionem recondita & benevolentia in academia propenſa nobis chariſſimus* (*s*), are their words, and for the ſame cauſes ſhould his memory remain dear to lateſt poſterity; ſince to them have deſcended not only the teſtimonies he gave of his deep ſcience, but alſo thoſe mighty helps, which by his pains he procured, and by his bounty beſtowed, where they might beſt anſwer the ends of judicious enquirers through all ſucceeding ages.

(*q*) Natural Hiſt. of Staffordſhire, p. 276, 277.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 889.

(*s*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 180.

[*R*] *That might abate the reputation of this worthy perſon.*] After mentioning the rarities, coins, medals, books, and manuſcripts, given by Mr. Aſhmole in his lifetime, and at his death, to the univerſity of Oxford, he very abruptly proceeds thus (48), ‘ But the beſt *elixir* that he enjoyed, which was the ‘ foundation of his riches, wherewith he purchaſed ‘ books, rarities, and other things, were the lands, ‘ and jointures, which he had with his ſecond wife, ‘ Mary, *&c.* widow of Sir Thomas Manwaring, ‘ of the Inner Temple, Knt. ſome time Steward of ‘ Reading: After whoſe death Mr. Aſhmole taking ‘ her to wife, Nov. 16, 1649, enjoyed her eſtate, ‘ though not her company, for altogether, to the ‘ day of her death, which happened April 1, 1668.’ In this jumbled and unconnected paragraph, there is a large proportion of malice, and a very ſmall mixture of truth, as the reader will eaſily diſcern from a ſhort examination. 1. There is a baſe *innuendo*, as if Mr. Aſhmole had ſtudied Chemiſtry to little purpoſe, ſince without his wife, he had miſſed of the *elixir*, whereas in fact, he was a *lover* of Chemiſtry, only never wrought with his hands, and conſequently never ſought the *elixir*, which indeed he never needed. 2. It is inſinuated, that from this marriage Mr. Aſhmole obtained all that he had, and that if he was a great benefactor to the univerſity of Oxford, it came all out of his lady's lands, and jointures: But is this true? A very large part of his collection was bequeathed to him by Mr. John Tredeſcant, and conſequently did not come by his wife. Beſides, a prodigious ſhare of what curioſities, *&c.* he might have purchaſed in that wife's time, were burned in the fire, which conſumed his chambers in the Temple, and ſo were loſt to him and the univerſity too. Laſtly, after this lady's deceaſe, Mr. Aſhmole remained Windſor Herald, Keeper of Rarities to the King, Commiſſioner for recovering King Charles the Firſt's goods, Secretary of Surinam, and Comptroller of the Exciſe, which places one would imagine, might furniſh occaſion and money too, for buying books and curioſities, as well as Lady Manwaring's jointure; ſo that, after all, there is as little of veracity, as of decency or gratitude, in theſe remarks of our Antiquary of Oxford. 3. But the ſevereſt ſtroke of all, is as to the ſeparation of him and his wife, which might induce an unwary reader, to believe Mr. Aſhmole uſed this lady very ill, who brought him all this money; whereas in fact ſhe uſed him ſo, or the Court of Chancery had never ſent her back to him again, after her complaint to that Court, as it has been before ſhewn was actually done.

(48) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 891.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary in Mr. Wood's manner of penning this life, is his taking an opportunity at the cloſe of it, to ſhew his diſtaſte in very unmannerly terms, towards the widow of Mr. Aſhmole, of whom he gives us this account (49). ‘ Soon after ‘ Mr. Aſhmole's death, his widow, Elizabeth, who ‘ ſeemed to have had a great love and fondneſs for ‘ her huſband (which was ſometimes before company ‘ expreſſed) married a luſty man, called John Rey- ‘ nolds, a Stone-Cutter, but had no iſſue by him.’ Theſe are particulars, which no way deſerve the notice of poſterity, and are quite below the dignity of a Biographer, who ought to have no other view, than to ſerve the public, by recording what ſucceeding generations ought either to follow or to ſhun. C.

(49) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[It is not much to the honour of Dr. Plott's judgment and taſte, that, when he was enumerating the politer parts of learning, he could think of nothing but Heraldry, Antiquities, Chemiſtry, Aſtrology, and Natural Philoſophy.——In Mr. Gough's anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, there is an account of the ſeveral works that have been publiſhed upon the order of the Garter; from which it appears that, though ſome of them have their diſtinct and ſeparate merit, none of them can be compared with Mr. Aſhmole's noble performance (50).] K.

(50) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 80—86.

ASHTON (THOMAS), a Clergyman in the time of the Uſurpation, was the ſon of Thomas Aſhton, and born at Teuerdley in Lancaſhire, in 1631 (*a*). At ſixteen years of age, he was admitted a Servitor of Brazen-noſe College in Oxford, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 7, 1650 (*b*). He was choſen fellow of his college, and took holy orders. Mr. Wood tells us (*c*), he was a 'forward and conceited ſcholar,' and 'became a malapert preacher in and near Oxford.' Being appointed to preach at St. Mary's, on Tueſday (a lecture-day) July 25, 1654, he gave ſo great offence by his ſermon [*A*], that he was in a fair way of expulſion; but, by the interceſſion of friends, the matter was compromiſed: nevertheleſs he was obliged, about two years after, to quit his fellowſhip upon ſome quarrel which he had with Dr. Greenwood, Principal of his houſe. In 1656, he was intruſted with a commiſſion from the Protector to be chaplain to the Engliſh forces in the iſland of Jerſey; but was ſoon after diſplaced upon the arrival of a new Governor. After the King's Reſtoration, he was beneficed ſomewhere near Hertford in Hertfordſhire; where, Mr. Wood ſays, 'he ſoon after finiſhed his reſtleſs 'courſe.' He publiſhed two pieces [*B*], mentioned below.

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 102.
(*b*) *Ibid.* col. 93.
(*c*) *Ibid.* col. 102.

I find another THOMAS ASHTON (*d*), a Knight, of an ancient and wealthy family in Lancaſhire; who lived in the reign of King Henry VI, and was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry [*C*].

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

[*A*] *He gave great offence by his ſermon.*] His Text was theſe words of Job (xxxvii. 22), *With God is terrible Majeſty*; from whence taking occaſion to ſpeak of the attributes of God, particularly that of the text, he obſerved, that *terribilis* might ſignify *terræ bilis*; and concluded, that God was a *melancholy God*, and that *thoſe who had no teeth to gnaſh, ſhould gnaſh their gums*, &c. (1)

(1) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 102.

[*B*] *He publiſhed two pieces.*] I. *Blood-thirſty* Cyrus, *unſatisfied with Blood. Or, The boundleſs Cruelty of an Anabaptiſt's Tyranny, manifeſted in a Letter of Colonel* John Maſon, *Governor of* Jerſey, *3d Nov.* 1659; *wherein he exhibits Seven falſe, ridiculous, and ſcandalous Articles againſt Quarter-Maſter* William Swan, &c. London, 1659, *in one Sheet* 4to. II. *Satan in* Samuel's *Mantle, or, The Cruelty of* Germany, *acted in* Jerſey; *containing the arbitrary, bloody, and tyrannical Proceedings of* John Maſon, *of a baptiſed Church, commiſſionated to be a Colonel, and ſent over into the Iſland of* Jerſey, *Governor, in July* 1656, *againſt ſeveral Officers and Soldiers in that ſmall place*, &c. London, 1659, *in four Sheets in* 4to (2).

(2) *Ibid.*

[*C*] Sir Thomas Aſhton —— *was famous for his ſkill in Chemiſtry.*] This appears from the following patent (tranſcribed by Dr. Fuller (3) from the original in the Tower, granted by King Henry VI., in the 24th year of his reign, to Sir Thomas Aſhton, and Sir Edmund Trafford. *Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod cum dilecti et fideles noſtri, Edmundus de Trafford Miles, et Thomas Aſhton Miles, nobis per quandam ſupplicationem monſtraverint, quod quamvis ipſi ſuper certis metallis, per artem ſive ſcientiam philoſophiæ, operari vellent, metalla imperfecta do ſuo proprio genere transferre, et tunc ea per dictam artem ſive ſcientiam, in aurum ſive argentum perfectum tranſubſtantiare, ad omnimodas probationes et examinationes, ſicut aliquod aurum ſive argentum in aliqua minera creſcens, expectandum et indurandum, ut dicunt: Nihilominus certæ perſonæ illis malevolentes et malignantes, ſupponunt ipſos per artem illicitam operari, et ſic ipſos in probatione dictæ artis ſive Scientiæ impedire et perturbare poſſunt: Nos præmiſſa conſiderantes, ac concluſionem dictæ operationis ſive Scientiæ ſcire volentes, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali conceſſimus et licentiam dedimus iiſdem Edmundo et Thomæ, et ipſorum ſervientibus, quod ipſi artem ſive ſcientiam prædictam operari et probare poſſent licite et impune, abſque impetitione noſtra vel Officiariorum noſtrorum quorumcunque; aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, ſive Proviſione in contrarium facto ordinat. ſive proviſ. non obſtante. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Weſtmon. ſeptimo die Aprilis.* Thus tranſlated by Fuller: 'The King to all whom, &c. Greeting. 'Know ye, that whereas our beloved and loyal Edmund de Trafford, Knt. and Thomas Aſhton, Knt. 'have by a certain petition ſhewn unto us, that although they were willing by the art or ſcience of philoſophy to work upon certain metals, to tranſlate imperfect metals from their own kind, and then to tranſubſtantiate them by the ſaid art or ſcience, as they ſay, into perfect gold or ſilver, unto all manner of proofs and trials, to be expected and indured, as any gold or ſilver growing in any mine; notwithſtanding certain perſons ill-willing and maligning them, conceive them to work by unlawful art, and ſo may hinder and diſturb them in the trial of the ſaid art and ſcience: 'We, conſidering the premiſes, and willing to know the concluſion of the ſaid working or ſcience, of our ſpecial grace have granted and given leave to the ſame Edmund and Thomas, and to their ſervants, that they may work and try the aforeſaid art and ſcience lawfully and freely, without any hindrance of our's, or of our officers whatſoever; any Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Proviſion, made, ordained, or provided to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof, the King at Weſtminſter, the 7th day of April.' B.

(3) Worthies of England, *Lancaſhire*, p. 122.

ASHWELL (GEORGE), Rector of Hanwell, near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, was the ſon of Robert Aſhwell of Harrow on the Hill in Middleſex, and was born in the pariſh of St. Martin, near Ludgate, in London, November the 18th, 1612. He was admitted a ſcholar of Wadham-college in Oxford in 1627, took the degrees in arts, was elected Fellow, and became a celebrated Tutor in that houſe. In the time of the Grand Rebellion he continued in Oxford, and preached ſeveral times before the King, Court, and Parliament. A little before the ſurrender of the garriſon of Oxford, he had the degree of Bachelor in Divinity conferred on him (*a*). About the latter end of the year 1658, he was preſented to the living of Hanwell, vacant by the death of Doctor Robert Harris, having been before (as Mr. Wood thinks) Chaplain in the family of Sir Anthony Cope, Lord of the Manour of Hanwell (*b*). He had the character of a very peaceable and religious man, and was well verſed in Logic, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers. He wrote the following books. I. *Fides Apoſtolica*, or *A Diſcourſe aſſerting the received Authors and Authority of the Apoſtles Creed.* Oxon. 1653, 8vo. II. *A Double Appendix, the firſt touching the Athanaſian, the ſecond touching the Nicene Creed*, printed with the *Fides Apoſtolica* [*A*]. III. *Geſtus Euchariſticus, concerning the Geſture to be uſed at the receiving*

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. June 23, 1646.
(*b*) *Id.* Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 911, 912.

[*A*] *A double appendix*, &c.] Mr. Richard Baxter having, in his *Gildas Salvianus*, or *Reformed Paſtor*, cenſured ſome things in Mr. Aſhwell's *Fides Apoſtolica*, thought fit to recant in the Preface to his *Catholic Theology*, and expreſſed his regret for having ſaid any thing againſt that book (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 911.

receiving of the Sacrament. Oxon. 1663, 8vo. IV. *De Socino et Socinianiſmo*; i. e. *A Treatiſe concerning Socinus and the Socinian Hereſy* [*B*]. V. *De Eccleſia Romana Diſſertatio, pars operis multo majoris De Judice Controverſiarum*; i. e. *A Diſſertation concerning the Church of Rome, being Part of a much larger Work concerning the Judge of Controverſies.* Oxon. 1688, 4to. This piece was publiſhed at the requeſt of Dr. Gilbert Ironſide, Warden of Wadham-college. VI. *An Anſwer to Plato Redivivus, written by Henry Nevil.* This is in manuſcript, in the Author's own hand. VII. He alſo tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, *Philoſophus Autodidactus, ſive Epiſtola Abi Giaaphar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdan*, &c. London, 1686, 8vo [*C*]. Our Author died at Hanwell, the 8th of February, 169⅔, and was buried in the church of that place, having been thirty-five years Rector thereof [*D*].

[*B*] *De Socino et Socinianiſmo.*] This was but a part, and that the leaſt, of a much greater work, entitled, *De Judice Controverſiarum, et Catholicæ veritatis regula*; i. e. 'Of the Judge of Controverſies, 'and the Rule of Catholic Truth;' which the author had finiſhed, and kept by him in manuſcript. He publiſhed the *Diſſertation* as a ſpecimen of his performance, and to try what ſucceſs he might reaſonably expect from the publication of the whole (2).

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

[*C*] *Philoſophus autodidactus*, &c.] In this Epiſtle (Mr. Wood tells us) is demonſtrated by what ſteps and degrees human reaſon, improved by diligent obſervation and experience, may arrive to the knowledge of natural things, and from thence to the diſcovery of ſuper-naturals, more eſpecially of God, and the concerns of another life. It was publiſhed in Arabic and Latin, by Edw. Pocock, A. M. of Chriſt-church in Oxford, 1671, 4*to* (3).

(3) Wood, *ibid.* col. 912.

[*D*] *He was thirty-five years Rector of Hanwell.*] This we learn from his epitaph, which begins thus: *Depoſitum Geo. Aſhwell, S. S. Theol. Bac. & hujus Eccleſiæ* 35 *annos rectoris*, &c. B.

ASSHETON (William), Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of Beckenham in Kent, was the ſon of the Reverend Mr. Aſheton, Rector of Middleton in Lancaſhire, of the ancient family of the Baronets of that name and place (*a*). He was born in the year 1641, had his education in a private country ſchool, and was from thence removed to Brazen-noſe College in Oxford, July 3, 1658 (*b*). Here he imbibed the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty [*A*], and made ſo quick a progreſs in every branch of good literature, that he ſoon merited a fellowſhip, into which he was elected in 1663, being then Bachelor of Arts (*c*). After he had taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he went into orders, and was a preacher for ſome time in the parts about Oxford (*d*). He was appointed Chaplain to James Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of that Univerſity, whom he ſerved in that capacity both in England and Ireland. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, in January 1673; and, the February following, he ſucceeded Doctor Benjamin Parry, in the Prebend of Knareſburgh, in the church of York (*e*). His attendance on his Patron brought him to London, where he obtained the living of St. Antholin (*f*); and in 1676, by the Duke's intereſt with the family of the St. Johns, he was preſented to the rectory of Beckenham in Kent. He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation [*B*]. This worthy Divine was the firſt projector of the ſcheme for providing a maintenance for clergymen's widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers Company [*C*]. He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the

(*a*) Rev. Mr T. Watts, his *Life of Dr. Aſheton.* Printed at London, 1714.

(*b*) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1025.

(*c*) *Life*, &c. p. 8. *See alſo* Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1026.

(*f*) *Life*, &c. p. 14.

[*A*] *He imbibed*, at Oxford, *the ſtrongeſt principles of true religion and loyalty.*] Mr. Wood pretends (1), that he was, at his firſt admiſſion in the college, put under a Preſbyterian tutor; by which means he was very early tinctured with the principles of that ſect; inſomuch, that (as our Antiquarian expreſſes it) *he frequented, with Sam. Parker, the religious meetings in the houſe of Beſſe Hampton, an old decrepid laundreſs, living in Halywell in the north ſuburb of Oxford*; but that he changed his principles after the Reſtoration of King Charles II. This is not eaſily reconciled with what the author of his *Life* tells us, that 'He was providentially 'bleſſed in ſome orthodox and loyal inſtructors, ſuch 'as ſecured him from the general contagion (2).' It is true, the ſame author confeſſes, 'He fell into 'ſome dangerous hands at ſchool and the univerſity, 'and lay under many temptations, where the lea-'vens of error and hypocriſy prevailed:' but, at the ſame time, he argues againſt the probability of his having ever fallen in with the Preſbyterian party. 'Beſides (ſays he), as it pleaſed God to endow him 'with a moſt towardly diſpoſition, a moſt compaſ-'ſionate good nature, a very ſtudious humble mind, 'and modeſt behaviour, as with all virtuous incli-'nations and ſpecial graces; ſo he could never be 'ſo much as tainted with ill notions of any kind, 'nor ever be drawn into the party of any furious 'zealots, libertines, &c. whom he wanted not ſpirit 'to oppoſe on all due occaſions, and in proper ſea-'ſons throughout his life (3).'

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1025.

(2) Rev. Mr. T. Watts, his *Life of Dr. Aſheton*, p. 6.

(3) *Id. ibid.* p. 7.

[*B*] *He was frequently and unanimouſly choſen Proctor for Rocheſter in Convocation.*] He was ſo often elected into this office, that at length he begged leave to decline the favour; as he found the diſtempers of his ſtudious ſedentary life, the gravel and ſtone, growing upon him, which diſabled him for attendance and fatigues. However, he was prevailed upon to continue in that function; his great abilities and integrity rendering him the fitteſt perſon to repreſent thoſe of his order (4).

(4) *Id. ibid.* p. 41.

[*C*] *He projected the ſcheme for providing for Clergymen's widows, and others, by a jointure payable out of the Mercers Company.*] Dr. Aſheton gave the public an account of this ſcheme, in a book, entitled, *A full Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Advantages of Dr. Aſheton's Propoſal*, &c. (5) In the Preface we are told, that 'As Dr. Aſheton did not 'project this propoſal for his own private advan-'tage, but doth ſincerely deſign a public good; in 'like manner, the worthy members of the Mercers 'Company have undertaken to manage this Propoſal, 'not from any proſpect of advantage to their own 'private perſons, but only out of a generous deſign 'to make the Company more capable to anſwer the 'end and reaſon of their charter; which is to eſta-'bliſh and manage public charities, and thereby to 'enlarge their capacity of doing good.' An Advertiſement, which follows the Preface, informs us, that 'This Propoſal being firſt projected for the be-'nefit of thoſe who have ſmall eſtates, the words '*poverty* and *poor* do ſometimes occur in the ex-'plication of it; and therefore, that perſons of ho-'nour and quality may not be prejudiced againſt it, 'as if it nothing concerned them; they may pleaſe 'to be informed, that this Propoſal, as now model-'led and improved, may be ſerviceable to thoſe of 'quality and eſtate: 1. By enabling them to ſettle, 'or

(5) See the remark [*D*].

the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts [*D*]. A few years before his death, he was invited to accept of the Headſhip of his College, then vacant; which

' or enlarge jointures, without clogging their lands: ' 2. By encouraging them to demand larger portions than otherwiſe, without the help of this Propoſal, they could rationally expect.' The bringing this ſcheme to perfection, took up Dr. Aſsheton's thoughts many years. For though he was encouraged by many judicious perſons, in the proſecution of the deſign, yet where to fix it, or how to provide ſuch a fund as might ſecure the Subſcribers, was a matter of ſome difficulty. However, he reſolved to go on; and, if poſſible, to finiſh what he had ſo long projected. His firſt addreſs was to the *Corporation of the Clergy*, who declared, they were not in a capacity to accept the Propoſal. His next Application was to the *Royal Bank of England*, where he met with no better ſucceſs. Whereupon the Doctor applied himſelf to the Mercers Company; who, after full debates in their general Courts and Committees, agreed with him upon certain rules and orders; out of which I ſhall extract the following particulars: 1. 'That the Company will take in ' ſubſcriptions at any time, till the ſum of 100,000 *l.* ' be ſubſcribed, but will never exceed that ſum. ' 2. That all married men, at the age of thirty ' years or under, may ſubſcribe any ſum not exceeding 1000 *l.* That all married men, not exceeding the age of forty years, may ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 500 *l.* And that all married men, not exceeding the age of ſixty years, may ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 300 *l.* And that the widows of all perſons, ſubſcribing according to theſe limitations, ſhall receive the benefit of 30 *per cent. per annum*, according to the former Propoſal, free of all taxes and charges, at the two uſual Feaſts of the *Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary*, and *St. Michael the Archangel*; and that the firſt of theſe payments ſhall be made at the firſt of the ſaid Feaſt days, which ſhall happen four months or more after the deceaſe of the perſon or perſons ſo ſubſcribing; excepting ſuch as ſhall voluntarily make away with themſelves, or by any act of theirs occaſion their own death; either by duelling or committing any crime, whereby they ſhall be ſentenced, and put to death by juſtice: in any, or either of theſe caſes, the widows to receive no annuity; but, upon delivering up the Company's bond, to have the ſubſcription money paid to them. 3. That no ſea-faring men may ſubſcribe, who follow it as their buſineſs or vocation; nor others, who go farther than Holland, Ireland, or the coaſts of England; and that any perſon may ſubſcribe for any others, whom he ſhall nominate in his laſt will, during the natural life of his wife, if ſhe ſurvive, and his intention be declared in his ſubſcription.' The Company had ſeveral meetings in Committees with the Doctor, about ſettling a ſufficient ſecurity; in which they ſatisfied him that their eſtates, being clear rents, amounted to 2888 *l.* 8 *s.* 10 *d.* beſides the payments of the benefactors, to be paid out of the ſame; which, by a moderate calculation, would yield, when the leaſes came out, above 13500 *l. per annum*. All things being agreed upon, the Deed of Settlement was executed by the Company and Truſtees, at a general Court of the ſaid Company, held on Wedneſday the 4th of October, 1699. This Deed is enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, and an authentic copy of it kept by the Company (6).

(6) *Life*, &c. p. 84, &c.

[*D*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces againſt the Papiſts and Diſſenters, and ſome practical and devotional tracts.*] I ſhall here give the reader a compleat Catalogue of Dr. Aſsheton's works, extracted from the author of his Life. I. TOLERATION *diſapproved and condemned by the Authority and convincing Reaſons of*, 1. *That wiſe and learned King* JAMES, *and his Privy-council*, Anno Reg. II^d^. 2. *The Honourable Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, in their Votes*, &c. Feb. 25, 1662. 3. *The* Preſbyterian *Miniſters in the City of* London, *met at* Sion College, *Decemb.* 18, 1645. 4. *Twenty eminent Divines, moſt (if not all) of them Members of the late Aſſembly; in their Sermons before the two Houſes of Parliament on ſolemn Occaſions. Faithfully collected by a very moderate Hand, and humbly preſented to the ſerious Conſideration of all Diſſenting Parties.* Printed at *Oxford*, in the year 1670. He publiſhed a ſecond edition of this book, the ſame year, with his name, and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Oxford's *Imprimatur*, prefixed to it. The title was the ſame as that of the firſt edition, only with this addition to it: *Faithfully collected by* William Aſsheton, *Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of* Brazen-noſe College *in* Oxford. *The Second Edition corrected and enlarged, with an additional Preface; wherein the Nature of Perſecution in general, and the unjuſt Complaints of the diſſenting Parties concerning it in particular, are diſtinctly conſidered.* Printed likewiſe at *Oxford*, in 1670. II. *The Caſes of Scandal and Perſecution; being a ſeaſonable Inquiry into theſe two Things:* 1. *Whether the Nonconformiſts, who otherwiſe think Subſcription lawful, are therefore obliged to forbear it, becauſe the weak Brethren do judge it unlawful?* 2. *Whether the Execution of penal Laws upon Diſſenters, for Non-communion with the Church of* England, *be Perſecution? Wherein they are pathetically exhorted to return into the Boſom of the Church, the likelieſt Expedient to ſtop the Growth of Popery.* Printed at *London*, in the year 1674. This piece, Mr. Wood tells us (7), is reflected upon by Mr. Richard Baxter, in his *Apology for the non-conforming Miniſtry*, &c. London, 1681. There is an occaſional Poſtſcript to it, concerning a gentlewoman, who was perverted from Proteſtantiſm to Popery, by the arguments of ſome Preſbyterian Divines. III. *The Royal Apology: Or, An Anſwer to the Rebel's Plea; wherein are the moſt noted Anti-monarchical Tenets, 1ſt publiſhed by* Doleman *the* Jeſuit, *to promote a* Bill of Excluſion *againſt King* James I. *2dly, Practiſed by* Bradſhaw, *and the* Regicides, *in the actual Murder of King* Charles I. *3dly, Republiſhed by* Sidney, *and the Aſſociates to depoſe and murder his preſent Majeſty*, London, 1685. The ſecond Edition. IV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of their preſent Majeſties*; Printed at London. In this piece, the author publiſhed to the world the reaſons, which induced him to ſwear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary. V. *The Country Parſon's Admonition to his Pariſhioners againſt Popery; with Directions how to behave themſelves, when any one deſigns to ſeduce them from the Church of England.* London, printed in the year 1686. VI. *A full Defence of the former Diſcourſe againſt the Miſſionaries Anſwer: Being a farther Examination of the pretended Infallibility of the Church of Rome:* or, as it is intitled in the firſt impreſſion, *A Defence of the Plain Man's Reply to the Catholic Miſſionaries*, &c. To this is prefixed an *Imprimatur*, ſigned by *William Needham*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, March 29, 1688. VII. *A ſhort Diſcourſe againſt Blaſphemy*, 1691. VIII. *A Diſcourſe againſt Drunkenneſs*, 1692. IX. *A Diſcourſe againſt Swearing and Curſing*, 1692. Theſe three laſt pieces were written and publiſhed in purſuance of their Majeſties injunctions, againſt all ſorts of prophaneneſs; and, that they might be the more generally read, they were ſold for no more than 2 *d.* each diſcourſe. X. *Directions in order to the ſuppreſſing of Debauchery and Prophaneneſs*, 1693. XI. *A Conference with an Anabaptiſt*; Part I. *Concerning the Subject of* Baptiſm: *Being a Defence of* Infant-Baptiſm. This book is authoriſed with the *Imprimatur* of *Ralph Barker*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nov. 6, 1694. It was occaſioned by a ſeparate congregation of Anabaptiſts, being ſet up in Dr. Aſsheton's pariſh; but the Meeting ſoon breaking up, the author never publiſhed a ſecond Part. XII. *A Diſcourſe concerning a Death-bed Repentance.* This is the ſubſtance of a Sermon preached at Court before Queen Mary, enlarged and dedicated to the King, after her Majeſty's death. XIII. *A Theological Diſcourſe of laſt Wills and Teſtaments.* London, 1696. XIV. *A ſeaſonable Vindication of the bleſſed Trinity: Being an Anſwer to this Queſtion,* Why do you believe the Doctrine of the Trinity? *Collected from the Works of the moſt Reverend Doctor* John Tillotſon, *late Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Right Reverend Doctor* Edward Stillingfleet, *now Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter, London, 1679. XV. *A brief State of the* Socinian Controverſy, *concerning a Trinity*

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1026.

which offer he modeſtly declined (*g*). He died at Beckenham in September 1711, in the ſeventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of that church (*h*). I ſhall give an extract of his character from the author of his *Life* [*E*], printed at London in 1714.

(*g*) *Life*, &c. p. 8.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 193.

ASTELL

a Trinity in Unity; collected from the Works of Dr. Iſaac Barrow, London, 1698. XVI. *The Plain Man's Devotion*, Part I. *In a Method of daily Devotion*; and, *a Method of Devotion for the Lord's Day. Both fitted to the meaneſt Capacities*, 1698. XVII. *A full Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Advantages of* Dr. Aſsheton's *Propoſal (as now improved and managed by the Worſhipful Company of Mercers*, London,) *for the Benefit of Widows of Clergymen, and others, by ſettled Jointures and Annuities, at the Rate of Thirty* per Cent. *With Directions for the Widow how to receive her Annuity, without any delay, Charges, or Deductions.* Plead for the Widow. *Iſa.* i. 17. *Printed by* W. P. *Given Gratis at* Mercers-hall, *and by* J. Baker, *Bookſeller, at* Mercers-chapel, 1713. XVIII. *A Vindication of the Immortality of the Soul, and a Future State*, London, 1703. XIX. *A Brief Exhortation to the Holy Communion, with the Nature and Meaſures of Preparation concerning it: Fitted to the meaneſt Capacities*, 1705. XX. *A Method of Devotion for ſick and dying Perſons: With particular Directions from the Beginning of Sickneſs to the Hour of Death*, London, 1706. XXI. *The Poſſibility of Apparitions: Being an Anſwer to this Queſtion*; 'Whether can departed Souls (Souls ſeparated from their Bodies) ſo appear, as to be viſibly ſeen, and converſe here on earth?' This book was occaſioned by the remarkable ſtory of one dying at Dover, and appearing to her friend at Canterbury (8). XXII. *Occaſional Prayers from Biſhop Taylor, Biſhop Coſins, Biſhop Kenn*, &c. and, *A Devout Collection of Divine Hymns and Poems, on ſeveral Occaſions*, London, 1708. XXIII. *A Seaſonable Vindication of the Clergy: Being an Anſwer to ſome Reflections in a late Book, entitled*, The Rights of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, &c. *Humbly ſubmitted to the ſerious Conſideration of the Nobility and Gentry of* Great Britain. *By a Divine of the* Church *of* London, 1709. XXIV. *Directions for the Converſation of the Clergy: Collected from the Viſitation Charges of the Right Reverend Father in God*, Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. *late Lord Biſhop of* Worceſter. London, 1710. XXV. *Two Sermons:* One preached before the Sons of the Clergy, at St. Paul's, December 6, 1699; the other before the Honourable Society of the Natives of the County of Kent, at St. Mary le Bow, Nov. 21, 1700. Mr. Wood (9) mentions another Sermon on the *Danger of Hypocriſy*, preached at Guildhall chapel, Aug. 3, 1673.

(8) *This Story is prefixed to the Engliſh Tranſlation of* Drelincourt *on* Death.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *An Extract of* Dr. Aſsheton's *Character from the Author of his Life* (10).] 'He was very regular and aſſiduous in private Devotion, Meditation, and Reading. ——— Hiſtory and Philoſophy, he juſtly uſed as the proper handmaids to Divinity, which was his buſineſs and delight, his Study indeed. ——— He readily ſubſcribed to the publiſhing all critical, learned, and laborious works. ——— Thus he compleated one of the beſt Libraries any Clergyman can deſire, having the bleſſing of a ſufficient revenue, out of which he laid out at leaſt 10*l.* *per annum*, to improve and increaſe his firſt ſtock of books; whereof he ſent many duplicates, upon requeſt, for Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland. ——— Among all his books, thoſe of devotion were intermixed, or at hand, to begin and end with. ——— His zeal in and for the Church, was ever conſpicuous. ——— He preached twice every Sunday, to keep the people from ſtraggling, and engage them to frequent the church; otherwiſe he knew, and lamented, that we have but too much preaching in the nation. ——— At length he found his labour too great for him; which yet rather than leſſen (though in a ſmall pariſh), he was willing to keep an aſſiſtant before he died; to whom he committed the catechizing part in his declining age, allowing him 5*s.* *per* Sunday, over and above 30*l.* *per annum*, and the benefit of his table all Church-days, &c. with ſeveral gifts and advantages that made up the whole about 50*l.* *per annum*. ——— He watched diligently over his flock, and never neglected to pray for them, and bleſs them; neither would he ſuffer any to periſh for want of admonition or reproof; as well in the ſpirit of meekneſs, as with all authority; though he never ſued, cited, or proſecuted the moſt injurious and obſtinate offenders; yet he rebuked and avoided the unruly, and kept the impertinently cenſorious, and perverſe, at a due diſtance. ——— He knew, and did his own duty well; and would have all his people mind theirs, who were not to tell him what to preach, &c. however offended at his juſt reproofs and warnings; of which he had an inſtance in a wilful profaner, and abſenter from the Church ſometimes, and from the Lord's Table always; pretending that the Doctor had preached againſt him, and told him, he ſhould be damned, before all the congregation. ——— He ſo much the more deſerved of his pariſh, as he was more generous and charitable among them, than juſt to himſelf, in diſregarding often his ſmall tythes and perquiſites, taking quietly what ſome left him, and helping all; wherein, to make all juſt and eaſy too, he tried all poſſible fair ways without contention, by letting out the whole, and letting every man his part; and at laſt taking all in kind, when they would not come near the value. He perſiſted in taking his tenths many years, till his death, with all imaginable eaſe to his people, and too much loſs and expence to himſelf; who yet always obſerved and declared, that the worſt tythe was better than the beſt compoſition he could make; moſt country-men being too hard at bargains, and often ſo unreaſonable, as to ſtand in their own light, as they called it. ——— He kept a conſtant good table, and ſeemed glad of daily gueſts, excepting on Faſt-days, &c. otherwiſe the more frequent viſits were to him, the more welcome. ——— He kept up the true moderate Engliſh hoſpitality, genteelly managed by an excellent Virgin-ſiſter (who lived and died with him, while he continued ſingle), and ſome few years by a truly virtuous wife, though ſickly, for whom he ſet up his coach, being moſt tender of her, and ſorrowful at her death. ——— As he was a moſt affectionate, tender huſband, and brother; ſo he was a juſt indulgent maſter, and had generally careful and honeſt ſervants, whom he took pains to make religious, peaceable, and ſober. ——— He daily obſerved the good old religious way of Family-devotions, and Sunday-repetitions, &c. in the evening, for heavenly knowledge, grace, and protection hourly. ——— He ſometimes uſed extempore Sermons (having a body of Divinity in his head), until he was diſturbed, and put into a conſternation with his congregation, by a woman ſwooning away in the church, who was ſoon carried out, and the people became ſilent; yet he could not recover his ſubject, nor recollect any thing he had ſaid before; which obliged him to make an apology and come down. This he took as a warning, never to preſume upon the ſtrength of his parts or memory any more; neither would he ever after venture into any pulpit without notes. ——— He was eaſy of acceſs, moſt courteous and affable, meek as a lamb, harmleſs as a dove; but withal, wiſe to diſtinguiſh perſons, times, and places. His table-talk was both delightful and improving; he diverted ſad ſtories, and decried falſe ones; he would not willingly know a wicked perſon, or ſuffer a lier or tale-bearer in his ſight. He never looked ſo frowning, as when a certain gentleman was backbiting another, and telling them a ſcandalous ſtory; he ſtarted up, and with emotion aſked him, If he could face the abſent? which ſoon confounded the whiſperer.' In this extract the reader will perceive, that I have ſelected only thoſe particulars, which moſt ſtrongly mark Dr. Aſsheton's character; which I ſhall ſum up in the words of an ingenious writer, quoted by the author of his life (11). *Though low of ſtature, and mean aſpect, yet truly reverend; his countenance was full of mildneſs and courteſy; his eyes more ſmiling than his mouth; his diſcourſe grave and ſober; words ſmooth and proper, diſtinctly*

(10) *From page* 155 *to* 186.

(11) Page 187, 188.

diſtinctly uttered, with due reſpect to time, place, and perſon. His religion was legible in the innocency of his life, exactneſs of his morals, integrity and truth of his words, and the juſtice and honeſty of his converſation. He abſtained from offending, as if none ever pardoned; yet pardoned, as if he daily offended. His paſſions he made ſervants to his reaſon and religion; and if they rebelled, firſt concealed, and then ſuppreſſed their mutiny. He generally ſpake little; ſaw others tempers, without diſcovering his own; yet, when occaſion ſerved, ſhewed that his ſilence neither proceeded from affectation nor weakneſs: for by running back to ages paſt, and recovering events out of memory, and then preventing time in flying forward to future things, and comparing one with the other, he would give a verdict very near prophetical; yet was ſo free from vanity, he could bear interruption patiently. Such was his prudence, and ſo exact his judgment, as to diſcern between pride and greatneſs, religion and ſuperſtition, quickneſs and raſhneſs, government and tyranny, liberty and licentiouſneſs, ſubjection and ſervitude, frugality and covetouſneſs, &c. and to give to every cauſe its proper actions and effects. He drank wine, as ſick men take phyſic, merely for health: Reaſon was his rule, conſcience his counſellor; and his actions were ever contrary to thoſe he found fault with. Age rendered him neither moroſe nor imperious; his converſation was ſo affable, pleaſant, and inſtructive, that young and old both delighted and profited in his company. B.

[Though Dr. Aſsheton appears to have been a pious, worthy, and uſeful clergyman, it will be deemed, at preſent, of little advantage to his literary character, that his firſt writings were againſt Toleration. Neither do his opinions concerning Paſſive Obedience and Apparitions redound much to his honour. But theſe errors are, perhaps, rather to be imputed to the times than the man. His beſt works are thoſe which were written for the inſtruction and edification of his Pariſhioners, and to promote practical Religion. He was a zealous Divine, who, with a conſiderable degree of abilities and learning, was always ready to defend what were eſteemed the Orthodox Doctrines of the Church of England; and there is no doubt but that, in ſo doing, he was actuated by principles of integrity and piety. The grand undertaking of his life was his negociation with the Mercers Company, for the Benefit of the Widows of the Clergy. This was a very laudable deſign: but both the Doctor and the Company were miſtaken in their calculations; ſo that the payment of the annuities was ſtopped for a time, or, at leaſt, the allowance leſſened. Dr. Aſsheton's writings have, we believe, fallen pretty much into oblivion.] K.

[ASTELL (Mary), a Lady of conſiderable learning and ingenuity, was the daughter of a merchant at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, in the county of Northumberland, where ſhe was born about the year 1668. She was genteelly educated, and taught the accompliſhments generally thought proper for her ſex. She had an uncle, a Clergyman, who obſerving her excellent natural abilities, and ſtrong propenſity to learning, kindly undertook to be her preceptor; and, under his tuition, ſhe made a conſiderable progreſs in Philoſophy, Mathematics, and Logic. She had before been inſtructed in the French language, and afterwards acquired ſome knowledge of the Latin. At about twenty years of age ſhe left Newcaſtle, and went to London; where, and at Chelſea, ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life (*a*). Here ſhe proſecuted her ſtudies with great aſſiduity, and made conſiderable acquiſitions in different ſciences. And the progreſs which ſhe had herſelf made in learning, led her to reflect with much concern on the ignorance of the generality of her own ſex. She was deſirous of exciting in them a greater thirſt of knowledge, and with that view addreſſed to them a treatiſe, in two parts [*A*]. In 1696 was publiſhed in 8*vo*, an *Eſſay in Defence of the Female Sex*, which, Mr. Ballard ſays (*b*), was commonly aſcribed

(*a*) Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, edit. 8*vo*. 1775, p. 306, 307.

(*b*) Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 309.

[*A*] *With that view addreſſed to them a treatiſe*, &c.] It was entitled, *A ſerious Propoſal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of their true and greateſt Intereſt*, &c. And ſome time after was publiſhed a ſecond part, with this title: *A ſerious Propoſal to the Ladies, Part the Second; wherein a Method is offered for the Improvement of their Minds.* Both theſe pieces were printed together at London, in 12*mo*, in 1697.

Mrs. Aſtell, in this publication, gives it as her opinion, that 'ignorance is the cauſe of moſt feminine 'vices.'—'Whence is it,' ſays ſhe, 'but from ignorance, from a want of underſtanding to compare 'and judge of things, to chuſe a right end, to proportion the means to the end, and to rate every 'thing according to its proper value, that we quit 'the ſubſtance for the ſhadow, reality for appearance, and embrace thoſe very things, which, if we 'underſtood, we ſhould hate and fly, but now are 'reconciled to, merely becauſe they uſurp the name, 'though they have nothing of the nature of thoſe 'venerable objects we deſire and ſeek? Were it not 'for this deluſion, is it probable a Lady who paſſionately deſires to be admired, ſhould ever conſent 'to ſuch actions as render her baſe and contemptible? 'Would ſhe be ſo abſurd as to think either to get 'love, or to keep it by thoſe methods which occaſion 'loathing, and conſequently end in hatred? Would 'ſhe reckon it a piece of her grandeur, or hope to 'gain eſteem by ſuch exceſſes, as really leſſen her in 'the eyes of all conſiderate and judicious perſons? 'Would ſhe be ſo ſilly as to look big, and think 'herſelf the better perſon, becauſe ſhe has more 'money to beſtow profuſely, or the good-luck to 'have a more ingenious taylor or milliner than her 'neighbour?'—'Ignorance, and a narrow education, lay the foundation of vice, and imitation and 'cuſtom rear it up: cuſtom, that mercileſs torrent 'that carries all before it, and which indeed can be 'ſtemmed by none but ſuch as have a great deal of 'prudence, and a rooted virtue. For it is but decorous, that ſhe who is not capable of giving better rules, ſhould follow thoſe ſhe ſees before her, 'leſt ſhe only change the inſtance and retain the 'abſurdity. It would puzzle a conſiderate perſon to 'account for all that ſin and folly that is in the 'world (which certainly has nothing in itſelf to recommend it), did not *cuſtom* help to ſolve the difficulty. For virtue, without queſtion, has on all 'accounts the pre-eminence of vice: it is abundantly 'more pleaſant in the *act*, as well as more advantageous in the *conſequences*; as any one who will but 'rightly uſe her reaſon, in a ſerious reflection on 'herſelf, and the nature of things, may eaſily perceive. 'Tis cuſtom, therefore, that tyrant cuſtom, which is the grand motive to all thoſe irrational choices which we daily ſee made in the world, 'ſo very contrary to our preſent intereſt and pleaſure, 'as well as to our future. We think it an unpardonable miſtake not to do as our neighbours do, and 'part with our peace and pleaſure, as well as our innocence and virtue, merely in compliance with an 'unreaſonable faſhion. And having enured ourſelves to folly, we know not how to quit it: we go 'on in vice, not becauſe we find ſatisfaction in it, 'but becauſe we are unacquainted with the joys of 'virtue (1).'

Theſe ſentiments of our Fair Moraliſt led her to propoſe the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary for female education; and Mr. Ballard informs us (2), 'that 'the ſcheme given in her propoſal, ſeemed ſo reaſonable, and wrought ſo far upon a certain great 'Lady, that ſhe had deſigned to give ten thouſand 'pounds towards erecting a ſort of college for the 'education and improvement of the female ſex; and 'as a retreat for thoſe ladies, who nauſeating the 'parade of the world, might here find a happy receſs 'from

(1) Serious Propoſal to the Ladies, 2d edit. 1695, Part I. p. 32—38.

(2) Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 307.

aſcribed to Mrs. Aſtell; but it may be queſtioned whether this was really her performance [*B*]. However this be, there is no doubt but that ſhe was the author of *Reflections on Marriage*, which were publiſhed in the year 1700. A ſecond edition of this piece was alſo publiſhed in 1705, in 8*vo*, to which was added a Preface, in anſwer to ſome objections that had been made againſt it. It is ſaid, that her diſappointment in a marriage-contract with an eminent Clergyman gave riſe to this performance (*c*).

(*c*) Ballard's Memoirs, p. 310.

About this time, ſhe is ſaid to have acquired a more intimate knowledge of ſome of the beſt writers of antiquity [*C*]. She alſo publiſhed ſeveral controverſial pieces [*D*], and ſome letters were printed which paſſed between her and Mr. John Norris, concerning the love of God [*E*]. She had ſome acquaintance with Biſhop Atterbury, who communicating to her one of his ſermons in manuſcript, at her requeſt: ſhe wrote a ſheet of remarks upon it: but they were drawn up in ſuch a manner, that his Lordſhip, in a private letter to Dr. Smalridge, complained of her want of politeneſs [*F*]. In 1705, ſhe publiſhed in 8*vo*. a treatiſe, intitled, *The Chriſtian Religion, as profeſſed by a Daughter of the Church of* England. In the courſe of this work ſhe has attacked both Locke and Tillotſon; but, as might be ſuppoſed, with little advantage to her reputation. This is her moſt elaborate performance [*G*]; and in the compoſition of it, ſhe ſays, "ſhe conſulted no Divine, nor "any other man; ſcarce any book, except the Bible, being willing to follow the thread "of her own thoughts (*d*)."

(*d*) *Vid.* the Chriſtian Religion as profeſſed by a Daughter of the Church of England, p. 403.

She

'from the noiſe and hurry of it. But this deſign 'coming to the ears of Biſhop Burnet, he immediately went to that lady, and ſo powerfully re'monſtrated againſt it; telling her it would look like 'preparing a way for *Popiſh orders*, that it would be 'reputed a *Nunnery*, &c. that he entirely fruſtrated 'that noble deſign.'

[*B*] *It may be queſtioned whether this was really her performance.*] It is not mentioned in the Advertiſement of her other pieces, which is added to her Treatiſe on the Chriſtian Religion; and there is an air of levity in it, which does not appear to be ſuitable to her character, nor agreeable to the general ſtrain of her writings. It may alſo be obſerved, that ſome ſentiments advanced in it ſeem not conſonant to thoſecontained in her other pieces.

[*C*] *She acquired a more intimate knowledge of ſome of the beſt writers of antiquity.*] Mr. Ballard ſays, 'The Heathen writers which ſhe eſteemed moſt, were 'Xenophon, Plato, Hierocles, Tully, Seneca, Epic'tetus, and M. Antoninus (3).'

(3) Memoirs, p. 309.

[*D*] *She alſo publiſhed ſeveral controverſial pieces,*] Theſe were, *Moderation truly ſtated: or, A Review of a late Pamphlet, intitled,* Moderation a Virtue. *With a prefatory Diſcourſe to Dr. D'Avenant, concerning his late Eſſays on Peace and War,* 4to. 1704.—*A fair Way with the Diſſenters, and their Patrons. Not writ by Mr. L—y, or any other furious Jacobite, whether Clergyman or Layman; but by a very moderate Perſon, and dutiful Subject to the Queen,* 4to. 1704.—*An impartial Inquiry into the Cauſes of Rebellion, and Civil War in this Kingdom. In an Examination of Dr. Kennett's Sermon, Jan.* 30, 1703-4. *And a Vindication of the Royal Martyr,* 4to. 1704.

[*E*] *Some letters were printed which paſſed between her and Mr. John Norris,* &c.] When this Gentleman publiſhed his *Practical Diſcourſes upon ſeveral divine Subjects*, they were very carefully peruſed by Mrs. Aſtell, and occaſioned ſeveral doubts to ariſe in her mind concerning the love of God. She therefore addreſſed herſelf to Mr. Norris for the ſolution of theſe difficulties. This cauſed ſeveral letters to paſs between them upon the ſubject, which were afterwards publiſhed under the following title: *Letters concerning the Love of God, between the Author of the Propoſal to the Ladies, and Mr. John Norris: wherein his late Diſcourſe, ſhewing, that it ought to be entire and excluſive of all other Loves, is cleared and juſtified. Publiſhed by J. Norris, M. A. Rector of Bemerton, near Sarum. London,* 1695, 8*vo*. (4)

(4) Ballard, p. 308.

[*F*] *In a letter to Dr. Smalridge, complained of her want of politeneſs.*] The following is the letter of Dr. Atterbury ſpoken of in the text, in which he expreſſes his ſentiments of Mrs. Aſtell:

'Dear George,

'I Happened about a fortnight ago to dine with 'Mrs. Aſtell. She ſpoke to me of my Sermon, 'and deſired me to print it: and after I had given 'the proper anſwer, hinted to me, that ſhe ſhould 'be glad of peruſing it. I complied with her requeſt, 'and ſent her the Sermon the next day. Yeſterday 'ſhe returned it with this ſheet of remarks, which I 'cannot forbear communicating to you, becauſe I 'take them to be of an extraordinary nature, conſidering they came from the pen of a woman. Indeed, one would not expect a woman had written 'them. There is not an expreſſion that carries the 'leaſt air of her ſex from the beginning to the end of 'it. She attacks me very home you ſee, and artfully enough, under a pretence of taking my part 'againſt other Divines, who are in Hoadly's meaſures. Had ſhe had as much good-breeding as 'good-ſenſe, ſhe would be perfect; but ſhe has not 'the moſt decent manner of inſinuating what ſhe 'means, but is now and then a little offenſive and 'ſhocking in her expreſſions; which I wonder at, 'becauſe a civil turn of words is what her ſex is always miſtreſs of. She, I think, is wanting in it. 'But her ſenſible and rational way of writing makes 'amends for that defect, if indeed any thing can 'make amends for it. I dread to engage her; ſo I 'only writ a general civil anſwer to her, and leave 'the reſt to an oral conference. Her way of ſolving 'the difficulty about ſwearing to the queen, is ſome'what ſingular (5).' It is ſuppoſed, that the Sermon referred to in this letter, is that which Atterbury preached, and afterwards printed, againſt Hoadly's Meaſures of Submiſſion.

(5) Ballard, p. 312.

[*G*] *This is her moſt elaborate performance.*] It is a large octavo volume, conſiſting of more than 400 pages, in which ſhe has given a copious account of her religious ſentiments. Dr. Waterland ſtiles it, 'a very good Book (6);' and Ballard ſays, 'I 'heartily wiſh this book was in every hand (eſpeci'ally the younger part of the world), being fully 'perſuaded, that it would have a conſiderable in'fluence over the generality of mankind, in check'ing and repreſſing the many reigning vices of this 'age, which are now ſo powerfully and fatally prevailing among us. The deformities of vice being 'here exhibited in ſuch a terrible form; and the 'charms of virtue repreſented in ſuch an amiable 'and captivating manner, as would implant in the 'mind ſuch pure ſeeds of religion and virtue, as 'could hardly ever be eradicated. Here the diligent 'and attentive reader may find all the duties of a 'Chriſtian painted in ſuch true and lively colours, 'as will at once both convince his reaſon, and forcibly gain his affections (7).'

(6) In his Advice to a young Student.

(7) Memoirs, p. 313, 314.

As Mrs. Aſtell had very high notions of government, both in church and ſtate, ſhe has taken occaſion in this work to inculcate the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance* very ſtrongly. She ſays, it is unqueſtionably the doctrine of the Church of England, and 'as plainly delivered in ſcripture as *Thou ſhalt not 'kill, thou ſhalt not ſteal* (8).' It is, however, not quite clear, that ſhe would have carried this doctrine into domeſtic life, if ſhe had entered into the matrimonial ſtate: for ſhe ſeems to have taken no inconſiderable degree of offence at the tyranny of the men, and to have thought *that* a proper ſubject of oppoſition. In the treatiſe juſt referred to are the following paſſages: 'To what ſtudy ſhall we apply ourſelves? 'ſome men ſay, that Heraldry is a pretty ſtudy for a woman,

(8) *Vide* the Chriſtian Religion, as profeſſed by a Daughter of the Church of England, p. 177, 178.

She ſeems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted ſtate of health till a few years before her death, when being unhappily obliged to have one of her breaſts cut off, in conſequence of a cancer, her conſtitution became greatly impaired. But ſhe endured this calamity with much fortitude [*H*]; and afterwards prepared herſelf for her approaching diſſolution, with great piety and reſignation [*I*]. She died on the 11th day of May, 1731; and was buried at Chelſea on the 14th of the ſame month (*e*). In the conduct of her life ſhe appears to have been ſtrictly virtuous, and ſhe was abſtemious even to a degree of auſterity [*K*]. The ſeverity of her manners is ſaid, however, not to have been attended with ſourneſs or moroſeneſs of temper; her mind being generally calm and ſerene, and her converſation entertaining, and ſometimes facetious [*L*]. Mr. Ballard ſays, that 'for ſeveral years before her death, ſhe conſtantly walked from Chelſea to St. Martin's 'church every Sunday, never regarding the inclemency or unſeaſonableneſs of the wea-'ther, purely to hear a celebrated preacher, whom ſhe much admired for his excellent 'practical divinity (*f*).' She never affixed her name to any of her pieces, which is attributed to her modeſty. She certainly had conſiderable merit; but her talents as a writer have been much over-rated by Ballard, and others. She appears to have been much tinctured with bigotry; and to have been rather deficient in charity for thoſe whoſe religious ſentiments were different from her own. She was extremely frugal of her time, and very unwilling to be diſturbed at her ſtudies by trifling viſitors [*M*], from whom ſhe could derive no inſtruction, and who were incapable of rational converſation.]

(*e*) Ballard, P. 317.

(*f*) Memoirs, P. 315.

'woman, for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that ſhe may 'know how to blazon her *lord* and *maſter*'s great 'atchievements! They allow us poetry, plays, and 'romances, to divert us and themſelves; and when 'they would expreſs a particular eſteem for a wo-'man's ſenſe, they recommend hiſtory; though, with 'ſubmiſſion, hiſtory can only ſerve us for amuſe-'ment and a ſubject of diſcourſe. For though it 'may be of uſe to the men who govern affairs, to 'know how their forefathers acted, yet what is this 'to us, who have nothing to do with ſuch buſineſs? 'Some good examples indeed are to be found in 'hiſtory, though generally the bad are ten for one; 'but how will this help our conduct, or excite in us 'a generous emulation? Since the men being the 'hiſtorians, they ſeldom condeſcend to record the 'great and good actions of women; and when they 'take notice of them, 'tis with this wiſe remark, 'that ſuch women *acted above their ſex*. By which 'one might ſuppoſe they would have their readers 'underſtand, that they were not women who did 'thoſe great actions, but that they were men in 'petticoats!'——'Except in the duties of our 'Chriſtian calling, and the little œconomies of a 'houſe, women's lives are not active, conſequently 'they ought to be contemplative; for I hope our 'Chriſtian brethren are not of the Turks opinion, 'that women have no ſouls; I heartily wiſh, indeed, 'that we made more uſe of them. And ſince it is 'allowed on all hands, that the men's buſineſs is 'without doors, and that theirs is an active life; 'women who ought to be retired, are for this rea-'ſon deſigned by Providence for ſpeculation: Pro-'vidence, which allots every one an employment, 'and never intended that any one ſhould give them-'ſelves up to idleneſs and unprofitable amuſements. 'And I make no queſtion but great improvements 'might be made in the ſciences, were not women 'enviouſly *excluded* from this their proper buſineſs. 'Quickneſs and penetration our *maſters* vouchſafe to 'allow us, whilſt they deny us judgment, and I own 'it is too true, that too many of us have given 'them juſt reaſon, gratitude apart. For it is no great 'ſign of prudence to chuſe a *ſervice* when we are 'free (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 252, 293. 296.

[*H*] *She endured this calamity with much fortitude.*] Ballard ſays, that ſhe concealed her having a cancer 'from the world in ſuch a manner, that 'even few of her moſt intimate acquaintance knew 'any thing at all of the matter. She dreſſed and 'managed it herſelf, till ſhe plainly perceived there 'was an abſolute neceſſity for its being cut off: and 'then, with the moſt intrepid reſolution and cou-'rage, ſhe went to the Reverend Mr. Johnſon, a 'gentleman very eminent for his ſkill in ſurgery '(with only one perſon to attend her), entreating 'him to take it off in the moſt private manner ima-'ginable; and would hardly allow him to have per-'ſons whom neceſſity required to be at the operation. 'She ſeemed ſo regardleſs of the ſufferings or pain 'ſhe was to undergo, that ſhe refuſed to have her 'hands held, and did not diſcover the leaſt timidity, 'or impatience, but went through the operation 'without the leaſt ſtruggling or reſiſtance; or even 'ſo much as giving a groan, or a ſigh: and ſhewed 'the like patience and reſignation throughout the 'whole cure, which that gentleman, to his laſting 'credit and honour, ſoon performed. Perhaps this 'might be the reaſon which induced her excellent 'friend, the Lady Elizabeth Haſtings, to make uſe 'of him upon the ſame ſad occaſion. This great 'lady's friendſhip to Mrs. Aſtell continued inviolable 'to the laſt date of her life: and well knowing that 'ſhe did not abound in riches, her generoſity to her 'was ſuch, that ſhe has given her fourſcore guineas 'at one time (10).'

(10) Memoirs, P. 316, 317.

[*I*] *Prepared herſelf for her approaching diſſolution, with great piety and reſignation.*] Ballard ſays, that 'by a gradual decay of nature, being confined to 'her bed, and finding the time of her diſſolution 'draw nigh, ſhe ordered her coffin and ſhrowd to be 'made, and brought to her bed-ſide; and there to 'remain in her view, as a conſtant memento to her 'of her approaching fate, and that her mind might 'not deviate or ſtray one moment from God, its 'moſt proper object. Her thoughts were now ſo 'entirely fixed upon God and Eternity, that for 'ſome days before her death, ſhe earneſtly deſired 'that no company might be permitted to come to 'her; refuſing at that time to ſee even her old 'and dear friend the Lady Catherine Jones, purely 'becauſe ſhe would not be diſturbed in the laſt 'moments of her divine contemplations (11).'

(11) *Ibid.* p. 317.

[*K*] *She was abſtemious even to a degree of auſterity.*] 'In abſtinence few or none ever ſurpaſſed 'her; for ſhe would live like a hermit, for a con-'ſiderable time together, upon a cruſt of bread and 'water, with a little ſmall beer. And at the time 'of her higheſt living (when ſhe was at home), ſhe 'very rarely eat any dinner till night; and then it 'was by the ſtricteſt rules of temperance. She would 'ſay, *abſtinence was her beſt phyſic*. And would fre-'quently obſerve, *that thoſe who indulged themſelves 'in eating and drinking, could not be ſo well diſpoſed 'or prepared, either for ſtudy, or the regular and 'devout ſervice of their Creator* (12).'

(12) *Ibid.* p. 316.

[*L*] *Her converſation was entertaining, and ſometimes facetious.*] She would ſay, '*The good Chriſtian 'only has reaſon, and he always ought to be chearful.* 'And *that dejected looks, and melancholy airs, were 'very unſeemly in a Chriſtian* (13).'

(13) *Id. ibid.*

[*M*] *Unwilling to be diſturbed at her ſtudies by trifling viſitors.*] Mr. Ballard ſays, ſhe was ſo devoted to her ſtudies, that 'when ſhe has accidentally 'ſeen needleſs viſitors coming, whom ſhe knew to 'be incapable of diſcourſing upon any uſeful ſubject, 'but to come for the ſake of chat and tattle, ſhe 'would look out at the window, and jeſtingly tell 'them (as Cato did Nafica) *Mrs. Aſtell is not at 'home*; and in good earneſt keep them out, not 'ſuffering ſuch triflers to make inroads upon her 'more ſerious hours (14).'] T.

(14) P. 309

ASTLEY (John), ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas de Aſtley, Knt. by Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Richard Harcourt, Eſq; deſcended of the ancient and noble family of Aſtley, of Aſtley in Warwickſhire (*a*) [*A*]. He was born in the beginning of the XVth century, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by feats of arms, in the reign of our great Engliſh conqueror, King Henry V. It was in thoſe days cuſtomary, for perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by military atchievements, to tilt publickly for the honour of their nation, or of their miſtreſſes. Thus in 1438, one Peter de Maſſe, a Frenchman, having challenged all comers in honour of a certain lady, it was accepted by our heroe, Aſtley, who, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt that year, in the ſtreet of St. Antoine in Paris, engaged him on horſeback in the preſence of Charles VII., the French King, and having with his lance pierced the head and helmet of his opponent quite through, he preſented the latter to his lady, according to the conditions of combat (*b*). Being by this exploit become famous, on his return into England he was made choice of to fight Sir Philip Boyle, an Arragonian Knight, who, by the command of the King his maſter, had been in France, and had there challenged any perſon to fight with him on horſeback or on foot, and was now come into England for the ſame purpoſe. The combat was on the thirtieth of January 1442, being the twentieth of Henry VI. It was fought in Smithfield in the preſence of that king, and all his nobility (*c*). Our John Aſtley was then an Eſquire of the King's houſe, and was made choice of on this occaſion, to ſupport the honour of the nation. They fought on foot, both being completely armed, and firſt Aſtley threw his ſpear, which was avoided by Sir Philip Boyle, who put it by with his ſword. After this Aſtley took his battle ax, and went againſt the Knight ſuddenly, ſays my author, on whom he ſtruck many ſtrokes hard and ſore upon his baſnet, and on his hand, and made him loſe his battle-ax and let it fall to the ground, and burſt up his umber; *i. e.* the vizor of his helmet three times, and caught his dagger, and would have ſmitten him in the face to have ſlain him in the field, and then the King cried Hoo! and ſo they were parted and went to their tents (*d*). Immediately after, the King dubbed the ſaid John Aſtley a Knight, and granted him an annuity of one hundred merks *per annum* (*e*). As for Sir Philip Boyle, or, as Stowe calls him, Sir Philip de Beauſe, he went and offered his arms at Windſor (*f*) [*B*]. Sir John de Aſtley continuing in the exerciſe of arms, became in proceſs of time Knight of the Garter; and having paſſed through life with the greateſt honour, he at length deceaſed at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, and lies buried there under a handſome monument (*g*) [*C*].

(*a*) See the pedigree of this family in Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ſecond edition, p. 107. 110. The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. ii. p. 361. edit. 1727.

(*b*) Theatre de Honneur par M. de Wilſon, c. xxviii.

(*c*) *Ibid.* c. xxix.

(*d*) Stowe, A. D. 1442.

(*e*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 110.

(*f*) Stowe, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Engliſh Baronets, Vol. ii. p. 361.

[*A*] *Aſtley of Aſtley in Warwickſhire.*] This ancient family is ſuppoſed, on account of the likeneſs of arms, the lands they held by military ſervice, and the employments they, from time to time, had under the Earls of Leiceſter, to have been a younger branch, deſcended from Simon de Montfort Earl of Leiceſter, great-grandchild to Almaric, baſe ſon to Robert King of France (1). This is the conjecture of Sir William Dugdale, and ſeems to have a great deal of probability. As to the name it is thus derived. In Domeſday book, this manor is called Eſtleja; *i. e. Locus Orientalis*, a place lying eaſt, and the firſt mention we have of the family of which we are ſpeaking, is in the twelfth of Henry II., when it appears, that Philip de Eſtleja, Eſtley, or Aſtley, held three Knights fees of William, Earl of Warwick, *de veteri feoffamento*, by which it is plain, that this eſtate was either in his father, or grandfather in the time of Henry I. (2), of which three Knights fees, Eſtley was part with Wedington, Hillmorton, Milverton, &c. by the ſervice of holding the Earl's ſtirrup when he either mounted or alighted (3). This is the ancient and chief family of Aſtley, from which the families ſeated at Hillmorton, and Wolvey in Warwickſhire, and at Pateſhull in Staffordſhire, draw their ſource (4). As to the eldeſt branch it failed in William de Aſtley, in the reign of Henry V., for he leaving an only daughter, Joan, ſhe married firſt Thomas Raleigh of Farnborough, in the county of Warwick, and afterwards Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, in whoſe family the manor of Aſtley long continued (5).

(1) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 106.

(2) Ex Cartul. Warw. Comit. penes Dudl. Bar. de North. f. 106. b.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) The Engliſh Baronets, Vol. ii. p. 50. 355.

(5) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 111.

[*B*] *He went and offered his arms at Windſor.*] As to theſe combats, and the laws relating to them, the reader may meet with large accounts of them, in the books cited in the margin (6); but, however, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething in few words of them here. In the firſt place, the King's leave was to be aſked in a ſolemn manner. When that was obtained, a place was aſſigned which was railed in, and convenient ſtations appointed for the judges and for the ſpectators; men and women being in ſeparate boxes. In the area were pitched two tents, one for the challenger, and one for the defendant: then each of the parties ſwore, that he fought fairly. There is an oath of this ſort on record, in a trial which ſhould have been by battle, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and as all oaths on ſuch occaſions were of the ſame tenor, it may not be amiſs to produce it. Thus it ran, This, hear you Juſtices, that I have this day neither eat, drank, nor have upon me either bone, ſtone, or glaſs, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witchcraft, where through the power of God, might be inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Devil's power increaſed (7). After the combat was over, the conqueror went and ſolemnly returned thanks to God, and in this caſe it appears, that he who was foiled, did alſo offer his arms.

(6) Theatre de Honneur par M. Wilſon. Inſtitution of the Garter, by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq;

(7) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 670. edit. 1631.

[*C*] *Buried under a handſome monument.*] It is pity we have not an exact deſcription of this monument, becauſe we know particularly, from an ancient MS. of the enſigns of the Knights of the moſt noble order of the Garter, that this Sir John de Aſtley bore for his arms the coats of Aſtley and Harcourt quarterly, and a label of three points ermine (8), perhaps they may be upon this tomb. C.

(8) Engliſh Baronets, Vol. ii. p. 361.

ASTON (Sir Arthur), an officer of note in King Charles I.'s army, was ſon of Sir Arthur Aſton of Fulham in Middleſex, who was the ſecond ſon of Sir Thomas Aſton of Aſton of Bucklow-Hundred in Cheſhire; 'an ancient and knightly family 'of that county (*a*).' He was a great traveller, and made ſeveral campaigns in foreign countries. Being returned into England about the beginning of the Grand Rebellion, with as

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 45.

as many ſoldiers of note as he could bring with him, he took part with the King [*A*] againſt the Parliament. He commanded the dragoons in the battle of Edge-Hill, and with them did his Majeſty conſiderable ſervice. The King having a great opinion of his valour and conduct, made him Governor of the garriſon of Reading in Berkſhire (*b*), and Commiſſary-General of the Horſe (*c*): in which poſt he three times repulſed the Earl of Eſſex, who, at the head of the Parliament army, laid ſiege to that place. But Sir Arthur being dangerouſly wounded [*B*], the command was devolved on Colonel Richard Fielding, the eldeſt Colonel in the garriſon. Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command [*C*]. Some time after, he was appointed Governor of the garriſon of Oxford [*D*], in the room of Sir William Pennyman deceaſed (*d*). In September following, he had the misfortune to break his leg by a fall from his horſe, and was obliged to have it cut off; whereupon, on the twenty-fifth of December, he was diſcharged from his command, which was conferred on Colonel Gage (*e*). After the King's death, Sir Arthur was employed in the ſervice of King Charles II., and went with the flower of the Engliſh veterans into Ireland, where he was appointed Governor of Drogheda, commonly called *Tredagh*; 'at which time (Mr. Wood tells us) he laid 'an excellent plot to tire and break the Engliſh army (*f*).' But at length Cromwell having taken the town, about the tenth of Auguſt 1649, and put the inhabitants to the ſword [*E*], Sir Arthur the Governor was cut to pieces, and his brains beaten out with his

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) Clarendon, *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. ii. Part i. p. 81. edit. Oxon. 1721.

(*d*) *Ib.* part ii. p. 526.

(*e*) *Ib.* p. 553. Mr. Wood *pretends it was given to* Colonel William Legge. *But I prefer the authority of the noble hiſtorian.*

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He took part with the King.*] The reader is to be informed, that Sir Arthur Aſton was a reputed Papiſt; and this, among other circumſtances, gave the King's enemies occaſion to reflect upon him, as favouring the Romiſh religion. Let us hear my Lord Clarendon. 'In this equipage the King marched, —— 'having in his whole army not one officer of the 'field who was a Papiſt, except Sir Arthur Aſton, 'if he were one; and very few common ſoldiers of 'that religion. However the Parliament in all their 'declarations, and their clergy much more in their 'ſermons, aſſured the people, that the King's army 'conſiſted only of Papiſts (1).' And in another place, 'Though he (the King) had ſome Papiſts entertained 'in his armies, yet all men truſted by him in ſuperior commands, were men of unblemiſhed integrity in the Proteſtant religion: and in all his 'armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, Sir Arthur Aſton, *whom the Papiſts notwithſtanding would not acknowledge for a Papiſt* '(2).'

(1) *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. ii. Part i. p. 41. edit. Oxon 1721.

(2) *Ib.* p. 153.

[*B*] *He was dangerouſly wounded.*] 'Within a week 'after the beginning of the ſiege, Sir Arthur Aſton, 'the governor, being in a court of guard near the 'line, which was neareſt to the enemy's approaches, 'a cannon-ſhot accidentally lighted upon the top of 'it, which was covered with brick-tyle; a piece 'whereof, the ſhot going through, hit the governor 'on the head, and made that impreſſion upon him, 'that his ſenſes ſhortly failed him, ſo that he was not 'only diſabled afterwards from executing in his own 'perſon, but incompetent for counſel or direction. — 'This accident was then thought of great misfortune 'to the King; for there was not in his army an offi'cer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy 'had greater dread (3).'

(3) *Ib.* p. 231.

[*C*] *Sir Arthur was ſuſpected of taking this opportunity to get rid of a dangerous command.*] Colonel Fielding, upon whom the command of the garriſon was devolved, having ſurrendered the town to the Parliament forces, was committed to priſon for ſo doing, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. Upon his trial he pleaded, among other things, in his defence; *That by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of ſeniority, not any ambitious deſign of his own: that he had, from time to time, acquainted Sir Arthur Aſton with the ſtate and condition they were in, and though his indiſpoſition of health was ſuch, that he would not give poſitive orders, he ſeemed to approve of all that was done; and though, for the former reaſon, he refuſed to ſign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expreſſed no diſlike of them.* 'The truth of it is (ſays my 'Lord Clarendon) Sir Arthur Aſton was believed by 'many, not to be in ſo incompetent a condition to 'command, as he pretended; and that albeit his 'head was ſo much ſwoln, that he might not in 'perſon venture upon any execution, yet his under'ſtanding or ſenſes were not much diſtempered or 'diſcompoſed; and that he only poſitively waved 'meddling, out of diſlike of the condition they were 'in. And it is true, that when he came to Oxford, 'he could ſpeak as reaſonably of any matter, as ever 'I knew him before, or after (4).'

(4) *Ib.* p. 241.

[*D*] *He was appointed governor of the garriſon of Oxford.*] It was through the Queen's intereſt he obtained this poſt: for her Majeſty, being then at Oxford, thought ſhe ſhould be ſafer under the care and charge of a Roman Catholic, than of a Proteſtant governor. Sir Arthur's behaviour in this ſtation was not very agreeable to the people of that city. 'He 'had the fortune (ſays the noble hiſtorian hitherto cited) to be very much eſteemed where he was 'not known, and very much diſliked where he was; 'and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the King well 'underſtood, and was the more troubled, becauſe he 'ſaw the prejudice was univerſal, and with too much 'reaſon: and therefore his Majeſty had given an extraordinary commiſſion to the Lords of his council, 'to whoſe authority he was to ſubmit; which 'obliged him to live with a little more reſpect towards them, than he deſired to do; being a man of 'a rough nature, and ſo given up to an immoderate 'love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous way he exacted it. There were likewiſe 'ſome officers of name, who, having then no charge 'in the army, ſtaid in the town; and thoſe, by the 'King's direction, the Lords diſpoſed to aſſiſt the 'governor, and particularly to take care of the ſeveral quarters of the town, one whereof was aſſigned to each of them (5).'

(5) *Ib.* Part ii. p. 526, 527.

[*E*] *Cromwell —— put the inhabitants of Drogheda to the ſword.*] To go on with Lord Clarendon; 'Before the Marquis of Ormond (General for the King) 'could draw his army together, Cromwell had beſieged Tredagh (or Drogheda); and though the 'garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that 'number of ſo choice men, that they could wiſh for 'nothing more, than that the enemy would attempt 'to take them by ſtorm; the very next day after he 'came before the town, he gave a general aſſault, 'and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, 'after a day more, he aſſaulted it again in two 'places, with ſo much courage, that he entered in 'both; and though the governor and ſome of the 'chief officers retired in diſorder into a fort, where 'they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear 'ſo poſſeſſed the ſoldiers, that they threw down their 'arms upon a general offer of quarter; ſo that the 'enemy entered the works without reſiſtance, and put 'every man, governor (6), officer, and ſoldier, to the 'ſword; and the whole army being entered the town, 'they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every 'man that related to the garriſon, and all the citizens 'who were Iriſh, man, woman, and child, to the 'ſword; and there being three or four officers of 'name, and of good families, who had found ſome 'way, by the humanity of ſome ſoldiers of the ene'my, to conceal themſelves for four or five days, 'being afterwards diſcovered, they were butchered in 'cold blood (7).'

(6) *See the particular manner of his death in the text.*

(7) *Hiſt. of the Gr. Rebellion*, Vol. iii. Part i. p. 341.

B.

wooden

wooden leg. Mr. Wood acquaints us, that he was created Doctor of Phyſic, the firſt of May 1644; and that he left behind him a daughter named Elizabeth Thomſon *alias* Aſton (*g*). B.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

ASTON (Sir THOMAS), a brave and worthy gentleman in the reign of King Charles I., was the ſon of John Aſton, of Aſton in Cheſhire, Eſq; by his wife Maud, daughter of Robert Needham of Shenton in Shropſhire. He was entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Brazen-Noſe College in Oxford, in 1626-7; but was ſoon called home by his relations, and, being married, was created a Baronet in July 1628. In 1635 he was High-Sheriff of Cheſhire, being then eſteemed a perſon of good natural parts, and a high-ſlown Monarchiſt. Upon the approach of the Rebellion, he wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians [*A*], and was afterwards the chief man in his country that took part with the King. During the civil war, he raiſed a party of horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, which was beaten by a party of Rebels under Sir William Breerton of Honford near Nantwich in Cheſhire, on the twenty-eighth of July 1642; but Sir Thomas eſcaped with a ſlight wound. Some time after, he was taken in a ſkirmiſh in Staffordſhire, and carried priſoner to Stafford; where endeavouring to make his eſcape, a ſoldier ſpied him, and gave him a blow on the head; which, with other wounds he had a little before received, threw him into a fever, of which he died on the twenty-fourth of March 1645. His body was carried to Aſton, and interred in the chapel belonging to his own houſe (*a*). B.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 88, 89.

[*A*] *He wrote ſome pieces againſt the Preſbyterians.*] Theſe were: I. *A Remonſtrance againſt Preſbytery, exhibited againſt divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Cheſter*, London, 1641, 4to. II. *A ſhort Survey of the Preſbyterian Diſcipline.* III. *A brief Review of the Inſtitution, Succeſſion, and Juriſdiction of the ancient and venerable Order of the Biſhops.* Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Remonſtrance* before-mentioned. IV. He alſo made *a Collection of ſundry Petitions preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, as alſo to the two Houſes now aſſembled in Parliament, and others already ſigned by moſt of the gentry, miniſters, and freeholders of ſeveral counties*, &c. containing ten ſheets in 4*to*, 1642 (1). B.

(1) Wood, ubi ſupra.

ATHELING (EDGAR), the ſon of Edward, the ſon of Edmond Ironſide, King of England, by Agatha, daughter to Solomon, King of Hungary (*a*) [*A*], or rather of the Emperor Henry II. (*b*) In what year he was born is not certain; but he was very young in 1057, when his father and family were recalled into their native country, by their kinſman Edward the Confeſſor, then King thereof (*c*). His father died ſoon after his return, before the King had time to give him any eſſential marks of that kindneſs which he profeſſed to him (*d*). Edgar was carefully bred up by him, who was his great uncle, and was undoubtedly intended for his ſucceſſor, as the beſt authors aſſure us (*e*), and as his title Atheling, or Moſt Noble, implies; which is rightly noted by Mr. Selden, correcting in this reſpect Polydore Vergil, who miſtook it for a ſirname (*f*). But on King Edward's death, Edgar was deprived of his right, becauſe of his youth, his being born abroad, and his having too little experience for a crowned head in ſuch troubleſome times (*g*) [*B*]. Harold, the ſon of Earl Godwin, chiefly through the intrigues of the clergy (*h*), was preferred before him, for which they are ſeverely cenſured by ſome writers (*i*). This happened in the beginning of A. D. 1066. Harold, however, treated him with great reſpect, as long as he lived; after whoſe death and defeat in the fatal battle of Haſtings, the nobles and people in general looked upon Edgar as King, and

(*a*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. de geſt. Reg. Anglor. apud X. Script. p. 176. Chron. Sax. Ed. Oxon. 1692, 4*to*. p. 169. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*b*) Ethelred Ab. Reival de geneal. Reg. Ang. ap. X. Script. p. 366.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 189.

(*e*) Chron. Sax. p. 169. Ethelred, p. 366. Bromton, p. 907. R. Hoved. p. 449. H. Knyght p. 2238.

(*f*) Titles of Honour, 1614. 4*to*, p. 177.

(*g*) Ethelred, p. 366. Bromt. p. 976.

(*h*) H. Knyght. p. 2343.

(*i*) J. Fordun. Scot. Hiſt. ap. Gale. Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 698. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. M. Paris, edit. 1640, Vol. i. p. 5.

[*A*] *By Agatha daughter to Solomon King of Hungary.*] As to the father of Edgar, there is no colour of doubt, all authors agreeing him to be Edward the Outlaw, ſon to Edmond Ironſide, elder brother to the Confeſſor; conſequently the rights of Edward and our Edgar to the Crown, were prior to his own. This induced Buchanan to ſay, he ſent for Edgar in order to reſign to him the crown (1). This, however, is a mere dream of this inaccurate hiſtorian; for the perſon ſent for, was Edward, the father of Edgar, whom the King intended for his heir (2). That his mother's name was Agatha is clear, but not that ſhe was the daughter of Solomon, as Buchanan, following many Engliſh authors, aſſerts without ſcruple (3). Edward was ſent out of England about 1017, being then probably ſeven years old. Peter the German, who was the ſon of the Emperor, was then King of Hungary, and took him and his brother Edmond under his care (4). They continued in Hungary during the reigns of ſeveral Princes till about 1050, when Andrew, King of Hungary, concluding a peace with the Emperor Henry II., married his eldeſt ſon Solomon to one of the Emperor's daughters, and Edward to another. This Solomon did not mount the throne of Hungary 'till 1067, in the firſt year of William the Conqueror's reign (5), and becauſe Edgar and his mother ſought to fly thither, our hiſtorians concluded Agatha was his daughter (6), whereas ſhe was his wife's ſiſter. Ethelredus, who wrote expreſsly of the genealogy of the Engliſh Kings, who was particularly acquainted with this family, and flouriſhed within a ſhort time after Edgar Atheling's death, aſſerts his mother to have been the Emperor's daughter, and that Edward the Confeſſor ſent for Edward and his family from that Monarch's court (7).

(1) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(2) Ethelred, de geneal. Reg. Angl. p. 366.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Hiſtoire des Revolutions de Hungrie a la Haye, 1739, 4*to*, p. 7.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Simeon. Dunelm. p. 176.

(7) Ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *In ſuch troubleſome times.*] Bromton tells us, many of the nobility were for Edgar. *Sed quia puer erat et tanto oneri minus idoneus*; i. e. But as he was a youth, and no way fit for ſuch a burthen, they conſented to accept Harold (8). This is the language of the faireſt writers; for ſome Abbey Chronicles pretend that Edward the Confeſſor named Harold for his ſucceſſor (9). John Fordun ſays, expreſsly, that Edward the Confeſſor, on the deceaſe of Edward the Outlaw, declared Edgar his ſucceſſor, and recommended him as ſuch to the nobility (10). Matthew Paris is remarkably clear, *Edmundus autem latus ferreum Rex naturalis de Stirpe Regum, genuit Edwardum: Edwardus Eadgarum, cui de jure debebatur Regnum Anglorum.* Edmund Ironſide, the natural King of this land, of the old royal ſtock begat Edward: Edward, Edgar, to whom of right appertained the crown (11).

(8) In Chron. p. 976.

(9) Chron. Sax. p. 172.

(10) Ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 698.

(11) Edit. 1640, p. 6.

even acknowledged him as ſuch (k). But William Duke of Normandy, awing them with his victorious army, was owned and crowned Monarch of England at Weſtminſter, in the ſame year (l). To him, if we credit ſome of our ancient hiſtorians, Edgar immediately ſubmitted, and was amongſt the number of thoſe, whom William carried with him as hoſtages, into Normandy (m). Other authors are ſilent on this head, but all agree, that in 1067, Edgar, attended by many of the prime nobility, retired firſt into Northumberland, afterwards into Scotland (n) [C]. The perſons who adhered to him, had ſo conſiderable an intereſt both at home and abroad, that they quickly drew together a numerous army, and therewith began to bid fair for unſettling the new eſtabliſhment. In 1068 (o), King William ſent Robert Comyn into the North, in order to expel Edgar and his aſſociates out of thoſe parts, conſtituting him Earl of Northumberland. But this great man had but an ill fate, being ſlain by ſuch forces as he had about him (p). The next year a great ſuccour came to theſe malcontents from Denmark, and more Engliſh Lords reconciling themſelves to Edgar, he made head againſt the Normans, and after ſeveral ſucceſsful engagements, made himſelf maſter of the city of York, and wintered between the Ouſe and Trent, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Conqueror (q). In 1070 he was leſs fortunate. William found means by money and promiſes, to draw off the Danes and ſome of the Lords of his party, and in the end, obliged him to retire again into Scotland. Malcolm King of that country, married this year his ſiſter Margaret, ſo excellent a woman, that in her life-time ſhe was ſtyled the Good, and after her deceaſe was regarded as a Saint (r). This marriage enabled Edgar to make new attempts, in which he had moſtly the better, the King of Scots openly aſſiſting him, notwithſtanding King William had demanded him, and threatened to invade Scotland in caſe of refuſal (s). Some domeſtic troubles hindered that Prince from performing his threat for two years. In 1072, however, King William entered Scotland with an army, but with indifferent ſucceſs. Upon this he readily made peace with Malcolm, and regulated, according to ancient treaties, the bounds of their reſpective dominions (t). In this peace the Scots hiſtorians ſay Edgar Atheling was included, and, on his ſubmiſſion, received into King William's favour, which is very probable, ſince the war was on his account (u). In 1074 Edgar left Scotland where he had been ſo kindly entertained, and where his ſiſter was Queen [D]. He croſſed the ſea into Normandy, and was kindly received by King William, who gave him a grand allowance (w). Some of our authors ſay, it was a pound of ſilver a day, others twenty ſhillings. However, he was therewith contented, and lived quietly (x). William of Malmſbury, his contemporary (and who expreſsly takes notice that he was living when he wrote) ſpeaks of him in terms little to his advantage. He ſays he behaved meanly and fooliſhly in the King's court, and as an inſtance thereof, mentions his quitting his great allowance for an horſe (y). But this is not very conſiſtent with the teſtimonies of other authors, or with the general current of hiſtory [E]. After this ſubmiſſion our hiſtories are ſilent concerning him for many years. This, however, is a plain proof, that he acted like a man of honour towards the Norman, ſince in that ſpace there were many ſtirs, of which he might have made his advantage (z). In 1086, that is, about twelve years after his ſubmiſſion, Edgar, conceiving himſelf ill treated at court, retired from thence. This does not ſeem to ſpeak him of quite ſo mean a ſpirit as Malmſbury would make him. Certain it is, that even now he had the hearts of the Engliſh nation; ſince in the old Abbey Chronicles, we meet with this prayer on the mention of his retreat, *May the Almighty give him honour* (a), alluding to the little reſpect ſhewn him at court. But this, however,

(k) Chron. Sax. p. 173. M. Paris, ubi ſupra. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(l) Annal. Marg. p. 1. Chronicon. T. Wikes, ap. Gale, Hiſt. Angl. Script. Vol. ii. p. 21.

(m) Florent. Wigorn.

(n) Chron. Sax. p. 173. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. M. Paris, p. 5.

(o) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. i. p. 54.

(p) Chron. Sax. p. 174. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 198. Rog. de Hoved. p. 451.

(q) Annal Waverl. p. 130. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. 199. Annal. Waverl. p. 130. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(r) Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 199, 201. Ethelred, p. 367. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(s) Chron. Sax. p. 181. Hen. Hunting. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 369. Buchan. ubi ſupra.

(t) Chron. Sax. p. 181. Sim. Dunelm. p. 203. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(u) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(w) Chron. Sax. p. 182. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 205. Annal. Waverl. p. 131.

(x) M. Paris, p. 7. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(y) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103.

(z) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 105, &c. H. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. vii. p. 369. R. Hoved. Annal. p. 450. M. Paris, p. 9, 10. Chron. Saxon. p. 173.

(a) Annal. Waverleinſ. p. 133. Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

[C] *Afterwards into Scotland.*] This was the ſecond time Edgar was ſet aſide. In the Saxon Chronicle we find, he was generally looked on as King, after the death of Harold; inſomuch, that the Abbot of Peterborough, then called Burh, was ſent by his Monks to Edgar for his approbation (12); *becauſe*, ſays the author, *the people of this land thought he ought to have been King, and he graciouſly acknowledged him for Abbot.* This, William, whoſe ſword had made him King, puniſhed ſeverely. Matthew Paris repeats, on this occaſion, his former aſſertion; *Eadgarus Atheling, hæres legitimus Anglorum regni*; i. e. Edgar Atheling, *the lawful heir of the Engliſh kingdom, ſeeing his country in confuſion, endeavoured to retire to Hungary, but by a ſtorm was forced on the Scots coaſt* (13). Hence his common appellation,

Edgar Atheling,
England's Darling.

[D] *Where his ſiſter was Queen.*] Many of our hiſtorians, to raiſe the credit of their country, would perſuade us, that this Queen civilized King Malcolm, and his Scots, making the King, as well as his ſubjects, almoſt barbarians (14). In this, however, they muſt be a little partial, ſince Malcolm was educated entirely in England, and was one of the greateſt monarchs of that age. He had by this Queen Margaret, ſix ſons, Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, Edgar, Athelred, and David; and two daughters, Maud the Good, who married Henry I., and Mary who married Euſtace, Earl of Bulloign (15). This King Malcolm favoured the Engliſh ſo much, and treated thoſe who fled to Scotland ſo well, that they remained there; and from them are deſcended ſome of the nobleſt houſes in that kingdom, as the Lindſeys, Vaux, Ramſays, Lovells, Sandilands, Foulis's, Wardlaws, Maxwells, &c. (16) M. Paris places Edgar Atheling's coming to court firſt in 1069, and ſays he afterwards retired into Scotland, and ſome time after that was reconciled to the King again (17).

[E] *The general current of hiſtory.*] We ſhall hereafter demonſtrate Malmſbury's ſpite to Edgar. At preſent let us conſider that he had behaved well in ſeveral battles; had now, and afterwards, the hearts of the nation; was always courted by foreign Princes; and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was truſted by William II. with an army to reſtore his nephew, which he performed. Theſe actions ſpeak him neither weak, nor mean-ſpirited: even our author's ſtory proves no more than that he deſpiſed money, from which and his loving this country, the Monk concludes him a fool (18).

(12) Chron. Sax. p. 173.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Sim. Dunelm. p. 201.

(15) Ethelred de geneal. Reg. Angl, p. 366. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(16) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. i. p. 105.

(17) Ubi ſupra.

(18) See note [G].

was

was not without the King's conſent. On the contrary, Edgar obtained licence to ſail with a certain number of ſhips, and two hundred ſoldiers on board, to Apulia. This therefore was no diſgraceful flight, but rather an honourable exile. About the ſame time, his younger ſiſter Chriſtina became a nun in Ramſay Abbey (*b*). How long Edgar continued in Apulia is uncertain. Yet when he returned from thence he went into Normandy, where he was well received by Duke Robert, who gave him certain lands for his ſubſiſtence. Whether this was done to awe his brother William Rufus, who ſeized the kingdom of England, or purely to provide for an unhappy Prince, cannot now be determined. But, in 1091, on the concluſion of a ſolemn treaty between the brethren Robert and William, the latter procured Edgar Atheling's being diſpoſſeſſed of his lands, upon which he withdrew out of Normandy, and went into Scotland, to his brother-in-law King Malcolm (*c*). In the ſame year, this laſt mentioned Prince raiſed a puiſſant army, and therewith invaded England, and carried away much ſpoil; on the news whereof both brothers haſtened out of Normandy, and ſent a conſiderable force on board tranſports towards the North, that they might more ſpeedily aſſemble an army in thoſe parts; but being near Michaelmas, the weather proved ſtormy, and moſt of the men were loſt. King William II., and Duke Robert, raiſed however an army, and though it was winter, advanced therewith towards Scotland. Upon this Edgar interpoſed, reconciled the two Kings, and mediated a good peace (*d*). For this ſervice he was reſtored to King William's favour, and came back with the brothers to London. However, when Duke Robert returned into Normandy, Edgar choſe to accompany him, either becauſe he loved him beſt, or feared him leaſt (*e*). This was in the beginning of 1092. His ſtay in Normandy was but ſhort, for the next year we find him again in England, attending on, and in favour with William II. That Prince reſided at Glouceſter about Eaſter, and was there ſo ill, that his death was expected. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1093, Malcolm King of Scots, importuned him by letters to regulate certain differences according to treaty, on which William ſummoned him to Glouceſter, and ſent Edgar to conduct him (*f*). This he performed; but after all King William treated Malcolm very ill, who returning into Scotland, levied an army, entered Northumberland, and beſieging the caſtle of Alnwick, which had been unjuſtly taken from him, he was there treacherouſly ſlain, together with his eldeſt ſon Edward (*g*). This unfortunate event could not but afflict Edgar exceedingly, eſpecially when he ſaw his nephews deprived of their rights, the Scots ſetting up Donald Bane, *i. e.* Donald the White, whom the Engliſh writers call Dufenald, for their King, who was brother to Malcolm (*h*). Edgar ſent for his five nephews into England, and carefully brought them up; but not without ſome danger to himſelf if we credit the Scots hiſtorians. One Orgar reported to King William Rufus, that Edgar ſhould ſay boaſtingly to his nephews, that the right to the Engliſh crown was in him and in them. Edgar denied the charge, and was allowed to juſtify himſelf by combat. That is, he choſe a Knight to enter into the liſts for him, who was ſo happy as to conquer. Buchanan informs us, that the reaſon he did not fight in perſon, was becauſe Edgar at this time was old and infirm: but in this he was miſtaken, Edgar, not exceeding forty-three, and as we ſhall ſee, he went afterwards into Paleſtine (*i*). Two of Edgar's nephews died before they were of age, which hindered him from doing what he would otherwiſe have done for them. His third nephew, Edgar, growing towards man's eſtate, and the Scots inviting him, when they were weary of his uncle, to accept the crown, he reſolved to aſſiſt him in that undertaking. Applying therefore to King William, he procured a ſmall aſſiſtance from him, and therewith marched to the borders of Scotland, where his forces quickly increaſed, ſo as to enable him to look Donald in the face. It was in the winter of 1097, that he ſet forward on this expedition, and in the next ſpring, having defeated and taken Donald priſoner, he eſtabliſhed his nephew on the throne, and then came back again into England (*k*). After this we meet with no account of him, till ſuch time as with Robert the ſon of Godwin, a famous Knight, he undertook a journey into the Holy Land. It is probable this was in 1099 [*F*]. He was with Baldwin II., King of Jeruſalem, when beſieged in Rama, and having in their hazardous ſally, wherein they eſcaped thence, loſt his knight, he thought of returning. This was in 1102, and accordingly he came back ſoon after into Europe, received great civilities from the Greek and German Emperors, who importuned him to remain in their courts, which he civilly excuſed, and continued his journey either intoEngland or Normandy (*l*) [*G*]. Henry I. had

(*b*) Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 161. Bromt. p. 979. Sim. Dunelm. p. 213.

(*c*) Chron. Sax. p. 197. Annal. Waverl. p. 137. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 986. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 216.

(*d*) Annal. Waverl. p. 137. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Florent. Wigorn. Sim. Dunelm. p. 216. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 987.

(*e*) Sim. Dun. Hiſt. p. 217.

(*f*) Annal. Waverl. p. 138. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 218. J. Bromt. Chron. p. 990.

(*g*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii. W. Malmſb. lib. iv. p. 112. Bromt. ubi ſupra. Sim. Dunelm. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Annal Waverl. p. 138. Chron. Saxon. p. 199. Sim. Dunelm. p. 218. Bromt. p. 981. H. Knyghton, p. 2365.

(*i*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. vii.

(*k*) Annal. Waverl. p. 141. Chron. Saxon. p. 206. Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. p. 223.

(*l*) W. Malmſb. Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103. Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. ii. p. 11.

[*F*] *It was probably in* 1099.] Our conjecture is thus grounded. We cannot conceive, why Edgar ſhould have left the kingdom after Henry I. aſcended the throne, who married his niece, and was remarkably kind to his family; whereas it is eaſy to find the reaſon of his going in the end of William Rufus's reign. That Prince was an odd tempered man, Robert Duke of Normandy was already in the Holy Land; wherefore Edgar poſſibly choſe to follow him, rather than remain at the King's mercy, or hazard his nephew's ſafety, by retiring into Scotland.

[*G*] *Either into England or Normandy.*] William of Malmſbury is the only author who gives an account of this adventure of his: theſe are his words, 'He travelled with Robert, the ſon of Godwin, a 'valiant Knight unto Jeruſalem; and it ſo happened, 'that they were with King Baldwin, when beſieged 'by the Turks in Rama. This Prince ſallying 'eſcaped chiefly by the proweſs of Robert, who 'going before him, cut down the Turks on the 'right and left. But in the end, dropping his 'ſword, and overcome by numbers, Robert was 'taken; and, as it is ſaid, being carried into Ba-

had now aſcended the Engliſh throne, and eſpouſed Maud, Edgar's niece; he had therefore all imaginable reaſon to expect a good reception at court, which however he either did not find, or elſe, it may be, declined. For we are certain, he was ſome ſhort time after his return from the Eaſt, in Normandy, with Duke Robert, for whom he had a great kindneſs. He even remained firm in his friendſhip to him, when King Henry invaded his dominions, and was taken priſoner fighting in his cauſe, as alſo was Duke Robert himſelf, at the fatal battle of Tenchebray, wherein the whole force of Normandy was routed; which fell out in the latter end of 1106 (*m*). King Henry dealt very ſeverely with the reſt of the priſoners;

(*m*) Chron. Sax. p. 214. Annal. Waverl. p. 144.

'bylon, or Cairo in Egypt, and refuſing to deny 'Chriſt, was there ſlain. Edgar having loſt his 'Knight, returned; and being honoured with rich 'preſents, by the Greek and German Emperors, '(who on account of his nobility, would have re-'tained him in their courts) contemned all things, 'in regard to his native ſoil. For ſuch is the fond-'neſs of ſome men for their country, that they 'can reliſh nothing out of the climate wherein they 'were bred. Wherefore Edgar, deluded by thoſe 'notions, returned into England, and afterwards 'meeting various changes of fortune, ſpends now 'his extreme old age in an inglorious country retire-'ment (19).' On this, let us obſerve, that Britain was not Edgar's native country, but rather the German Emperor's dominions; that Malmſbury was provoked by his ſiding with Duke Robert, againſt his maſter, Henry I.; and that this diſcourſe is addreſſed to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, King Henry's natural ſon.

(19) Hiſt. lib. iii. p. 103. 93. 173.

[Sir David Dalrymple hath ſhewn, that there is no little difficulty in determining who Agatha, the mother of Edgar Atheling, was. That ſhe could not be the daughter of Solomon, King of Hungary, is evident from the reaſons alledged in the note [*A*]: neither could ſhe be the daughter of the Emperor Henry the Second; for he had no children. The hypotheſis of Papebroch, who wrote the life of Margaret. ſiſter to Edgar, is, That, inſtead of *Agatha, the daughter of Henry the Second, and ſiſter-in-law of Solomon, King of Hungary*, we ought to read, *Agatha the daughter of Bruno* (brother of Henry the Second), *and niece of Giſela, the wife of Stephen, King of Hungary* (20). Solomon, according to Sir David Dalrymple, was born in 1051, and aſcended the throne of Hungary in 1062 (21). —— The title of Atheling, given to Edgar, doth not imply that he was undoubtedly intended for ſucceſſor to his great-uncle King Edward. *Ædgar Atheling* is *Edgar the Noble*. The Anglo-Saxons, as well as other nations, formerly uſed the word *Ædeling* to denote *men of the noble claſs*; although it may, by degrees, have been appropriated to the ſons of the royal family. Edward the Confeſſor might give the name of *Ædeling* to the grandſon of his elder brother King Edmund, without meaning to adopt him as his heir. It ſeems to have been merely an acknowledgment that he was a Prince of the blood-royal (22). —— The learned hiſtorian before mentioned farther obſerves, that there is a confuſion, hardly to be unravelled, as to the time and manner of Edgar's retreat into Scotland, and his ſiſter's marriage; and that conjecture alone can reconcile the diſcordant accounts (23). The ſame author gives entire credit to Malmſbury's repreſentation of the contemptible weakneſs of Edgar Atheling's underſtanding; and yet, not to mention other inſtances, his conduct in placing his nephew upon the throne of Scotland ſeems ſcarcely compatible with the idea of ſo much weakneſs (24). ——With reſpect to what is ſaid in the note [*D*], of ſome of the nobleſt houſes in Scotland being deſcended from the Engliſh who fled to Malcolm; ſuch as the *Lindſays*, *Vaux's*, *Tours's*, *Preſtons*, *Sandilands*, *Biſſets*, *Foulis's*, *Wardlaws*, and *Maxwells*, Sir David Dalrymple conſiders this liſt as drawn up from the imagination of Boece, without any regard to hiſtorical truth. 'Some of the names in it are 'Norman, others local. Boece alſo gives a liſt of 'families who came from Hungary with Queen 'Margaret, and ſettled in Scotland: as *Crichton*, '*Fotheringham*, *Giffard*, *Maul*, *Borthwick*: how '*Crichton*, *Fotheringham*, and *Borthwick* ſhould hap-'pen to be Hungarian names, I know not. *Giffard* 'was a Norman, and came over with the Conqueror; 'Du Cheſne, p. 1126. Every one knows that the 'family of *Maul* was greatly diſtinguiſhed in France 'before the Conqueſt (25)."——Though Malcolm King of Scotland was educated entirely in England, and derived, no doubt, conſiderable advantages and improvement from that circumſtance, yet it ſhould ſeem, that to his Queen Margaret muſt chiefly be aſcribed, any farther degrees of reformation and refinement of manners which might be introduced into Scotland in this period. Malcolm himſelf, with all his great qualities, could not read (26). The abilities and virtues of Margaret, allowance being made for the age in which ſhe lived, were very eminent, and render her much more deſerving of being celebrated than her brother Edgar Atheling. As we ſhall not have ſo proper an opportunity of doing juſtice to her merit, we ſhall here inſert her character, as drawn by the accurate hiſtorian above mentioned; referring our readers to the work itſelf for the notes with which the character is accompanied.

(20) Sir D. Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, p. 12, 13.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(22) *Ib.* p. 6, 7.

(23) *Ib.* p. 7, 8.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 6. 18, 19.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 32, 33.

(26) *Ib.* p. 13.

'In delineating the character of Margaret, the wife 'of Malcolm III. I follow the traces of Turgot her 'Confeſſor: "Far be it from my hoary head," ſays 'Turgot, "to feign or flatter. As God is my "witneſs and my judge, I relate nothing of Mar-"garet but what I know to be true: many things, "which I know to be true, I have omitted, becauſe "they would have appeared incredible."

'Some allowance, however, muſt be made for the 'ſecret bias of a panegyriſt, to magnify the virtues 'and extenuate the imperfections of the perſon whom 'he celebrates.

'From her earlieſt youth, Margaret ſtudied the 'ſcriptures, as they were then ſtudied, in the verbal 'ſenſe of the Vulgate. Her apprehenſion was acute, 'her memory tenacious, and her diligence unwearied; 'hence ſhe attained to an uncommon proficiency in 'what was then eſteemed to be knowledge. En-'dowed with all the graces of utterance, ſhe was, 'perhaps, inclined to diſplay her learning and her 'eloquence more than her royal eſtate required, or 'than became her ſex. "Often," ſays Turgot, "have I with admiration heard her diſcourſe on "ſubtile queſtions of theology, in preſence of the "moſt learned men of the kingdom."

'Of this he gives one example, too characteriſtical 'to be omitted in a work which I wiſh to be *a hiſtory 'of manners*, as well as of *events*.

'For the reformation of certain erroneous prac-'tices which prevailed in the Scottiſh church, Mar-'garet held frequent conferences with the clergy. 'The King underſtood the Gaelic language as well 'as the Saxon. He willingly performed the office 'of interpreter between his conſort and the Scottiſh 'eccleſiaſtics.

"Three days did did ſhe employ the ſword of the "Spirit, in combating their errors. She ſeemed "another St. Helena, out of the Scriptures con-"vincing the Jews."

'The right ſeaſon for celebrating Lent was the 'ſubject of this ſolemn conference. The Queen's 'arguments prevailed.

'Margaret appears to have affected an unuſual 'ſplendor about her court. She encouraged the im-'portation and the uſe of veſtments of various co-'lours. She was magnificent in her own attire; ſhe 'increaſed the number of attendants on the perſon 'of the King, augmented the parade of his public 'appearances, and cauſed him to be ſerved at table 'in gold and ſilver plate. "At leaſt," ſays the 'honeſt hiſtorian, "the diſhes and veſſels were gilt "or ſilvered over."

'There was what appears to us an air of oſten-'tatious trifling in her charities. Every morning 'ſhe prepared food for nine little children, all indi-'gent orphans: on her bended knees ſhe fed them. 'With her own hands ſhe miniſtered at table to

'crouds

ſoners; but as for Edgar, he diſmiſſed him freely. This is the laſt time he is mentioned in our hiſtories, and after his return into England, he went to paſs the remainder of his days in the country, where, according to Malmſbury, he was living in 1120, when he muſt have been ſeventy or thereabouts (*n*). In what year he died appears not, nor do we read that he was ever married. He was born during his father's exile, loſt him when his life would have ſecured him a crown, ſtruggled, though to no purpoſe, againſt the Conqueror, was through his whole life the ſport of fortune, and died full of years and in a dark obſcurity. To which we add, that till now, his life was never written, from a ſuppoſed want of materials, and from a real want of inclination, to glean from our ancient

(*n*) Ubi ſupra, p. 93.

' crouds of poor perſons, and waſhed the feet of ſix ' every evening.

' While the King was occupied in affairs of ſtate, ' ſhe repaired to the altar, and *there*, with *long* ' *prayers*, ſighs and tears, offered herſelf a willing ' ſacrifice to the Lord. In the ſeaſon of Lent, be- ' ſides reciting particular offices, ſhe went through ' the whole pſalter, twice or thrice, within the ' ſpace of twenty-four hours. Before the time of ' public maſs, ſhe heard five or ſix private maſſes; ' after that ſervice, ſhe fed twenty-four perſons; and ' then, and not till then, ſhe retired to a ſcanty ' aſcetic meal. She fell a victim to her long vigils, ' faſtings, and mortification.

' Thus have I faithfully deſcribed the ſhades, and ' marked all the blemiſhes in the character of this ' good woman; her zeal for matters indifferent or ' dubious; her little vanities of ſhew and equipage; ' her *minute* obedience of ſome evangelical precepts; ' her literal performance of others; and her unre- ' quired and fatal auſterities.

' I now undertake the more pleaſing employment ' of recording her exemplary virtues, and diſtinguiſh- ' ed uſefulneſs.

' She did not abuſe that influence, which the ' opinion of her worth had merited, in the coun- ' cils of Malcolm. To her he ſeems to have entruſted ' the care of matters reſpecting religion, and the ' internal polity of the kingdom. In both, there ' was much to reform.

' At that period, the clergy of Scotland had ceaſed ' to celebrate the *communion of the Lord's ſupper*. " We are ſinners," ſaid they, " and therefore we " dread to communicate unworthily." The Queen ' diſplayed to them the vanity of this ſuperſtitious or ' indolent excuſe.

' She reſtored the religious obſervance of Sunday, ' an inſtitution no leſs admirable in a political, than ' in a religious light.

' It was not uncommon for a man to marry his ' ſtepmother, or the widow of his brother. I pre- ' ſume that this was not owing to vague luſt, but to ' avarice; for it relieved the heir of a jointure.

' We may eaſily perceive how neceſſary, and how ' difficult, a reformation was in *that* kingdom, where ' the clergy omitted the celebration of the commu- ' nion; where the diſtinction between Sunday and ' work-days was diſregarded; and where inceſtuous ' alliances prevailed.

' In the adminiſtration of her houſehold, ſhe ſo ' blended ſeverity of manners with complacency, that ' ſhe was equally revered and loved by all who ap- ' proached her. She entertained many ladies about ' her perſon, employed their leiſure-hours in the ' amuſements of the needle, and gave a ſtrict atten- ' tion to the decency of their conduct: " In her " preſence," ſays Turgot, " nothing unſeemly was " ever done or uttered." A ſtrange picture of that ' age!

' On the education of her children, ſhe beſtowed ' the moſt conſcientious care. She enjoined their pre- ' ceptors to chaſtiſe them as often as they merited ' chaſtiſement. On them ſhe beſtowed her tendereſt ' thoughts in her dying moments.

' Turgot pathetically deſcribes his laſt interview ' with this affectionate mother. After long diſcourſe ' on her ſpiritual ſtate, ſhe thus addreſſed him: " Farewell; my life draws to a cloſe, but you may " ſurvive me long. To you I commit the charge of " my children, teach them, above all things, to " love and fear God; and, whenever you ſee any " of them attain to the height of earthly grandeur, " Oh! then, in an eſpecial manner, be to them as a " father and a guide. Admoniſh, and, if need be, " reprove them, leſt they be ſwelled with the pride " of momentary glory, through avarice offend God, " or, by reaſon of the proſperity of this world, be- " come careleſs of eternal life. This, in the pre- " ſence of *him*, who is now our only witneſs, I be- " ſeech you to promiſe and to perform."

' Her beneficence was unbounded. I ſpeak not of ' her public alms-giving, however liberal and unre- ' mitting. Her private ſolicitude to do good exceeds ' every encomium.

' We have ſeen, in the courſe of this hiſtory, ' that multitudes of unhappy Engliſh were led cap- ' tive into Scotland, and diſperſed over the country. ' The Queen employed her emiſſaries to examine ' their condition. Whenever their bondage appeared ' grievous, ſhe ſecretly paid their ranſom, and re- ' ſtored them to liberty, herſelf an exile from Eng- ' land!

' She was humble and ſelf-abaſed; ſhe judged with ' more ſeverity of herſelf than of others. She ' affectionately reproached her Confeſſor for his ' want of vigilance in diſcovering her faults.

' And, now that we have ſeen *the fruits* of this ' excellent woman in meekneſs, active virtue, and ' mercy, we are authoriſed to pronounce that her ' piety was ſincere.

' By a tedious and painful indiſpoſition, endured ' with exemplary patience, ſhe was brought very ' low. During a ſhort interval of eaſe, ſhe devoutly ' received the communion; ſoon after, her anguiſh ' of body returned with redoubled violence; ſhe ' ſtretched herſelf on her couch, and calmly waited for ' the moment of her diſſolution. Cold, and in the ago- ' nies of death, ſhe ceaſed not to put up her ſuppica- ' tions to heaven. Theſe were ſome of her words: " Have mercy upon me, O God; according to the " multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my " iniquities; make me to hear joy and gladneſs, " that the bones which thou haſt broken may rejoice. " Caſt me not away from thy preſence, and take not " thy holy Spirit from me; reſtore unto me the joy " of thy ſalvation. The ſacrifices of God are a " broken ſpirit; a broken and a contrite ſpirit, O " God, thou wilt not deſpiſe. Do good, in thy " good pleaſure unto Zion, build the walls of Jeru- " ſalem." At that moment, her ſon Edgar, return- ' ing from the army, approached her couch. " How " fares it with the King and my Edward?" The ' youth ſtood ſilent. " I know all," cried ſhe, " I " know all: By this holy croſs, by your filial affec- " tion, I adjure you, tell me the truth." He anſwer- ' ed, " Your huſband and your ſon are both ſlain." ' Lifting her eyes and hands towards heaven, ſhe ' ſaid, " Praiſe and bleſſing be to thee, Almighty " God, that thou haſt been pleaſed to make me en- " dure ſo bitter anguiſh in the hour of my departure, " thereby, as I truſt, to purify me in ſome meaſure " from the corruption of my ſins; and thou, Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, who, through the will of the Father, " haſt enlivened the world by thy death, Oh! deli- " ver me." While pronouncing, *deliver me*, ſhe ' expired (27).'

(27) *Ibid.* p. 33—41.

There is a paſſage in Turgot which indicates an uncommon liberality of ſentiment for the time he wrote in, and which, as Sir David Dalrymple juſtly obſerves, ſeems to entitle him to a place in the *Index Expurgatorius* rather than in the *Acta Sanctorum*. ' Others, ſays Turgot, may admire in others the ' indications of ſanctity which miracles afford. I ' much more admire in Margaret the works of mercy. ' Such *ſigns* are common to the good and evil; but ' the works of true piety and charity are peculiar to the ' good. The one *ſometimes* indicate *ſanctity*, the other ' conſtitute the ſaint. With better reaſon, therefore, ' ought we to admire the deeds of Margaret, which ' made her a ſaint, than her miracles, *had ſhe per- ' formed any*, which could only have pointed her out ' to mankind as a ſaint (28).'] K.

(28) *Ib.* p. 41.

hiſtorians, a multitude of little memorandums, concerning an injured unfortunate Prince. This juſtice we have at length done to his memory, and to the Engliſh hiſtory; which, from this article, we hope will appear not quite ſo barren, as ſome modern writers would repreſent it. C.

ATKINS or ETKINS (James), Biſhop of Galloway in Scotland, was the ſon of Henry Atkins Sheriff and Commiſſary of Orkney, and was born in the town of Kirkwall in the Stewartry of Orkney. He was educated in the college of Edinburgh, where he commenced Maſter of Arts; and from thence went to Oxford in 1637-8, to finiſh his ſtudies under the tuition of Dr. Prideaux, the Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. Soon after he was appointed Chaplain to James, Marquis of Hamilton, his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner for Scotland; in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that, by the application of his noble patron upon his return to England, he obtained from the King a preſentation to the church of Birſa, in the Stewartry of Orkney; where continuing ſome years, his prudence, diligence, and faithfulneſs, in the diſcharge of his office procured him much veneration and reſpect from all perſons, eſpecially from his Ordinary, who conferred upon him the dignity of Moderator of the Preſbytery. In the beginning of the year 1650, when James, Marquis of Montroſe, landed in Orkney, Dr. Atkins was nominated by the unanimous votes of the ſaid preſbytery, to draw up a declaration in their names, containing the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty and allegiance to King Charles II., for which the whole preſbytery being depoſed by the aſſembly of the Kirk at that time ſitting at Edinburgh, Dr. Atkins was likewiſe excommunicated as one who held a correſpondence with the ſaid Marquis. At the ſame time the council paſſed an act for the apprehending and bringing him to his trial: but upon private notice from his kinſman Sir Archibald Primroſe, then clerk of the council, he fled into Holland, where he lay concealed till the year 1653; and then returning into Scotland, he ſettled with his family at Edinburgh, where he reſided quietly and obſcurely till the year 1660. Upon the reſtoration of the King, he accompanied Dr. Thomas Sydſerf, Biſhop of Galloway, (the only Scotch Biſhop, who ſurvived the calamities of the uſurpation) to London, where the Biſhop of Wincheſter preſented him to the rectory of Winfrith in Dorſetſhire. In 1677, he was elected and conſecrated Biſhop of Murray in Scotland, to the great joy of the epiſcopal party; and, in 1680, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Galloway, with a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh [*A*]. He continued to govern his dioceſe ſeven years, and died at Edinburgh of an apoplexy, Oct. the 28th, 1687, aged 74 years. His body was decently interred in the church of the Grey-Friars [*B*], and his death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men (*a*) [*C*]. B.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1170, 1171.

[*A*] *He had a diſpenſation to reſide at Edinburgh.*] The reaſon of this diſpenſation, it ſeems, was, becauſe it was thought unreaſonable to oblige a reverend Prelate of his years, to reſide among ſuch rebellious and turbulent people, as thoſe of his dioceſe were; the effects of whoſe furious zeal had often appeared in their affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and often murdering the curates (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 1171.

[*B*] *His body was decently interred in the church of the Grey-Fryars.*] His funeral ſermon was preached by John, Biſhop of Dunkeld; and upon his coffin was placed this inſcription, compoſed by Dr. Pitcairne:

Maximus, Atkinſi, pietate, et maximus annis,
Ante diem, invita religione, cadis.
Ni caderes, noſtris inferret forſitan oris
Haud impune ſuos Roma ſuperba deos.

Which may be thus engliſhed;

Atkins, rever'd for piety and years,
Thou dieſt, and ſad religion is in tears.
For oh! did'ſt thou her righteous cauſe ſuſtain,
Rome and her gods might tempt our ſhores in vain.

[*C*] *His death was extremely regretted by all good and pious men.*] His ſincere piety, conſtant loyalty, ſingular learning, and true zeal for the Proteſtant religion, made his death a very great loſs to the Church of Scotland. He very zealouſly oppoſed the taking off the penal laws againſt the Papiſts in that kingdom; at which time, notwithſtanding the infirmities of age and ſickneſs under which he laboured, he was daily conveyed to the Parliament, where he publickly declared his averſion to the aboliſhing the ſaid laws, and uſed all his intereſt with the members, in perſuading them to a firm and conſtant adherence to the Proteſtant religion, and a zealous oppoſition to all deſigns which might be prejudicial thereto (2).

(2) *Id. ibid.*

ATKINS (Richard), author of ſome pieces, particularly a Treatiſe *Of the Original and Growth of Printing* [*A*], was deſcended of a good family ſeated at Tuffleigh, in Glouceſterſhire; his father being ſon and heir of Richard Atkins, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of

[*A*] *He wrote ſeveral pieces, particularly a Treatiſe* Of the Original and Growth of Printing in England.] The liſt of his works given us by Mr. Wood (1), conſiſts of I. The above-mentioned Treatiſe; printed at London, in 1664, in four ſheets, 4*to.* II. His *Vindication*, London 1669, 4to. III. *A Relation of ſeveral paſſages in the weſtern war of England*, in which himſelf was concerned. IV. *Sighs and Ejaculations.* Theſe two laſt were printed with the *Vindication.* I ſhall give the reader an extract from his *Original and Growth of Printing in England*, which he publiſhed by order of Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State. It is tranſcribed from an old manuſcript Chronicle, ſaid to be preſerved in the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, containing an hiſtorical account of the introduction of that noble art into this kingdom; and is as follows. 'Thomas Bourchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, moved 'the then King (Henry VI.) to uſe all poſſible means 'for procuring a mould (for ſo it was called) to be 'brought into this kingdom. The King (a good 'man, and much given to works of this nature) 'readily hearkened to the motion, and taking pri-'vate advice how to effect this deſign, concluded 'it could not be brought about without great ſe-'creſy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to 'ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome 'of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where 'John Guthenberg had newly invented it, and was 'himſelf perſonally at work. 'Twas reſolved, that 'leſs than one thouſand marks would produce 'the deſired effect; towards which ſum, the Arch-'biſhop

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 595.

of Weſt-Wales, and one of Queen Elizabeth's Counſel of the Marches of Wales, and brother to Sir Edward Atkins of Lincoln's-Inn, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; and

'biſhop preſented the King with three hundred 'marks. The money being now prepared, the ma-'nagement of the deſign was committed to Mr. ROBERT 'TOURNOUR, who was then of the robes to the King, 'and a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any 'of his condition. Mr. TOURNOUR took to his aſ-'ſiſtance Mr. CAXTON, a citizen of good abilities, 'who trading much into Holland, might be a cre-'ditable pretence, as well for his going, as ſtaying 'in the Low-Countries. Mr. TOURNOUR was in diſ-'guiſe (his beard and hair quite ſhaven off); but 'Mr. CAXTON appeared known and public. They 'having received the ſum of one thouſand marks, 'went firſt to Amſterdam, then to Leyden, not 'daring to enter Harlem itſelf; for the town was 'very jealous, having impriſoned and apprehended 'divers perſons, who came from other parts for the 'ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid till they had ſpent the 'whole one thouſand marks in gifts and expences, 'ſo that the King was fain to ſend five hundred 'marks more; Mr. TOURNOUR having written to 'the King, that he had almoſt done his work, a 'bargain (as he ſaid) being ſtruck between him and 'two Hollanders for bringing off one of the work-'men, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover and teach 'the new art. At laſt, with much ado, they got 'off one of the under-workmen, whoſe name was '*Frederic Corſells* (or rather *Corſellis*), who late 'one night ſtole from his fellows in diſguiſe into 'a veſſel prepared before for that purpoſe, and ſo 'the wind (favouring the deſign) brought him ſafe 'to London. 'Twas not thought ſo prudent to ſet 'him on work at London, but by the Archbiſhop's 'means, who had been vice-chancellor, and after-'wards chancellor of the univerſity of Oxon, *Cor-'ſellis* was carried with a ſtrong guard to Oxon; 'which guard conſtantly watched to prevent *Cor-'ſellis* from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made 'good his promiſe in teaching how to print; ſo 'that at Oxford, Printing was firſt ſet up in Eng-'land; which was before there was any printing-'preſs, or Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Ger-'many, except the city of Mentz, which claims 'ſeniority as to printing, even of Harlem itſelf; 'calling herſelf, *Urbem Moguntinam artis typogra-'phicæ inventricem primam*: though 'tis known to 'be otherwiſe, that city gaining that art by the 'brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who 'had learned it at home of his brother, and after-'wards ſet up for himſelf at Mentz. This preſs at 'Oxon was at leaſt ten years before there was any 'printing in Europe (except at Harlem and Mentz), 'where alſo it was but new-born. This preſs at 'Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be 'the ſole printing place in England, as being too 'far from London, and the ſea; whereupon the 'King ſet up a preſs at St. Albans, and another at 'the abbey of Weſtminſter, where they printed ſe-'veral books of divinity and phyſic; for the King, 'for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and council, 'permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor 'did any Printer exerciſe that art, but only ſuch 'as were the King's ſworn ſervants, the King him-'ſelf paying the price and emolument for printing 'books.' But the authority of this Chronicle may well be called in queſtion for theſe reaſons; firſt, becauſe Mr. Atkins does not pretend to have ſeen the original, but only to have tranſcribed it from a copy, ſent him by an anonymous friend: ſecond-ly, he gives no account by whom it was written, or how it was bequeathed to the library at Lam-beth: thirdly, no author beſides Mr. Atkins, and thoſe who follow him, mention this Chronicle as being in that library: fourthly, it is not to be found there now, the late Earl of Pembroke having employed a perſon to ſearch for it, but in vain; laſtly, there are inconſiſtencies in it, and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known. I ſhall not here enter upon an examination of this ſubject, but ſhall refer the reader to Mr. Palmer's *General Hiſtory of Printing*, where the miſtakes of this Chronicle are fully laid open, and the true origin of the Art hiſtori-cally deduced. I ſhall only add, that the deſign of Mr. Atkins's book is little more than an invective againſt the company of Stationers, and to prove, that *Printing* is a branch of the *Royal Prerogative*, and a *Flower* of the *Engliſh Crown*. B.

[Other arguments, beſides thoſe here alledged, are advanced by Dr. Middleton, to invalidate the autho-rity of the Chronicle publiſhed by Mr. Atkins; and the Doctor ſtrongly contends, that there was no printing in this kingdom till the introduction of it by Caxton. But Mr. Bowyer, in the notes to his abridgment of Dr. Middleton's Diſſertation on the Origin of printing in England, hath offered ſeveral reaſons to ſhew, that the account given in Atkins's record is not ſo incredible or improbable as hath by ſome perſons been imagined. A remakable parti-cular in this Chronicle, which hath ſince been prov-ed to be true, viz. 'that the city of Mentz gained 'the art of printing by the brother of one of the 'workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it at home 'of his brother, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf at 'Mentz,' is urged by Mr. Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, as a great confirmation of its authen-ticity, and that the author muſt have had his intelli-gence from ſome one who took it from the beſt mo-numents. Mr. Meerman hath, alſo, in general, aſſerted and maintained the genuineneſs and authori-ty of the record in queſtion. Dr. Middleton thinks, that Atkins, who by his manner of writing ſeems to have been *a bold and vain man*, might poſſibly be the inventor of it; or, at leaſt, that he was impoſed upon by ſome more crafty; who imagined that his intereſt in a law-ſuit he was engaged in with the company of Stationers, in defence of the *King's pa-tents*, and the warmth that he ſhewed in proſecuting it, would induce him to ſwallow for genuine what-ever was offered of the kind. On the other hand, Mr. Bowyer aſks, whether it be likely that Mr. At-kins would dare to *forge* a record, to be laid before the King and Council, and which his adverſaries, with whom he was at law, could diſprove. As At-kins ſays, that he received this hiſtory from a perſon of honour, who was ſome time keeper of the Lam-beth library, it was eaſy when he publiſhed it, April 25, 1664, to have confuted this evidence, if it was falſe. John Bagford in his hiſtory of printing at Ox-ford, blames thoſe who doubted of the authenticity of the Lambeth manuſcript; and tells us that he knew Sir John Birkenhead had an authentic copy of it, when, in 1665, he was appointed by the Houſe of Commons to draw up a bill relating to the exer-ciſe of that art. The manuſcript was probably ne-ver returned to the proper keeper of it, but was af-terwards burnt in the fire of London. — That print-ing was practiſed at Oxford, was a prevailing opinion long before Atkins. Bryan Twyne, in his *Apologia pro antiquitate Academiæ Oxonienſis*, publiſhed in 1608, informs us, it was ſo delivered down in *ancient writ-ings*; having heard probably of this Lambeth manu-ſcript. And King Charles the Firſt, in his letters patent to the univerſity of Oxford, March the 5th, in the eleventh year of his reign, 1635-6, mentions printing as brought to *Oxford* from abroad. All this evidence, in favour of Oxford, and of the ſtory of Frederick Corſellis, is mightily confirmed by a book with a date of its impreſſion from Oxford, Anno 1468, which is in the public library at Cambridge. It is a ſmall volume of forty-one leaves in quarto, with this title: 'Expoſicio Sancti Jeronimi in Sim-'bolum Apoſtolorum ad Papam Laurentium:' and at the end, 'Explicit expoſicio, &c. Impreſſa Oxonie, '& finita Anno Domini M,CCCC.LXVIII.XVII. 'Die Decembris.' If the authority of this book be admitted, it is a clear proof and monument of the exerciſe of printing in Oxford ſeveral years before Caxton began to deal in it. Dr. Middleton, indeed, endeavours to ſhew that the date is a falſe one; and, not to mention the reſt of his arguments, con-firms his opinion from this circumſtance, that we have no other fruit or production from the preſs at Oxford for eleven years next following. But this objection is invalidated by two conſiderations: firſt, that Corſellis's books may have been loſt, a thing by no means uncommon in thoſe days of ignorance; and ſecondly,

and his mother ſecond daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys, of Latimer in Buckinghamſhire, Bart. by his wife the Lady Elizabeth Sandys, daughter and heireſs of William Lord Sandys of the Vine near Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire, deſcended from Margaret Bray, the only child of John Bray, next brother and heir to Sir Reginald Bray, Knight-Banneret, and Knight of the Garter, who died without iſſue. Our author, having been partly educated in Engliſh and grammar learning under two very bad maſters, was ſent to the college ſchool at Glouceſter; from whence he was removed, at fourteen years of age, to Baliol college in Oxford, and continued there about two years in the quality of a gentleman-commoner. From Oxford he removed to Lincoln's-Inn; and ſoon after travelled into France, with the ſon of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour by a ſecond venter: but that young gentleman dying before they could proceed farther, he returned home, improved himſelf in the accompliſhments of a courtier, and married. Afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars in England, he raiſed a troop of horſe for the ſervice of the King at his own expence; by which he ſuffered much in his eſtate. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II., he was appointed one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Glouceſterſhire; in which ſtation he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a loyal ſubject of the King, and an affectionate ſon of the Church of England. His character is that of 'an ingenious and 'obſerving man, who ſaw the vanity of this world ſooner than others, though of elder 'years; which fitted him the better for another.' At length being committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea gaol in Southwark, for debt, he died there the fourteenth of September 1677, and was buried in the pariſh church of St. George the Martyr, by the care and appointment of Sir Robert Atkins, one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common-Pleas, and Edward Atkins, Eſq; afterwards one of the Barons of the Exchequer, both nearly related to the deceaſed (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 595, 596.

ſecondly, that the civil wars broke out in 1469, which might probably oblige our Oxford printer to ſhut up his preſs. Mr. Bowyer produces, likewiſe, a paſſage from the ſecond part of Shakeſpeare's Henry the 6th, as a farther evidence of a more early introduction of printing into England than hath generally been ſuppoſed. The reſult of the whole is, that this fact doth not at all derogate from the honour of Caxton, who was the firſt perſon in England that practiſed the art of printing with *fuſile Types*, and conſequently the firſt who brought it to perfection: whereas Corſellis printed with *ſeparate cut types in wood*, being the only method which he had learnt at Harlem (2).

(2) Bowyer's Origin of Printing, p. 1.—30. 2d edition, *Ibid.* p. 43.

As the ſubject is curious, we ſhall inſert a ſhort abſtract of the riſe and progreſs of printing in general, which was drawn up ſome time ſince, on a different occaſion, from Mr. Bowyer's work.

'The honour of having given riſe to this art has 'been claimed by the cities of Harlem, Mentz, and 'Straſburgh.—To each of theſe cities it may be aſ-'cribed in a qualified ſenſe, as they made improve-'ments upon one another.—But the real inventor of 'printing was Laurentius of Harlem, who proceeded, 'however, no farther than to *ſeparate wooden types*. 'His firſt eſſay was about the year 1430; and he died 'about 1440, after having printed the *Horarium*, the '*Speculum Belgicum*, and two different editions of *Do-'natus*. Some of Laurentius's types were ſtolen from 'him by one of his ſervants, John Geinsfleich ſenior, 'who became the *firſt* printer in Mentz, and publiſhed, 'in 1442, ALEXANDRI GALI *Doctrinale*, and PETRI 'HISPANI *Tractatus*. Theſe works were executed 'with *wooden types*, cut after the model of thoſe which 'he had ſtolen. In 1443, Geinsfleich ſenior entered 'into partnerſhip with Fuſt (who ſupplied money), 'Meidenbachius, and others; and, in 1444, they 'were joined by John Geinsfleich junior, who was diſ-'tinguiſhed by the name of Gutenberg. Gutenberg, 'by the aſſiſtance of his brother, Geinsfleich the elder, 'firſt invented *cut metal types*, with which was printed 'the *earlieſt* edition of the Bible. This edition ap-'peared in 1450, and the completing of it took up 'ſeven or eight years. Gutenberg uſed none but 'either *wooden* or *cut metal types*.

'The carrying of the art to perfection was owing to 'Peter Schoeffer, the ſervant and ſon-in-law of Fuſt, 'who invented the mode of caſting the *types* in matri-'ces; and who was probably the firſt engraver on 'copper-plates. The firſt book printed with the *im-'proved types* was DURANDI *Rationale*, in 1459. More 'copies of the earlieſt books were printed on *vellum* than 'on *paper*. This method, however, was ſoon chang-'ed; and *paper* was introduced for the greateſt part of 'the impreſſions, a few only being printed on *vellum*, 'for curioſities, and for the purpoſe of being illumi-'nated. With regard to the claim of Straſburgh, it 'appears, that Gutenberg had endeavoured to intro-'duce printing into that city before he joined his bro-'ther at Mentz; but without ſucceſs. The firſt actual 'printers at Straſburgh were Mentelius and Eggeſte-'nius; and there is no certain proof of a ſingle book 'having been printed there, till after 1462. The 'diſperſion of the Mentz Printers, in that year, occa-'ſioned the art to ſpread rapidly through Europe; 'and, in 1490, it reached even to Conſtantinople (3).'

(3) *Ibid.* The ſecond eſſay, paſſim.

The firſt Greek printing was a few ſentences of Tully's *Offices*, at Mentz, 1465, which were miſerably incorrect. In the ſame year, ſome Greek quotations, in an edition of Lactantius's *Inſtitutes*, were neatly printed, in a monaſtery in the kingdom of Naples. The firſt whole Greek book was the grammar of Conſtantine Laſcaris, at Milan, in 1476. The *Roman* type was introduced at Rome, in 1467, and was ſoon after brought to great perfection in Italy (4).]

(4) *Ibid.* Appendix. No. i.

K.

ATKYNS (Sir ROBERT) Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, deſcended of a very ancient family, ſettled at the time of his birth, and long before in Glouceſterſhire (*a*) [*A*]. His father was Sir Edward Atkyns, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and his mother Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire (*b*). This

(*a*) Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *Settled at the time of his birth in Glouceſterſhire.*] The family of the Atkyns's did antiently reſide in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns lived in the reign of King Edward III., and died in London, and was buried in the church of St. Peter Cheap, 2. Hen. IV., in the year 1401. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas, followed the profeſſion of the Law, in Monmouthſhire. Thomas Atkyns, was ſon of Richard, and was of the ſame profeſſion. Richard Atkyns, ſon of Thomas died 11 Hen. VII. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of Richard, died 4 Hen. VIII., and was ſucceeded by David Atkyns, who married Alice, daughter of an eminent merchant in Chepſtow, and removed to Tuffleigh, near Glouceſter: he died 1552. Thomas Atkyns, ſon of David, married Margaret, daughter of John Cook of London, and was Judge of the Sheriffs Court in London: he argued the firſt caſe in Plowden's Commentaries, and died before his father 1551, and lies buried in Aldermanbury church in London. Richard Atkyns, ſon

This Sir Robert of whom we are to ſpeak, was born ſome time in the year 1621. He received the firſt tincture of letters, in his father's houſe in Glouceſterſhire, from whence he removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he ſtudied in Baliol college for ſome time, and was removed thence to the Inns of Court, that is, as may be ſuppoſed from his arms in the chapel windows, to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the Law (*c*), in which he became very eminent, as well as for his loyalty in thoſe melancholy times preceding and following the murder of King Charles I. On this account, he was in the month of April 1661, made Knight of the Bath, with many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, at the coronation of King Charles II. (*d*). He was alſo, on the twenty-eighth of September in the ſame year, created Maſter of Arts, in full convocation at Oxford (*e*). Thenceforward he was conſidered in Weſtminſter-Hall, as one of the great ornaments of his profeſſion. In 1671, he was appointed one of the King's Serjeants at Law (*f*), and in 1672, he was appointed one of the Judges of his Majeſty's Court of Common-Pleas (*g*), in which honourable ſtation he behaved with great wiſdom and integrity, till the year 1679, when, from a foreſight of very troubleſome times, he thought fit to reſign, and to retire into the country, which he accordingly did (*h*). His attachment to the laws and liberties of his country, made him unwilling to afford any countenance, as he muſt have done if he had continued a Judge, to the arbitrary proceedings which about that time came into faſhion, and againſt which, he had with ſo much ſtrength of argument and profound learning declared, in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton (*i*) [*B*]. In this retirement he acted as became ſo great a man; for as he did nothing to diſturb the government of his country, ſo he was far from meanly deſerting her cauſe, or that of her friends (*k*). In July, 1683, when the unhappy Lord Ruſſel was firſt impriſoned, on account of that conſpiracy, for which he afterwards ſuffered, application was made to Sir Robert Atkyns, for his advice, which, in ſo nice a conjuncture, and when it might have been ſo dangerous to himſelf, he did not either refuſe or decline. This letter, ſo curious in point of matter, and ſo declarative, not only of the prudence and learning, but of the courage and integrity of this worthy perſon, the reader will find in the notes [*C*]. The ſame perſon to whom Sir Robert wrote this letter, tranſmitted him, immediately on that noble Lord's conviction, a full and exact account of his trial, and the

(*c*) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 242. edit. 1671.

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 480.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 155.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Europe, A. D. 1710, in the remarkables, p. 10.

(*g*) *Ibid.* Hiſt. of Europe, p. 10.

(*h*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 391.

(*i*) Sir Robert Atkyns's Parliamentary and Political Tracts, Printed for R. Goſling, 1734. 8vo, p. 126.

(*k*) See Sir R. A's preface to the Vindication of Lord Ruſſel's Innocency.

ſon of Thomas, was under age at his father's death, and was granted in ward, to Thomas Wendy, Eſq; Phyſician to King Edward VI., and was found by inquiſition to be ſeiſed of the manors of Tuffleigh, Hempſted, and Morecot, in the pariſh of Minſterworth, and of Brickhampton, in the pariſh of Churchdown, held of the King *in capite*; and of lands in Sodbury, Beleſly, and Tudenham, all in the county of Glouceſter. He married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Marſh, of Wareſley, in Huntingtonſhire, Eſq; and was one of the Juſtices of the Seſſions in North Wales, and one of the Council of the Marches of Wales: he died 1610, and lies buried at Hempſted. Sir Edward Atkyns, third ſon of Richard, (whoſe elder brothers have ſince been extinct) married Urſula, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Cheſhunt, in Hertfordſhire: he died one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, aged eighty-two years (1). It was Sir Robert Atkyns, whoſe Life we are now writing, who purchaſed the family ſeat and manor of Saperton, from Sir William Pool in 1660 (2). It was remarkable of this family, that there was always ſome perſon belonging thereto preſiding in ſome of the courts of judicature in this kingdom, for upwards of three hundred years (3).

(1) Sir Robert Atkyns's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.
(2) *Ibid.* p. 637.
(3) *Ibid.* p. 638.

[*B*] *Declared in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton.*] This was a very nice and intricate affair; and in order to make it clear to our readers, we muſt give a ſhort account of this caſe from its beginning. Upon a writ out of the court of Chancery, bearing date 8 Febr. 25. Car. II., directed to Sir William Soame, Sheriff of Suffolk; commanding to return a Knight for that county, in the place of Sir Henry North, lately dead; Sir William made a double return, in one indenture, ſpecifying Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, to be duly elected, and in another, the Lord Huntingtower. This election being examined in parliament, Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, was declared duly elected; whereupon he brought his action of treſpaſs, upon the caſe, for the pains and expence, which he had been at, to obtain his ſeat in parliament, againſt Sir William Soame, in the King's-Bench. The defendant pleaded the general iſſue, and upon a trial, the jury found for the plaintiff, and gave him eight hundred pounds damages. Sir William Soame, ſued a Writ of Error in the Exchequer, and there two of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, were for reverſing the judgment given in the Court of King's-Bench as erroneous. But Sir William Ellis, and Sir Robert Atkyns, both judges of the Common-Pleas, were of opinion, that the judgment was good, and the argument here referred to, is, That made by Judge Atkyns, in ſupport of his opinion. In this argument he maintains, That the plaintiff had a juſt cauſe of action, that the law gave him a remedy, and that he had taken his proper remedy, by bringing an action upon the caſe. On each of theſe heads he inſiſted largely, from reaſon, law, and hiſtory, and then proceeded to anſwer all the objections that had been made againſt the judgment of the Court of King's-Bench. In the courſe of his harangue, it is manifeſt, that he was not a little apprehenſive of offending the Houſe of Commons, who were wont to look upon themſelves, as ſole judges in ſuch matters. But by wiſely declining to meddle with any points, which did not immediately regard the Record before them, he ſecured himſelf from danger, and ſuſtained, at the ſame time, the juriſdiction of the Courts in Weſtminſter-Hall, with much courage and learning. However, the judgment was reverſed, notwithſtanding all that he, and Sir William Ellis could ſay, and ſo the plaintiff loſt his damages, and ninety-eight pounds coſts. But Sir Robert Atkyns, in quieter times, thought fit to print his argument, and to intimate, that this caſe needed a redreſs, by error in Parliament (4). Nothing however was done therein, even after the Revolution. In the printed collection of our author's tracts, this is placed after his argument, in the caſe of William Williams, Eſq; but for what reaſon I cannot imagine, ſince it is prior in point of time, by no leſs than ten years, the Record in the caſe of Sir Samuel Barnardiſton, being of Trinity Term 26 Car. II., and that in the caſe of Williams, in Trinity Term 36 of the ſame King.

(4) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

[*C*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is not certain, to whom this letter was addreſſed: probably it was to ſome noble relation, or to ſome ſolicitor, or other very intelligent perſon, who had the care of Lord Ruſſel's affairs. It has alſo no date; but that may be eaſily ſupplied. On the 28th of June, 1683, Lord Howard, who is the perſon hinted at to be *particeps criminis* in the following letter, ſurrendered, and

the evidence on both ſides; on which Sir Robert wrote his remarks freely, with ſuch a ſpirit of candour, loyalty, and zeal for the laws, as will always do honour to his memory.

and charged Lord Ruſſel with High-Treaſon: this Lord was tried on the 13th of July following, and conſequently, the date of this Letter muſt fall ſome time between the beginning of the month, and the ſaid 13th of July (5).

(5) See the proceedings againſt Lord Ruſſel, in the third volume of State Trials.

SIR,

'I Am not without the apprehenſions of danger that may ariſe by adviſing in, or ſo much as diſcourſing of public affairs: yet no fear of danger ſhall hinder me from performing the duty we owe one to another, to counſel thoſe that need our advice, how to make their juſt defence, when they are called in queſtion for their lives; eſpecially if they are perſons that have, by their general carriage, and converſation, appeared to be men of worth, and lovers of their King and country, and of the religion eſtabliſhed among us. I will follow the method you uſe, and anſwer what you aſk, in the order I find it in your letters. I cannot ſee any diſadvantage or hazard, by pleading the general plea of Not Guilty: If it fall out upon the proofs, that the crime is only miſpriſion of treaſon, and not the very crime of treaſon, the jury muſt then find the priſoner not guilty of treaſon; and cannot, upon an indictment of treaſon, find the party guilty of miſpriſion, becauſe he was not indicted for the offence of miſpriſion; and treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon, are offences that the law hath diſtinguiſhed the one from the other, and the one is not included in the other; and therefore, if the proofs reach no farther, than to prove a miſpriſion, and amount not to treaſon, the priſoner may urge it for himſelf, and ſay, that the proofs do not reach to the crimes charged in the indictment; and if the Truth be ſo, the court ought ſo to direct the jury not to find it. Now being in company with others, where thoſe others do conſult and conſpire, to do ſome treaſonable act, does not make a man guilty of treaſon, unleſs by ſome words or actions, he ſignify his conſent to it, and approbation of it: but his being privy to it and not diſcovering of it, makes him guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, which conſiſts in the concealing it, but it makes him not guilty of treaſon; and if the ſame perſon be preſent a ſecond time, or oftener, this neither does not make him guilty of treaſon, only it raiſes a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that he likes it, and conſents to it, and approves of it, or elſe he would have forborn, after being once amongſt them: But the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion does not ſufficiently prove a guilt in treaſon, nor can it go for any evidence, and that upon two accounts. Firſt, the proofs in caſe of treaſon muſt be plain, and clear, and poſitive, and not by inference or argument, or the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion imaginable: thus ſaith Sir Edward Coke, in many places in his 3d Inſtitutes in the chapter of High-Treaſon. Secondly, In an indictment of High-Treaſon, there muſt not only be a general charge of treaſon, nor is it enough to ſet forth of what ſort or ſpecies the treaſon is: As killing the King, or levying war againſt him, or coining money, or the like; but there muſt be alſo ſet forth ſome overt or open act, as the Statute of the 25th of Edward III., calls it, or ſome inſtance, given by the party or offender, whereby it may appear, he did conſent to it, and conſult, and approve of it: And if the barely being preſent, ſhould be taken, and conſtrued, to be a ſufficient overt, or open act, or inſtance, then there is no difference between treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon; for the being preſent without conſenting, makes no more than miſpriſion: therefore there muſt be ſomething more than being barely preſent to make a man guilty of treaſon, eſpecially ſince the law requires an overt or open act, to be proved againſt the priſoner accuſed. See Sir Edward Coke's 3d Inſtitutes, fol. 12, upon thoſe words of the ſtatute (*per overt fact*) and that there ought to be direct and manifeſt proofs, and not bare ſuſpicions or preſumptions, be they never ſo ſtrong and violent. See the ſame fol. in the upper part of it, upon the word *Proveablement*. And the ſtatute of the 5th of Edward VI. cap. ii. requires, that there ſhould be two witneſſes to prove the crime: ſo that if there be but one witneſs, let him be never ſo credible a perſon, and never ſo poſitive, yet if there be no other proof, the party ought to be found not guilty; and thoſe two witneſſes muſt prove the perſon guilty of the ſame ſort or ſpecies of treaſon. As for example, if the indictment be for that ſpecies of treaſon, of conſpiring the King's death, both witneſſes muſt prove ſome fact, or words tending to that very ſort of treaſon; but if there be two witneſſes, and one proves the priſoner conſpired the death of the King, and the other witneſs prove the conſpiring to do ſome other ſort of treaſon, this comes not home to prove the priſoner guilty upon that indictment: for the law will not take away a man's life in treaſon, upon the teſtimony and credit of one witneſs; it is ſo tender of a man's life, the crime and the forfeitures are ſo great and heavy. And as there muſt be two witneſſes, ſo by the ſtatute made in the thirteenth year of his preſent Majeſty, cap. i. (intituled, for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon) thoſe two witneſſes muſt not only be lawful, but alſo credible perſons. See that ſtatute in the 5th paragraph, and the priſoner muſt be allowed to object againſt the credit of all, or any of the witneſſes; and if there be but one witneſs of clear and good credit, and the reſt not credible, then the teſtimony of thoſe that are not credible muſt go for nothing, by the words and meaning of this ſtatute: See the ſtatute. Now were I a jury-man, I ſhould think no ſuch witneſs a credible witneſs, as ſhould appear either by his own teſtimony, or upon proof made by others againſt him, to have been *particeps criminis*, for that proves him to be a bad, and conſequently not ſo credible a man; eſpecially, if it can appear, the witneſs has trepanned the priſoner into the committing of the crime: Then the witneſs will appear to be guilty of a far higher crime, than the priſoner, and therefore ought not to be believed as a credible witneſs againſt the priſoner; for he is a credible witneſs that has the credit of being a good and honeſt man, which a trepanner cannot have; and this trepanning proves withal, that the trepanner did bear a ſpite and malice againſt the perſon trepanned, and intended to do him a miſchief, and deſigned to take away his life. Shall ſuch a one be a credible witneſs, and believed againſt him? God forbid! Then again, it cannot but be believed, that ſuch perſons as have been guilty of the ſame crime, will, out of a natural ſelf-love, be very forward, and willing to ſwear heartily, and to the purpoſe, in order to the convicting of others, that they may, by this ſervice, merit their pardon, and ſave their own lives: and for this reaſon are not ſo credible witneſſes, ſuch as the ſtatute of 13 Car. II., does require. Read over the whole chapters of Sir Edward Coke, of high-treaſon, and of petty-treaſon; for in this latter of petty-treaſon, there is much matter that concerns high-treaſon. I wiſh with all my ſoul, and I humbly and heartily pray to Almighty God, that theſe gentlemen, that have given ſo great proof of their love to the true religion, and of the juſt rights and liberties of their country, and of their zeal againſt Popery, may upon their trial appear innocent; I am ſo ſatisfied of their great worth, that I cannot eaſily believe them guilty of ſo horrid a crime. I pray God to ſtand by them, in the time of their diſtreſs. I wiſh I might have the liberty fairly to give them what aſſiſtance I could, in that wherein I might be any way capable of doing it. I beſeech Almighty God, to heal our diviſions, and eſtabliſh us upon the ſure foundation of peace and righteouſneſs. I thank you, for the favour you have done me, by imparting ſome public affairs, which might perhaps have been unknown to me, or not known till after a long time; for I keep no correſpondence. When there is an occaſion, pray oblige me by a further account, eſpecially what concerns theſe gentlemen; and though I have written nothing here, but what is innocent and juſtifiable, yet that I may be the ſurer againſt any

' diſadvantage

memory (*l*). This letter which is to be found in his printed works, is dated the twenty-third of July, 1683, two days after Lord Ruſſel was executed, which however could not be known to him at that diſtance (*m*). His great zeal for liberty, and his known affection for ſeveral perſons, at that time under the diſpleaſure of the government, would certainly have drawn him into ſome inconveniencies, if his own prudence in keeping very little correſpondence, the popular opinion of his great integrity, and the King's perſonal eſteem, had not protected him. We may be the more fully perſuaded of this, from the following inſtance. One Mr. Laurence Braddon, having taken upon him to proſecute the diſcovery of what he called the Earl of Eſſex's murder, whom he ſuppoſed to have been aſſaſſinated in the Tower, though the Coroner's inqueſt had found him *felo de ſe*; applied himſelf to one Mr. Hugh Speke, a young gentleman of fortune, and who had the honour to be well acquainted with Sir Robert Atkins, to whom he wrote a very warm letter, in recommendation both of Mr. Braddon and the deſign he was upon, intreating Sir Robert to aſſiſt him therein. This letter, however, never came to Sir Robert's hand; for Mr. Braddon being apprehended in the country, the letter was found upon him, and though in February 1683-4, he was convicted at the King's-Bench-Bar for a miſdemeanor, in conſpiring to make the people believe, that the Earl of Eſſex was murdered, and with him Mr. Hugh Speke, merely for writing the aforeſaid letter, for which he was fined a thouſand pounds, yet Sir Robert Atkyns was never queſtioned, though his name was ſo often mentioned in the courſe of thoſe proceedings (*n*). It was not long after, that our public-ſpirited lawyer gave an open teſtimony of his unſhaken zeal for the laws and liberties of his country, by his excellent argument in the caſe between the King and Sir William Williams, who was proſecuted by the Attorney General, for ſigning an order for the printing of Dangerfield's narrative, by order of the Houſe of Commons, he being at that time Speaker of the Houſe. In this argument, Sir Robert entered deeply into the nature and power of Parliaments, and ſhowed a prodigious ſkill, not only in the laws, but in the hiſtory and antiquities of this kingdom, for which reaſon, this argument of his, when it came to be printed, was looked upon as a political, as well as a law tract, and as ſuch is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem (*o*) [*D*]. In the ſucceeding reign of James II., he gave another ſignal proof of his knowledge as a lawyer, and his ſteadineſs as a patriot, by his argument in the caſe of Sir Edward Hales, which hath been alſo printed, and, like the author's other works, received with juſt admiration and applauſe (*p*) [*E*]. This piece he ſupported by another, in anſwer to a book publiſhed by Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, wherein Sir Edward endeavoured to juſtify the judgment given in that cauſe by authorities (*q*) [*F*]. When matters came to a criſis, and things ſeemed

(*l*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 342.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) See the Trial of Braddon and Speke, in the third Volume of State Trials.

(*o*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 177.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 291.

'diſadvantage or miſconſtruction, pray take the pains 'to tranſcribe what notes you think fit, out of this 'large paper, but ſend me this paper back again, 'incloſed in another, by the ſame hand that brings 'it. There is, nor ought to be, no ſuch thing as 'conſtructive treaſon; it defeats the very ſcope 'and deſign of the ſtatute of the 25th of Edw. III., 'which is to make a plain declaration, what ſhall 'be adjudged treaſon by the ordinary courts of 'Juſtice. The conſpiring any thing againſt the 'King's perſon, is moſt juſtly taken to be, to con-'ſpire againſt his life; but conſpiring to levy war, 'or to ſeize the guards, is not conſpiring againſt 'the King's life; for theſe are treaſons of a different 'ſpecies.

'Your faithful friend and ſervant,

R. A.'

[*D*] *And as ſuch, is ſtill in the higheſt eſteem.*] The title to this tract is, *The Power, Juriſdiction, and Privilege of Parliament, and the Antiquity of the Houſe of Commons aſſerted* (6). The occaſion of it was this, An information was exhibited againſt William Williams, Eſq; late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, for endeavouring to ſtir up ſedition and procure ill-will, between the King and his ſubjects, by appointing a certain ſeditious and infamous libel, intitled, *The Information of Thomas Dangerfield*, to be printed and publiſhed. The defendant pleaded to the juriſdiction of the court, ſetting forth, that he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and that, in obedience to their order, he had appointed that Narrative to be printed; wherefore he demanded the judgment of the Court of King's-Bench, whether it ought to take farther cognizance of the matter. Sir Robert Atkyns's argument is in ſupport of this plea, and therein he undertakes to prove three propoſitions. Firſt, That what was done in this caſe, was done in a courſe of juſtice, and that in the higheſt court of the nation, and according to the law and cuſtom of Parliament. Secondly, That however, that which was done in this caſe, was not to be imputed to the defendant, who acted in it but as the ſervant, or miniſter, of the Parliament, though in a very honourable ſtation. Thirdly, That theſe, being matters tranſacted in Parliament, and by the Parliament, the Court of King's-Bench ought not to take conuſance of them, nor had any juriſdiction to judge or determine them. To each of theſe points, Sir Robert ſpeaks freely, fully, and from the beſt authorities. It muſt be allowed, that he ſometimes digreſſes pretty far, but the reaſon is viſible: he intended to give the people a juſt idea of the ſubject, which at that time was extremely neceſſary, and it muſt be acknowledged, that this argument of his admirably anſwered his purpoſe.

(6) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 1.

[*E*] *Received with juſt admiration and applauſe.*] The title of this treatiſe is, *An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with Penal Statutes* (7). The reaſon of it is this: An action was brought in Eaſter Term, in the ſecond year of King James II., againſt Sir Edward Hales, for acting as a Colonel of Foot, without receiving the Sacrament, or taking certain oaths appointed by an act of Parliament, to be taken within a certain time; whereupon he was legally indicted in the county of Kent, and convicted, whereby the plaintiff became entitled to the forfeiture of five hundred pounds. To this the defendant pleaded, that the King, by his letters patent, had diſpenſed with his taking the Sacrament, or the oaths, and thereupon demurred generally: The plaintiff joined in demurrer, and judgment was given for the defendant. This induced Sir Robert Atkyns, to conſider at large the doctrine of Diſpenſations, which in this diſcourſe is fully handled.

(7) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 177.

[*F*] *Given in that cauſe by authorities.*] While Sir Robert was employed in writing this treatiſe, the Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert, ſent abroad a book entitled, *A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgment was given in Sir Edward Hales's Caſe.* The reaſon of his writing it was, becauſe he apprehended a diſquiſition would be made into

seemed ripe for bringing about that great change, since called the Revolution, Sir Robert Atkyns did all that could be expected from him, to further and promote it. On this account, he was received with great marks of distinction by King William and his royal consort, who, in the month of May, 1689, made him Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Nevill, Nicholas Lechmere, and John Turton, Esquires, being the other Barons (*r*). This dignity, however, did not hinder him from vindicating in print, the memory of the deceased Lord Russel, who, though his attainder was reversed by act of Parliament, yet there were not wanting some who maintained the justice of his sentence with great eagerness. Against these, Sir Robert Atkyns wrote two pieces with the same spirit and accuracy visible in his other discourses, though he was then very far in years, and had also much business upon his hands (*s*) [*G*]. On the nineteenth of October, 1689, the Marquis of Halifax, whom the Lords had chosen for their Speaker, desired to be excused from discharging that office any longer; upon which, the Lord Chief Baron Atkyns was immediately chosen in his stead, and so continued till the Great Seal was given to Sir John Somers, in the beginning of the year 1693 (*t*). The last act of this great man's life, which deserves to be particularly taken notice of, is his speech to Sir William Ashurst, Lord Mayor of London elect, when he was sworn before him in the Exchequer, October 30, 1693 (*u*). The government was then very apprehensive, and thought it necessary to convince the people of their danger; for which no man was thought to be more fit than the Chief Baron, who discharged his duty with great zeal and spirit, and with proportionable success. This speech hath also been preserved, and will always afford entertainment to the curious, on account of the extraordinary matters of fact mentioned therein (*w*) [*H*]. In the beginning of the Summer, 1695, Sir Robert Atkyns shewed an inclination of resigning his great

(*r*) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 528.

(*s*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 333.

(*t*) Hist. of Europe, ubi supra.

(*u*) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 407.

(*w*) See the note [*H*].

into this affair in Parliament; and therefore he thought it incumbent on him, to give the clearest account he could, of his own conduct in that affair. Sir Robert Atkyns having before written on the subject, and maintained the reverse of most of the propositions maintained by the Chief Justice, conceived it to be absolutely necessary for him to join to his former book, an examination and refutation of this treatise of Sir Edward Herbert (8). In doing this, he treated him however with all the candour and decency imaginable; and though he leaves no stone unturned to shew the insufficiency of what had been alledged, in favour of the judgment, given in the Court of King's-Bench; yet throughout the whole, he expresses a great respect for the Chief Justice, and admits, that in the pronouncing this judgment, all the Judges, except two, concurred in his opinion. In discussing the doctrine of Dispensations, Sir Robert had frequent occasion to mention the Canon Law, and the proceedings in Ecclesiastical courts; but not thinking that what he had said therein was full enough, he resolved to compose another treatise on that subject, which he accordingly did. It is entitled, *A Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in the Realm of England, occasioned by the late Commission in Ecclesiastical Causes.* It is a very clear, as well as a very learned piece, containing a great deal of matter in a very little room; so that whoever reads it, and is inclined to pursue the plan there laid down, may be in a short time acquainted with all that is to be met with, in our law or history, on this subject. This tract is generally annexed to that on the Dispensing Power, which is the reason of my giving an account of both in one note.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 291.

[*G*] *Also much business on his hands.*] The first defence of the Lord Russel's innocency (9), was written in answer to a piece intitled, *An Antidote against Poison*; wherein the last speech of the Lord Russel was examined, and great pains taken to prove, that it was artful rather than sincere; and many arguments added to shew, that this Lord suffered justly, and that the complaints of his friends had no foundation. Sir Robert Atkyns, in his answer, keeps close to the printed trial, and endeavours to make it plain, that, according to the rules of law, the indictment was insufficient, and that with respect to the rule of legal evidence, there was a great deficiency in point of proof. Soon after the publication of this answer, and while a bill was depending in Parliament for reversing the Lord Russel's attainder, the author of the Antidote appeared again in print. His piece was called, *The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated*, &c. Wherein he used a good deal of rough language, and treated Sir Robert Atkyns very tartly. It was generally supposed, that the author of the tracts was Sir Bartholemew Shower, an eminent lawyer, and one of the King's counsel, at Lord Russel's trial. Sir Robert Atkyns intimates, so much in his reply, which he called, *A Farther Defence of Lord Russel's Innocency* (10). In this piece he shews the weakness of his adversary's arguments, and, with great solidity of reason, exposes a practice in the preceding reigns of making florid rhetorical speeches, against prisoners tried for high-treason, on which he expressly charges the death of Lord Russel. Sir Robert also insists on the expediency of allowing state prisoners counsel at their trials, and what he advances on this head, is so clear and so convincing, that it raised that spirit among the true Patriots of those times, to which we owe the enjoyment of an excellent law to that purpose. In the same treatise, Sir Robert maintains, that King Charles's guards were troops maintained in defiance of law, the trained bands being, as he says, the proper guards of their King and country; and therefore he thinks, the laying an attempt against these guards in the indictment, as an act of overt-treason, was insufficient; and he cites an expression of the Lord Chief Justice at the trial, which seems to prove his Lordship thought so too.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 333.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 385.

[*H*] *Extraordinary matters therein mentioned.*] In this celebrated harangue (11), Sir Robert draws a terrible picture of the power and designs of the French King: He says, his intention was to become Monarch of the West, that he intended to subdue England, and settle Popery therein; he magnifies his power at sea, as equal to that of England, Holland, and Spain, taken together. Next he proceeds to shew, that King Charles II., and King James II., had entered into engagements with the French King, in order to make themselves absolute, and to settle Popery here. In the third place, he speaks of the changes made in the coronation oaths of King Charles I., and King James II. After this, he proceeds to compliment the Lord Mayor, assuring him, that the choice made by the city at that juncture, gave great pleasure to all good men. This leads him to speak of the functions of a Mayor, which are very concisely described, and pathetically recommended to the consideration of the person to whom he spoke. At the conclusion of his harangue, he touches again on the French King, with a good deal of warmth. How seasonable this speech was, and of how great service to the government, appears from its having passed through several editions, and its being preserved with other curious papers in that valuable collection of State Tracts, in the reign of King William (12), which is so deservedly esteemed. All these pieces of Sir Robert Atkyns, have been collected into one volume; and whoever inclines to be thoroughly informed of the true constitution of his country, of the grounds and reasons of the Revolution, and of the danger of suffering

(11) Atkyns's Tracts, p. 407.

(12) Vol. ii. p. 361.

great office. He was then in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, and might well be eſteemed deſirous of paſſing the reſt of his days in quiet. Yet it is a prevailing opinion, that his reſignation was owing to another and more ſecret cauſe; *viz.* His failing in his deſign of becoming Maſter of the Rolls, in the room of Sir John Trevor (*x*). Some pains were taken to perſuade the Lord Chief Baron from this reſolution: but he continued ſteadily fixed therein; ſo that in the beginning of June, 1695, Sir Edward Ward, then Attorney-General, was made choice of, to preſide in the Court of Exchequer. Sir Robert Atkyns thenceforward laid aſide all thoughts of public affairs, and retired to his ſeat of Saperton-hall in Glouceſterſhire, where he ſpent the laſt fourteen years of his life in eaſe and quiet. He died in the beginning of the year 1709, aged eighty-eight years (*y*). He was a man of great probity, as well as of great ſkill in his profeſſion; and a warm friend to the Conſtitution, which he was ready to maintain againſt all opponents. Beſides the ſeveral learned tracts mentioned in the notes, he is ſaid to have been the author of a treatiſe, againſt the exorbitant power of the court of Chancery (*z*). In the courſe of his life he was twice married, firſt to Mary, daughter of Sir George Clerk, of Walford in Northamptonſhire, and a ſecond time, to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres (*a*). He left behind him an only ſon, Sir Robert Atkyns (of whom in the next article), and to him deſcended three very conſiderable eſtates in the county of Glouceſter, *viz.* Saperton, Pinbury, and Swell, with a fine ſeat belonging to each of them. Theſe eſtates he entailed, in caſe the iſſue male of his ſon ſhould fail, on the iſſue male of his brother, Sir Edward Atkyns, Knt. but this ſettlement he was afterwards prevailed upon to break through (*b*). Having mentioned this Sir Edward Atkyns, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader, that he was our author's younger brother, though his predeceſſor in the Exchequer, having ſat as Lord Chief Baron there, in the reign of King James II. This Sir Edward was the father of Sir Richard Atkyns, who was Colonel of a regiment of horſe, in the reign of King William III., and though he died a very young man, yet he had the reputation of being a gallant and experienced officer (*c*).

(*x*) Remarks on the State of the Law, p. 35.

(*y*) Atkins's Hiſt. of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*z*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 155.

(*a*) Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, p. 638.

(*b*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, p. 10.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

ing prerogative to joſtle law, cannot read a better or a plainer book. His ſtile is ſtrong, but not ſtiff; there is a mixture of wit, but of ſuch wit, as is proper to the ſubject. It comes in pertinently, and ſerves to enlighten, not to amuſe or miſlead, the reader: whatever he ſays, is ſupported by authorities, and there is ſuch a viſible candour in all his diſcourſes, that if a man does not reliſh his arguments, he muſt at leaſt admire the manner in which they are offered. In a word, whether we conſider him in his private, or in his public ſtation; as a gentleman or as a judge; as an eminent lawyer, or a diſtinguiſhed patriot; as a ſtateſman, or an author; we ſhall ſee nothing but what is great and amiable, worthy of love and of reſpect, and of that veneration which is due to virtuous men from poſterity. C.

ATKYNS (Sir ROBERT) junior, ſon to the former Sir Robert Atkyns, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Dacres, of Hertfordſhire. He was born in the year 1646 (*a*), and educated with great care under the eye of his father. He became very early a great lover of, and in a ſhort ſpace a great proficient in, the laws and hiſtory of his country in general, which by degrees led him to that undertaking, which will for ever preſerve his memory (*b*). As he had a very conſiderable eſtate ſettled upon him, he affected chiefly a country life, and was eminent for all the virtues which could adorn an Engliſh gentleman. He was choſen to repreſent his county in Parliament, as often as he would accept that great honour (*c*). His knowledge and integrity induced many of his neighbours to make him the arbitrator of their differences, which he readily undertook, and generally executed to the ſatisfaction of both parties (*d*). He married Louiſa, daughter to Sir John Carteret, of Hawnes in Bedfordſhire (*e*); but having by her no iſſue male, he gave occaſion thereby to his father, to ſettle his eſtate on the male iſſue of Sir Edward Atkyns, which ſettlement was the unlucky occaſion of a law-ſuit between the father and ſon (*f*). As for this Sir Robert Atkyns, of whom we are now ſpeaking, though he differed pretty much from his father in his opinions [*A*], yet he inherited both his prudence and his probity, and was equally eſteemed and beloved by men of all parties (*g*). His deſign of writing the Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire took birth from an intention of the ſame ſort in Dr. Parſons, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Glouceſter, who had been at great pains and trouble to collect the materials for ſuch a work, in the

(*a*) See the Monumental Inſcription prefixed to his Antient and preſent State of Glouceſterſh. Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 301.

(*b*) Geo. Hickes, Theſaur. Septen. in præfat. p. 49.

(*c*) See the Monumental Inſcription.

(*d*) From a Letter in relation to Sir Robert Atkyns, from Mr. Stephens to the author.

(*e*) Hiſt. of Glouceſterſh. p. 638.

(*f*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, amongſt the Remarkables, p. 11.

(*g*) Hickes, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *Differed much from his father in his opinions.*] The following paſſage from his hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, occaſioned by his mentioning the ſiege of Glouceſter in 1643, will ſufficiently prove the truth of our obſervation, and account, perhaps, better for the coldneſs between the father and ſon, than any detail of family differences (1). 'The unfortunate ſiege of this 'city gave a ſtand to the King's victorious army; 'which being raiſed as has been related, it turned the 'ſtate of the war, and the King could never after 'obtain ſucceſs; which confirms that the greateſt of 'Kings, and the beſt of men, are not ſecured from the 'violence of the wicked. This royal family will always be honoured in the memory of good men, and 'muſt have been ſo throughout the Chriſtian world, 'had it been as proſperous as it is deſerving. King 'James I. was the moſt learned King; King Charles 'I. was the moſt religious King; King Charles II. was 'the beſt natured King; and King James II., was the 'beſt friend; which virtue was moſt eminent, in his 'tender love to his children, and his ſteady kindneſs 'to his ſervants. This ſucceſſion of Kings has been 'oppreſſed by their virtues; for peace, religion, good 'nature, and friendſhip, ruined them. It is remarkable of this royal family, that the witty King was 'over-reached by the wit of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador: 'That the religious King was murdered by rebellious 'ſaints: The voluptuary was conſpired againſt by men 'of no religion; and the beſt friend was betrayed, 'and forſaken by them whom he moſt entirely loved. 'It does not hence follow, that this family will always be unfortunate.'

(1) Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire," p. 354.

compiling of which, he was hindered by many great infirmities, and a general declining ſtate of health (*b*). Sir Robert Atkyns having once conceived the uſe and value of ſuch a hiſtory, thought himſelf obliged to carry on, and to compleat it, as a juſt return for that great affection, which the inhabitants of this county had manifeſted for his family, and for himſelf (*i*). After once he had undertaken it, he was indefatigable in the enquiry after, and procuring all the numerous helps neceſſary to ſo extenſive a deſign; and having ſucceeded in this ſcheme of his, beyond perhaps his own expectations, he digeſted his matter into an eaſy and familiar method, that after all the trouble he had ſuſtained, his reader might feel as little of it as poſſible. This great and valuable work he lived to perfect, and ſend to the preſs, though he did not ſurvive long enough to ſee it publiſhed (*k*). A fire which conſumed the houſe of Mr. Bowyer the Printer, deſtroyed a great part of the copies of this Hiſtory of Glouceſterſhire, which conſequently render it ſcarce and dear, for which reaſon it ſeemed neceſſary to give the reader a view of its contents in the notes (*l*) [*B*]. This learned and worthy gentleman reſided uſually at Pinbury Park in Glouceſterſhire during the ſummer, and at his houſe in Weſtminſter during the winter ſeaſon; where, in 1711, he was ſeized with a dyſentery, of which he died on the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, having ſurvived his father ſomewhat more than a year (*m*). His corpſe was carried down to Glouceſterſhire, and interred in the pariſh church of Saperton, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, by Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow (*n*) [*C*]. It is worthy of remark, that two authors of the moſt oppoſite principles, Anthony Wood (*o*), and the author of the Annual Hiſtory of Europe, ſpeak with equal reſpect of our author (*p*), which ſhows that the virtues of ſome men can command the reſpect of all parties.

(*b*) Preface to the Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire. Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 37.

(*i*) See the preface cited above.

(*k*) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) See alſo the preface.

(*m*) See the Hiſt. of Europe, 1711. p. 573.

(*n*) See the Inſcription.

(*o*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 155.

(*p*) Hiſt. of Europe, 1710, and 1711, as cited above.

[*B*] *A view of its contents in the notes.*] The title of this work is plain and comprehenſive, *viz. The Antient and Preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkyns.* It is a large folio, conſiſting of 859 pages, excluſive of the preface and index. In the firſt place, our author gives us preparatory inſtructions for the better underſtanding the enſuing diſcourſe. Theſe introductory remarks conſiſt of abundance of curious particulars, ſuch as, An hiſtorical account of the ſeveral religious foundations within the dioceſe; A view of our antient conſtitution; The original of our laws; The riſe of our national councils. Then he proceeds to ſhew, That there were but fifty lay freeholders in Glouceſterſhire, in the reign of King William I.; and of theſe, their families, deſcents, and eſtates, there is a diſtinct account. We are next preſented with a general deſcription of the county, and of the city of Glouceſter: then comes the hiſtory, in regular order, under fifteen heads. 1. We are informed in what Hundred each pariſh lies, its diſtance from Glouceſter, and from the two next market towns, with the beſt account that can be had of the derivation of its name, and an account of the religious houſe, or ancient family, to which it belonged. 2. Contains the hiſtorical antiquities of each place, with ſo much of Doomeſday book, as relates to Glouceſterſhire; and in many of the pariſhes, the ſucceſſion of proprietors is ſet down for ſix or ſeven hundred years. 3. Gives the names of the Lords of manors, and a genealogical hiſtory of their families. 4. Shews the deanery each pariſh belongs to, that is the rural deanery. 5. Sets down the value of every living, the names of the patrons and incumbents from the Reformation. It gives alſo the value of impropriations and exempted tythes. 6. Exhibits the true ſtate of the firſt fruits, tenths, and other charges of the clergy. 7. Gives the Hiſtory of the charities, deſcribes their form, and whatever is remarkable in them. 8. Preſerves the memorial of monuments, as a due encouragement to virtue. 9. Enumerates the charities in each pariſh above twenty pounds. 10. Shews the extent of every pariſh, the nature of the ſoil, the brooks, rivers, &c. 11. Sets down the names of the ſeveral hamlets in each pariſh, with the number of their families, and their diſtance from the pariſh church. 12. Gives the number of houſes, inhabitants, and freeholders. 13. Contains the yearly births and burials. 14. Informs us of the public taxes, and how they have altered from time to time in method of collection, and in proportion. 15. Preſents us with the trade, the battles and curioſities of each place. The whole is enriched with maps, plans, and curious draughts of all the gentlemens ſeats in the county. Ancient records in the Tower are duly applied to ſuch places as they have any relation to. And whatever is to be met with in the works of Camden, or Dugdale, in Latin, is here tranſlated into Engliſh, that the uniformity of the work might be preſerved. There is alſo exhibited a table of the coats of arms of the nobility and gentry in the county, antient and modern. In ſhort, all the pains poſſible have been taken to make this as compleat a hiſtory of the county, as it could be in the power of one man to frame; and with a little induſtry, any native of Glouceſterſhire may from time to time add whatever is neceſſary to preſerve it always perfect.

[*C*] *By Louiſa Lady Atkyns, his diſconſolate widow.*] There is on this monument a very copious inſcription (2), containing a juſt character of the deceaſed; but inaſmuch as there is nothing contained therein which the reader will not find in this life, it has not been thought neceſſary to tranſcribe it. Let this however be remarked that it ends thus: *His ſorrowful widow erected this monument to his memory, though he left behind him one more durable,* THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF GLOSTERSHIRE. C.

(2) At the end of the preface.

[Within a little more than theſe twenty years, a neat monument hath been erected in Weſtminſter Abbey, nearly oppoſite to Shakeſpeare's, to the memory of Sir Robert Atkyns ſenior, his brother Sir Edward Atkyns, and Sir Robert Atkyns junior. The inſcription is a long one; but for the reaſon juſt aſſigned with regard to Lady Atkyns's monument for her huſband, it is not neceſſary that it ſhould here be inſerted.] K.

ATTERBURY (LEWIS), an eminent Divine, and father of the celebrated Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (*a*), was the ſon of Mr. *Francis Atterbury*, Rector of Middleton-Maſſor, or Milton, in Northamptonſhire [*A*], and born about the year 1631. In 1647, he was entered a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, being then about ſeventeen years of age (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the

(*a*) See his article.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 910.

[*A*] *Mr. Francis Atterbury, Rector of — Milton in Northamptonſhire.*] He was an eloquent, judicious, and uſeful preacher, and left behind him the character of a worthy and good man. He was one of the many children of Lewis Atterbury, of Great Houghton, in that county; where the family of Atterbury flouriſhed for many years (1). Anthony Wood tells us (2), he ſubſcribed the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1648.

(1) Mr. Archdeacon Yardley's *Brief Account*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 910.

twenty-third of February, 1649 (*c*), and was created Maſter of Arts, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the Chancellor (*); the firſt of March, 1651 (*d*). In 1654, he became Rector of Great or Broad Riſington, in the dioceſe and county of Glouceſter; and, after the Reſtoration, took a preſentation for that benefice under the Great Seal, and was inſtituted again to confirm his title to it. On the eleventh of September, 1657, he was admitted Rector of Milton, or Middleton-Keynes, in Buckinghamſhire; and took the ſame method of corroborating his title to this living, at the King's return (*e*). July the twenty-fifth, 1660, he was made Chaplain Extraordinary to Henry Duke of Glouceſter (*f*); and the ſame year, December the firſt, was created Doctor in Divinity (*g*). In 1693, returning from London, he was unfortunately drowned near his own houſe (*h*), leaving behind him two ſons, Lewis and Francis (*i*). He publiſhed three occaſional Sermons [*B*].

(*c*) *Id.* Faſt. Vol. ii. col. 70.
(*) Oliver Cromwell.
(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 98.
(*e*) *Brief Account of the author*, &c. p. 14, 15. prefixed to Dr. Lewis Atterbury's *Sermons*, publiſhed by Mr. Archdeacon Yardley, Lond. 1742.
(*f*) *Ib.* & Wood Ath. ubi ſupra.
(*g*) Wood. Faſt. *ib.* col. 128.
(*h*) *Id.* Athen. *ib.* col. 911.
(*i*) *See the two following articles.*

[*B*] *Three occaſional Sermons.*] *viz.* I. *The good Subject, or, the right Teſt of Religion and Loyalty*; preached the 17th of July, at the aſſizes at Buckingham, London, 1684, 4*to*. II. *The Ground of Chriſtian Feaſts, with the right Way of keeping them*; preached at a meeting of ſeveral natives and inhabitants of the county of Bucks, in the pariſh church of St. Mary le Bow, the 30th of November, 1685; London, 1686, 4*to*. III. *Babylon's Downfall, or, England's happy Deliverance from Popery and Slavery*, London, 1691. 4*to*. It is the ſubſtance of a Sermon, preached at Guildhall Chapel, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the 28th of June, 1691 (3). B.

(3) *Ibid.* col. 911.

ATTERBURY (Lewis), an eminent Divine, elder brother of Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of Rocheſter (*a*), was born at Caldecot, in the pariſh of Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire, the ſecond of May, 1656 (*b*). He was educated at Weſtminſter School, under the celebrated Dr. Buſby, between whom, and our Divine's father, Dr. Lewis Atterbury, there was a friendſhip and intimacy. In the eighteenth year of his age, he was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated in that univerſity the tenth of April, 1674, under the tuition of Dr. George Walls. The twenty-firſt of September, 1679, he was ordained Deacon at Chriſt-Church, by Dr. John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, and Dean of that college. He commenced Maſter of Arts the fifth of July, 1680; and, the year following, was ordained Prieſt, at Bugden, by Dr. Thomas Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln [*A*]. In 1683, he officiated as Chaplain to Sir William Pritchard, Knight, then Lord Mayor of London. In February, 1684, he was inſtituted Rector of Sywell in Northamptonſhire; which living he afterwards reſigned, upon his accepting of other perferment. The eighth of July, 1687, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Civil Law. In December, 1688, he married Penelope, the daughter of Mr. John Bedingfield (*c*) [*B*]. In 1691, we find him Lecturer of St. Mary Hill in London; and, not long after his marriage, he ſettled at Highgate [*C*], where he ſupplied the pulpit of the Reverend Mr. Daniel Lathom, who was very old, and had loſt his ſight. Upon the death of this gentleman, Dr. Atterbury was unanimouſly elected, the ſixteenth of June, 1695, by the truſtees of that chapel, to be their preacher; being, at the ſame time, one of the ſix preaching Chaplains to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at Whitehall and St. James's: which place he continued to ſupply, after that Princeſs's acceſſion to the throne, and likewiſe during part of the reign of King George I. In September, 1707, he was preſented, by the Queen, to the Rectory of Sheperton in Middleſex, the incumbent thereof being deprived for neglecting to take the oaths within the time limited by law. On the third of March, 1719, he was collated by Dr. John Robinſon, Biſhop of London, to the rectory of Hornſey in Middleſex; in which pariſh the chapel of Highgate is ſituated. Dr. Atterbury never roſe to any dignity in the Church, as might have been expected from the power and intereſt of his brother, who even refuſed him the Archdeaconry of Rocheſter, in his own gift [*D*]. At about ſeventy years of age, he had a ſlight ſtroke of the palſy, which occaſioned his going frequently to

(*a*) *See the next article.*
(*b*) See *A Brief Account of the Author*, &c. prefixed to his *Sermons*, publiſhed by Edward Yardley, B. D. Archdeacon of Cardigan. London, 1743.
(*c*) *He was brother of Sir Robert Bedingfield, Knt. Lord-mayor of London, in* 1707.

[*A*] *He was ordained Prieſt — by Doctor Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln.*] What hopes that Prelate then entertained of our young Divine, appears from the certificate of his ordination, in which the Biſhop teſtifies, 'That he was a perſon (both for life and learning) 'capable and worthy of Orders,' and that 'it did further appear, by a good and pious Sermon he then 'preached before the ſaid Biſhop, that he was able to 'execute the miniſterial function with benefit to any 'congregation, to the cure of which Providence ſhould 'call him (1).'

(1) *Brief Account of the author*, &c. prefixed to his Sermons, publiſhed by Mr. Archdeacon Yardley, p. 7, 8.

[*B*] *He married Penelope, the daughter of Mr. John Bedingfield.*] Of this marriage came three ſons and a daughter. The firſt and ſecond ſon died in their infancy. The third ſon, named Bedingfield Atterbury, was born the 8th of January, 1693, and, after a ſchool education at Weſtminſter, was ſent to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, and matriculated the 9th of April, 1713. He commenced Maſter of Arts the 20th of January, 1718, and took Deacon's orders. He was a ſober, modeſt, and ingenious young gentleman. But the hopes, which his parents and friends conceived of him, were ſoon diſappointed; for he died of the ſmall-pox the 27th of December, 1718. Dr. Atterbury's daughter, named after her mother, was born the 15th of June, 1699; married to Mr. George Sweetapple, of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, Brewer; and died in Auguſt, 1725, leaving one daughter, who lived to inherit her grandfather's fortune, but died about ſeven months after him, the 3d of June, 1732, in the eleventh year of her age. Mrs. Atterbury, the mother, died the firſt of May, 1723 (2).

(2) *Ibid*, p. 9, 10.

[*C*] *He ſettled at Highgate.*] When he firſt reſided there, he obſerved what difficulties the poor in the neighbourhood then underwent, for want of a good Phyſician or Apothecary; and therefore he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, and, having attained a good ſkill therein, he practiſed it (*gratis*) occaſionally among his poor neighbours (3).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 11.

[*D*] *His brother (the Biſhop of Rocheſter) refuſed him the Archdeaconry of Rocheſter.*] The editor of Dr. Atterbury's Sermons has given us ſome letters, which paſſed between the two brothers upon this occaſion. The firſt is from the Doctor to the Biſhop, upon a report of the death of the Archdeacon of Rocheſter. The Biſhop had, the day before, given his brother reaſons,

to Bath; where he died [*E*], after a ſhort illneſs, on the twentieth of October, 1731*. He publiſhed ſeveral Sermons, and other pieces [*F*]; and, ſince his death, two volumes of his Sermons have been publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan [*G*].

(*) According to Sir Wm. Muſgrave's Memoranda, Dr. Atterbury died on the 17th of October.

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ſons, why he thought it improper to make him his Archdeacon. To which the Doctor here replies: 'Your Lordſhip very well knows, that Lanfranc, 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had a brother for his 'Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father 'was a puiſne Judge, when he was Lord Chancellor. 'And thus, in the ſacred hiſtory, did God himſelf 'appoint, that the ſafety and advancement of the 'Patriarchs ſhould be procured by their younger brother; and that they, with their father, ſhould live 'under the protection and government of Joſeph (4).' In anſwer to this, the Biſhop informs his brother, that the Archdeacon was not dead, but well, and likely to continue ſo: 'When he was in danger, of late, ſays 'he, the firſt perſon I thought of was you. But there 'are objections againſt that, in point of decency—It 'had been a much properer poſt for my nephew, if 'God had pleaſed to ſpare his life (5).' This is followed by two others, from the Biſhop to his brother, acquainting him, that he had reſolved to collate Dr. Brydges, the Duke of Chandois's brother, to the Archdeaconry of Rocheſter, then actually vacant; aſſuring him at the ſame time, he would uſe all his endeavours to procure him ſome good dignity in the Church, 'Such, ſays he, as you, and I, and all the world ſhall 'agree, is every way proper for you (6).' Dr. Atterbury was far from being ſatisfied with the reaſons aſſigned by the Biſhop for his refuſal; as appears by his laſt letter, in which he ſays: 'I cannot imagine what 'indecency there can be, to have raiſed your elder 'brother in place under you—There is ſome ſhew of 'reaſon, I think, for the non-acceptance, but none 'for the not giving it.—I hope I ſhall be content with 'that meaner poſt, in which I am, my time, at longeſt, being but ſhort in this world, and my health not 'ſuffering me to make thoſe neceſſary applications 'others do: Nor do I underſtand the language of the 'preſent times; for I find, I begin to grow an old 'faſhioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight 'and value of words, which in our time riſe and fall 'like ſtock (7).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 16, 17.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

[*E*] *He died at Bath.*] By his will he gave directions to be buried at Highgate, and that a monument ſhould be erected in the chapel, and an inſcription in ſuch or like words as he ſhould leave behind him. All which was punctually complied with: A fluted marble column, with a pedeſtal and capital of the Corinthian order, ſurmounted with his paternal arms, being ſet up on the wall near the pulpit, with an inſcription on the pedeſtal, expreſſing his ſeveral preferments, his marriage, iſſue, age, and death. Underneath the baſe of the column, is a book opened; on the leaves of which is, *Abi, ſpectator, et te brevi moriturum ſcito*; i. e. *Go, ſpectator, and know that thou ſhalt ſoon die* (8). By his ſaid will, Dr. Atterbury gave ſome few books to the libraries at Bedford and Newport, and his whole collection of pamphlets, amounting to upwards of 200 volumes, to the library of Chriſt Church, Oxford. He charged his eſtate for ever with the payment of 10*l.* yearly to a ſchoolmiſtreſs, to inſtruct girls at Newport-Pagnel, which ſalary he had himſelf in his life-time paid for many years. He remembered ſome of his friends, and left a reſpectful legacy of an hundred pounds to his dear brother, in token of his true eſteem and affection. He likewiſe made the Biſhop's ſon (after his grand-daughter, who did not long ſurvive him) heir to all his fortune (9).

(8) *Ibid.* p. 21—23.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 20, 21.

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and other pieces.*] Here follows a catalogue of the works of Dr. Lewis Atterbury. I. *The Penitent Lady; or, Reflections on the Mercy of God. Written by the famed Madam La Valliere, ſince her Retirement from the French Court to a Nunnery. Tranſlated out of the French, by a Divine of the Church of England.* 12mo. 1684. II. *A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Lady Compton, Auguſt* 4, 1687, 4to. III. *Ten Sermons, preached before her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, at the Chapel at St. James's. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the Six Preachers to her Royal Highneſs*, 8vo. 1699. Dedicated to her Royal Highneſs. IV. A ſecond volume of twelve Sermons, on, 1. *The Being of a God.* 2. *His Juſtice and Mercy.* 3. *Miracles.* 4. *Dreams.* 5. *The Image of God in Man.* 6. *The Real Preſence in the Sacrament.* 7. *The Reſurrection.* 8. *Superſtition.* 9 and 10. *Reaſon and Religion.* 11. *Thankſgiving.* 12. *Submiſſion to the Will of God. Preached at St. James's and Whitehall, by Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and one of the Six preaching Chaplains there to her Majeſty*, 8vo. 1703. Dedicated to the Queen. V. *Some Letters relating to the Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.* VI. *A Sermon, preached at Whitehall, Auguſt* 23, 1705. *Being the Day appointed for a public Thankſgiving for the late glorious Succeſs of her Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of her Allies, under the Command of John Duke of Marlborough. By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D.* 4to. 1705. VII. *An Anſwer to a Popiſh Book, entitled,* A true and modeſt Account of the chief Points in Controverſy between the Roman Catholics and the Proteſtants; together with ſome Conſiderations upon the Sermons of a Divine of the Church of England (*viz.* Dr. Tillotſon), by N. Colſon. *Wherein the Objections, which N. C. has brought againſt the Arguments, which his Grace the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury made uſe of in his Sermons againſt Popery, are conſidered, and anſwered on theſe following Heads:* 1. *The Church of Rome not Catholic.* 2. *The Supremacy.* 3. *The Infallibility of the Church.* 4. *Tranſubſtantiation.* 5. *The Communion in one Kind.* 6. *Prayers in an unknown Tongue.* 7. *The Invocation of Saints.* 8. *Images.* 9. *Purgatory.* 10. *Indulgencies*, 8vo. 1706. VIII. *The Re-union of Chriſtians: Or, the Means to re-unite all Chriſtians in one Confeſſion of Faith. Tranſlated from the French. With an Appendix, in which ſome Account is given both of the Author and the Book*, 8vo. 1708. IX. *The Perfect and Upright Man's Character and Encouragement: In a Sermon occaſioned by the Death of the Lady Gould, and preached at the Chapel in Highgate, March* 22, 1712-13. X. *A Sermon preached at Whitehall, on Thurſday June* 7, 1716, *being the Day of public Thankſgiving to Almighty God for ſuppreſſing the late unnatural Rebellion: And at the Chapel at Highgate, June* 10. *By Lewis Atterbury, L L. D. and Chaplain to his Majeſty at Whitehall*, 4to. 1716.

[*G*] *Two volumes of his Sermons, publiſhed by the Reverend Edward Yardley, Archdeacon of Cardigan.*] Theſe Sermons are publiſhed in compliance with the Will of the deceaſed, who deviſeth to the publiſher of them, whom he appointed his Executor, all his manuſcript Sermons, and other manuſcript books and papers of his writing or compoſition, deſiring that he do reviſe and ſelect ſuch of them, as he ſhall think may ſerve to the honour of God, and bring no diſcredit to his memory, and that he do cauſe ſuch to be printed (10). Moſt of theſe diſcourſes, the editor aſſures the public (11), were noted by the author to be printed, though they had not all his laſt hand to fit them for the preſs; and that, in the reviſal of them, he hath taken care to do juſtice both to the author and the reader. We ſhall ſubjoin the character he gives of the author and his ſermons. 'If nature was more laviſh in giving his brother, the Biſhop, the moſt ornamental 'and uſeful endowments of a fine genius, a ready wit, 'an eloquent pen, and an engaging and proper elocution; ſhe was not wanting in beſtowing on our 'author good and ſound natural parts, which, even 'in his youth, he much improved by ſevere ſtudies. 'By his conſtant and repeated pulpit exerciſes, for 'upwards of forty years together, he acquired the 'reputation of a plain, uſeful, and ſolid preacher. 'The drift of his diſcourſes was to make men better 'Chriſtians, and therefore he never choſe to dwell 'upon nice and high ſpeculations; and whenever he 'did enter upon thoſe more elevated ſubjects, his 'principal endeavour was, to render ſuch conſiderations uſeful towards amending the lives of his congregation. His delivery was akin to the ſtile of 'his diſcourſes, plain and eaſy, without any manner 'of affectation. His ſtyle has nothing in it of labour, and, perhaps, may ſometimes, by nicer judges, 'be taxed with want of accuracy: But, the truth is 'this;

(10) Original Will.

(11) *Brief Account*, &c. p. 23, 24.

'this; his ſenſe flowed eaſily from him, and he was 'happy in a plain and intelligible way of expreſſing 'himſelf; and therefore was the leſs careful of turning and ſmoothing his periods, or ſtudying for the 'choiceſt words to convey his meaning; and yet, 'notwithſtanding this, we often are ſurpriſed to find 'in his diſcourſes ſuch beauteous ſtrokes, as, though 'they do not ſmell of the lamp, yet the moſt florid 'writer might juſtly be proud of. The great Archbiſhop Tillotſon was his acquaintance, and the 'works of that excellent Prelate what he admired 'and ſtudied; and it is not improbable that to this 'was owing that eaſy, flowing ſtile, in which his ſermons are indited (12).' B.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 21. *ad fin.*

[The true name of the perſon againſt whom Doctor Atterbury wrote his Defence of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, was Cornelius Nary, an *Iriſh* prieſt, and author of a Church Hiſtory from the Creation to the Birth of Chriſt, in folio; ſome controverſial Tracts againſt Dr. Edward Synge, Achbiſhop of Tuam; an Engliſh verſion of the New Teſtament, &c. (13)] K.

(13) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 351. Note.

ATTERBURY (Francis), Biſhop of Rocheſter in the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I., was born the 6th of March, 1662, at Middleton, or Milton Keynes, near Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire (*a*). He had his education in Grammar learning at Weſtminſter-School; and from thence, in 1680, was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church college in Oxford (*b*): where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the politeneſs of his wit and learning; and gave early proofs of his Poetical Talents, in a Latin verſion of Mr. Dryden's *Abſalom and Achitophel* [*A*], an Epigram on *a Lady's Fan* [*B*], and a tranſlation of two *Odes of Horace* [*C*]. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June the thirteenth, 1684 (*c*); and that of Maſter, April the twentieth, 1687 (*d*). This year, he made his firſt Eſſay in controverſial writing, in a piece, entitled, *An Anſwer*

(*a*) Mr. Archdeacon Yardley's *Brief Account*, &c. (See the preceding Article) p. 6. and Brown Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, Vol. i. p. 304.

(*b*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 1063.

(*c*) *Idem* Faſt. *ib.* col. 225.

(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 230.

[*A*] *His Latin verſion of Mr. Dryden's Abſalom and Achitophel.*] It was publiſhed in 1682, in quarto, under the title of *Abſalon & Achitophel Poema Latino Carmine donatum*. We ſhall tranſcribe a few lines from the beginning, as a ſpecimen of the author's ſkill in Latin verſe:

Cognovere pias nondum pia ſæcula fraudes
Arte Sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;
Cum vir ſponſarum numeraverat agmen, & uni
Non ſervire toro, fato adverſante, coactus
Plurima fertilibus produxit ſtemmata lumbis;
Cum ſtimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis
Et ſponſæ & lenæ vetitum eſt commune cubile:
Tunc *Iſraëlis*, cœlo cedente, monarcha
Concubitu vario vernas nuptaſque foyebat;
Quaque erat imperii limes, ibi meſſe feraci
Tranſcripta Archetypi ſparſim generatur imago.
Ornavit regale caput Diadema *Michalis*;
Cultori ingratum, vel quod ſterileſcerat, arvum:
Non aliud par hujus erat: nam plurima mater
Jam pridem multos utero ſatis ubere natos
Jeſſidi peperit: ſed ſacra cubilia vernæ
Cum premerent, ſoboles obliquo tramite ſceptrum
Arripuit, ſpurioque fuit de ſanguine princeps.
Has inter ſtirpes eluxerat *Abſalon*, ipſâ
Nec forma inferior, ceſſit virtute nec ulli:
An magè divino pater inſpiratus amore
Ipſum progenuit majore libidinis œſtro
Præcocis ingenii, vel quod bene conſcia fata
Felicem dederint ad ſceptra virilibus anſam
Formæ ornamentis, & iter proclive paraſſent;
Huic Fama in campis ſonuit matura remotis,
Inviƈtumque ducem agnorant ſocialia regna:
Pace minas oculis, animoque excuſſerat arma
Quælibet, ut natus tantum videatur amori.

(1) Athen. Vol. ii. col. 1063.

Anthony Wood tells us (1), Mr. Atterbury was aſſiſted in this tranſlation by Mr. Francis Hickman, ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. Another Latin verſion of the ſame poem was publiſhed the ſame year at Oxford by Mr. William Coward of Merton College, afterwards an eminent Phyſician (2).

(2) See the Article DRYDEN (John).

[*B*] *His Epigram on a Lady's Fan.*] The reader may ſuppoſe the Fan to be a white one, and that the author borrowed it, and wrote the following lines between the ſticks:

Flavia the leaſt and ſlighteſt toy
Can with reſiſtleſs art employ:
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of ſmall force in love;
Yet ſhe, with graceful air and mien,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs its wanton motions ſo,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow;
Gives coolneſs to the matchleſs dame,
To every other breaſt a flame.

(3) In his *Memoirs of the Life, Character*, &c. *of Dr. Fr. Atterbury*, &c. p. 7.

Mr. Stackhouſe tells us (3), the Lady to whom Mr. Atterbury addreſſed theſe verſes, became afterwards his wife.

[*C*] *His tranſlation of two Odes of Horace.*] The firſt is, *The Dialogue between Horace and Lydia*, Od. 9. Lib. iii.

Horace.

Whilſt I was fond, and you were kind,
Nor any dearer youth reclin'd
On your ſoft boſom, ſought to reſt,
Phraates was not half ſo bleſt.

Lydia.

Whilſt you adored no other face,
Nor lov'd me in the ſecond place,
My happy celebrated fame
Outſhone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame.

Horace.

Me Chloe now poſſeſſes whole,
Her voice and lyre command my ſoul;
Nor wou'd I death itſelf decline,
Cou'd her life ranſom'd be with mine.

Lydia.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
And warmth for warmth my heart returns:
Twice cou'd I life with eaſe reſign,
Cou'd his be ranſom'd once with mine.

Horace.

What if ſweet love, whoſe bands we broke,
Again ſhou'd tame us to the yoke;
Shou'd baniſh'd Chloe ceaſe to reign,
And Lydia her loſt pow'r regain?

Lydia.

Tho' Heſperus be leſs fair than he,
Thou wilder than the raging ſea,
Lighter than down, yet gladly I
With thee wou'd live, with thee wou'd die.

The other is, Od. 3. Lib. iv.

He, on whoſe birth the Lyric Queen
Of numbers ſmil'd, ſhall never grace
The Iſthmian gauntlet, nor be ſeen
First in the fam'd Olympic race:
He ſhall not, after toils of war,
And taming haughty monarchs pride,
With laurell'd brows conſpicuous far,
To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride.
But him the ſtreams, that warbling flow
Rich Tyber's flow'ry meads along,
And ſhady groves (his haunts) ſhall know
The maſter of th' Æolian ſong.
The ſons of Rome, majeſtic Rome!
Have fix'd me in the Poets choir,
And envy now, or dead or dumb,
Forbear to blame what they admire.
Goddeſs of the ſweet-ſounding lute,
Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
Who canſt the finny race, tho' mute,
To cygnets dying accents raiſe;
Thy gift it is, that all with eaſe
My new unrival'd honours own;
That I ſtill live, and living pleaſe,
O Goddeſs, is thy gift alone.

to ſome Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation [*D*]. During his ſtay in the univerſity, he is generally thought to have borne no inconſiderable part in the famous Controverſy, between Dr. Bentley, and the Honourable Mr. Charles Boyle (afterwards Earl of Orrery), concerning the genuineneſs of *Phalaris's Epiſtles* [*E*]; though Mr. Atterbury's name was not made uſe of on that occaſion (*e*). At what time he entered into Holy Orders, is not certainly known: but, in 1693, upon the death of his father, he made application to the Earl of Nottingham, to ſucceed in the rectory of Milton, which he then called the height of his ambition and wiſhes, as being the place of his birth. But, being diſappointed in his expectation of this preferment (*), and long ſince tired of a college life [*F*], Mr. Atterbury reſolved to quit the univerſity, and produce himſelf on a more active ſcene: and accordingly, making London his reſidence, he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, and was elected preacher at Bridewell, and Lecturer of St. Bride's (*f*). In 1694, our young Divine preached a remarkable Sermon at Bridewell chapel, before the governors of that and Bethlehem hoſpital, on *the Power of Charity to cover Sin* (*g*); to which Mr. Benjamin Hoadly (ſince Biſhop of Wincheſter) publiſhed ſome *Exceptions* [*G*]. The ſame year he was warmly attacked for his Sermon, preached before the Queen at Whitehall, entitled,

(*) *It was given to Dr.* Wotton.

(*e*) Stackhouſe's *Memoirs of the Life, Character, &c. of Dr.* Fr. Atterbury, &c. p. 7—11, Lond. 1727, 8*vo*.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19, & 51.

(*g*) *Sermons, &c. by* Fr. Atterbury, D. D. Vol. i. p. 37, edit. 1740.

[*D*] *His anſwer to ſome conſiderations on the ſpirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation.*] The *Conſiderations on the Spirit of Martin Luther* were publiſhed under the name of Mr. Abraham Woodhead, an eminent Roman Catholic of thoſe times, who wrote ſeveral tracts in defence of the Church of Rome: but the true author was Mr. Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College. Mr. Atterbury's *Anſwer* was publiſhed the 10th of Auguſt, 1687, and preſently after animadverted upon by Mr. Thomas Deane, Fellow of Univerſity College (4). Another edition of the *Anſwer* was publiſhed at London, in 1723, in 8*vo*. It is a very learned performance, and written with uncommon ſpirit and vivacity. It refutes all the objections brought againſt Luther's doctrines and manners, and concludes with obſerving, that, 'Let the *Spirit* of Martin Luther be as 'evil as it is ſuppoſed to be, yet the proof of this 'would not blaſt any ſingle truth of that religion he 'profeſſed; though upon a faithful inquiry it will be 'found, that his life was led up to thoſe doctrines 'he preached, and his death was the death of the 'Righteous.' This vindication of that great Reformer induced Biſhop Burnet (5) to rank the author among thoſe eminent Divines, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their admirable defences of the Proteſtant Religion. Our Prelate himſelf, in that part of his ſpeech, at his trial, in which he vindicates himſelf from the ſuſpicion of a ſecret inclination to Popery, appeals to this book, as well as the whole tenor of his preaching and writings ever ſince: and Mr. Wynne, his counſel, obſerves, in his defence of the Biſhop, how grievous it was for one, of his Lordſhip's character and function, to be charged with deſigns in favour of Popery, who was the only Clergyman in England, that ever thought it worth his while to *draw his pen in defence of Martin Luther*, the great inſtrument of our Reformation from Popery.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 616, 1064.

(5) In his *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. i. p. 674.

[*E*] *He is thought to have born no inconſiderable part in the controverſy ——— concerning the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Epiſtles.*] The occaſion of the controverſy was this. The honourable Mr. Boyle, afterwards Lord Orrery, was a ſtudent in Chriſt-Church, and under the tuition of Mr. Atterbury, when, about the year 1695, he obliged the world with a new edition of *Phalaris's Epiſtles*; in the Preface to which, he complains of Dr. Bentley, the King's Library-keeper, who had *(pro ſolita ſua humanitate)* denied him the inſpection of a valuable manuſcript. This ſarcaſm ſo exaſperated the Doctor, that, in order to his revenge on Mr. Boyle, he publiſhed a long letter to Dr. Wotton, who was then employed in writing on the State of ancient and modern Learning; in which he undertakes to prove, that the *Epiſtles*, which go under the name of *Phalaris*, are ſpurious, and probably the work of ſome modern ſophiſt. This drew from Mr. Boyle a reply, ſo full of genteel ſatire and fine raillery, that, on which ſide ſoever truth and argument may be ſuppoſed to lie, the wit, and the laugh too, were evidently on Mr. Boyle's. This reply was ſaid to be written, jointly, by a ſelect club of ingenious men belonging to Chriſt-Church; among whom Mr. Boyle's tutor was thought to be the chief. And this is plainly alluded to in that witty performance, *The Battle of the Books*, &c. where Mr. Boyle is introduced, on the ſide of the Ancients, *clad in a ſuit of armour which had been given him by all the gods* (6). Mr. Budgell, however, is of opinion (7), that Mr. Boyle muſt have been the author of the greateſt part of that book, ſince the ſame ſtyle and ſpirit runs through the whole piece, ſo that it muſt have been formed and put together by one hand; and he never yet heard, he tells us, any reaſon to doubt but that hand was the late Earl of Orrery. Mr. Stackhouſe (8) thinks it evident, from the ſtrength of genius, warmth of invention, and eaſy diſplay of wit and learning, in Mr. Boyle's reply, that Dr. Bentley was foiled by ſome *eminent maſter*, however decent it might be thought at that time for a young gentleman to give him the *Coup de Grace*, and ſharpen it with this ſarcaſm; *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat.*

(6) See the *Tale of a Tub*, edit. 1733, 12*mo*. p. 188.

(7) See his *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, p. 194.

(8) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 10, 11.

[*F*] *He grew tired of a college life.*] This we learn from a letter of his to his father, dated from Oxford, October 24, 1690 (9); in which he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'My pupil *(Mr. Boyle)* I never 'had a thought of parting with till I left Oxford. I 'wiſh I could part with him to-morrow on that ſcore; 'for I am perfectly wearied with the nauſeous circle 'of ſmall affairs, that can now neither divert nor in'ſtruct me. I was made, I am ſure, for another 'ſcene, and another ſort of converſation; though it 'has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. 'I have thought, and thought again, Sir, and for ſome 'years: now, I have never been able to think otherwiſe, than that I am loſing time every minute I ſtay 'here. The only benefit I ever propoſe to myſelf 'by this place, is ſtudying; and that I am not able to 'compaſs. Mr. Boyle takes up half my time; and 'I grudge it him not, for he is a fine gentleman: 'and while I am with him, I will do what I can to 'make him a man. College and univerſity buſineſs 'take up a great deal more; and I am forced to be 'uſeful to the Dean in a thouſand particulars; ſo that 'I have very little time.'

(9) Publiſhed in Mr. Budgell's *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery*, p. 238.

[*G*] *His ſermon —— on* The Power of Charity to cover Sin; *to which Mr. Hoadley publiſhed ſome* Exceptions.] Mr. Atterbury's text was, *Charity ſhall cover the multitude of ſins*, 1 Pet. iv. 8. which words of St. Peter he explains in this ſenſe; "That the virtue of *Charity* is of ſo great price in the ſight of "God, that thoſe perſons, who poſſeſs and exerciſe it "in any eminent manner, are peculiarly entitled to "the Divine favour and pardon, with regard to numberleſs *ſlips* and *failings* in their duty, which they "may be otherwiſe guilty of: This great Chriſtian "perfection, of which they are maſters, ſhall make "many *little Imperfections* to be over-looked and unobſerved; it ſhall *cover the multitude of Sins* (10)." Mr. Hoadley, in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Lettter to Dr. Atterbury*, publiſhed in 1708 (11), excepted againſt this doctrine, as farther enlarged and explained by Mr. Atterbury. Among other things, he ſays: 'If 'God will accept of *one duty* in *lieu* of *many others*, 'and if our performance of *That* ſhall be our *Juſti'fication*, notwithſtanding our omiſſion of *many others*: 'this is a ſort of *Salvation*, in my judgment, un'worthy

(10) *Sermons, &c. by* Fr. Atterbury, D. D. &c. Vol. i. p. 40. edit. 1740.

(11) *See* Mr. Hoadley's *Tracts*, p. 224, edit. 1715, 8*vo*.

entitled, *The Scorner incapable of True Wiſdom* (*b*) [*H*]. But the largeſt field of controverſy, in which he ever engaged, was that which opened itſelf in the year 1700, and continued four years, between him, Dr. Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury), and others, concerning *the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations* [*I*]: in which

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 88.

'worthy of the *Nature* of *Man* to *receive*, and unworthy of the *Nature* of *God* to *offer*.——Let me therefore *(adds he in the concluſion)* intreat you to review the groundleſs and pernicious doctrine you have unwarily taught on this ſubject: conſider, if *Charity* ought to be repreſented as founded upon a *Temper* inconſiſtent with *Innocence*, and an *unſpotted Conſcience*; as productive of *vice*, and *folly*, and *madneſs*; as leading to the neglect of the principal branches of itſelf; and the like: and whether it becomes a *Chriſtian Divine* to ſet the ſeveral parts of God's Laws at *variance*, and to make the performance of *one* of them an *atonement* for the neglect of *others*, as indiſpenſably required.' We ſhall not enter into the controverſy, but only obſerve, that the author of the *Sermon* did not think fit to make any reply to the *Exceptions*.

[*H*] *His ſermon, entitled,* The Scorner incapable of true Wiſdom.] It was immediately attacked in a piece, entitled, *A Twofold Vindication of the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the Author of the* Hiſtory of Religion; *the firſt Part defending the ſaid Author againſt the Defamations of* Mr. Francis Atterbury's *Sermon, and both thoſe eminent Perſons againſt a traiterous libel, entitled,* The Charge of Socinianiſm againſt Dr. Tillotſon conſidered. *In Two Letters to the Honourable* Sir R. H. *The Second containing Remarks on the ſaid Sermon, and a Reply to the ſame Libel. Wherein ſome Right is done to that great and good Man* Dr. Tillotſon, *in the Points of the* Original of Sacrifices, *the* Sacrifices of Chriſt, Future Puniſhments, *&c. And a Word in Defence of the eminent Biſhop of Saliſbury. By another Hand,* London, 1696, in octavo. The author of the *Hiſtory of Religion*, vindicated in this piece, was Sir Robert Howard, who, taking himſelf to be meant, in that paſſage of Mr. Atterbury's ſermon, where he ſays, that 'Some men, who write 'pretended *Hiſtories of Religion*, are beholden to the 'real religion of others, that their hiſtories are not 'written (12),' obſerves in a letter prefixed to the abovementioned piece, how improper a place (the pulpit) Mr. Atterbury had taken to vent a paſſion unſuitable to Chriſtianity, or common morality. 'Yet 'he ſeems *(adds* Sir Robert) to have a Chriſtian conſi-'deration, that hinders him from writing ſomebody's 'life: if he means mine, I will free him from his 'tender Chriſtianity, and own that I writ the *Hiſtory* 'of *Religion*; and if he pleaſes to uſe the freedom I 'give him, I aſſure him, I ſhall not be diſpleaſed with 'any truth that he can write: but if his uſual paſſion 'guides him other ways, I ſhall attend him with ſuch 'anſwers, and make him ſuch ſuitable returns, as will 'be proper for the occaſion, and conſider his calling 'with as little reſpect, as he did the ſacred place 'where he choſe to rail.' The author of the *firſt letter* ridicules one of the reaſons, aſſigned by our preacher, *Why the ſcorner ſeeketh wiſdom, and findeth it not*, namely, *Becauſe the ſcorner is a man of quick and lively parts, and ſuch men are apt to give themſelves a looſe, beyond plain reaſon and common ſenſe* (13): 'That is, *ſays our author*, the Scorner ſeeks 'for what he has, and he miſſes it, becauſe he poſ-'ſeſſes it:' And, 'According to him *(Mr. Atter-'bury)*, the only hopeful Candidate of Wiſdom is 'Sancho Pancha.'

(12) *Sermons, &c.* Vol. i. p. 192.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 186.

[*I*] *His controverſy with Doctor Wake, and others, concerning the* Rights, Powers, *and* Privileges *of* Convocations.] The curious reader will be pleaſed to ſee here a ſhort hiſtory of this remarkable controverſy, with ſome account of the many books and pamphlets it occaſioned. In the year 1697, came out an anonymous pamphlet in 4*to*, entitled, *A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations*, ſuppoſed to be written by the Reverend Dr. Binckes, on occaſion of the interruption of thoſe aſſemblies. The chief points the author inſiſted upon, were, 1ſt, The Clergy's Right to meet in Synods, according to the Canons of the Chriſtian Church, and the Conſtitution of this Realm: 2dly, Their Right of aſſembling in Convocation as often as a new Parliament meets and ſits: And, 3dly, A Right of treating and deliberating about ſuch affairs as lie within their proper ſphere, and of coming to fit reſolutions upon them, without being neceſſitated antecedently to qualify themſelves for ſuch acts and debates, by a licence under the Broad Seal of England. The opinions of men in both Houſes of Convocation were ſtrangely divided about theſe queſtions: ſome thinking them rights entirely due to the Clergy, and eſſential to the being of Eccleſiaſtical Synods; others looking upon them as introductive of too bold an independency, and as encroachments on the regal authority. Among thoſe of the latter opinion, appeared Dr. Wake (afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury), who, in the year 1697, publiſhed his book, entitled, *The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over their Eccleſiaſtical Synods aſſerted, with particular reſpect to the Convocations of the Clergy of the Realm and Church of England; occaſioned by a late Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. In this book, he endeavours to prove, 1ſt, That the right of calling the Clergy together in Synods is veſted ſolely in the Prince: 2dly, That the Clergy, ſo aſſembled, have no right to debate or determine any point of doctrine or diſcipline, without his permiſſion: 3dly, That the Prince may annul, alter, or ſuſpend the execution of any of their conſtitutions or decrees: and, laſtly, that no Synod can diſſolve itſelf without conſent of the Prince. The ſame year, came out an anonymous piece, ſaid to be written by one Mr. Wright, a gentleman of the Law, entitled, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occaſioned by a Letter to a Convocation-Man*, &c. the author of which maintains the ſame opinions with Dr. Wake. Not long after, Dr. Wake's book was attacked by Mr. Samuel Hill, Rector of Kilmington, in an anonymous piece, entitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum: or, The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities, of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted, againſt all oppreſſive Doctrines and Conſtitutions; occaſioned by Dr. Wake's Book*, &c. 1697, 8vo. This produced from the Doctor, *An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, as by Law eſtabliſhed, by our Convocations approved, and by our moſt eminent Biſhops and Clergymen ſtated and defended, againſt both the Popiſh and Fanatical Oppoſers of it.* London, 1698, 8*vo*. Mr. Hill defended himſelf, in a piece, entitled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church farther defended, in Anſwer to the* Appeal *of Dr. Wake*, 1698, 8*vo*. The next year appeared, on Dr. Wake's ſide of the queſtion, a ſmall anonymous tract, entitled, *A Brief Inquiry into the Ground, Authority, and Rights of Eccleſiaſtical Synods, upon the Principles of Scripture and right reaſon*; occaſioned by a late Book, entitled, *Municipium Eccleſiaſticum*, 1699, 8*vo*. And, much about the ſame time, another, entitled, *Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of a Divine Right*, &c. 1699, 4to. The next year, Mr. Atterbury entered into the controverſy, and publiſhed his *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation ſtated and vindicated, in Anſwer to a late Book of Dr. Wake's, entitled, The Authority of Chriſtian Princes*, &c. *and ſeveral other Pieces*, London, 1700, 8vo. This book appeared, at firſt, without the author's name; but, the year following, Mr. Atterbury publiſhed a ſecond edition, with his name prefixed to it, and very conſiderable additions, which were printed ſeparately for the uſe of the purchaſers of the firſt edition. He treats Dr. Wake's book as 'a ſhallow, empty, performance; written without 'any knowledge of our conſtitution, any ſkill in the 'particular ſubject of debate; upon ſuch principles as 'are deſtructive of all our Civil, as well as Eccle-'ſiaſtical Liberties; and with ſuch aſperſions on the 'Clergy, both dead and living, as were no leſs in-'jurious to the body, than his doctrine.'—— 'The very beſt conſtruction, *he tells us*, that has been 'put upon Dr. Wake's attempt by candid readers, is, 'that it was an endeavour to advance the prerogative 'of the Prince in Church matters as high, and to de-

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which, however, the truth of the queſtion may be ſuppoſed to lie, he diſplayed ſo much learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the intereſts of his order, that the *Lower*

'preſs the intereſt of the Subject ſpiritual as low as 'ever he could, with any colour of truth.' ——— 'Were all Doctor Wake ſays ſtrictly true and juſtifi-'able, *adds our author*, yet whether the labouring 'the point ſo heartily as he does, and ſhewing him-'ſelf ſo willing to prove the Church to have no rights 'and privileges, be a very decent part in a Clergy-'man, I leave his friends to conſider. —— But, when 'all a man advances, is not only ill deſigned, but ill 'grounded, and his principles are as falſe, as they 'are ſcandalous (as I have evidently proved his to be), 'there are no names and cenſures too bad to be be-'ſtowed on ſuch writers, and their writings (14).' This may ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit, with which Mr. Atterbury entered into this controverſy. The ſecond edition is dedicated to *The Archbiſhops of the Provinces and the Preſidents of the Convocations of Canterbury and York*. We ſhall not enter into a detail of the principles and arguments advanced in this book, which are directly the reverſe of thoſe laid down by Doctor Wake; but ſhall give the reader Dr. White Kennet's character of it (15). 'The bulk of this book, *ſays* '*the Doctor*, the ſpacious preface to it, the number 'of citations, and, above all, the ſpirit of aſſurance, 'made people think this would determine the whole 'matter. And then the artificial giving a great and 'juſt character of the King, the many inſinuating ad-'dreſſes to the Commons, the pretty ways of ingra-'tiating with the inferior Clergy, the high zeal 'for our Church, and pleading fundamental rights 'and liberties of it, with the briſkneſs of running 'down an adverſary into the utmoſt contempt and 'odium; all this was apt to create in many a kind 'reception of the book; which when ſet off with 'the induſtrious applauſe of conſiderable people, who 'admire every thing of themſelves and their own, 'gave all poſſible advantage to the cauſe and this de-'fence of it.' Mr. Atterbury having, in his *Rights*, &c. occaſionally remarked upon Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, as too free in cenſuring the manners of the Clergy, though 'capable of this ex-'cuſe, that *the author*, being a *ſtranger*, might not 'then have thoroughly acquainted himſelf with the 'ſtate of our Church, or the character of its mem-'bers;' his Lordſhip wrote a piece againſt him, entitled, *Reflections on a Book, entitled Rights*, &c. 1700, 4to; wherein he obſerves, that the author of the *Rights*, &c. 'had ſo entirely laid aſide the Spirit 'of Chriſt, and the characters of a Chriſtian, that, 'without large allowances of charity, one can hardly 'think, that he did once reflect on the obligations he 'lay under to follow the humility, the meekneſs, and 'the gentleneſs of Chriſt. So far from that, he ſeems 'to have forgot the common decencies of a man or of 'a ſcholar.' His Lordſhip adds, that 'A book writ 'with that roughneſs and acrimony of ſpirit, if well 'received, would be a much ſtronger argument againſt 'the expediency of a Convocation, than any he 'brings or can bring for it.' The year following, Dr. White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, undertook a particular reply to Mr. Atterbury's book, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Synods, and Parliamentary Convocations, in the Church of England, hiſtorically ſtated, and juſtly vindicated from the Miſrepreſentations of Mr. Atterbury, Part* I., 1701, 8*vo*. In the *Preface*, he tells us, the *Hiſtorical* part of the argument, in this diſpute, had been very falſely repreſented, and the zeal for our Church was indeed without any knowledge in the conſtitution of it. He charges Mr. Atterbury with great unfairneſs and diſingenuity in the ſecond edition of his book, in which are a vaſt number of material alterations in points of Hiſtory and Law, not one of which he has mentioned in the *Addenda*, though he had profeſſed to the world, that *all* the alterations of moment were contained in thoſe ſeparate ſheets. He declares the motives of his own writing to be, 'To reprove that deriding and inſulting way of 'raillery and wrath, that wounds religion, and does 'but weaken that Church, whoſe prieſts ſhall *ſo* at-'tempt to vindicate her rights and powers; to pro-'mote the peace of our Mother-Church, by the King 'and Parliament's conſtant protection of her; and to 'requeſt his brethren, not to ſet up for independence 'and another fatal ſeparation; which none but their 'enemies can project or wiſh.' Soon after came out a pamphlet in 4*to*, ſuppoſed to be written by Doctor Richard Weſt, entitled, *The Principles of Mr. Atterbury's Book conſidered, and his Arguments againſt Dr. Wake, and others, ſtated and examined*; and another in 4*to*, entitled, *Mr. Atterbury's Arguments for the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation conſidered*. The ſame year, Dr. Hody, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, publiſhed his *Hiſtory of Engliſh Councils and Convocations*, in 8vo. There appeared likewiſe, about the ſame time, an anonymous pamphlet in 8*vo*, entitled, *The Regal Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*. This was followed by *Some Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about the Convocations, particularly Dr. Wake, Dr. Kennet, and the Author of* Mr. Atterbury's Principles, &c. *by a Gentleman in the Country*, 1701, 4to. This piece is not intended as a defence of Mr. Atterbury, but only to ſhew, that his antagoniſts, notwithſtanding their pretences to moderation, have failed in that point in their writings. Dr. Kennet then publiſhed *An Occaſional Letter on the Subject of Engliſh Convocations*, 1701, 8*vo*, in vindication of the *temper*, with which he had proceeded in the controverſy. The ſame year, came out a pamphlet in 4*to*, ſaid to be written by Dr. Edmund Gibſon (now (*) Biſhop of London), entitled, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the preſent Convocation*; in which he vindicates the Archbiſhop's right to prorogue the Lower Houſe of Convocation, as well as the Upper. This was preſently anſwered by a pamphlet, aſcribed to Mr. Atterbury, entitled, *The Power of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to adjourn itſelf, vindicated from the Miſrepreſentations of a late Paper*, &c. Then followed a pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. George Hooper (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells), entitled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, from Monday, Feb.* 10, 1700 *(Engliſh Account), to Wedneſday, June* 25, 1701. *Drawn up by the Order of the Houſe*, 4to. Soon after, came out, by the author of the *Letter to a Friend*, &c. a Reply to the two foregoing pieces, entitled, *The Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, aſſerted in a Second Letter*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by *A Letter* to the author of the *Narrative*, containing *A Vindication of the Proceedings of ſome Members of the Lower Houſe, with relation to the Archbiſhop's Prorogation of it, May* 8, 1701, 4to. This was anſwered (it was ſaid, by Mr. Atterbury himſelf) in a piece, entitled, *A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the Choice of Members, and the Execution of a Parliament-Writ, for the enſuing Convocation*; *dated Nov.* 17, 1701, 4to. The author recommends a more than ordinary care in the choice of members, conſidering the preſent diſputes between the two Houſes; which if they are determined in prejudice of the lower Clergy, there will be an end of the rights and liberties of their Houſe, and they will become from that moment an uſeleſs and inſignificant part of the conſtitution. This was followed by a *Second Letter* upon the ſame ſubject, dated *Dec.* 10, 1701. In anſwer to both theſe pieces, appeared *The Caſe of the* Præmunientes *conſidered*, 1701, 4to: And, about the ſame time, another Reply, entitled, *The late Pretence of a conſtant Practice, to enter the Parliament, as well as the Provincial, Writ in the Front of the Acts of every Synod, conſidered in a Letter to the Author of that Aſſertion*, &c. 1701, 4to. This was followed by a ſecond Reply, entitled, *The late Pretence*, &c. *further conſidered and diſproved*, &c. 1701, 4to. This occaſioned *A Third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, &c. *in defence of the two former*, dated *Jan.* 8, 1701, by the ſame hand; which was preſently replied to in *An Anſwer to a Third Letter*, &c. *wherein the great Diſingenuity of the Author of it is plainly ſhewn, and the Raſhneſs and Falſehood of his former Aſſertion is fully proved upon him*, 1701, 4to. In 1702, came out *Dr. Atterbury's Caſe of the Schedule ſtated, wherein an Account is given of the Riſe and Deſign of that Inſtrument, and of the Influence it hath on the Adjournments of the Lower Houſe of Convocation; and all the Authorities urged in behalf of the Archbiſhop's*

(14) *See the Preface.*

(15) *See his Eccleſiaſtical Synods*, &c. Part i. p. 31.

(*) *An.* 1745.

Lower Houſe of *Convocation* returned him their thanks [*K*], and the univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity [*L*]. January the twenty-ninth, 1700, he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Totneſs, being promoted to that dignity by

ſhop's ſole Power to prorogue the whole Convocation are occaſionally examined. By a Member of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, 4to. This was anſwered in a piece, ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. Edmund Gibſon, intitled, *The Schedule reviewed, or the Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation, cleared from the Exceptions of a late* Vindication of the Narrative of the Lower Houſe, *and of a Book, intitled,* The caſe of the Schedule ſtated, 1702, 4*to*. This was followed by *The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the Lower Houſe of Convocation cleared, and the Evidences of its Separation from the Upper Houſe produced on ſeveral Heads, particularly in the Point of making ſeparate Applications (as a diſtinct Body of Men) to other Bodies or Perſons, in Purſuance of an Argument for the* Power of the Lower Houſe to adjourn itſelf, 1702, 4*to*. About the ſame time, Mr. Nicolſon, afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle, publiſhed *A Letter to Dr. White Kennet, in defence of his* Hiſtorical Library, *againſt Mr. Francis Atterbury's Objections* to that work, in his *Rights*, &c. in which he treated Mr. Nicolſon, with a good deal of abuſe and invective, particularly, for defining *Convocations* to be *only occaſional aſſemblies of the Biſhops and inferior Clergy, for ſuch Purpoſes as the King ſhall direct, when they meet*. The year following, Dr. Gibſon publiſhed, *A ſhort State of ſome preſent Queſtions in Convocation, particularly of the Right to continue or prorogue; by way of Commentary upon the Schedule of Continuation*, 1703, 4to. To this Dr. George Hooper replied in his *Summary Defence of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly concerning Adjournments, in Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intitled,* A Short State, &c. 1703, 4*to*. This was anſwered by Dr. Gibſon, in his *Marks of a defenceleſs Cauſe in the Proceedings and Writings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, particularly in their Third and laſt Syſtem of Principles invented by the* Vindicator *of their* Narrative, *and repeated in a Pamphlet, intitled,* A Summary Defence, &c. 1703, 4*to*. The ſame author likewiſe publiſhed, *The pretended Independence of the Lower Houſe upon the Upper, a groundleſs Notion*, &c. *being a Vindication of* Synodus Anglicana, *and the* Schedule Reviewed; *together with the Integrity of their Author, from the Cenſures and Reflections of a late Pamphlet, intitled,* The Parliamentary Original, &c. 1703, 4*to*. About this time, our author's original antagoniſt in this controverſy, Dr. Wake, publiſhed his large work, intitled, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in thir Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other public Aſſemblies, hiſtorically deduced from the Converſion of the Saxons to the preſent Time; occaſioned by a Book, intitled,* The Rights, Powers, and Privileges, &c. 1703, Folio. In the Preface, he tells us, that, upon his firſt peruſal of Dr. Atterbury's book, he ſaw ſuch a ſpirit of wrath and uncharitableneſs, accompanied with ſuch an aſſurance of the author's abilities for ſuch an undertaking, as he had hardly ever met with in the like degree before. Afterwards he ſays, 'In my examination of the whole book, I found in it 'enough to commend the wit, though not the ſpirit 'of him who wrote it.—To pay what is due even to 'an adverſary; it muſt be allowed, that Dr. Atterbury 'has done all, that a man of forward parts and a 'hearty zeal could do, to defend the cauſe which he 'had eſpouſed. He has choſen the moſt plauſible topics of argumentation; and he has given them all 'the advantage, that either a ſprightly wit or a good 'aſſurance could afford them. But he wanted one 'thing; he had not *Truth* on his ſide: and error, 'though it may be palliated, and by an artificial manager, ſuch as Dr. Atterbury without controverſy is, 'be diſguiſed ſo as to deceive ſometimes even a wary 'reader, yet it will not bear a ſtrict examination. 'And accordingly I have ſhewn him, notwithſtanding 'all his other endowments, to have deluded the world 'with a mere *Romance*; and, from the one end of his 'diſcourſe to the other, to have delivered a hiſtory, 'not of what was really done, but of what it was his 'intereſt to make it believed had been done.' Dr. Atterbury made no reply to Dr. Wake's book; ſo that here the Convocation diſpute ended for the preſent, there being little after this of any importance written on the ſubject, till the year 1708, in which Dr. Atterbury publiſhed, without his name, *Some Proceedings in the Convocation, A. D.* 1705, *faithfully repreſented: To which is prefixed an Account of the ſeveral ineffectual Attempts at divers Times made by the lower Clergy, towards quieting all Diſputes, and proceeding upon Synodical Buſineſs*, 4to. This was anſwered in a pamphlet, intitled, *Partiality detected, or a Reply to a late Pamphlet, intitled,* Some Proceedings, &c. *diſcovering the many partial Repreſentations and unjuſt Reflections, contained in the ſaid Pamphlet, particularly as to what concerns the Proceedings of the Convocation in Ireland*, 1708, 4to. Before we conclude this remark, we will tranſcribe a ſhort ſtory, relating to the diſputes then on foot, from a Pamphlet, intitled, *The preſent State of Convocations, in a Letter*, &c. 1702, 4*to*; after premiſing, that Dr. Atterbury had declared, in one of his pieces, that, *If he deceived his readers, he was contented to forfeit all credit with any good man for ever.* 'After the form of prorogation had been this day '(*February the* 12th) read and ſigned in the Upper 'Houſe, as the Clergy were departing out of the 'Jeruſalem-Chamber, Dr. Atterbury towards the door 'was earneſtly puſhing on ſome members, and crying, '*Away to the Lower Houſe, to the Lower Houſe.* The 'Chancellor of London, turning back to him, aſked, '*If he were not* aſhamed *to be always promoting contention and diviſion?* Dr. Atterbury anſwered to this 'effect; *That he was not* aſhamed *to be for the rights 'of the Clergy; that there never was an inſtance before the laſt year, where the Clergy were diſmiſſed by 'a prorogation in the Upper Houſe.* The Chancellor 'replied; *I am afraid, Sir, you are not to be believed; 'for I think, by your own confeſſion*, you have forfeited 'your credit with all good men for ever.' We ſhall conclude with Biſhop Burnet's ſevere reflections on our author's conduct in theſe diſputes. Having obſerved, that the *High-Church* party of that time had ſet up a complaint of the want of convocations, the danger of the Church, &c. he ſays (16): 'Some books were 'writ to juſtify it, with great acrimony of ſtile, and a 'ſtrain of inſolence, that was peculiar to one *Atterbury*, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many 'extraordinary things in him; but was both ambitious 'and virulent out of meaſure, and had a ſingular 'talent of aſſerting paradoxes with a great aſſurance, 'ſhewing no ſhame when he was detected in them, 'though this was done in many inſtances. But he let 'all theſe paſs, without either confeſſing his errors, or 'pretending to juſtify himſelf. He went on ſtill venting new falſehoods in ſo barefaced a manner, that he 'ſeemed to have outdone the Jeſuits themſelves. He 'thought the government had ſo little ſtrength or credit, that any claim againſt it would be well received. 'He attacked the Supremacy of the Crown with relation to eccleſiaſtical matters, which had been hitherto maintained by all our Divines with great 'zeal.'

(16) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. ii. p. 249.

[*K*] *The* Lower Houſe *of* Convocation *returned him thanks.*] On the 8th of April, 1701, Dr. Finch, having been ſent with a meſſage from the Lower to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, returned with an account, that no meſſage would be received from them for want of the Prolocutor's preſence. Hereupon the Dean of Glouceſter took occaſion to obſerve, that, ſince the Upper Houſe refuſed this correſpondence with them, it was now time for that Houſe to return their thanks to Mr. Atterbury, for his learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating the rights of Convocation. Upon which a debate enſued, and it was propoſed to change the form of thanks, from *learned pains in aſſerting and vindicating*, to *his endeavours to aſſert and vindicate*; but, upon a diviſion, it was carried for the firſt motion, and the thanks of the Houſe returned accordingly (17).

(17) *Hiſtory of the Convocation, which met Feb.* 6, 1700. Lond. 1702, 4*to*.

[*L*] *The Univerſity of Oxford complimented him with the degree of Doctor in Divinity.*] In conſequence of the vote of the Lower Houſe of Convocation mentioned in the laſt remark, a letter was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, expreſſing, that, *whereas Mr. Francis Atterbury, late of Chriſt Church, had ſo happily aſſerted the rights and privileges of an Engliſh Convocation, as to*

by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter (*i*). The ſame year he was engaged with ſome other learned Divines, in reviſing an intended edition of the Greek Teſtament, with Greek *Scholia*, collected chiefly from the Fathers, by Mr. Archdeacon Gregory (*k*). Upon the acceſſion of Queen Anne, in 1702, Dr. Atterbury was appointed one of her Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary (*l*); and, in October 1704 (*m*), he was advanced to the Deanery of Carliſle [*M*]. About two years after this, he was engaged in a diſpute with Mr. Hoadly, concerning the advantages of *Virtue* with regard to the *preſent* life [*N*], occaſioned by his Sermon, preached the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1706, at the funeral of Mr. Thomas Bennet, a Bookſeller (*n*). In 1707, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Biſhop of Exeter, appointed him one of the Canons Reſidentiaries of that Church; and, in 1709, Sir John Trevor, a great diſcerner of men and their abilities, was ſo ſtruck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls-chapel (*o*). This year he was engaged in a freſh diſpute with Mr. Hoadly, concerning *Paſſive Obedience* [*O*], occaſioned by his Latin Sermon, entitled, *Concio ad Clerum Londinenſem habita in Eccleſia S. Elphegi* (*p*). In 1710, came on the famous trial of Dr.

(*i*) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.* p. 97.
(*k*) *See the* Preface *to* A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, Lond. 1701, 4to.
(*l*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 51.
(*m*) Willis's *Survey*, &c. Vol. i p. 304.
(*n*) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. ii. p. 1.
(*o*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 52.
(*p*) *Sermons* &c. Vol. ii. p. 305.

to merit the ſolemn thanks of the Lower Houſe of it for his learned pains upon that ſubject; it might be hoped, that the Univerſity would be no leſs forward in taking ſome public notice of ſo great a piece of ſervice to the Church: And that the moſt proper and ſeaſonable mark of reſpect to him, would be to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, without doing exerciſe, or paying fees. The univerſity approved the contents of this letter, and accordingly created Mr. Atterbury Doctor in Divinity (18).

(18) *Ibid.*

[*M*] *He was advanced to the Deanery of Carliſle.*] Upon his nomination, either through ignorance of the common forms, or an over-haſtineſs to get poſſeſſion, he took out his inſtruments before his predeceſſor Dr. Graham had reſigned. This miſtake he endeavoured to rectify in the following extraordinary manner. When he firſt waited on Dr. Nicolſon, then Biſhop of Carliſle, that prelate demanded of him a formal reſignation from Dr. Graham, without which, he told him, he could not admit him. The new-appointed Dean ſeemed to laugh at this demand: but the Biſhop, who reſolved to ſhew Dr. Atterbury no favour, and barely to do him juſtice, continuing obſtinate, the Doctor, to his no ſmall mortification, was kept a whole month at Carliſle, unadmitted, and ſlightly regarded, till the reſignation, inſiſted on, was produced. This reſignation, however, upon examination, was found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being almoſt a month ſubſequent to Dr. Atterbury's collation, which rendered the latter null and void. Hereupon being returned to London, he contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his predeceſſor, to a certain place; where he deſired him to antedate his reſignation; and, inſtead of the fifth of Auguſt, to date it the 8th of July, that ſo it might be reconciled to his letters patent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who thought the propoſal a very odd one, deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and, having adviſed with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who all aſſured him, the practice was both ſcandalous and dangerous, he ſent a civil letter to Dr. Atterbury, excuſing himſelf for not complying with his requeſt. When the Doctor found this ſtep ineffectual, he took another no leſs extraordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to prevail with a conſiderable officer in Chancery, to alter the date of the Reſignation in the original Record. But this propoſal was likewiſe rejected; and ſo the public inſtruments continued irregular (19). All the reflection we ſhall make upon this ſtory, is, that in the Civil Law, the clandeſtine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falſi*, and the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falſi*.

(19) *See a ſmall Tract, entitled*, A Letter from the South, by way of Anſwer to a Letter from a Northern Divine; giving an Account of a ſtrange Attempt made by Dr. A—, &c.

[*N*] *His diſpute with Mr. Hoadly concerning the advantages of* virtue *with regard to the* preſent *life.*] Dr. Atterbury's Sermon, which occaſioned this diſpute, was on 1 *Cor.* xv. 19. *If in this life only we have hope in Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable.* Which he explains thus: 'If all the benefits, we 'expect from the Chriſtian inſtitution, were confined 'within the bounds of this preſent life, and we had 'no hopes of a better ſtate after this, of a great 'and laſting reward in a life to come; we Chriſtians 'ſhould be the moſt abandoned and wretched of 'creatures: all other ſorts and ſects of men would 'evidently have the advantage of us, and a much 'ſurer title to happineſs than we (20).' In proof of which aſſertion, he endeavours to ſhew, that, were there no other life but this, Firſt, men would really be more miſerable than beaſts; and, ſecondly, the beſt men would be often the moſt miſerable: 'I mean, *ſays he*, as far as happineſs or miſery 'are to be meaſured from pleaſing or painful ſenſations; and, ſuppoſing the preſent to be the only 'life we are to lead, I ſee not, but that this might 'be eſteemed the true meaſure of them (21).' This doctrine Mr. Hoadly examined, in *A Letter to Dr. Francis Atterbury, concerning Virtue and Vice* (22), publiſhed in 1706; in which he undertakes to ſhew, that Dr. Atterbury has extremely miſtaken the ſenſe of his text: that 'the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks of Chriſtians 'profeſſing faith in Chriſt; Dr. *Atterbury*, of perſons 'practiſing the moral precepts of religion; the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks of the condition of ſuch Chriſtians, 'in a ſtate of the moſt bitter perſecution; Dr. *Atterbury*, of the condition of virtuous perſons, in 'the ordinary courſe of God's providence; the *Apoſtle* deſigns nothing by his aſſertion and ſuppoſition, but to ſhame thoſe ignorant, unwary, profeſſors of Chriſtianity, out of the denial of a general reſurrection; Dr. *Atterbury*, on the contrary, 'draws from them an abſolute argument for the 'certainty of a future ſtate: So that upon the review it ſeems evident, that Dr. *Atterbury* has miſtaken 'the aſſertion itſelf, the perſons concerning whom 'the Apoſtle intends it, the times to which he manifeſtly limits it, and the concluſion which he deſigned ſhould be drawn from it (23). Mr. Hoadly, then, endeavours to ſhew, that the practice of virtue, even in this life, contributes more to the happineſs of mankind, than that of vice; for which, beſides the arguments from reaſon and nature, he produces the expreſs declarations of ſcripture. Dr. Atterbury, in his volume of *Sermons*, publiſhed by himſelf, prefixed a long *Preface* to the Sermon at Mr. Bennet's funeral; in which he replies to Mr. Hoadly's arguments, and produces the concurrent teſtimonies of expoſitors, and the authorities of the beſt writers, eſpecially our Engliſh Divines, in confirmation of the doctrine he had advanced. In anſwer to this Preface, Mr. Hoadly publiſhed, in 1708, *A ſecond* Letter, *&c.* and, in the Preface to his *Tracts*, tells us, theſe two *Letters* againſt Dr. Atterbury were deſigned to vindicate and eſtabliſh the tendency of virtue and morality to the preſent happineſs of ſuch a creature as man is; which he eſteems a point of the utmoſt importance to the Goſpel itſelf.

(20) *Sermons*, &c. Vol. ii. p. 2, 3.
(21) *Ib.* p. 5.
(22) *See* Hoadly's *Tracts*, London, 1715, 8vo.
(23) Pages 111, 112.

[*O*] *His Diſpute with Mr. Hoadly concerning* Paſſive Obedience.] Doctor Atterbury in his pamphlet, intitled, *Some Proceedings in Convocation*, A. D. 1705, *faithfully repreſented*, had charged Mr. Hoadly (whom he ſneeringly calls, *the modeſt and moderate Mr. Hoadly*) with, 'treating the body of the eſtabliſhed Clergy, 'with language more diſdainful and reviling, than 'it would have become him to have uſed towards 'his *Preſbyterian* antagoniſt, upon any provocation, 'charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilſt 'he himſelf was preaching it up in the State.' This induced Mr. Hoadly to ſet about a particular examination of Dr. Atterbury's Latin Sermon; which he did in a piece, intitled, *A Large Anſwer to Dr. Atterbury's Charge of Rebellion*, &c. London, 1710, wherein he endeavours to lay open the Doctor's artful management of the controverſy, and to let the reader into his true meaning and deſign; which, in an

Dr. Sacheverell, whoſe remarkable ſpeech on that occaſion was generally ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by our author, in conjunction with Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Friend (*q*). The ſame year Dr. Atterbury was unanimouſly choſen Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and had the chief management of affairs in that Houſe [*P*]. The eleventh of May 1711, he was appointed, by the Convocation one of the Committee for comparing Mr. Whiſton's doctrines with thoſe of the Church of England; and, in June following, he had the chief hand in drawing up *A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion* (*r*) [*Q*]. In 1712, Dr. Atterbury was made Dean of Chriſt-Church [*R*], notwithſtanding the ſtrong intereſt and warm applications of ſeveral great men in behalf of his competitor Dr. Smalridge (*s*). The next year ſaw him at the top of

(*q*) Boyer's *Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne.* Lond. 1722. p. 427.

(*r*) *Id. Polit'cal State*, &c. for *June* 1711.

(*s*) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 53.

an *Appendix* to the *Anſwer*, he repreſents to be 'The 'carrying on two different cauſes, upon two ſets of 'contradictory principles,' in order to 'gain himſelf 'applauſe amongſt the ſame perſons at the ſame 'time, by ſtanding up for and againſt liberty; by 'depreſſing the prerogative, and exalting it; by 'leſſening the executive power, and magnifying it; 'by loading ſome with all infamy, for pleading for 'ſubmiſſion to it in one particular, which he ſup-'poſeth an encroachment, and by loading others 'with the ſame infamy, for pleading againſt ſub-'miſſion to it, in caſes that touch the happineſs of 'the whole community.' This, he tells us, is 'A 'method of controverſy ſo peculiar to one perſon '(Dr. *Atterbury*) as that he knows not that it hath 'ever been practiſed, or attempted by any other 'writer.' Mr. Hoadly has likewiſe tranſcribed, in this *Appendix*, ſome remarkable paſſages out of our author's *Rights, Powers, and Privileges*, &c. which he confronts with others, from his Latin *Sermon*.

[*P*] *He had the chief management of affairs in that houſe.*] Biſhop Burnet, in his account of this Convocation (24), having obſerved, that the Queen, in appointing a committee of Biſhops to be preſent, and conſenting to their reſolutions, not only paſſed over all the Biſhops made in King William's reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the Biſhops of Briſtol and St. David's, then newly conſecrated, in a diſtinction above all their brethren, by adding them to the committee, upon the indiſpoſition of the Archbiſhop and others, adds: 'All 'this was directed by Dr. *Atterbury*, who had the 'confidence of the chief miniſter; and becauſe the 'other Biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence 'with the former miniſtry, it was thought fit to 'put the marks of the Queen's diſtruſt upon them, 'that it might appear with whom her royal favour 'and truſt was lodged.' The ſame hiſtorian informs us (25), that, in this Convocation, a doubt being ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's licence, by which ſhe had appointed the above-mentioned committee, did ſtill ſubſiſt after a prorogation by a royal writ, and the Attorney-General having given his opinion, that it was ſtill in force, whereupon the Biſhops went on with the buſineſs, with which the former ſeſſions had ended; Dr. *Atterbury* thereupon ſtarted a new notion, that, 'As in a Seſſion of Parliament, a prorogation 'put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they 'were to begin all a-new, the ſame rule was to be 'applied to Convocations;' in purſuance of his favourite notion, that 'The proceedings in Parlia-'ment were likewiſe to be obſerved among them.' This being contrary to precedents, and the expreſs words of the royal writ, by which the Archbiſhop had prorogued the Convocation, the Biſhops did not agree to it, but reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations. And this occaſioned a diſpute between the two houſes, which put a ſtop to all buſineſs, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen.

(24) *See the* Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 569, 570.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 602, 603.

[*Q*] *He drew up a* Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion.] Let us hear Biſhop Burnet's account of this affair. The Convocation, he tells us (26), having entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a committee being appointed to draw up a Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after ſome heads were agreed on, '*Atterbury* 'procured, that the drawing up of this might be left 'to him: and he drew up a moſt virulent declama-'tion, defaming all the adminiſtrations from the time 'of the Revolution. Into this he brought many im-'pious principles and practices, that had been little 'heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, 'if this ſhould be laid before the Queen.' The Lower Houſe, he adds, agreed to *Atterbury*'s draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another Repreſentation to be drawn in more general and more modeſt terms. But it was not ſettled, which of theſe two draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or, whether any Repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen. The author of the *Memoirs of Queen Anne* (27), ſpeaking of this affair, tells us, 'The 'leading men among the Clergy, eſpecially thoſe, 'who ſought after honour and preferment, were 'zealous to go hand in hand with the new Miniſtry, 'and to ſtrengthen the Houſe of Commons in all 'their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr. *Atter-'bury* had a deep ſhare in this buſineſs, and led moſt 'of the clergy by his pretended zeal for their in-'tereſts. This *Repreſentation* was very long, and 'contained a great deal concerning the atheiſm and 'irreligion of the times, which they aſcribed chiefly 'to the late growth of hereſy and ſchiſm, and to 'the printing of wicked and atheiſtical books, which 'tended to promote many dangerous opinions; the 'fault being laid chiefly on thoſe who had been 'lately in power.' The *Repreſentation* in queſtion, though never preſented, was yet printed and diſperſed; and ſoon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Nation vindicated from the Aſperſions caſt on it in a late Pamphlet, intitled*, A Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion, &c. in which the author undertakes to prove, againſt the *Repreſentation*, firſt, that the nation is much mended, in point of licentiouſneſs, and impiety, ſince the Revolution; ſecondly, that the *Repreſentation* gives a diſingenuous and unfair account of the ſpreading of Atheiſm, Deiſm, and Hereſy, and, whilſt it complains of the growth of Popery, advances ſuch notions, as, were they true, would oblige the nation to return to the church of Rome; and, thirdly, that it has omitted the chief cauſe of theſe evils, the miſconduct of our ſpiritual guides; which conſidered, it is next to a miracle, he ſays, that the laity are ſo good and virtuous as they are at preſent.

(26) *Ib.* p. 570, 571.

(27) Page 107, 108. edit. 1729, 8vo.

[*R*] *He was made Dean of Chriſt-Church.*] 'No 'ſooner was he ſettled there, *ſays the writer of his 'life* (28) till all ran into diſorder and confuſion. 'The Canons had been long accuſtomed to the mild 'and gentle government of a Dean (*), who had 'every thing in him that was endearing to mankind, 'and could not therefore brook the wide difference 'that they perceived in Dr. *Atterbury*. That impe-'rious and deſpotic manner, in which he ſeemed 'reſolved to carry every thing, made them more 'tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make 'fewer conceſſions, the more he endeavoured to graſp 'at power, and tyrannize. This oppoſition raiſed 'the ferment, and, in a ſhort time, there enſued ſuch 'ſtrife and contention, ſuch bitter words and ſcan-'dalous quarrels among them, that 'twas thought 'adviſeable to remove him, on purpoſe to reſtore 'peace and tranquility to that learned body, and 'that other colleges might not take the infection. 'A new method of obtaining preferment, by in-'dulging ſuch a temper, and purſuing ſuch practices, 'as leaſt of all deſerve it! In a word, *adds this 'writer*, wherever he came, under one pretence or 'other, but chiefly under the notion of aſſerting his 'rights and privileges, he had a rare talent of 'fomenting diſcord, and blowing the coals of con-'tention; which made a learned ſucceſſor *, in 'two of his preferments, complain of his hard fate, 'in being forced to carry water after him, to ex-'tinguiſh the flames, which his litigiouſneſs had every 'where occaſioned.'

(28) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 62, 63.

(*) Dr. Aldrich.

(*) Dr. Smalridge.

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his preferment, as well as of his reputation: for, in the beginning of June 1713, the Queen, at the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford, advanced him to the Biſhopric of Rocheſter, and Deanery of Weſtminſter; and he was conſecrated at Lambeth the 4th of July following (*t*). It is ſaid, he had in view the Primacy of all England, and that his credit with the Queen and Miniſtry was ſo conſiderable, and his ſchemes ſo well laid, as probably to have carried it, upon a vacancy, had not her Majeſty's death, in Auguſt 1714, prevented him (*u*). At the beginning of the ſucceeding reign, his tide of proſperity began to turn; and he received a ſenſible mortification preſently after the coronation of King George I., when, upon his offering to preſent his Majeſty (with a view, no doubt, of ſtanding better in his favour) with the Chair of State and Royal Canopy, his own perquiſites as Dean of Weſtminſter, the offer was rejected, not without ſome evident marks of diſlike to his perſon (*w*). During the rebellion in Scotland, which broke out in the firſt year of this reign, Biſhop Atterbury gave an inſtance of his growing diſaffection to the eſtabliſhed government, in refuſing to ſign the *Declaration* of the Biſhops [*S*]. Beſides which, he conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the Court in the Houſe of Lords, and drew up ſome of the moſt violent *Proteſts* with his own hand (*x*). Thus he went on, 'till the year 1722, when, the Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a plot in favour of the *Pretender* [*T*], he was accordingly apprehended, on the 24th of Auguſt, and committed priſoner to the Tower [*U*]. This commitment of a Biſhop, upon a ſuſpicion of high treaſon, as it was a thing rarely practiſed ſince the Reformation,

(*t*) Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 528.

(*u*) *Memoirs*, &c. *ib.*

(*w*) *Ib.* p. 74.

(*x*) *Ib.* p. 76 & 79.

[*S*] *He refuſed to ſign the* Declaration *of the Biſhops.*] In that juncture of affairs, when the *Pretender's Declaration* was poſted up in moſt market-towns, and, in ſome places, his title proclaimed, it was thought proper, by moſt bodies of men, to give the government all poſſible aſſurance of their fidelity and allegiance; and accordingly there was publiſhed *A Declaration of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops in, and near, London, teſtifying their abhorrence of the preſent Rebellion; and an exhortation to the Clergy, and people under their care, to be zealous in the diſcharge of their duties to his Majeſty King George.* This paper the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and by his inſtigation, Biſhop Smalridge, refuſed to ſign, on pretence of a juſt offence taken at ſome unbecoming reflections caſt on a party, not inferior to any (they ſaid) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were theſe: *We are the more concerned, that both the Clergy and People of our Communion ſhould ſhew themſelves hearty friends to the Government upon this occaſion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of England; becauſe the chief hopes of our enemies ſeem to ariſe from diſcontents artificially raiſed among us; and becauſe ſome, who have valued themſelves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the Church, have joined with Papiſts in theſe wicked attempts; which as they muſt ruin the Church, if they ſucceed, ſo they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the reſt of us do not clearly and heartily declare our deteſtation of ſuch practices.* The reader muſt be left to judge, whether there be any thing in theſe words ſo exceptionable, as to countenance ſuch a behaviour, at ſuch a time.

[*T*] *The Government having reaſon to ſuſpect him of being concerned in a Plot, in favour of the Pretender*, &c.] Various methods were attempted (as we learn from the *Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons)*, and various times fixed, for putting this deſign in execution. The firſt intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade theſe kingdoms, at the time of the elections for members of Parliament. But the conſpirators, being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved, next, to make an attempt at the time, it was generally believed, his Majeſty intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers, as could paſs into England, unobſerved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond; who was to have landed in the river, with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe. The Tower, at the ſame time, was to have been ſeized, and the city of London made a place of arms. But this deſign alſo being diſappointed by many concurring events, the conſpirators found themſelves under a neceſſity of deferring their enterprize, 'till the breaking up of the camp: during which interval, they laboured, by their agents and emiſſaries, to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army; and depended ſo much on their defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the *Pretender* on the throne, though they ſhould have no aſſiſtance from abroad. What ſhare our Prelate was ſuſpected to have had in this conſpiracy, appears from the ſame *Report*, which charges him with carrying on a traiterous correſpondence, in order to raiſe an inſurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it. In ſupport of which accuſation, three letters were produced, ſuppoſed to be written by the Biſhop, to General Dillon, the late Lord Mar, and the *Pretender* himſelf, under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Muſgrave*, and *Jackſon*. This occaſioned a *Reſolution* of the Houſe of Commons, March the 11th, 1723, *That Francis, Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter, was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender on the Throne.*

[*U*] *He was apprehended and committed priſoner to the Tower.*] Two officers, the Under-Secretary, and a Meſſenger, went about two o'clock in the afternoon, to the Biſhop's houſe at Weſtminſter, where he then was, with orders to bring him, and his papers, before the Council. He happened to be in his night-gown, when they came in; and being made acquainted with their buſineſs, he deſired time to dreſs himſelf. In the mean time his Secretary came in; and the officers went to ſearch for his papers; in the ſealing of which, the Meſſenger brought a paper, which he pretended to have found in his cloſe-ſtool, and deſired that it might be ſealed up with the reſt. His Lordſhip obſerving it, and believing it to be a forged one of his own, deſired the officers not to do it, and to bear witneſs, that the paper was not found with him. Nevertheleſs, they did it; and, though they behaved themſelves with ſome reſpect to him, they ſuffered the Meſſengers to treat him in a very rough manner, threatening him, if he did not make haſte to dreſs himſelf, they would carry him away undreſt as he was. Upon which, he ordered his Secretary to ſee his papers all ſealed up, and went himſelf directly to the Cockpit, where the Council waited for him (29). The behaviour of the Meſſengers, upon this occaſion, ſeems to have been very unwarrantable, if what the author of *A Letter to the Clergy of the Church of England*, &c. tells us, be true, that the perſons, directed by order of the King and Council, to ſeize his Lordſhip and his papers, received a ſtrict command to treat him with great reſpect and reverence. However this was, when he came before the Council, he behaved with a great deal of calmneſs, and they with much civility towards him. He had liberty to ſpeak for himſelf as much as he pleaſed, and they liſtened to his defence with a great deal of attention; and, what is more unuſual, after he was withdrawn, he had twice liberty to re-enter the Council-chamber, to make for himſelf ſuch repreſentations and requeſts as he thought proper. It is ſaid, that, while

(29) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 86, 87.

Reformation, ſo it occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people [*W*]. On the 23d of March, 1722-3, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for *inflicting certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter*; a copy of which was ſent to him, with notice that he had liberty of Counſel and Solicitors for making his defence. Under theſe circumſtances, the Biſhop applied, by petition, to the Houſe of Lords, for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture [*X*]; and, on the fourth of April, he acquainted the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, by a letter, that he was determined to give that Houſe no trouble, in relation to the Bill depending therein; but ſhould be ready to make his defence againſt it, when it ſhould be argued in another Houſe, of which he had the honour to be a member (*y*). On the ninth, the Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons [*Y*], and was the ſame day ſent up to the Houſe of Lords for their concurrence (*z*). On the ſixth of May, being the day appointed by the Lords for the

(*y*) *Ib.* p. 101, 102, 103.

(*z*) *Ib.* p. 105. 107.

while he was under examination, he made uſe of our Saviour's Anſwer to the Jewiſh Council, while he ſtood before them; *If I tell you, you will not believe me; and if I alſo aſk you, you will not anſwer me, nor let me go.* After three quarters of an hour's ſtay at the Cock-pit, he was ſent to the Tower, privately, in his own coach, without any manner of noiſe or obſervation (30). As to his behaviour, and treatment within thoſe walls, they are neither ſo material, nor ſo certainly known, as to deſerve a particular narration; though, if his own account may be credited, his uſage there was far from being juſtifiable: for, in his *Speech* to the Houſe of Lords, he makes this complaint: 'I have been under a 'very long and cloſe confinement, and have been 'treated with ſuch ſeverity, and ſo great indignity, 'as, I believe, no priſoner in the Tower, of my age, 'and function, and rank, ever was; by which means 'what ſtrength and uſe of my limbs I had, when 'I was firſt committed in Auguſt laſt, is now ſo far 'declined, that I am very unfit to make my defence againſt a bill of ſuch an extraordinary nature. 'The great weakneſs of body and mind, under which 'I labour, ſuch uſage, ſuch hardſhips, ſuch inſults, 'as I have undergone, might have broken a more 'reſolute ſpirit, and much ſtronger conſtitution, than 'falls to my ſhare.' And in a *letter* of his, which was intercepted the 26th of February 1722-3, there is the following paſſage, of very dark and ambiguous import: 'You may, *ſays he to his friend*, 'when you ſee *Br——y*, impart the ſtory of that 'villany to him, and deſire his advice upon it, at 'what time, and in what manner, it may be proper 'for me to bring that matter upon the ſtage, and 'ſhew what extraordinary methods are taken to *get 'at me*, and beg the Lords protection in the caſe 'againſt ſuch vile practice. I hope *William* has 'not given into it, and then my way will (ſome 'time or other) be clearer towards a complaint: 'Whenever it is proper, I think the raſcal, my 'neighbour, may be ſummoned before the Lords, 'and made to tell, who employed him to proffer 'ſuch ſums, and be puniſhed by them for ſuch prac-'tices.' Who the perſon is, whom he ſtigmatizes with ſo odious a character, is not ſo apparent; but we may venture to ſay, it could be no one employed by the government to uſe him ill, much leſs to oppreſs him by methods of violence and corruption. It is true, there was an unhappy miſunderſtanding between him and Colonel *Williamſon*, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, from his very firſt commitment; but, whether this dark paſſage has any relation thereto, we cannot ſay.

(30) *Ib.* p. 87, 88.

[*W*] *This Commitment — occaſioned various ſpeculations among the people.*] Thoſe, who were the Biſhop's friends, and pretended to the greateſt intimacy with him, laid the whole odium of the matter upon the Miniſtry. They knew the Biſhop ſo well, they ſaid, his love to our Conſtitution, and attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, his profeſſed abhorrence of Popery, and ſettled contempt of the *Pretender*, and his caution, prudence, and circumſpection, to be ſuch, as would never allow him to engage in an attempt of ſubverting the Government, ſo hazardous in itſelf, and ſo repugnant to his principles; and therefore, they imputed all to the malice and management of a great Miniſter of State or two, who were reſolved to remove him, on account of ſome perſonal prejudices, as well as the conſtant moleſtation he gave them in Parliament, and the particular influence and activity he had ſhewn in the late election. The friends to the Miniſtry, on the other hand, were ſtrongly of opinion, that the Biſhop was ſecretly a favourer of the *Pretender*'s cauſe, and had formerly been tampering with things of that nature, even in the Queen's time, and while his party was excluded from power; but upon their re-admiſſion, had relinquiſhed that purſuit, and his confederates therein, and became a good ſubject again. They urged, that the influence which the late Duke of Ormond had over him, aſſiſted by his own private ambition and revenge, might prompt him to many things, contrary to his declared ſentiments, and inconſiſtent with that cunning and caution, which, in other caſes, he was maſter of. And to obviate the difficulty, ariſing from the Biſhop's averſion to Popery, and the *Pretender*'s bigotry to that religion, they talked of a new-invented ſcheme of his, not to receive the *Pretender*, whoſe principles were not to be changed, but his ſon only, who was to be educated a Proteſtant in the Church of England, and the Biſhop to be his guardian, and Lord-Protector of the kingdom, during his minority (31). Theſe, and many more ſpeculations, amuſed the nation at that time, and men, as uſual, judged of things by the meaſure of their own affections and prejudices.

(31) *Ib.* p. 90—92.

[*X*] *He applied to the Houſe of Lords for their direction and advice, as to his conduct in this conjuncture.*] He particularly deſired their opinion in relation to a ſtanding order of that Houſe, prohibiting, under a penalty, any Lord to appear, either in perſon, or by his counſel, before the Houſe of Commons, to anſwer any accuſation there. The Debates among the Lords, upon this occaſion, were many; the privileges peculiar to their Houſe were largely inſiſted on, and the late encroachments, made upon them by the Commons, loudly complained of; but at laſt it was carried, by a majority of ſeventy-eight to thirty-two, that the Biſhop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that Houſe, appear, if he thought fit, in the Houſe of Commons, and in what manner he thought fit, make his defence and vindication there. The Biſhop, however, was not pleaſed with this conceſſion, nor willing to truſt his cauſe, where he thought himſelf injured, and even prejudged (32).

(32) *Ib.* p. 102, 103.

[*Y*] *The Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons.*] The tenor of it was this: 'That after the firſt of June, '1723, he ſhall be deprived of all his offices, digni-'ties, promotions, and benefices, eccleſiaſtical what-'ſoever, and that, from thenceforth, the ſame ſhall be 'actually void, as if he were naturally dead; that he 'ſhall for ever be diſabled, and rendered incapable, 'from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or 'emolument, within this realm, or any other his Ma-'jeſty's dominions; as alſo from exerciſing any office, 'Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, whatever; that he ſhall 'ſuffer perpetual exile, and be for ever baniſhed this 'realm, and all other his Majeſty's dominions; that 'he ſhall depart out of the ſame by the 25th of 'June next; and if he return into, or be found 'within this realm, or any other his Majeſty's do-'minions, after the ſaid 25th of June, he, being 'thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall ſuffer as a felon, 'without benefit of Clergy, and ſhall be utterly in-'capable of any pardon from his Majeſty, his heirs 'or ſucceſſors: That all perſons, who ſhall be aid-'ing and aſſiſting to his return into this realm, or 'any other his Majeſty's dominions, or ſhall conceal 'him within the ſame, being lawfully convicted 'thereof, ſhall be adjudged guilty of felony, with-'out

the firſt reading of the Biſl, Biſhop Atterbury was brought to Weſtminſter [*Z*], to make his defence. The Counſel for the Biſhop were, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Eſq; for the King, Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg. The proceedings continued above a week; and on Saturday May the eleventh, the Biſhop was permitted to plead for himſelf; which he did in a very eloquent ſpeech [*AA*]. On Monday the thirteenth, he was carried, for the laſt time, from the Tower, to hear the reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence [*BB*]. On the fifteenth, the Bill was read the third time; and, after

' out benefit of Clergy; that if any of his Majeſty's ' ſubjects (except ſuch perſons as ſhall be licenſed ' for that purpoſe under the ſign manual) ſhall, after ' the 25th of June, hold any correſpondence in per- ' ſon with him, within this realm, or without, or ' by letters, meſſages, or otherwiſe, or with any per- ' ſon employed by him, knowing ſuch perſon to be ' ſo employed, they ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged ' felons, without benefit of Clergy: And laſtly, that ' offences againſt this Act, committed out of this ' realm, may be tried in any county within *Great-* ' *Britain* (33).'

(33) *See* Abſtract of the Acts of *that* Seſſion, p. 38.

[*Z*] *He was brought to Weſtminſter.*] The firſt day, he was diſturbed in his paſſage thither, by the clamours and inſults of the mob; but, upon his application to the Houſe of Lords for ſafety and protection, ſtrict orders were given to ſeize and ſecure all who ſhould be guilty of ſuch inhumanity, and a guard appointed to defend his perſon; ſo that, all the week after, he paſſed along the ſtreets very quietly, and without moleſtation, being pitied, rather than reviled (34).

(34) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 109.

[*AA*] *His Speech.*] As it is not our deſign, and indeed would ſpin this article out to too great a length, to take a view of the evidence for and againſt the Biſhop, we ſhall only ſelect a paſſage or two from his ſpeech, in which he plays the Orator, and endeavours to work upon the paſſions of his hearers. ' Here is a Plot, *ſays he*, of a year or two ſtanding, ' to ſubvert the Government, with an armed force; ' an invaſion from abroad; an inſurrection at home; ' juſt when ripe for execution, it is diſcovered; and ' twelve months after the contrivance of this ſcheme, ' no conſultation appears, no men correſponding to- ' gether, no proviſion made, no arms, no officers pro- ' vided, not a man in arms; and yet the poor Bi- ' ſhop has done all this. What could tempt me to ' ſtep thus out of my way? Was it ambition, and ' a deſire of climbing into a higher ſtation in the ' Church? There is not a man in my office, farther ' removed from this than I am. Was money my ' aim? I always deſpiſed it too much, conſidering ' what occaſion I am now like to have for it: for out ' of a poor Biſhoprick of five hundred pounds *per* ' *annum*, I have laid out no leſs than a thouſand ' pounds towards the repairs of the church and Epiſ- ' copal palace; nor did I take one ſhilling for dila- ' pidations. The reſt of my little income has been ' ſpent, as is neceſſary, as I am a Biſhop. Was I ' influenced by any diſlike of the Eſtabliſhed Reli- ' gion, and ſecretly inclined towards a Church of ' greater pomp and power? I have, my Lords, ever ' ſince I knew what Popery was, oppoſed it; and ' the better I knew it, the more I oppoſed it. I be- ' gan my ſtudy in Divinity, when the Popiſh contro- ' verſy grew hot, with that immortal book of Tillot- ' ſon's; when he undertook the Proteſtant cauſe in ' general; and as ſuch, I eſteemed him above all. ' You will pardon me, my Lords, if I mention one ' thing: Thirty years ago, I writ in defence of *Mar-* ' *tin Luther* (35), and have preached, expreſſed, and ' wrote to that purpoſe from my infancy; and what- ' ever happens to me, I will ſuffer any thing, and, ' by God's grace, burn at the ſtake, rather than de- ' part from any material point of the Proteſtant ' religion, as profeſſed in the Church of England. ' Once more; Can I be ſuppoſed to favour arbitrary ' power? The whole tenor of my life has been other- ' wiſe: I was always a friend to the liberty of the ' ſubject, and, to the beſt of my power, conſtantly ' maintained it: I may have been thought miſtaken ' in the meaſures I took to ſupport it; but it matters ' not by what Party I was called, ſo my actions are ' uniform.' Afterwards, ſpeaking of the method of proceeding againſt him as unconſtitutional, he ſays: ' My ruin is not of that moment to any number of ' men, to make it worth their while to violate, or ' even to ſeem to violate, the Conſtitution in any de- ' gree, which they ought to preſerve againſt any at- ' tempts whatſoever. Though I am worthy of no ' regard; though whatſoever is done to me, may, ' for that reaſon, be looked upon to be juſt; yet ' your Lordſhips will have ſome regard to your own ' laſting intereſt, and that of poſterity. This is a ' proceeding, with which the Conſtitution is unac- ' quainted; which, under the pretence of ſupporting ' it, will at laſt effectually deſtroy it. For God's ' ſake, lay aſide theſe extraordinary proceedings; ſet ' not up theſe new and dangerous precedents. I, for ' my part, will voluntarily, and chearfully, go into ' perpetual baniſhment, and pleaſe myſelf that I am, ' in ſome meaſure, the occaſion of putting a ſtop to ' ſuch precedents, and doing ſome good to my ' Country; and will live, wherever I am, praying ' for its proſperity; and do, in the words of Father ' Paul, to the State of Venice, ſay, *Eſto perpetua:* ' It is not my departing from it, I am concerned for; ' let me depart, and let my country be fixed upon the ' immoveable foundation of law and juſtice, and ſtand ' for ever.' After a ſolemn proteſtation of his inno- cence, and an appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, for the truth of what he had ſaid, he concludes thus: ' If on any account, there ſhall ſtill be thought by ' your Lordſhips, to be any ſeeming ſtrength in the ' proofs againſt me; if, by your Lordſhips judgments, ' ſpringing from unknown motives, I ſhall be thought ' to be guilty; if for any reaſons, or neceſſity of ſtate, ' of the wiſdom and juſtice of which I am no com- ' petent judge, your Lordſhips ſhall proceed to paſs ' this Bill againſt me; I ſhall diſpoſe myſelf quietly ' and tacitly to ſubmit to what you do; God's ' Will be done: *Naked came I out of my mother's* ' *womb, and naked ſhall I return*; and, whether ' he gives or takes away, *bleſſed be the name of the* ' *Lord!*'

[*BB*] *The Reply of the King's Counſel to his Defence.*] Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg were both men of great knowledge and ſagacity in the Law, but of different talents in point of eloquence. Their Speeches on this occaſion were made public; and they ſeem to have formed their *Replies*, deſignedly, in a different way. The former ſticks cloſe to the matter in evidence, and enforces the charge againſt the Biſhop with great ſtrength and perſpicuity: The latter anſwers all his objections, and refutes the arguments brought in his defence, in an eaſy, ſoft, manner, and with great ſimplicity of reaſoning. Mr. Reeve is wholly employed in facts, in comparing and uniting together circumſtances, in order to corroborate the proofs of the Biſhop's guilt: Mr. Wearg is chiefly taken up in ſilencing the complaints of the Biſhop and his Council, and replying to every thing they advance, in order to invalidate the allegations of his innocence. The one, in ſhort, poſſeſſes the minds of the Lords with ſtrong convictions againſt the Biſhop: The other diſpoſſeſſes them of any favourable impreſſion, that might poſſibly be made upon them by the artifice of his defence. And accordingly Mr. Reeve is ſtrong, nervous, and enforcing; but Mr. Wearg, ſmooth, eaſy, and inſinuating, both in the manner of his expreſſion, and the turn of his periods. Mr. Wearg pays the higheſt compliments to the Biſhop's eloquence: but, at the ſame time, repreſents it as employed to impoſe upon the reaſon, and miſguide the judgment of his hearers, in proportion as it affected their paſſions; and he endeavours to ſtrip the Biſhop's defence of all its ornaments and colours of Rhetoric. We ſhall only tranſcribe a paſſage from the concluſion of his ſpeech, in which he aſſerts the lenity of the Government in the mildneſs of the puniſhment to be inflicted on the Biſhop. ' The nature of the puniſhment, *ſays* ' *Mr.* Wearg, has been much talked of in the courſe ' of theſe proceedings, and great lamentations made ' upon

(35) *See the remark* [*E*].

after a very long and warm debate [*CC*], paſſed on the ſixteenth, by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three. On the twenty-ſeventh the King came to the Houſe, and confirmed it by his royal aſſent. It is ſaid, his Majeſty paſſed this Bill with ſome regret, being much concerned, as he expreſſed it, that there ſhould be juſt cauſe of dooming to perpetual baniſhment a Biſhop of the Church of England, and a man of ſuch eminent parts and learning. To alleviate, however, in ſome meaſure, the ſeverity of this ſentence, the Biſhop's daughter, Mrs. Morrice, was permitted to attend her father in his travels; and his ſon-in-law, Mr. Morrice, by virtue of his Majeſty's ſign manual, had leave to correſpond with him. On the eighteenth of June 1723, this eminent Prelate, having the day before taken leave of his friends, who, from the time of paſſing the Bill againſt him, to the day of his departure, had free acceſs to him in the Tower, embarked (*aa*) on board the Aldborough man of war, and landed the Friday following at Calais. From thence he went to Bruſſels; and afterwards to Paris, where he reſided till his death, ſoftening the rigours of his exile by ſtudy, and converſation with learned men; and by a conſtant epiſtolary correſpondence with the moſt eminent ſcholars, particularly with M. Thiriot, an ingenious French gentleman, for whom he had a great eſteem, and who has obliged the public with ſome of the Biſhop's Original Letters, which are chiefly *Critiques* on ſeveral French authors. Biſhop Atterbury died at Paris the fifteenth of February 1731. His body was brought over to England, and interred the twelfth of May following, in Weſtminſter Abbey [*DD*]. Some time before his death, he publiſhed a vindication of himſelf, Biſhop Smalridge, and Dr. Aldrich, from a charge, brought againſt them by Mr. Oldmixon, of having altered and interpolated the copy of Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* [*EE*]. Biſhop Atterbury's *Sermons* are extant in four volumes in *octavo*: thoſe contained in the two firſt were publiſhed by himſelf,

(*aa*) *Ib.* p. 110—129.

' upon it; but ſurely without any reaſon: for I may ' venture to affirm, this is the mildeſt puniſhment ' that ever was inflicted for ſuch an offence. His ' life is not touched; his liberty nor property af- ' fected; he is only expelled the ſociety, whoſe ' government he diſapproves, and has endeavoured ' to ſubvert; and deprived of the public employ- ' ment, which the Government had entruſted him ' with: the enjoyment of his life, his private eſtate, ' and his liberty under any other government, that ' may be more agreeable, is allowed him. This is ' ſcarce to be called a puniſhment, being nothing ' more than what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ' public ſecurity.'

[*CC*] ——— *A very long and warm debate.*] The Speakers *for* the Bill were, amongſt others, the Duke of Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Cholmondley, and Finlater, Lord Lechmere, Dr. Willis, Biſhop of Sarum, and Dr. Gibſon, Biſhop of London: Thoſe *againſt* it, the Earl of Strafford, Duke of Wharton, the Earls Poulet, and Cowper; the Lords Bathurſt, Trevor, and Gower; and Dr. Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter. The principal arguments alledged *againſt* the Bill were, the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an extraordinary way of proceeding, and the want of legal, and ſufficient, evidence againſt the Biſhop: The arguments in its favour were, beſides aſſerting the legality, and ſufficiency of the evidence, the neceſſity of applying extraordinary remedies to extraordinary diſeaſes, and that, when the very being of the State lies at ſtake, if the Common-Law cannot reach great offenders, the Legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. The Bill did not paſs without a ſtrong *Proteſt*, ſigned, Wharton, Strafford, Bruce, Poulet, Dartmouth, Craven, Hay, Bathurſt, Gower, Weſton, Exeter, Willoughby Br. Cowper, Bingley, Scarſdale, Saliſbury, Montjoy, Cardigan, Angleſey, Foley, Oſborne, Uxbridge, Arundel, Guilford, Middleton, Hereford, Stawell, Denbigh, Northampton, Fr. Ceſtrienſ. Litchfield, Aſhburnham, Trevor, Compton, Maſham, Berkley, Strat. Pomfret, Brooke, Oxford and Mortimer (36).

(36) *See the* Hiſtorical Regiſter *for that time; and the* Debates in the Houſe of Lords, &c. *for the ſame period.*

[*DD*] *He was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] His funeral was performed in a very private manner, attended only by his ſon-in-law, Mr. Morrice, and his two Chaplains, Dr. Savage, and Dr. Moore. Upon the urn, which contained his bowels, was inſcribed, *In hac urna depoſiti ſunt cineres Franciſci Atterburi, Epiſcopi Roffenſis.*

[*EE*] *He publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf ——— from the charge ——— of altering and interpolating Lord Clarendon's* Hiſtory of the Rebellion.] Mr. Oldmixon, in the *Preface* to his *Hiſtory of the Stuarts*, ſuggeſts, that ' The *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, as it ' was publiſhed at Oxford, was not entirely the ' work of the Lord Clarendon;' that, in the original Manuſcript, ' the characters of the Kings, whoſe ' reigns are written, were different from what they ' appear in the Oxford Hiſtory;' and that the copy had been ' altered and interpolated, while it was at ' the preſs.' As a confirmation of this ſuggeſtion, he produces a letter (*from Colonel* Ducket) in which that gentleman affirms, that Mr. Edmund Smith, of Chriſt-Church, author of the Tragedy of *Phædra and Hippolytus*, had declared to him, a little before his death, in 1710, that ' what was publiſhed under ' Clarendon's name, was only patch-work; and that ' he himſelf was employed by Dr. Aldrich, Dr. At- ' terbury, and Dr. Smalridge, ſucceſſive Deans of ' Chriſt-Church, to interpolate and alter the original;' and that, ' Among ſeveral hundreds of alterations ' and additions, he had made by their order, the ' application of the famous ſaying, concerning Cinna ' (37), to the character of Mr. Hampden was one.' This paſſage of Mr. Oldmixon's preface was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed in the *Bibliotheque Raiſonnée*, &c. (38), and Dr. Atterbury ſtrongly called upon to juſtify himſelf; which he did in a piece, dated from Paris, the 26th of October 1731, and intitled, *Biſhop Atterbury's Vindication of Biſhop Smalridge, Dr. Aldrich, and himſelf, from the ſcandalous reflections of Oldmixon, relating to the publication of the Lord Clarendon's hiſtory*. This *Vindication* was ſent by him, with a letter, to the author of the *Bibliotheque*, &c. who publiſhed them both in French in that *Journal* (39). The Biſhop, in juſtification of himſelf, declares, he never ſaw Lord Clarendon's hiſtory in manuſcript, either before or ſince the publication of it, nor ever read a line of it but in print; and that, with regard to Mr. Smith, he never (as far as he could recollect) exchanged a word with him in all his life, nor ſo much as knew him by ſight, till after the edition of that hiſtory. As for Biſhop Smalridge, he was not any way concerned in preparing it for the preſs; the reviſal of the manuſcript being ſolely intruſted to the care of Biſhop Sprat, and Dean Aldrich, by the Earl of Rocheſter, who himſelf aſſiſted in that work; and all three were perſons of known probity and truth, and incapable of conſpiring in a deſign to impoſe on the public. He then urges the improbability of any alterations having been made in that hiſtory, not only from the expreſs declaration of the editors, in the *Preface* to the *Firſt Volume*, that *They who put forth the Hiſtory, durſt not take upon them to make any alterations in a work of this kind*, &c. but alſo from the great difficulty, if not impoſſibility, of imitating the author's ſtile and manner, particularly his characters, which are allowed to be the moſt diſtinguiſhed and beautiful part of the work, and to be really inimitable. And as to the words in the cloſe of Mr. Hampden's character, they are perfectly in my Lord Clarendon's manner, and contain nothing new in them, but only ſum up in ſhort, what he has ſcattered through different parts

(37) *He had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief.*

(38) *For* July, Auguſt, *and* September, 1730. *Tom.* V. *Part* i. *Art.* 5. p. 154, &c.

(39) *For* October, November, *and* December, 1731. *Tom.* VII. *Part* i. *Art.* 9. p. 457, &c.

himſelf, and dedicated to his great patron Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Biſhop of Wincheſter; thoſe in the two laſt were publiſhed after his death, by Dr. Thomas Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain [*FF*]. His *Epiſtolary Correſpondence* with Mr. Pope [*GG*] is extant in the collection of that Poet's *Letters*. As to Biſhop Atterbury's character, however the moral and political part of it may have been differently repreſented by the oppoſite parties, it is univerſally agreed, that he was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher [*HH*].

of the *Firſt Volume*. With reſpect to the teſtimony of Mr. Smith, Dr. Atterbury obſerves, that, as it was undoubtedly falſe, in regard to Dr. Smalridge and himſelf, ſo is it as little to be relied upon in regard to Dr. Aldrich; his perſonal averſion for whom, and the well-known reaſons of it, making it altogether incredible, that he ſhould have the leaſt ſhare in his confidence, on ſo nice, or indeed on any occaſion.

[*FF*] *The two laſt Volumes of his Sermons were publiſhed by Dr. Moore, his Lordſhip's Chaplain.*] The editor, in excuſe of himſelf, for not publiſhing a greater number of the Biſhop's poſthumous Sermons, ſince every one will naturally conclude, that he left a great many more behind him, having been a conſtant Preacher about twenty years, and an occaſional one a great deal longer; tells us, in his preface, that the true reaſon of his not doing it was this: 'He (the Biſhop) burnt a good many of them himſelf at Paris, and, by a writing found among what 'were left, ſignified, that theſe were the only ones 'fit to be printed; ſo that, without acting contrary to the Biſhop's opinion of his own performances, of which he was certainly the beſt judge, 'no more could, and therefore no more ought to 'be publiſhed: and it being from thence reſolved, 'that no more ſhould, the only effectual way, *adds 'the Editor*, was, to commit the reſt to the flames: 'which was accordingly done, in my preſence, by 'William Morrice, Eſq; his dutiful and worthy ſon-'in-law and executor.'

[*GG*] *His* Epiſtolary Correſpondence *with Mr.* Pope.] Among the letters, which paſſed between the Biſhop and that gentleman, for whom he had the higheſt friendſhip and eſteem, is the following, dated from the *Tower*, *April* 10, 1723.

'Dear Sir,

'I Thank you for all the inſtances of your friend-'ſhip, both before, and ſince my misfortunes. A 'little time will compleat them, and ſeparate you 'and me for ever. But in what part of the world 'ſoever I am, I will live mindful of your ſincere 'kindneſs to me; and will pleaſe myſelf with the 'thought, that I ſtill live in your eſteem and affection 'as much as ever I did; and that no accidents of 'life, no diſtance of time or place, will alter you 'in that reſpect. It never can me, who have loved 'and valued you ever ſince I knew you, and ſhall 'not fail to do it when I am not allowed to tell 'you ſo; as the caſe will ſoon be. Give my 'faithful ſervices to Dr. Arbuthnot, and thanks for 'what he ſent me, which was much to the purpoſe; 'if any thing can be ſaid to be to the purpoſe, in 'a caſe that is already determined. Let him know, 'my defence will be ſuch, that neither my friends 'need bluſh for me, nor will my enemies have great 'occaſion of triumph, though ſure of the victory. 'I ſhall want his advice before I go abroad, in 'many things. But I queſtion whether I ſhall be 'permitted to ſee him, or any body but ſuch as are 'abſolutely neceſſary towards the diſpatch of my 'private affairs. If ſo, God bleſs you both! and 'may no part of the ill fortune that attends me 'ever purſue either of you! I know not but I may 'call upon you, at my hearing, to ſay ſomewhat 'about my way of ſpending my time at the Deanery, 'which did not ſeem calculated towards managing 'plots and conſpiracies. But of that I ſhall conſider— 'You and I have ſpent many hours together upon 'much pleaſanter ſubjects; and that I may preſerve 'the old cuſtom, I ſhall not part with you now, till 'I have cloſed this letter with three lines of *Milton*, 'which you will, I know, readily, and not without 'ſome degree of concern, apply to, your ever affectionate, *&c.*

"Some natural tears he dropt, but wip'd them ſoon:
"The world was all before him where to chuſe
"His place of reſt, and *Providence* his guide."

[*HH*] *He was a man of great learning and uncommon abilities, a fine writer, and a moſt excellent preacher.*] His learned friend Biſhop Smalridge, in the ſpeech he made, when he preſented him to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, as Prolocutor, ſtyles him, *Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes, in pleriſque Artibus et Studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis literarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus*; i. e. 'One, 'who is well acquainted with all parts of literature, 'long and ſucceſsfully exerciſed in moſt arts and 'ſtudies, and moſt accompliſhed in thoſe ſciences, 'which admit of the greateſt perfection.' In his controverſial writings, he was ſometimes too ſevere upon his adverſary, and dealt rather too much in ſatire and invective: but this his panegyriſt imputes more to the natural fervor of his wit, than to any bitterneſs of temper, or prepenſe malice. *Sit igitur veniæ, ſit laudi, ſit gratitudini locus; ſi quid forte aſperius, ſi quid ardentius, ſi quid liberius effuderit, lector paulo humanior id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiæ tribuet, ſed aut ingenio ſuapte natura aliquantulum præfervido, aut fortaſſe iracundiæ, in milite pro aris fociſque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem ſuam eripiente, facilè ignoſcendæ. Quod ſi plures in illius ſcriptis effulgent virtutes, ſi res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; ſi eas validiſſimis argumentis firmaverit; ſi puro ac dilucido ſermone in ipſis legentium animis inſcripſerit; eruditione apud eruditos, eloquentia apud diſertos ſuus conſtet honos*; i. e. 'Be there then room left for 'pardon, for praiſe, for gratitude. If ſome ſharp, 'warm, and free expreſſions have fallen from him, 'a good-natured reader will not aſcribe them to reſentment, envy, or arrogance; but either to a natural warmth of diſpoſition, or perhaps to a paſſion, 'very excuſable in a ſoldier, who is fighting for all 'that is near and dear to us, and a ſon, who endeavours 'to reſcue his mother from injury and violence. But 'if many and great beauties ſhine in his writings; if 'he has treated of things, in themſelves difficult, ſo as 'to make them uſeful and entertaining; if he has 'confirmed them by the ſtrongeſt arguments; if he has 'imprinted them in the minds of his readers by a 'purity and perſpicuity of ſtyle; let the learned give 'due applauſe to his learning, and the eloquent ſet 'a juſt value on his eloquence.' In his *Sermons*, however, he is not only every way unexceptionable, but highly to be commended. There is that exactneſs of method, and juſtneſs of thought, thoſe weighty arguments, judicious reflections, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole; as denote him the celebrated preacher he was, and not undeſerving this commendation given him by his friend. *Quo audientium plauſu apud Populum, apud Magiſtratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos è roſtris frequenter concionatus eſt! Qua facundia et Mariæ in cælum jam receptæ aures ſæpe demulſit, et Sororis Animum gravi ac recenti dolore fere oppreſſum recreavit!* i. e. 'With what applauſe has he often 'preached before the People, the Magiſtrates, the 'Clergy, the Senate, and the Court! How often 'has he charmed the ears of the late Queen Mary, 'now with God; and with what addreſs did he 'adminiſter conſolation to her ſiſter (*), almoſt op-'preſſed and overcome by her late affliction (†)!' The truth is, his talent as a preacher was ſo excellent and remarkable, that it may not improperly be ſaid, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his ſeveral promotions in the Church. We ſhall conclude Biſhop Atterbury's character as a preacher, with the encomium beſtowed on him by the author of the *Tatler* (40); who, having obſerved that the Engliſh clergy too much neglect the art of ſpeaking, makes a particular exception with regard to our Prelate (‡); who, ſays he, 'has ſo particular a regard to his congre-'gation, that he commits to his memory what he has 'to ſay to them; and has ſo ſoft and graceful a 'behaviour, that it muſt attract your attention. 'His

(*) *Queen* Anne.

(†) *For the death of the Prince of* Denmark.

(40) No. 66.

(‡) Then only *Dean*.

'His perſon *(continues this author)*, it is to be confeſſed, is no ſmall recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not loſing that advantage, and adding to the propriety of ſpeech (which might paſs the criticiſm of Longinus), an action, which would have been approved by Demoſthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience, who could not be intelligent hearers of his diſcourſe, were there no explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is uſed with the moſt exact and honeſt ſkill. He never attempts your paſſions, till he has convinced your reaſon. All the objections, which you can form, are laid open and diſperſed, before he uſes the leaſt vehemence in his Sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very ſoon wins your heart, and never pretends to ſhew the beauty of holineſs, till he has convinced you of the truth of it.' B.

['Any one who hath a genius for poetry,' ſays a learned correſpondent, 'will agree with me in wiſhing that Atterbury had never had any other occupation but poetry. His fame as a politician or a divine is not equal to what he deſerves for his tranſlation,' (*viz.* of the 3d Ode of the 4th Book of Horace) 'which is, without exception, the beſt in any language that I have met with.' This, undoubtedly, is carrying the encomium on Dr. Atterbury's poetical talent very far; and yet we can ſcarcely venture to ſay that it is carried too far. There is ſomething ſo exceedingly beautiful in the ſpecimens which are given of his early turn for poetry, that it is greatly to be regretted that he did not more direct his thoughts that way. Perhaps no Ode of Horace hath ſo frequently been tranſlated as the dialogue between him and Lydia. This we have often been ſurpriſed at, as certainly there is nothing extraordinary in the Ode itſelf. The chief thing that recommends it, is the eaſy elegance and gracefulneſs of its expreſſion, which is probably the reaſon why it hath been ſo popular, and hath produced ſuch a number of imitators; of whom, however, few have ſucceeded. Of all the verſions of it that we recollect at preſent, Atterbury's is by far the beſt. Were we not afraid of offending our claſſical readers, we ſhould almoſt be tempted to ſay, that it is equal to the original; a thing which can ſcarcely ever be ſaid of the tranſlations of Horace. The tranſlation of the other Ode is in the higheſt degree beautiful. The Ode itſelf, in the original, is peculiarly excellent and delightful; and Dr. Atterbury hath moſt happily ſucceeded in clothing it in an Engliſh dreſs. It was judicious in Dr. Francis not to attempt a new verſion of this Ode, after ſo admirable a one was furniſhed to his hands. And he juſtly obſerves, that by Biſhop Atterbury's ſucceſs we may be convinced that it is not impoſſible to render Horace into Engliſh without any great loſs of his original beauties (41).

(41) Francis's Horace. Vol. ii. p. 138 2d edition. 12mo.

Dr. Atterbury did real ſervice to the Proteſtant religion in vindicating the character of Luther. For though his obſervation at the cloſe of his work (inſerted in the note *D*) is ſtrictly true, and the Reformation ſtands on an unſhaken baſis, whatever were Luther's principles, diſpoſitions, views, and conduct; yet, as mankind will always be affected by the private characters of thoſe who are at the head of religious parties, it is uſeful to vindicate their characters, when they have been repreſented in a falſe and injurious light. This, too, is a debt which, in ſtrict juſtice, is due to them. Of all the calumnies thrown upon Luther, *that* of his motive for oppoſing the Pope's Indulgences hath ſpread the wideſt, and been the moſt univerſally received. It hath been aſſerted by a prodigious multitude of writers, and more lately by Mr. Hume, that the Auſtin Friars had *uſually* been employed in Saxony to preach Indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration; that this occupation, in 1517, being given to the Dominicans, Luther, *in reſentment of the affront which had been put upon his order*, began to preach againſt the abuſes that were committed in the ſale of Indulgences; and that, being provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded even to decry Indulgences themſelves. But the learned tranſlator of Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory hath ſhewn, in a very convincing manner; firſt, that it is not true, that the Auſtin Friars had been *uſually* employed in Saxony to preach Indulgences; ſecondly, that, in the time of Luther, the preaching of Indulgences was become ſuch an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that Luther would have been ſolicitous about obtaining ſuch a commiſſion, either for himſelf or for his order; and thirdly, that he was never accuſed of any ſuch motives, either in the edicts of the Pontiffs of his time, or amidſt the other reproaches of the cotemporary writers, who defended the cauſe of Rome, and who were far from being ſparing of their invectives and calumnies. From the year 1517, to 1546, when the diſpute about Indulgences was carried on with the greateſt warmth and animoſity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with the ignoble motives which have ſince been aſcribed to him. Even Cochlæus was ſilent upon the ſubject during the life of Luther; though he broached the calumny after the death of that great reformer (42).

(42) Maclaine's Tranſlation of Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 304—306. 8vo. edition of 1774.

Dr. Atterbury was not ſo happy in his other controverſial writings as he was in his firſt eſſay of that kind. In the diſpute with Dr. Bentley, though the public in general ſeemed to favour Mr. Boyle, which was owing, in a conſiderable meaſure, to the diſguſt that had been conceived at Dr. Bentley's haughty and overbearing manner, it is now, we believe, almoſt univerſally agreed that that great critic had not only truth, reaſon, and learning on his ſide, but more of wit and vivacity than would at that time be acknowledged. Of this conteſt we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter (43).

(43) Under the Articles BENTLEY and BOYLE.

In all Dr. Atterbury's controverſies with Hoadly, he appears to have been peculiarly unfortunate. He might be ſuperior to Dr. Hoadly in point of genius, and perhaps he might excel him in ſome kinds of learning. But there were ſeveral important reſpects in which he was greatly inferior to that eminent and admirable man. He had not the ſame calmneſs of mind, and freedom from prejudice in the inveſtigation of truth. He had not an equal talent for clear, ſober, and ſolid diſquiſition and reaſoning. He had not a ſimilar wiſdom and rectitude of thinking. Hoadly was engaged in the cauſe of genuine Chriſtianity, and in the defence of the liberties of mankind; and therefore, had his abilities been far leſs than they were, he would have had no ſmall advantage over Dr. Atterbury, whoſe ſplendid parts were employed in the ſupport of falſe and narrow principles, both of religion and government.

In his grand controverſy concerning the *Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations*, he was oppoſed by very able antagoniſts. With all his learning, he had men of ſtill ſuperior learning, at leaſt with regard to the points debated, to contend with; and they exceeded him in judgment, and in moderation of temper. This diſpute, which, when it was carried on, warmly engaged the attention and paſſions of the nation, ſeems now to be almoſt forgotten. It was, however, at that time, a matter of great importance, and well worthy of a diligent examination. Even controverſies, which afterwards are apt to be regarded as inſignificant, have their utility. They exerciſe the abilities and improve the reaſon of mankind. They ſerve to explode errors and claims which are hurtful to the intereſts of truth and liberty. And if, which is no impoſſible caſe, ſimilar errors and claims ſhould, in the revolutions of things, again be obtruded upon the world, we know where to apply for the materials and arguments by which they may be refuted.

As, in the note [*I*], an account is only given of the principal writings which appeared in the conteſt relating to the powers and privileges of convocations, we ſhall add, from Biſhop Nicolſon's Hiſtorical Library, a complete catalogue of the pieces which were publiſhed on that occaſion. In this catalogue, we cannot well avoid repeating the titles of the books and tracts already mentioned, becauſe they afforded a pretence for publiſhing ſeveral of the other compoſitions. The Biſhop has ranged them into four claſſes.

I. *Of the Convocation's Right of Meeting and Power of Acting.*

A Letter to a Convocation-man, concerning the Rights, Powers and Privileges of that Body, 1697.—A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occaſioned by the Letter to a Convocation-man. 1697.—The Authority of Chriſtian Princes over their eccleſiaſtical Synods aſſerted, &c. By Dr. *Wake*, 8*vo*. 1697.—*Municipium Eccleſiaſticum*, in Anſwer to the *Authority*, &c. By Mr. *Hill*, 8*vo*. 1697.—An Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of *England*, in behalf of the

King's eccleſiaſtical Supremacy. Againſt the *Municipium*. By Dr. *Wake*, 8*vo*. 1698.—*The Rights of the Chriſtian Church further defended*. In Anſwer to the *Appeal*, 8*vo*. 1698.——A Brief Enquiry into the Ground, Authority and Rights of eccleſiaſtical Synods. Occaſioned by the *Municipium*. 8*vo*. 1699.—Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of Divine Right. 1699.—*The Rights, Liberties and Authorities of the Chriſtian Church aſſerted*. By Mr. *Hill*. 8*vo*. 1701.—A Vindication of the Authority of Chriſtian Princes over eccleſiaſtical Synods. In Anſwer to Mr. *Hill*. By Dr. *Turner*. 1701.—*The Rights, Powers and Privileges of an* Engliſh *Convocation ſtated and vindicated*. With Additions, and *Appendix*. By Dr. *Atterbury*. 8*vo*. 1700.—Reflections upon the *Rights*, &c. By the Biſhop of *Sarum*. 1700.—Eccleſiaſtical Synods and parliamentary Convocations of the Churchof *England* hiſtorically ſtated and vindicated. By Dr. *Kennet*. Par. 1. 8*vo*. 1701. An Occaſional Letter on the ſubject of *Engliſh* Convocations? By Dr. *Kennet*. 8*vo*. 1701.—Mr. *Atterbury*'s Arguments for the Rights, &c. of an *Engliſh* Convocation conſidered. By Dr. *Weſt*.—*Some Remarks on the Temper of the late Writers about Convocations*. 1701.—The State of the Church and Clergy of *England* in their Councils, &c. Occaſioned by Dr. *A*——'s Book. By Dr. *Wake*. Fol. 1703.—A Hiſtory of the *Engliſh* Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy's ſitting in Parliament. By Dr. *Hody*. 8*vo*. 1701.

II. *Of the* Præmunientes *Clauſe in the Biſhop's Parliament-Writ.*

A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country concerning the Choice of Members, and the Execution of the Parliament-Writ, for the enſuing Convocation. Nov. 17, 1701.—*A ſecond Letter to a Clergyman*. On the ſame Subject. 1701.—The Caſe of the *Præmunientes* conſidered. In Anſwer to the two Letters laſt mentioned. 1701.—The late Pretence of a conſtant Practice to enter the Parliament, as well as Provincial-Writ, in the Front of the Acts of every Synod, conſidered. 1701.—The ſame Pretence farther conſidered. 1701.—*A third Letter to a Clergyman in the Country*, &c. In Defence of the two former. 1701.—An Anſwer to a third Letter to a Clergyman, &c. 1701.—*A Letter to a Clergyman in the City, concerning the Inſtructions given to the Proctors for the Dioceſe of* WORCESTER. 1701.—Mr. *Halifax*'s Account of thoſe Inſtructions, in Anſwer to the ſaid Letter. 1701.—A Vindica ion of the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* againſt Mr. *Hill*. 1701.

III. *Of the differences between the two Houſes, concerning the Rights of the Archbiſhop, and the Methods of proceeding in Convocation.*

A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of this preſent Convocation. 1701.—*The Power of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to adjourn itſelf*, &c. In Anſwer to that Letter. 1701.—A Vindication of the Proceedings of ſome Members of the Lower Houſe, with Relation to the Archbiſhop's Prorogation of it. *May* 8. 1701.—*A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, relating to the Prorogations and Adjournments*, &c. 1701.—The Right of the Archbiſhop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation aſſerted. In Anſwer to the *Power of the Lower Houſe*, &c. and the *Narrative*. 1701.—A Summary of the Arguments for the Archbiſhop's Right to continue the whole Convocation, 1701.—*The Narrative of the Lower Houſe vindicated from the* Right of the Archbiſhop, &c. 1702.—*Vindication of the Narrative*, &c. *continued*. 1702.—*An Expedient propoſed, and a Method of Adjournment pointed at, conſiſtent with the Aims of both Houſes*. 1701.—The pretended *Expedient*, &c. ſhewing the Title to be contrary to the Book. 1702.—Reflections on a late Paper entitled, An *Expedient*, &c. 1702.—A reconciling Letter, upon the late Differences about convocational Rights and Proceedings. 1702.—A Letter from the Borders of *Scotland*, concerning ſomewhat of an Agreement betwixt a *Scotch* General Aſſembly and an *Engliſh* Provincial Convocation. A. 1702.—The Parallel continued. B. 1702.—*Forma ſive Deſcriptio Convocationis Celebrandæ, prout ab Antiquo Obſervari conſuevit*. With Annotations.—*The Caſe of the* SCHEDULE *Stated*. 1702.—The Schedule Reviewed. Againſt the *Vindication of the Narrative* and the *Caſe of the Schedule*. 1702.—*SYNODUS ANGLICANA*, 8*vo*. 1702.—A ſhort State of ſome preſent Queſtions in Convocation; by way of a Commentary on the Schedule of Continuation. 1703.—*A Summary Defence of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. In Anſwer to the* Short State. 1703.—The Marks of a defenceleſs Cauſe in the Proceedings and Writings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. Particularly, in the *Vindication* of their Narrative, and the Writer of the *Summary Defence*, 1703.—The New Danger of Preſbytery. In Anſwer to *the Vindication of the Narrative*, &c. 1703.—*The Parliamentary Original and Rights of the Lower Houſe of Convocation*. 1702.—The Pretended Independence of the Lower Houſe upon the Upper, &c. In Anſwer to the *Parliamentary Original*. 1703.

IV. *Hiſtorical Tracts, concerning the Acts of Convocation.*

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation in 1700 *and* 1701.—Hiſtory of the Convocation which met *Feb*. 6, 1700. By Dr. *Kennet*. 1701.—A Vindication of the Proceedings of ſome Members of the Lower Houſe, *May* 8, 1701.—*A Faithful Account of ſome Tranſactions in the preſent Convocation*. Numb. I. II. III. 1701.—The preſent State of Convocation: Giving a full Relation of Proceedings from *Jan*. 28, to *Feb*. 19, 1701-2.—A true Copy of the Archbiſhop's Speech. *Feb*. 19, 1701-2.—An Account of the Proceedings between the two Houſes of Convocation which met *Oct*. 20. 1702. Particularly, of the ſeveral Propoſals made for putting an End to the preſent Differences. 1702.—A Letter from a Preſbyterian Miniſter in *Scotland*, upon Occaſion of ſome Proceedings of the *Engliſh* Convocation, in the Year 1701.—*A Repreſentation made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation to the Archbiſhop and Biſhops*. Dec. 1704. *With a Preface*.—*The Humble Repreſentation and Complaint of the Lower Houſe of Convocation againſt the Biſhop of* Sarum, *Dec*. 13, 1704.—The Complainer reproved. In Anſwer to a Partial and Unreaſonable Preface to the *Repreſentation*, &c. 1705.—The Complainer farther reproved, in the Obſervations made by the Upper Houſe upon a Paper preſented to them by the Lower, *Dec*. 1, 1704, and his Grace's Speech, *Mar*. 15, with ſeveral Papers from the Lower Houſe, to which they refer. 1705.—*A Collection of Papers, concerning what has been tranſacted in the Convocation ſummoned in* 1702. *and diſſolved in* 1705.——1705.—*A Continuation of the faithful Account of what paſſed in Convocation*, April 3, 1705. Numb. IV. Proceedings in the preſent Convocation relating to the Dangers of the Church, and the Proteſtation againſt the Irregularities of ſome of the Lower Clergy. 1706.—An Account of Proceedings in the Convocation begun *Oct*. 25, 1705.—*Some Proceedings in Convocation*, A. D. 1705. *faithfully repreſented*. 1708.—Partiality detected. In Anſwer to *ſome Proceedings*, &c. 1708.—A Vindication of the Letter publiſhed in *Partiality Detected*. With a Narrative of the Proceedings of the Convocation in *Dublin*. 1710.—His Grace the Archbiſhop's Circular Letter to the Biſhops of his Province; in which the Queen's is included. *Apr*. 1707.—An Account of the Proceedings in Convocation in a Cauſe of Contumacy commenced *April* 10, 1707.—*An Account of the Defence and Proteſtation made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation*, April 30, 1607. *in behalf of the Queen's Supremacy: With Reflections on the* ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS, &c. 1707.—*The Proceedings of the Lower Houſe of Convocation upon the Buſineſs recommended by her Majeſty from the Year* 1710 *to the Year* 1713.—An Anſwer to the laſt mentioned Pamphlet: Wherein the great Unfairneſs of that Account is laid open, not only from the Books of the *Upper*, but even from thoſe of the *Lower Houſe*. 1714 (44).

Such treatiſes in the preceding liſt, as have their titles in an *Italic Letter*, were written in ſupport of the new claims of the Lower Houſe, and the reſt in defence of the ancient rights of the Archbiſhops (45).

Whatever may be thought of Dr. Atterbury's ſermon on the Scorner, which, perhaps, hath ſomething blameable as well as commendable in it, the remark at the cloſe of the note [*H*], made by Sir Robert Howard, is a very unfair one; for the Doctor did not ſuppoſe that wiſdom and quickneſs of parts meant the ſame thing.

Biſhop Atterbury's refuſal of ſigning the declaration of his epiſcopal brethren, during the rebellion in Scotland, was not the only teſtimony he at that time afforded of his diſaffection to government.

Another

(44) Nicolſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library p. 136—138. edition of 1776.

(45) Ibid. p. 138.

Another remarkable proof of it was his conduct to Mr. Gibbin, curate of Graveſend. When the Dutch troops, which came over to aſſiſt in ſubduing the rebellion, were quartered at that place, the officers requeſted of Mr. Gibbin the uſe of his Church one Sunday morning for their chaplain to preach to their ſoldiers, alledging that the like favour had been granted them in other pariſhes, and promiſing that the ſervice ſhould begin at ſix in the morning, that it might not interfere with that of the town. The requeſt was granted, the Chaplain preached, and his congregation was diſmiſſed by nine o'clock. But Dr. Atterbury was ſo incenſed at this tranſaction, that he ſuſpended Mr. Gibbin for three years. The ſuſpenſion, however, was deemed ſo injurious by the inhabitants of Graveſend, that they ſubſcribed a ſum to Mr. Gibbin more than double the income of his Church; and the affair being repreſented to the King, his Majeſty gave him the rectory of North Fleet in Kent, which living he afterwards exchanged for Birch near Colcheſter in Eſſex, where he died July 29, 1752. He was a very ingenious, learned, and worthy Clergyman, who had greatly improved and enlarged his mind by his travels into France, Italy, and other countries, with Mr. Addiſon (45). ——— A farther ſtriking inſtance of Biſhop Atterbury's attachment to the Pretender, is related, by the author of the memoirs of Lord Cheſterfield, from Dr. Birch's manuſcript papers. 'Lord Harcourt, leaving the 'old miniſtry, provoked Atterbury's abuſive tongue. 'He, in return, declared, that, on the Queen's 'death, the Biſhop came to him and to Lord Bo- 'lingbroke, and ſaid, nothing remained but imme- 'diately to proclaim K. J. He further offered, if 'they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn 'ſleeves and head the proceſſion (46).'

(45) New and general Biographical Dict. Vol. 1. p 478 Hiſt. and Antiquities of Rocheſter, p. 188.

(46) Maty's memoirs of the Earl of Cheſterfield, p. 279.

The following anecdote, often mentioned by Lord Cheſterfield, and which Dr. Maty, to the beſt of his remembrance, hath given in that celebrated nobleman's own words, is too remarkable to be omitted. 'I went to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, 'and found a large folio Bible with gilt claſps lying 'before him upon his table; and, as I knew his 'way of thinking upon that book, I aſked him jocoſe- 'ly, If he was going to write an anſwer to it? It is 'a preſent, ſaid he, or rather a legacy, from my 'old friend the Biſhop of Rocheſter. I went to take 'my leave of him yeſterday in the Tower, where I 'ſaw this Bible upon his table. After the firſt com- 'pliments, the Biſhop ſaid to me, My friend Pope, 'conſidering your infirmities, and my age and exile, 'it is not likely that we ſhould ever meet again; 'and therefore I give you this legacy to remember 'me by it. —— Does your lordſhip abide by it your- 'ſelf?——I do.——If you do, my Lord, it is but 'lately. May I beg to know what new light or 'arguments have prevailed with you now, to enter- 'tain an opinion ſo contrary to that which you en- 'tertained of that book all the former part of your 'life?—— The Biſhop replied, We have not time 'to talk of theſe things; but take home the book; 'I will abide by it; and I recommend to you to do 'ſo too, and ſo God bleſs you! (47)'—— It is inſinuated in this anecdote, that Dr. Atterbury had long been known, among his friends, to be a ſceptic, or an unbeliever, with regard to revelation. But we cannot, upon the authority of a ſingle ſtory, which is not corroborated by other facts, readily give credit to ſuch a ſuppoſition. Whatever were the Biſhop's faults, we do not recollect any thing that indicates a diſbelief or a doubt of the truth of Chriſtianity. His actions and writings rather diſplay him in the light of a fiery zealot and bigot, than in that of an infidel; though it is acknowledged that theſe different characters may unite, and have united in the ſame perſons. His ſermons on the miraculous propagation of the goſpel, and on a ſtanding revelation's being the beſt means of conviction, not to mention others of his diſcourſes, are agreeable and important evidences of his attachment to the Chriſtian religion. It is obſervable, that he generally treats unbelievers with contempt, as an ignorant, ſuperficial, and conceited ſet of men; which he would ſcarcely have done had he been of the ſame ſentiments. For, though a man may conceal, or deny, or even perſecute the opinions which he himſelf holds, it is not very likely that he ſhould appear to *deſpiſe* the retainers of them. There is an ardour of affection and eſteem in Mr. Pope's two laſt letters to Dr. Atterbury, written to him when he was in the Tower, which that eminent poet, who valued himſelf upon his moral character, could not well have expreſſed to the Biſhop, if he had known that he had acted the baſe and hypocritical part of publicly profeſſing and defending that religion which he privately diſavowed (48).

(47) Ibid. p. 279, 280.

In the account of our prelate, the affliction which he ſuſtained, by the death of his daughter, in 1729, ſhould not have been paſſed over. He himſelf hath related this event in a very affecting manner, in a letter to Mr. Pope: 'The earneſt deſire of meeting 'one I dearly loved, called me abruptly to Montpe- 'lier; where, after continuing two months, under 'the cruel torture of a ſad and fruitleſs expectation, I 'was forced at laſt to take a long journey to Tou- 'louſe; and even there I had miſſed the perſon I 'ſought, had ſhe not, with great ſpirit and courage, 'ventured all night up the Garonne to ſee me, which 'ſhe above all things deſired to do before ſhe died. By 'that means ſhe was brought where I was, between 'ſeven and eight in the morning, and lived twenty 'hours afterwards, which time was not loſt on either 'ſide, but paſſed in ſuch a manner as gave great 'ſatisfaction to both, and ſuch as, on her part, every 'way became her circumſtances and character. For 'ſhe had her ſenſes to the very laſt gaſp, and exerted 'them to give me, in thoſe few hours, greater marks 'of duty and love than ſhe had done in all her life- 'time, though ſhe had never been wanting in either. 'The laſt words ſhe ſaid to me were the kindeſt of 'all; a reflection on the goodneſs of God, which 'had allowed us in this manner to meet once more, 'before we parted for ever. Not many minutes 'after that, ſhe laid herſelf on her pillow, in a ſleep- 'ing poſture,

placidaque ibi demum morte quiévit.

'Judge you, Sir, what I felt, and ſtill feel on this 'occaſion, and ſpare me the trouble of deſcribing it. 'At my age, under my infirmities, among utter 'ſtrangers, how ſhall I find out proper reliefs and 'ſupports? I can have none, but thoſe with which 'reaſon and religion furniſh me, and thoſe I lay hold 'on, and graſp as faſt as I can. I hope that he, who 'laid the burthen upon me (for wiſe and good pur- 'poſes no doubt) will enable me to bear it in like 'manner as I have born others, with ſome degree of 'fortitude and firmneſs.'

(48) Pope's Works, Vol. v. p. 351—355.

In his letters to Mr. Pope, Biſhop Atterbury appears in a very pleaſing light, both as a writer and as a man. In eaſe and elegance they are ſuperior to thoſe of Mr. Pope, which are more ſtudied. There are in them ſeveral beautiful references to the claſſics. The Biſhop excelled in his alluſions to ſacred as well as to profane authors. In his ſermons, he often brings in a Text of ſcripture with wonderful ingenuity; not in the original ſenſe, but with an accommodation to ſome preſent circumſtance. Were we to judge of him as a man, from theſe letters only, we ſhould be ready to think that it was his ſole wiſh to ſpend his life in a learned and elegant ſocial intercourſe with a few private friends: and yet nothing could be more diſtant from his real character. He was undoubtedly poſſeſſed of a reſtleſs ambition, and the early traces of this temper are diſcernible in the letter to his father, inſerted in the note [*F*]. By the way, the latter part of that letter is written with an impropriety which Dr. Atterbury would ſcarcely have forgiven in another perſon. 'Mr. Boyle takes up '*half his time*, buſineſs *a great deal more*, and he is 'forced to be uſeful to the Dean in a *thouſand par- 'ticulars*, ſo that he has very little time.'

We find, in one of the Annual Regiſters, a letter from the Biſhop to his ſon Obadiah, at Chriſt-church, Oxon; but when it was written, and whence obtained, doth not appear (49). There is a total ſilence concerning this ſon of his, in all the accounts we have ſeen of our celebrated prelate. However, that he had a ſon, is evident from what is mentioned, in note [*E*], under the article of Dr. Lewis Atterbury. Perhaps, like Cicero's Tullia, his daughter was the favourite, and from her he might derive his chief conſolation.

(49) Annual Regiſter, Vol. ii. p. 432, 433.

Though Oldmixon's charge concerning the altering and interpolating of Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, hath occaſionally been repeated by zealous writers, we have no doubt of its being entirely falſe and groundleſs. This, we think, hath deciſively been ſhewn by thoſe who have vindicated

the publiſhers of that Hiſtory. The original paſſage concerning Hampden hath been ſeen by many reſpectable perſons, and, among others, by the late Dr. Birch, whoſe evidence is unexceptionable (50).

(50) Monthly Review, Vol. xix. p. 232—238. New Biog. Dict. Vol. i. p. 485.

In 1768, a ſmall quarto pamphlet was publiſhed at Edinburgh, intitled, 'The private correſpondence 'of Dr. Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and 'his friends, in 1725;' which correſpondence was occaſioned by the following circumſtance. On the 2d of April, in the year laſt mentioned, upon a motion made by General Wade, and ſeconded by Mr. Duncan Forbes, the Houſe of Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, 'for more effectually diſarming the Highlanders, in that part of Great Britain 'called Scotland, and for the better ſecuring the 'peace and quiet of that part of the kingdom.' The bill, being offered the next day, paſſed through both Houſes with little oppoſition, excepting that in the upper houſe it was proteſted againſt by the Duke of Wharton, and the Lords Gower, Scarſdale, Boyle, and Litchfield; and, on the 31ſt of May, it received the royal aſſent. While this act was depending, Dr. Atterbury appears to have thought that the diſcontent and reſentment it would raiſe among the Highlanders might be improved to the purpoſe of exciting ſome commotions in favour of the Pretender. Accordingly, he invited Cameron of Lochiel, Sir Hector Maclean, and Cameron's ſon, to a conference upon the ſubject; and he applied, likewiſe, to the Marquis of Seaforth, and the captain of Clanronald. Theſe applications produced ſeveral letters and memorials to the Pretender, with his anſwers, relative to the deſign and means of making an attempt upon Scotland; which, however, was found, in the end, to be impracticable. The papers contained in the private correſpondence are, a letter from the Biſhop to Cameron; A Letter from Sir Hector Maclean, Lochiel, and Clanronald to the Pretender; A Memorial to the ſame, by the Marquis of Seaforth, and Clanronald; Another Memorial given into the Biſhop of Rocheſter, by Sir Hector Maclean, and Lochiel; The Pretender to the Marquis of Seaforth, Sir Hector Maclean, Clanronald, and Lochiel; An Anſwer, by Sir Hector Maclean, and Lochiel; Sir Hector Maclean to Lochiel; Copy of a Letter from the Pretender to the two laſt mentioned Gentlemen; Biſhop of Rocheſter to Sir Hector Maclean; and Lord Inverneſs to Lochiel. From the whole it is evident, that Atterbury was the firſt mover and prime conducter of this abortive ſcheme for ſtirring up a rebellion. The papers paſſed through his hands; and the Pretender, in his Letter to the Marquis of Seaforth, &c. ſays, 'I remark with pleaſure, the Biſhop of Rocheſter's 'forwardneſs to execute all my orders to this end 'with the utmoſt vigour, and as time doth not allow 'me to particulariſe them here, I ſhall refer you to 'him as to all particulars.'

The authenticity of this correſpondence hath never been queſtioned; and it is eſtabliſhed, in the publication of it, by an engraved ſpecimen of Dr. Atterbury's hand-writing. Such was the man who, in writing to Mr. Pope, in 1722, could ſay, 'to be 'quiet, and to live to myſelf, with the few, the very 'few friends I like, is the point, the ſingle point, I 'now aim at;' and who, in a letter to the ſame great poet, written when he had long been in exile, could declare, 'that that part of the conſtitution 'which wounded him unjuſtly, and itſelf through 'his ſide, ſhould ever be dear to him; and that his 'laſt wiſh ſhould be, like that of father Paul, *Eſto 'perpetua* (51)!'

(51) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. v. for the Year 1725, p. 135, 136. 153. 220. Lords Debates, Vol. iii. p. 428. Atterbury's private Correſpondence, paſſim. There is no place or publiſher mentioned in the title page, but the pamphlet was ſold by Mr. Balfour of Edinburgh. Pope's Works, Vol. v. p. 52.

From the General Dictionary we learn, that Dr. Atterbury is ſaid to have tranſlated *Virgil's Georgics* in Engliſh, and to have written an *Harmonia Evangelica* (52). Every man of taſte would be glad to ſee the tranſlation of the Georgics, if ſuch a work exiſts. How cloſely the Biſhop had ſtudied Virgil, is apparent from his elegant diſſertation on the Japyx, of that divine poet; in which he endeavours to prove, that under the character of Japyx Antonius Muſa, an eminent phyſician and a polite ſcholar at Rome, in the reign of Auguſtus, was intended to be deſcribed.

(52) General Dict. Vol. ii. p. 445.

However excellent our prelate might be as a critic, his ſkill in muſic was very indifferent, if we are to credit Sir John Hawkins: 'The late Dr. Atterbury, 'Biſhop of Rocheſter,' ſays that writer, 'who, it is 'ſuppoſed had learned a little of muſic from Dr. 'Aldrich, affected to think with the ancients that 'the diateſſaron was a perfect conſonance. He drew 'up a ſmall tract on the ſubject of muſic, wherein he 'complains, in very affecting terms, of the injuries 'which the diateſſaron has ſuſtained from modern 'muſicians, by being degraded from its rightful ſituation among the concords; and concludes with an 'ardent wiſhes and prayers for its reſtoration, as he 'could have offered up for that of his maſter. A 'manuſcript of the tract above mentioned was formerly in the hands of Mr. Tonſon the bookſeller. 'It appeared to be a very futile performance, written 'probably while the author was at college, extremely 'rhetorical and declamatory, abounding with figures, 'but deſtitute of argument.' The contempt with which Sir John Hawkins is ſometimes apt to treat eminent men, is diſcernible in the preceding paſſage (53).

(53) Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. ii. p. 192.

It is ſaid, that Atterbury deſcribed Pope as *mens curva in corpore curvo*. If this be true, it is much to the diſhonour of the Biſhop, conſidering the warm profeſſions of friendſhip and affection which he made to that poet. But we would willingly hope, notwithſtanding the defects in Dr. Atterbury's character, that he was not capable of applying that expreſſion to his friend; or, if he did make uſe of it, that it could only be in a confined and qualified ſenſe, and upon ſome peculiar occaſion (54).] K.

(54) Letters by ſeveral eminent perſons deceaſed. Vol. 2d, p. 39. 105. Appendix. p. 71. 2d edition.

AUBREY, in Latin ALBERICUS (JOHN), deſcended from an antient genteel family in Wiltſhire (*a*), was born at Eaſton-Piers, in the North diviſion of that county, November the third, but whether in 1625, or 1626, is uncertain (*b*). He was chriſtened very ſoon after his birth, *being*, as himſelf expreſſes it, *weakly, and not in a probability of living* (*c*). He received the firſt tincture of letters, in the grammar ſchool at Malmſbury, under Mr. Robert Latimer, who taught there forty years, and was the Preceptor of his countryman (as being alſo a native of Wiltſhire) the famous Thomas Hobbes (*d*) [*A*], with whom, as he commenced a friendſhip, even in his childhood, ſo he maintained it, as long as Mr. Hobbes lived, without declenſion or interruption. May the ſixth, 1642, Mr. Aubrey was entered as a gentleman-commoner of Trinity college at Oxford (*e*). There he purſued his ſtudies with much diligence, and dedicated himſelf early to the ſervice of his country, by making her Hiſtory and Antiquities his peculiar delight. About this time, the ſcheme of that invaluable work the *Monaſticon Anglicanum*,

(a) Memoirs of his Life, prefixed to the firſt Vol. of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. iii.

(b) See the ſame Memoirs.

(c) From his own notes.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 647. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Aubrey, p. iv. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187, edit. 1681.

(e) Memoirs, p. iv.

[*A*] *The famous Thomas Hobbes.*] The author of the life of Mr. Aubrey placed before his antiquities, and alſo before his miſcellanies, tells us, that at the grammar-ſchool of Malmeſbury, he was contemporary with Mr. Hobbes (1). Father Niceron copies this in his Memoirs (2). From him it is tranſcribed into the two laſt editions of Moreri (3). And yet without queſtion it is a very groſs error, as the reader from the following obſervations will perceive. Mr. Hobbes was born, as Mr. Aubrey himſelf tells us, April 5, 1588 (4). When he was fourteen years old (5), he went from the grammar-ſchool to the univerſity, which of conſequence muſt be in 1602, that is, at leaſt twenty-three years before Mr. Aubrey was born. The miſtake aroſe thus: Anthony Wood, who ſpeaks very ſparingly of Mr. Aubrey, though he was under great obligations to him, tells us as it were by chance in his life of Thomas Hobbes; that Mr. Aubrey and he, that is, Mr. Hobbes, were bred under the ſame maſter, and Dr. Blackbourne in the Latin life, ſaying ſo too (6), the writer of his life ſuppoſing they muſt have been ſo at the ſame time, ſet it down ſo without any farther inquiry, and theſe implicit copiers have reported it with as little judgment.

(1) Memoirs before the firſt Vol. of Antiquities of Surrey, p. iv. Memoirs before the Miſcellanies, p. ii.

(2) Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres, T. IV. p. 311.

(3) See the article of AUBREY in the edition at Baſle, A. D. 1732, and the ſame article in the laſt edition.

(4) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 22. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 647.

(5) Id. col. 641.

(6) See this paſſage in note [*C*].

was talked of in the univerſity; to which Mr. Aubrey not only contributed all the aſſiſtance which his pains and induſtry could afford, but preſerved to poſterity, at his own expence, a curious draught of the remains of *Oſney Abbey*, near *Oxford*, which were entirely deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion *(f)* [*B*]. In 1646, he was admitted a ſtudent of the Middle-Temple; but the death of his father, which happened on the twenty-firſt of October, 1652, and ſeveral eſtates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, Hereford, Brecknock, and Monmouth, which brought him alſo many law-ſuits, hindered him from applying himſelf to that ſtudy, to which, otherwiſe, he would have devoted his thoughts *(g)*. Theſe law-ſuits, together with other inevitable misfortunes, by degrees eat up all his eſtates, and forced him to lead a more active life than he was otherwiſe inclined to, engaged him in frequent and expenſive journies, and not a little diſcompoſed the natural mildneſs of his diſpoſition. He did not, however, entirely abandon his books, or break off his acquaintance with the learned at Oxford, or at London. On the contrary, he kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the lovers of Antiquity, and Natural Philoſophy, in the univerſity, and furniſhed the celebrated Anthony Wood, with a conſiderable ſhare of the materials, out of which he compoſed his two large and uſeful works (*b*). He likewiſe preſerved an intimacy with thoſe great wits and profound ſcholars, who then met privately, and were afterwards formed into the *Royal Society*. At London, Mr. Aubrey frequented Miles's coffee-houſe, in the New Palace Yard, where the famous Harrington was ſurrounded every evening by all the men of parts and reading, which that fertile age produced. There they ballotted, diſputed on government, and gave a free looſe to their ſentiments on all ſorts of ſubjects (*i*). A little after the Reſtoration, Mr. Aubrey went to Ireland, and returning from thence in the autumn of 1660, narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck near Holy-Head (*k*). On the firſt of November, 1661, his notes inform us, that he ſuffered another ſhipwreck. *I then*, ſays he, *made my firſt addreſſes in an ill hour to* Joan Sommer (*l*). When he married is uncertain; but from this remark, we may be ſure that he found no great felicity in that ſtate. In the year 1662, he was elected and admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. In June 1664, he travelled through France to Orleans, and returned again to England in the month of October. In 1666, he ſold his eſtate in Wiltſhire, and his troubles coming then very thick upon him, he was obliged to diſpoſe by degrees of all he had left, ſo that in the ſpace of four years, he was reduced, not only to ſtraights but to indigence (*m*). Yet his ſpirit remained unbroken, as appears by his own remark on his circumſtances. From 1670, ſays he, *I have, I thank God, enjoyed a happy delitescency* (*n*). This obſcurity, which he calls happy, conſiſted in following the bent of his genius, while he owed his ſubſiſtence to the kindneſs of his friends; and in labouring to inform that world, in which he knew not how to live. His chief benefactreſs was the then Lady Long, of Draycot in Wilts, in whoſe houſe he had an apartment, and by whom he was generouſly ſupported as long as he lived. But how long that was is uncertain. All that is known concerning it is this, that he died on a journey at Oxford, in his way to Draycot, ſuddenly, and was there buried, as near as can be conjectured, in 1700 (*o*). He was a man of good natural parts, much learning, and indefatigable application, a great lover of, and diligent ſearcher into, Antiquities, a good Latin poet, an excellent naturaliſt, but withal ſomewhat credulous, and ſtrongly tinctured with ſuperſtition. As to his works, we ſhall give a full account of them in a note [*C*].

C.

(*f*) Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. ii. p. 136.

(*g*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*b*) Mr. Aubrey's preface to the Antiquities of Surrey. See alſo, Memoirs, &c. p. iv.

(*i*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 647. See alſo our article of HARRINGTON.

(*k*) Memoirs, p. vi.

(*l*) His own notes in the Memoirs, p. vii.

(*m*) Memoirs p. xii. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

(*n*) His own notes taken from his Diary.

(*o*) Memoirs, p. xii.

[*B*] *Deſtroyed in the Grand Rebellion.*] This curious draught was finely etched by Mr. Wenceſlaus Hollar, and inſerted in the Monaſticon, Vol. II. p. 136, with this inſcription, *Inſignes hujuſce Fabricæ Ruinas, quas, Antiquitatis ergo, plurimum ſuſpexit, Adoleſcentulus jam hinc Oxonienſibus aſcriptus, & (quod commodius accidit) paulo antequam Bello Civili funditus è medio tollerentur, delineandas curavit, poſteris quaſi redivivas, L. D. C. Q. Joannes Albericus de Eſton Piers in Agro Wilts, Arm.* i. e. *The Noble Ruins of this Fabric, drawn from a love to Antiquity, while yet a youth at Oxford, and (which was not a little lucky) but a ſhort time before they were entirely deſtroyed in the Civil War, ſecured now and as it were revived, are dedicated to Poſterity, by John Aubrey of Eſton Piers in the County of Wilts, Eſq*; This circumſtance ought the rather to be remarked, becauſe by ſome accident or other, many copies of the Monaſticon want this plate (7).

(7) Memoirs of Aubrey's Life, &c. p. 5.

[*C*] *A full account of them in a note.*] I. *The life of* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury, MS. written in Engliſh but never publiſhed, the principal matter contained therein, being made uſe of by Dr. Blackbourne in his *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, which was publiſhed in 1681 (8). This is taken notice of by Mr. Wood, who adds two or three circumſtances relating to our author, but not a word of the aſſiſtances he received from him: Whereas Dr. Blackbourne, in his liſt of Mr. Hobbes's friends, hath theſe words: *Jo. Albericus, vulgo Aubrey, è Soc. Reg. Armig. Amicus ejus in primis, ex Vicinia Malmſburienſi Oriundus, & ſub communi Preceptore Inſtitutus, Vir Publico Bono magis quam ſuo Natus; qui Princeps mihi ſcribendi Anſam præbuit, & Materiam humaniter ſuppeditavit.* That is, *John Aubrey of the Royal Society, Eſq; one of his oldeſt Friends, born in the Neighbourhood of Malmſbury, educated under the ſame Maſter. A Man born rather for the public good than his own, who chiefly encouraged me to the undertaking this work, and kindly ſupplied me with materials* (9). Before this Latin life there is the following Epigram:

(8) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(9) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 187.

In Tho. Hobbes.

Futilis exornet Barbatos pompa Magiſtros,
Et Schola Diſcipulos cogat inepta leves:
Affulſit nova Lux tenebroſo Hobbeſius Orbi,
Quanta eſt Laus Hominem reſtituiſſe ſibi?
Jo. Aubrey, Arm. è Soc. Reg.

On Thomas Hobbes.

Exterior Gravity may Schools erect,
Where Idle Folks may empty Notions ſcan:
But Hobbes new light did on the World reflect,
How great his Praiſe who Man made known to Man?
Jo. Awbrey, Eſq; of the Royal Society.

II. Miſcellanies upon the following ſubjects, 1. Day-Fatality. 2. Local-Fatality. 3. Oſtenta. 4. Omens. 5. Dreams.

5. Dreams. 6. Apparitions. 7. Voices. 8. Impulſes. 9. Knockings. 10. Blows inviſible. 11. Propheſies. 12. Marvels. 13. Magic. 14. Tranſportation in the Air. 15. Viſions in a Beril or Speculum. 16. Converſe with Angels and Spirits. 17. Corpſe Candles in Wales. 18. Oracles. 19. Extaſies. 20. Glances of Love and Envy. 21. Second-ſighted Perſons. 22. The Diſcovery of two Murthers by Apparitions (10). As to the nature of this work it appears ſufficiently from the title: however, it may not be amiſs to add the firſt paragraph of the author's dedication, dated in 1696, and addreſſed to James (Bertie) Earl of Abingdon. 'My Lord, when I enjoyed the content-'ment of ſolitude in your pleaſant walks and gar-'dens at Lavington, the laſt ſummer, I reviewed ſe-'veral ſcattered papers which had lain by me for 'ſeveral years, and then preſumed to think, that if 'they were put together, they might be ſomewhat 'entertaining: I therefore digeſted them there in this 'order, in which I now preſent them to your Lord-'ſhip. The matter of this collection is beyond human 'reach, we being miſerably in the dark as to the 'œconomy of the inviſible world, which knows what 'we do, or incline to, and works upon our paſſions, 'and ſometimes is ſo kind as to afford us a glimpſe 'of its preſcience.' In 1697, as appears by a letter dated the firſt of June in that year, directed to Mr. Awnſham Churchill, bookſeller, Mr. Aubrey corrected for the preſs a printed copy of his book with conſiderable alterations and additions, intended doubtleſs for a ſecond edition (11), which did not however appear 'till after the death both of the author and the bookſeller, viz. in 1721, in 8vo. containing 236 pages, the index included. To this edition is prefixed ſome memoirs of the life of the author, by the editor of that edition.

(10) Second edition in 8vo. printed in 1721.

(11) Printed at the end of the Memoirs of Mr. Aubrey, prefixed to the ſaid ſecond edition.

III. *A* Perambulation *of the County of* Surrey, *begun* 1673, *ended* 1692. This work the author left behind him in manuſcript, and it was printed and publiſhed in the year 1719, in 5 Vols. 8vo. The author's account of this laborious undertaking is worthy notice. 'In the year 1673, ſays he, it was my intention to 'have deſcribed the pleaſant county of Surrey, which 'I am ſorry I did not compleat. Not finiſhing it, 'I made an abſtract of all natural remarks, a copy 'whereof, I after gave to Dr. Robert Plott of Oxford, 'when he had publiſhed his new hiſtory of Oxford-'ſhire, hoping that he would have been pleaſed to 'undertake the finiſhing of mine, and go through 'with it, but he would not hearken to it. For, ſaid 'he, the next county I go upon in this kind will be 'Staffordſhire, and if any other it ſhall be my native 'county of Kent, which is a great county. I lent my 'papers to my worthy friend Mr. A. Wood, to extract 'ſome notes for his hiſtory of the univerſity of Ox-'ford. In October laſt 1691, he deſired me to take 'them with me and tranſcribe them fair, and to 'preſerve them, there being many good remarks, 'that deſerve not to be buried in oblivion. I wiſh 'I had done it ſoon after my perambulation, while 'the idea of them was freſh and lively.——They 'will be of ſome uſe to ſuch as love antiquities, or 'natural hiſtory; and on that account, I expoſe them 'to the view of the candid reader, wiſhing him as 'much pleaſure in the peruſal of them as I had in 'the ſeeing of them (12).' This addreſs is dated, St. Thomas's day, 1691; but the perambulation itſelf bears date May 1, 1692, conformable to the title. The editor tells us, that he reſurveyed the county, and brought the account of monuments, &c. down to 1718.

(12) The author's preface prefixed to the firſt Volume.

IV. *The Natural Hiſtory of the North Diviſion of* Wiltſhire. An unfiniſhed manuſcript remaining in the Muſæum at Oxford (13). In the dedication prefixed to this manuſcript, addreſſed to Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, he gives this account of his work. 'I was from my childhood affected with the 'view of things rare, which is the beginning of 'philoſophy, and though I have not had leiſure to 'make any conſiderable progreſs in it, yet I was 'carried on by a ſecret ſtrong impulſe to undertake 'this taſk; I knew not why, unleſs for my own 'private pleaſure; credit there was none, for it pro-'cures the diſreſpect and contempt of a man's neigh-'bours, but I could not be quiet till I had obeyed 'this ſecret call.———I am the firſt that ever 'made an eſſay of this kind for Wiltſhire, and for 'ought I know in the nation, having begun it in '1666 (14).' This dedication is dated, Greſham College, June 6, 1685. But he afterwards changed his opinion as to a patron. For in the dedication of his miſcellanies before-mentioned, to the Earl of Abingdon in 1696, he has theſe words: 'My Lord, it 'was my intention to have finiſhed my deſcription of 'Wiltſhire, half finiſhed already, and to have dedi-'cated it to your Lordſhip, but my age is now too far 'ſpent for ſuch undertakings; I have therefore devolv-'ed that taſk on my countryman, Mr. Thomas Tan-'ner*, who hath youth to go through with it, and a 'genius proper for ſuch an undertaking.' However, this manuſcript never was publiſhed, though it is ſaid, the copy at Oxford is very fair, and more correct than any other of his writings.

(13) Memoirs, &c. p. ix.

(14) In the Appendix to the fifth Volume of the Antiquities of Surrey, p. 403.

(*) The late excellent Biſhop of St. Aſaph.

V. MONUMENTA BRITANNICA, *or a Diſcourſe concerning* STONE HENGE, *and* ROLLRICH STONES *in Oxfordſhire*, MS. This is ſaid to have been written at the command of King Charles II., who meeting Mr. Aubrey at Stone Henge, as his Majeſty was returning from Bath, he was pleaſed to converſe with him in relation to that celebrated monument of antiquity; as alſo to approve of his notion concerning it, which was this: That both it and the Stones in Oxfordſhire, were the remains of places dedicated to ſacred uſes by the Druids, long before the time of the Roman Invaſion (15). This MS. was in the hands of the late Mr. Awnſham Churchill, and is ſtill in being (16); ſo that very poſſibly ſome time or other it will be printed.

(15) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

(16) Gibſon, 2nd. edition of Ca. Britannia.

VI. ARCHITECTONICA SACRA: *A Diſſertation concerning the Manner of our Church Building in England*, MS. in the Muſæum at Oxford (17). It is but a very ſhort piece, yet curious, and would be of great uſe for underſtanding our Britiſh antiquities, if any public ſpirited perſon would cauſe it to be tranſcribed, and ſent abroad into the world.

(17) Memoirs, &c. p. xiii.

VII. *The Idea of Univerſal Education* (18). Concerning which we can only ſay, that we know he wrote ſuch a thing (19), though we know not what is become of it. There are beſides many letters of our author's, relating to Natural Philoſophy, and other curious ſubjects, publiſhed in ſeveral collections (20).

(18) Ibid. p. xii.

(19) See a Letter from the learned and reverend Mr. Andrew Paſchall to Mr. Aubrey, printed in the ſaid Memoirs.

[At a meeting of gentlemen at the Devizes in Wiltſhire, in March 1659, for chooſing knights of the ſhire, it was propoſed that a ſurvey of the county ſhould be taken, after the manner of Dugdale's Warwickſhire. Mr. Aubrey undertook the northern diviſion; and it is this book, and not the natural hiſtory of the county, which he ſpeaks of as half finiſhed, and devolves to the care of his countryman, Biſhop Tanner. The manuſcript, ſome uſe of which hath been made by Biſhop Gibſon, in his edition of Camden, is entitled, 'An eſſay towards a deſcrip-'tion of the North-Diviſion of Wiltſhire, by me 'John Aubrey, of Eaſton Pierſe.' Fol. The plan of the natural hiſtory which he deſigned of this county, divided into chapters, is among his other manuſcripts in the muſæum at Oxford (21). From a letter of Dr. Ralph Bathurſt to Mr. Aubrey, dated Auguſt 25, 1693, it appears that the learned Dr. Thomas Gale had written annotations on the MONUMENTA BRITANNICA. It is apprehended that theſe annotations, which muſt have been very valuable, did not accompany the manuſcript which was in Mr. Awnſham Churchill's poſſeſſion. Among Mr. Aubrey's manuſcripts at Oxford, there is one very little known, but valuable. It is an account of Engliſh writers, particularly our poets, with many of whom Aubrey was intimately acquainted; and it contains ſeveral new and curious anecdotes of their lives. It was lent to Wood, while he was drawing up his *Athenæ*; but Wood greatly caſtrated the manuſcript while in his poſſeſſion. Wood's account of Milton, the firſt that ever appeared in print, and which has ſince furniſhed the ſubſtance of all the materials now extant of Milton's life, was literally taken from this manuſcript (22).

(20) Philoſophical Letters of the reverend Mr. Ray publiſhed by William Derham, 8vo, 1718, p. 141. 250, 251, and 269. Miſcellanies on ſeveral uſeful Subjects, 12mo, 1714. p. 11. 13. 15. 22. 47, and 54.

(21) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 521.

In one of Toland's works, we find the following paſſage concerning Mr. Aubrey. 'John Aubrey, 'Eſq; a member of the Royal Society (with whom 'I became acquainted at Oxford, when I was a ſo-'journer there; and collecting during my idler hours 'a vocabulary of Armorican and Iriſh words, which, 'in ſound and ſignification, agree better together 'than with the Welch), was the only perſon I ever 'then met with, who had a right notion of the 'Temples of the Druids, or indeed any notion that 'the

(22) Mr. Tho. Warton's Life and literary remains of Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, p. 151—153.

'the circles so often mentioned were such Temples 'at all: wherein he was entirely confirmed, by the 'authorities which I shewed him; as he supplied me 'in return with numerous instances of such monu- 'ments, which he was at great pains to observe and 'set down. And though he was extremely superstiti- 'ous, or seemed to be so; yet he was a very honest 'man, and most accurate in his accounts of matters 'of fact. But the facts he knew, not the reflections 'he made, were what I wanted (23).'] K.

(23) Specimen of a critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning, &c. in three Letters to Lord Molesworth, p. 122.

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 646.
(b) Cart. n. Hen. III. p. 1. m. 6.

AUDLEY, or according to the old and proper manner of spelling it, ALDITHLEY, for the former is only a corruption of the latter (*a*), an antient and noble family, deriving their name from the village of Aldithley in Staffordshire (*b*), being in truth no other than a branch of the most noble and antient family of Cerdon, settled at the aforesaid place in the reign of King John. Of this family was,

AUDLEY (JAMES) Lord Audley, of Heleigh in the county of Stafford, born about the year 1314, being the seventh of Edward II. (*a*) By the special favour of Edward III., he had livery of all the lands of his inheritance, in the third year of that Prince's reign, though he was not then of full age (*b*). This Prince, soon after, did him a greater favour: Roger Mortimer Earl of March, who was this Lord's guardian, had, in his minority, exacted from him a recognizance for ten thousand marks, which debt, on the attainder of Mortimer, becoming due to the King, he totally discharged the Lord Audley therefrom (*c*). In 1343, the same Prince made him Governor of Berwick upon Tweed, and the two next years he served in France (*d*). In 1348, he was elected into the noble Order of the Garter, then first founded (*e*), and in 1353, he reduced a great part of the country of Valois (*f*). In 1356, and thirtieth of Edward III. [*A*], he was present at the famous battle of Poictiers, where, having demanded of the Black Prince leave to charge in the front, it was, on account of a vow he had made, given him. There, with four Esquires who attended him, he performed such extraordinary feats of arms, as distinguished him from all the gallant noblemen, who that day engaged. At length, however, he was so grievously wounded, that his Esquires were constrained to bear him out of the field of battle, to lay him under a hedge, and there take off his armour, and bind up his wounds. As soon as the French were beaten, the Prince enquired for Lord Audley, and being informed that he was grievously wounded, and lay in a litter hard by, *By my faith*, said he, *of his hurts I am right sorry, go and ask if he may be brought hither, otherwise I will go to him where he is.* Then two of his Knights went to Lord Audley, and said, *Sir, the Prince desireth greatly to see you. Ah Sirs*, replied he, *I thank the Prince, that he is pleased to think of so poor a Knight as I am.* Then he directed his servants to carry him in his litter to the Prince, into whose presence when he came, his Highness embraced him with great tenderness, and after many compliments, said, *Sir James, I, and all here present, acknowledge you to have distinguished yourself from us all, in the bloody business of this day; wherefore I retain you for ever to be my Knight, with five hundred marks of yearly revenue, which I shall assign you of my heritage in England. Sir*, said Lord Audley, *God grant me to deserve the great goodness you have shewn me*; and so he took his leave, being very feeble. This annuity Lord Audley bestowed upon his four faithful Esquires, which

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 648.
(b) Clauf. 3 Edw. III. m. 7.

(c) Clauf. 8 Edw. III. m. 4.
(d) Clauf. 16 Ed. III. m. 32. Rot. Franc. Edw. III. m. 11.

(e) Institution of the Garter, by Ashmole.
(f) Leland Collect. Vol. i. p. 830.

[*A*] *In* 1356, *and thirtieth of Edward* III.] The battle of Poictiers was fought on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. The English army was commanded by Edward, Prince of Wales, and did not consist of above nine thousand men at the most: the French army under King John consisted of fifty thousand foot, and as many horse, among whom were the flower of the French nobility, as Froissard says expressly (1). The King of France, and his youngest son Philip, who bravely defended his father, when his two elder brothers were fled, were both taken prisoners, with many other persons of great quality, with as many private men as the English army could with safety to themselves carry away (2). Daniel in his history gives us a short account of the Lord Audley's adventure, but as short as it is, there are some mistakes. His words are these, *The most remarkable instance of honour and valour, was the Lord* James Audley, *who having vowed to be the foremost of the battle performed his word, and confirmed it with many wounds; for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred marks per annum fee simple in England; he presently gave it to four of his Esquires, who had underwent the same dangers as himself. The Prince knowing it, asked him whether he did not accept his gift? He answered yea, but those men had deserved it as well as himself, and had more need of it. The Prince was well pleased at this reply; and gave five hundred marks more to him; as if he resolved that so much worth should not go unrewarded* (3). It is certain, that Mr. Daniel had no authority for suggesting that the Prince at first took amiss what the Lord Audley had done. In the next place, the last gift was not five, but six hundred marks. By his manner of wording it, one would imagine the last gift was fee simple, whereas, it was not, as is shewn in the text. Speed in his history mentions but one gift, which he says, the Lord Audley divided amongst his Esquires, and yet, which is remarkable, he cites Froissard (4). It is also observable, that our own old historian *Henry Knyghton* is silent as to him, though he gives us a most particular account of this battle (5), and I should have said the same thing of Walsingham; if I had not found him quoted to prove the contrary in Dugdale. For as he is printed in Mr. Camden's collection; thus he writes (6), *Ibi claruit Victoria Domini Jac. Arundel Militis, qui potenti Virtute confregit, & perforavit aciem Gallicorum, &c.* Mr. Dugdale leaving out the proper name, applies the rest of the passage to Lord Audley, by what authority I know not (7). He cites indeed another edition of Walsingham in his margin, but in that citation there is a visible error (8), for he makes Walsingham place this victory under 1357; whereas all other historians, and Walsingham with them, fix it to the year preceding. All I would infer from these remarks is this, that the French historians, who treat either expressly or occasionally of our affairs, and especially of our wars in France, ought to be sedulously examined, because in them many particulars are found unrecorded by, and very probably absolutely unknown to, our own historians, who being most of them sedentary men, and taking their accounts from others, are less likely to be acquainted with minute circumstances than those who lived upon the spot, and were more immediately concerned in the event of those military exploits of which they write.

(1) Froissard, p. 83.

(2) Ypodigm. Neustriæ, p. 521. Speed, p. 712.

(3) Daniel's Hist. in Kennet's Collection, Vol. i. p. 226.

(4) In his Chronicle, p. 712.

(5) Ap. X. Scrip. p. 2613.

(6) Hist. Angl. p. 172.

(7) Baronage, Vol. i. p. 749.

(8) Th. Walsing. A. D. 1357, p. 864, n. 30.

coming

coming to the Prince's ears, he ſending for him, ſaid, *My Lord, we thank you for doing what we ought to have done, and we give you beſides, a penſion of ſix hundred marks by the year* (*g*). This account we have from *Froiſſard*, and it appears to have been exactly true from the records, wherein we find an annuity of four hundred pounds to the Lord Audley, charged on the coinage of the Stanneries in Cornwall, during the life of the Lord Audley, and a year afterwards (*h*). In 1360, he attended King Edward III., and his three ſons, in their wars in France (*i*); and in the year following, ſwore to the peace then concluded in the name of King Edward (*k*). For theſe ſervices he was appointed Conſtable of the caſtle of Glouceſter for life (*l*); and was alſo Governor of *Aquitain*, and Seneſchal of *Poictou* (*m*). He married firſt, Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (*n*), by whom he had iſſue a ſon, Nicholas, and two daughters, Margaret and Joan. Secondly, he married Iſabel, by whom he had a daughter named alſo Margaret (*o*). By his will, made in 1386, he directed his body to be buried in the choir of his abbey at Stilton, before the high altar, in caſe he died in the Marches; but if in Devon or Somerſetſhire, then in the choir of the Friars Preachers at Exeter, before the high altar there; and he directed that there ſhould be about his corpſe, five great tapers, and five mortuaries of wax, burning on the day of his funeral, as alſo forty pounds ſterling to be diſtributed to the poor, to pray for his ſoul. He gave likewiſe to his ſon Nicholas, one hundred pounds in money, one dozen of ſilver veſſels, and all the armour for his own body. To his daughter Margaret Hillary, ten pounds in money; and to the Monks of Stilton Abbey, ten pounds to pray for his ſoul (*p*). He deceaſed the firſt of April in the ſame year (*q*), and was ſucceeded in his honours and large eſtate by his only ſon Nicholas [*B*], then fifty years of age.

C.

(*g*) Froiſſard, p. 81—84.

(*h*) Pat. 33 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14. per Inſpex.

(*i*) Froiſſard, p. 100.
(*k*) Id. p. 146.
(*l*) Pat. 34. Edw. III. p. 2. m. 14.
(*m*) Froiſſard, p. 255.

(*n*) Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. ii. p. 234, b. n. 30.
(*o*) Clauſ. 15 Ric. II. m. 3.

(*p*) Courtney, f. 121. b.

(*q*) Ech. 9. Ric. II. n. 1. Staff.

[*B*] *His only ſon Nicholas.*] This James Lord Audley died poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate in ſeveral counties, which, as is ſaid in the text, deſcended to his ſon Nicholas, who dying the 22d of July, 1392, being the 15th of Richard II., without iſſue, John Touchet, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Roger Hillarie, became his heirs. Now this John was the ſon of another John Touchet, by Joan the elder ſiſter of Margaret, and daughter of that Lord Audley, whoſe Life this note refers to (9), whereby the ancient Barony of Heleigh paſſed into the family of Touchet, and the late Earl of Caſtlehaven ſat in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers by that title.

[It appears, from Collins's Life of Edward the Black Prince, that James Lord Audley had a ſon, who died in Gaſcoigne while his father was living (10).]

K.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. P. 749.

(10) From information.

AUDLEY (EDMUND), ſon of James, Lord Audley, by Eleanor his wife, but what year he was born in does not appear (*a*). He was educated in Lincoln College in Oxford, and in the year 1463, took the degree of Batchelor of Arts in that univerſity, and it is preſumed, that of Maſter of Arts alſo, though it does not appear from the regiſter, which is imperfect (*b*). In 1471, he became Prebendary of Farendon in the church of Lincoln, and in October, 1475 (*c*), attained the like preferment in the church of Wells. On Chriſtmas day the ſame year, he became Archdeacon of the Eaſt riding of Yorkſhire, and had other conſiderable preferments (*d*). Theſe preferments he quitted, on his being promoted to the Biſhopric of Rocheſter, in 1480, being the twentieth of Edward IV., in which ſee he ſucceeded John Ruſſel, who was tranſlated to Lincoln, and who was tutor to Edward Prince of Wales (*e*). In 1492, being the eighth of Henry VII, our Biſhop Audley was tranſlated to Hereford (*f*), and thence in 1502, being the eighteenth of the ſame King, to Saliſbury, and about that time was made Chancellor of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter (*g*). He was a man of learning [*A*], and of a generous ſpirit. In 1518, he gave four hundred pounds to Lincoln College to purchaſe lands, and beſtowed upon the ſame houſe the patronage of a chantry, which he had founded in the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*h*). He was a benefactor likewiſe to St. Mary's Church in Oxford, and contributed to the erecting the curious ſtone pulpit therein. Biſhop Godwin likewiſe tells us, that he gave the organs (*i*); but Anthony

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 662.

(*b*) Reg. Congreg. Aa. fol. 125. a.

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. i. p. 519.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Willis's Survey, Vol. ii. p. 185.

(*e*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 581. edit. 1616. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Pat. 8 H. VII. p. 2. m. 2. Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 544. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

(*h*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 161.

(*i*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. P. i. p. 407.

[*A*] *He was a man of learning.*] It may appear a little odd to the critical reader, that the life of this Biſhop ſhould find a place in this work, though he makes no figure in hiſtory, and was no writer. But when our reaſons are heard, we make no doubt we ſhall ſtand excuſed. It is very reaſonable in a Dictionary of this nature, to inſert what can be collected of perſons any way remarkable. Now Biſhop Audley is certainly the moſt eminent inſtance of the early exerciſe of the power of tranſlating which is to be met with. His being of a noble family, probably was the ſole motive to his firſt preferments; but we may naturally conclude, that he owed his tranſlation to his two laſt Biſhoprics, to the attachment of himſelf and his family to the Lancaſtrian Line. Beſides, when Dr. Seth Ward endeavoured to fix the honour of Chancellor of the Garter to his ſee of Saliſbury, he modeſtly called it, a reſtoring of it, becauſe it had belonged to this his predeceſſor. Our Biſhop Audley was himſelf a man of letters, though no author, and a great encourager of learning in others, for which we find him particularly complimented in a letter from the Univerſity of Oxford, the occaſion of which was this: Amongſt other Oxford Divines, there was one Edward Powell, who had written a book under the title of *Propugnaculum ſummi ſacerdotii Evangelici ac ſeptenarii Sacramentorum adverſus* M. Lutherum, *fratrem fumoſum et* Wicliniſtum *inſignem, lib.* iii. Lond. 1523. 4*to*, that is, *The Bulwark of the Papacy and Seven Sacraments againſt Martin Luther, &c.* (1) which, as it was intended to check what was then thought Hereſy, was very acceptable to the univerſity; by order of which, a letter was written to compliment the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was patron to this Powell, and who had given him a Prebend in his Cathedral (2). A Letter was alſo written to Dr. Powell himſelf, and another to the King (3), in which all the books compiled againſt Luther and his writings by members of this univerſity are enumerated, and this book of Powell's is particularly commended (4). Our Biſhop alſo, as a mark of his reſpect to the univerſity of Oxford, in which he had been bred, gave to Chichley's Cheſt, which had been then lately robbed, the ſum of two hundred pounds, which in thoſe days was a conſiderable benefaction (5).

Wood

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 53.

(2) In Epiſt. Univ. Oxon. Ff. E. 87.

(3) *Ibid.* E. 88.

(4) *Ibid.* E. 89.

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 662.

Wood says, that does not appear (*k*). This good Bishop departed this mortal life, the twenty-third of August, 1524, being the sixteenth of Henry VIII., at Ramsbury in the county of Wilts, and was buried in a chapel which he erected to the honour of the *Assumption* of the *Virgin Mary*, in the cathedral of Salisbury, being then doubtless a very old man, since he had sat forty-four years a Bishop. He was succeeded by Cardinal Campejus (*l*), but whether he enjoyed the honour of being Chancellor to the Order of the Garter, is uncertain. C.

(*k*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 662.

(*l*) Godwin de Præsul. Angl. ubi supra.

AUDLEY, or rather AWDELY (THOMAS), descended of an ancient and honourable, nay, if we might altogether depend on the authority of a certain author (*a*), we might add, once noble family, of the county of Essex [*A*]. He was born in 1488, but in what month does not appear. Being by nature endowed with great abilities, from his ancestors he inherited an ample fortune, and was also happy in a regular education; passing from the university, whether of Cambridge or of Oxford, is not certain, to the Inns of Court (*b*). At what time he was entered of the Inner-Temple, does not appear, but in the year 1526, being the eighteenth of Henry VIII., Mr. Audley, then in the thirty-ninth year of his age, was Autumn Reader of that House (*c*). At this time, there is reason to believe, he read on the Statute of Privileges, which he handled with such caution, and, withal, with so much learning and eloquence, that he acquired great reputation thereby (*d*). This, with the Duke of Suffolk's recommendation, to whom he was Chancellor, brought him to the knowledge of his Sovereign (*e*), whose affairs, at that time, needing men of Audley's character, who, with the learning of a Lawyer, had all the politeness usually acquired in Courts, favour quickly followed. He was, by the King's influence, chosen Speaker of that Parliament, which sat first on the third of November, 1529, in the twenty-first year of the King (*f*); which, from the acts passed therein, is by some styled the *Black Parliament*, and by others, on account of its duration, the *Long Parliament* (*g*). As soon as the House of Commons proceeded to business, great complaints were made therein against the Clergy, and against the proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts, upon which, several bills were ordered to be brought in (*h*), which put the whole Order into a ferment, and especially provoked some of the Prelates. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, inveighed boldly against these transactions, in the House of Lords, with which the House of Commons were so much offended, that they thought proper to complain of it, by their Speaker to the King (*i*). The Bishop was thereupon forced to explain himself, and Sir William Fitzwilliams, in the King's name, excusing the matter, with respect to his Lordship, to the House, it ended there with respect to him; but as to the business of Reformation, it went on more briskly than ever, as the reader will see in the note [*B*]. The best historians agree, that great care was taken by the King, or at least by his Ministry, to have such persons chosen into this

(*a*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 382. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*c*) Dugdale, Orig. Jurid. edit. 1671, p. 164.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. History, Book vi. p. 306. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 72.

(*f*) Lord Herbert's History, in Bishop Kennet's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 136. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Book ii. p. 79. Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1529. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 72.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 382.

(*h*) Lord Herbert, p. 136.

(*i*) *Id. ibid.* Burnet, Book ii. p. 80. Hall, A. D. 1529.

[*A*] *Once noble family in Essex.*] Lloyd, the Biographer, speaking of this noble person, says, His birth was generous, his education more, Essex bred him to that honour which his ancestors lost (1). It is true, there is not much to be built on this author's authority, his affectation of eloquence transporting him sometimes, where the love of truth would never have carried him. However, suppose that Lloyd's expression proves only that he was an Essex man, which, however, is what might have been proved without him, since it is affirmed by Fuller and the author of *the Worthies of England* (2), and then let us see what we can make of his suggestion, that our Chancellor's family was noble before he was made a Baron by creation. Sir William Dugdale says expressly, that he knows not what family our Audley sprung from: he goes farther, and from the arms asserts, that he was not of the ancient family of Audley (3), which, however, may be doubted: for Dugdale himself informs us, that Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, was with others assigned to array all the able men of Essex in the 13th of Edward III. And though it be true, that this noble family ended in that Earl, yet it is as true, that there were others of this name settled in the same county of Essex, who had summons to Parliament in the reigns of Henry V., and his son Henry VI. Now it is by no means either impossible, or improbable, that in the subsequent reigns of Edward IV., and Richard III (4), this family might be much distressed, and there might be very plausible reasons offered in favour of their changing even their paternal coat, in order to preserve a fair estate; and this would tally exactly with Lloyd's expression of our Lord Audley's recovering an honour his ancestors had once possessed. This will appear still more feasible, if we consider this Lord's arms as they are exhibited by Dugdale himself (5), compared with those of the Earl of Castlehaven, who bears the arms of the ancient family of Audley, as he enjoys a Barony, in right of being descended from a female of that house.

(1) State Worthies, p. 72.

(2) England's Worthies in Ch. and State, 8vo. 1684, p. 190.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 382.

(4) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 470, 471.

(5) Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. p. 185.

[*B*] *As the reader will see in the note.*] It is requisite that we should give a distinct account of this speech, because there is a good deal of diversity among our historians with respect to this matter. In that life of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, which is said to be written by Dr. Baily, we are told, that at the same time the writs were directed to the counties, &c. for the election of Members, there came private letters directing whom they should chuse, which letters few or none durst disobey; so that, to use my author's expression, there was a Parliament filled to the King's heart's desire (6). The same author farther tells us, 'The 'regulation of all abuses of the Clergy were referred 'to the House of Commons, where severe complaints 'against the whole Clergy, as well as against particular Clergymen, were daily presented, whereof some 'the House of Lords took into consideration, and 'some they rejected (7).' I have transcribed this sentence entire, that the nonsense of it might appear to be the author's own. After this, what credit can we give to his speech, which is penned in a stile not agreeable to those times, and concludes thus, 'My 'Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that 'except you resist manfully by your authorities, this 'violent heap of mischiefs offered by the Commons, 'you shall see all obedience first drawn from the 'Clergy, and, secondly, from yourselves; and, if 'you search into the true causes of all these mischiefs 'which reign among them, you shall find that they 'all arise through want of faith (8).' He then proceeds to inform us, that the Commons, by their Speaker, Mr. Audley, complained grievously to the King, as if the Bishop represented them as Infidels or Heretics. Whereupon he owns the King sent for Bishop Fisher and reproved him, though according to our author,

(6) Baily's Life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, edit. 1655, p. 94.

(7) *Id. ibid.*

(8) *Id.* p. 96.

this Houſe of Commons as would proceed therein readily and effectually, and with the ſame view, Audley (*k*) was made choice of, to ſupply the place of Sir Thomas More, who was become Speaker of the Lord's Houſe, and Chancellor of England. The New Houſe and its Speaker juſtified his Majeſty's expectations, by the whole tenor of their behaviour, but eſpecially by the paſſing of a law, which, as it is not to be found among our ſtatutes, we ſhall take the liberty to mention here. The King, it ſeems, had borrowed very large ſums of money of particular ſubjects, and had entered into obligations for the repayment of the ſaid ſums. The Houſe being informed of this, brought in, and paſſed a Bill, in the preamble of which they declared, that inaſmuch as thoſe ſums had been applied by his Majeſty to public uſes, therefore they cancelled and diſcharged the ſaid obligations (*l*), *&c.* The King, to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with this loyal Houſe, continued the Parliament, which ſat again in the month of January, 1530-1. In this ſeſſion alſo many extraordinary things were done; amongſt the reſt, there was a law made, whereby the Clergy were exempted from the penalties they had incurred, by ſubmitting to the legantine power of Wolſey. This took its riſe in the Lord's Houſe, and when it came down to the Commons, they were for inſerting a clauſe in favour of the laity; being conſcious, that many of themſelves had alſo incurred the penalties of the ſtatute. But the King took umbrage at this. He ſaid, that acts of Grace ought to flow ſpontaneouſly, and that this was not the method of obtaining what they wanted. In ſhort, the Houſe, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of its Speaker, and ſeveral of its members, who were the King's ſervants, was obliged to paſs the bill without the clauſe; but when they had done ſo, the King granted them likewiſe a pardon, and ſo they parted very well pleaſed with each other, the Houſes riſing in the month of June (*m*). In the receſs, the King thought it neceſſary to have a letter written to the Pope by the Lords and Commons, or rather by the three eſtates in Parliament, which letter was drawn up and ſigned by Cardinal Wolſey, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, four Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marquiſſes, thirteen Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty-three Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons (*n*). Lord Herbert tells us, this letter was written by Parliament; but this is a miſtake, ſince the letter is dated the thirteenth of July, and the Houſes roſe on the twenty-firſt of the preceding month (*o*). The purport of this letter, was to engage the Pope to grant the King's deſire in the divorce buſineſs, for the ſake of preventing a civil war, on account of the ſucceſſion, and to threaten him if he did not, to take ſome other way. To gratify the Speaker for the great pains he had already taken, and to encourage him to proceed in the ſame way, the King made him this year Attorney for the duchy of Lancaſter (*p*), advanced him in Michaelmas term, to the ſtate and degree of a Serjeant at Law (*q*), and on the fourteenth of November following, to that of his own Serjeant (*r*). In January, 1531-2, the Parliament had its third ſeſſion, wherein the grievances occaſioned by the exceſſive power of the Eccleſiaſtics and their courts, were regularly digeſted into a book, which was preſented by the Speaker, Audley, to the King (*s*). The King's anſwer was; He would take advice, hear the parties accuſed ſpeak, and then proceed to Reformation (*t*). In this ſeſſion, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, for the better ſecuring the rights of his Majeſty, and other perſons intereſted in the care of wards, *&c.* which rights, it was alledged, were injured by fraudulent wills and contracts. This bill, when it came into the Houſe of Commons, could not make its paſſage at all: nay, the Members were ſo much out of humour, that they expreſſed a deſire of being diſſolved, alledging, That they had ſat too long, and been at too great an expence. But the King would not permit this: however, after they had done ſome buſineſs, they had a receſs to the month of April (*u*). When they next met, the King ſent for the Speaker, and delivered to him the anſwer which had been made to the roll of grievances, preſented at their laſt ſitting (*w*). The Houſe was very little ſatisfied therewith, and indeed their temper was now pretty much altered. For, towards the cloſe of the month, one Mr. Themſe moved, That the Houſe would intercede with the King, to take back his Queen again (*x*). The King extremely alarmed at this, on the thirtieth of April, 1532, ſent for the Speaker, whom he diſcourſed to this effect: 'That he was amazed at what had paſſed in the 'Houſe, and that he marvelled, any among them ſhould meddle in buſineſſes which 'could not properly be determined there. As for this particular, that it concerned his 'ſoul ſo much, that he many times wiſhed the marriage had been good; but ſince the 'Doctors of the univerſities had generally declared it unlawful, he could do no leſs 'than abſtain from her company. Which, therefore, he wiſhed him to take as the true 'reaſon, without imputing it to any wanton appetites; ſince, being in the one-and-'fortieth year of his age, it might be juſtly preſumed, ſuch motions were not ſo quick

(*k*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 307. Baily's Life of Fiſher, edit. 1655, p. 94. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(*l*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 81.

(*m*) Holinſhed, p. 923. Herbert, p. 151. Burnet, Book ii. p. 109.

(*n*) See the Letter at large in Latin and Engliſh in Herbert, p. 143.

(*o*) Herbert, p. 142.

(*p*) Pat. 22 H. VIII. p. 2.

(*q*) Orig. Jurid. in Chron. p. 83.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 115. Hall, A.D. 1532. Herbert, p. 155.

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 117. Herbert, p. 158.

(*w*) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 66.

(*x*) Herbert, p. 158. Burnet, Book ii. p. 118.

author, he juſtified to the King's face all he had ſaid; which drew from his Majeſty this admonition, *to uſe his words for the time to come more temperately* (9). And that, ſays this author, was all, which gave the Commons little ſatisfaction. This is ſo far from being true, that Fiſher explained away his ſpeech, and ſaid, That in ſpeaking of want of faith, he intended only the people of Bohemia, which explanation of his was reported to the Houſe of Commons by the King's command, and thereupon the buſineſs dropt (10). But what demonſtrates the ſpeech in Baily's life to be a forgery, is the mention therein made of a bill for veſting the ſmall monaſteries in the King; which Bill however was not brought in, in 1529, when this ſpeech was made, but in 1535.

(9) *Id.* p. 97.

(10) Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. in Biſhop Kennet's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 137.

'with him; all which, that they might the better understand, he had informed himself 'in all parts of Christendom concerning strange marriages; and that, saving in Spain and 'Italy, he could never find any man had so much as married two sisters, if the first was 'carnally known. But for the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred 'among all nations, that he never heard any Christian so did but himself, and therefore 'wished them to believe that his conscience was troubled (*y*).' On the eleventh of May, the King sent for the Speaker, Audley, again, and then told him, That he had found that the Clergy of his realm were but half his subjects, or scarcely so much, every Bishop and Abbot at the entering into his dignity, taking an oath to the Pope, derogatory to that of their fidelity to the King, which contradiction he desired his Parliament to take away. Upon this motion of the King's, the two oaths he mentioned were read in the House of Commons, which House would probably have complied with the King's request, if the plague had not forced his Majesty to put an end to the session somewhat abruptly (*z*). This was on the fourteenth of May, and two days after, *viz.* May the sixteenth, 1532, Sir Thomas More, Knt. then Lord Chancellor of England, went suddenly, without acquainting any body with his intention, to Court, his Majesty being then at York Place, and there, about three in the afternoon, surrendered up the seals to the King (*a*). The King going out of town to East-Greenwich, carried the seals with him, and there, on Monday the twentieth of May, delivered them to Thomas Audley, Esq; with the title of Lord Keeper, and at the same time conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*b*). On the sixth of September following, Sir Thomas delivered the old seal, which was much worn, and received a new one in its stead, yet with no higher title (*c*): but on the twenty-sixth of January, 1533, he again delivered the seal to the King, who kept it a quarter of an hour, and then delivered it to him, with the title of Lord Chancellor; in execution of which office, he sealed, in the King's presence, a subpœna to one John Gilbert (*d*). A little after, the King granted to him the scite of the priory of Christ Church, together with all the church plate, and lands belonging to that house (*e*), concerning which gift, there is a great deal said by our historians, and not a little falsehood and confusion in what they say, as in the note the reader will perceive [*C*]. In his high office, he did the business of the King as effectually as when Speaker of the House of Commons. For in July 1535, he sat in judgment on Sir Thomas More, his predecessor (as he had before on Bishop Fisher), who, though in the month of November, 1534, he had been attainted of misprision of treason (*f*), yet he was now indicted of high-treason, for that he had traiterously imagined to deprive the King of his title and dignity of Supreme Head of the Church, in respect to which, he first *malicioſe ſilebat*; i. e. kept a malicious silence, and had afterwards said, the act about supremacy was a two-edged sword; for, if one answer one way, it will confound his soul, and if the other, his body. Upon which indictment the jury found him guilty (*g*). The Lord Chancellor, Audley, then pronounced judgment of death upon him. This done, we are told, that Sir Thomas More said, that he had for seven years bent his mind and study upon this cause, but as yet he found it no where writ by any approved Doctor of the Church, that a layman could be head of the Ecclesiastical State. To this Audley returned, 'Sir, will you be reckoned wiser, or of a better conscience, than 'all the Bishops, the Nobility, and the whole kingdom?' Sir Thomas rejoined, 'My 'Lord Chancellor, for one Bishop that you have of your opinion, I have a hundred of 'mine,

(*y*) Herbert and Burnet, as above.

(*z*) Burnet, Book ii. p. 120.

(*a*) Herbert, p. 162.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 435. Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. Chron. p. 82. Herbert.

(*c*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 439. Dugdale, as above.

(*d*) Rymer, Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 446.

(*e*) Fuller, B. vi. p. 306.

(*f*) Herbert, p. 184. Strype's Memorials, Vol. i. p. 201.

(*g*) Herbert, p. 184. Burnet, Book ii. Baily's Life of Fisher, p. 162. 222.

[*C*] *As in the note the reader will perceive.*] As to the history of the dissolution of this Priory, it remains at present in a sort of chaos, out of which it will be a difficult thing to produce order; yet as our subject leads us to it, we shall do therein what we may. Fuller in his *Church History* writes, that 'King 'Henry VIII., for reasons best known to himself, 'singled out the Priory of Christ-Church near Aldgate, and dissolved the same. This he bestowed as 'a boon on Thomas Audley, Speaker in the Parliament, and indeed it was an excellent receipt to clear 'his voice, to make him speak shrill and loud for his 'master (11).' Bishop Burnet tells us, that in his opinion this Priory was dissolved, or rather suppressed, in virtue of the Pope's Bull, and censures Fuller for his reflection on the Speaker, 'because, says he, Audley, 'when he received this gift, was not Speaker, but 'Chancellor (12).' But both Fuller and he are mistaken in their dates, and in some measure in the fact. Fuller, who says it was surrendered by the Prior, for whose name he leaves a blank, on a promise of preferment, places it in the month of July, 1531 (13). Bishop Burnet says, it was suppressed in 1533 (14). The truth of the matter is, that the Prior, Nicholas Hancock, with the consent of his chapter, on account of the bad circumstances the convent was in, did surrender under the seal of their house all that they were possessed of into the hands of the King. This Act is subscribed by Nicholas Hancock, the Prior, and eighteen other persons, and is attested by a Notary Public to have been done spontaneously, solemnly, and authentically, on the 24th day of February, 1531, according to the computation of the Church of England: That is, on the 24th of February, 1531-2, and in the 23d of Henry VIII. (15); seven months after the date given us by Fuller, and about two years earlier than the date mentioned by Bishop Burnet. Yet the Bishop is right in censuring Fuller; for though the Priory was surrendered to the King in 1531, yet he did not give it to Audley till after he was Chancellor, and this donation was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1534 (16). Fuller is also mistaken in asserting, that this was the first religious house surrendered to the King's use, since it is certain that the Monastery at Sheene had been surrendered in the month of November preceding (17). Hall in his Chronicle tells us, that the Priory church and steeple were offered to whosoever would take them down; but no body accepting this offer, Sir Thomas Audley was forced to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and throwing them down, most part of them were broken in the fall, and remained useless (18). Fuller carries this history farther, 'As for the Lord Audley, 'says he, on whom this Priory was bestowed, Marga'ret, his sole daughter and heir, was married to Tho'mas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who dwelt therein, 'and from him was called the Duke's-Place (19).'

(11) Book vi. p. 306. Hall's Chron. A. D. 1525.

(12) History of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 182.

(13) Fuller, Book vi. p. 306.

(14) Burnet, Vol. i. p. 182.

(15) Rymer's Fœder. tom. xiv. p. 411.

(16) Burnet, Vol. i. p. 182.

(17) Rymer's Fœder. tom. xiv.

(18) Hall's Chronicle, A. D. 1525.

(19) Fuller, B. vi. p. 307.

'mine, and that among thoſe that have been Saints; and for your one Council, which 'what it is God knows, I have on my ſide all the General Councils for a thouſand years 'paſt; and for one kingdom, I have France and all the other kingdoms of the Chriſtian 'world.' He added alſo, that their act was not well made, becauſe they had ſworn profeſſedly to do nothing againſt the Church, which, throughout all Chriſtendom, is one, entire and undivided; wherefore they had not authority, without the conſent of other Chriſtians, of making laws, or ſo much as aſſembling a council againſt the union and concord of the Chriſtian world. 'But I am not ignorant,' added he, 'why you have adjudged 'me to death; namely, becauſe I would never aſſent to the buſineſs of the King's new ma-'trimony (*b*).' As our Chancellor was very active in the buſineſs of the divorce, he was no leſs ſo in the buſineſs of abbies, and had particularly a large hand in thoſe proceedings, which were previous to the diſſolution of the religious houſes, which had not two hundred pounds by the year (*i*). This was in the twenty-ſeventh of Henry VIII., and the bill ſticking long in the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty became impatient, and therefore ſent for the Members of that Houſe to attend him in his gallery, where he paſſed through them with a ſtern countenance, without ſpeaking a word: the members not having received the King's command to depart to their Houſe, durſt not return till they knew the King's pleaſure; ſo they ſtood waiting in the gallery. In the mean time the King went a hunting, and his Miniſters, who ſeem to have had better manners than their maſter, went to confer with the Members: to ſome they ſpoke of the King's ſteadineſs and ſeverity; to others, of his magnificence and generoſity. At laſt the King came back, and paſſing through them again, ſaid, with an air of fierceneſs peculiar to himſelf, That if his bill did not paſs, it ſhould coſt many of them their heads. Between the Miniſters perſuaſions and the King's threats, the matter was brought to an iſſue: the King's Bill, as he called it, paſſed; and by it, he had not only the lands of the ſmall monaſteries given him, but alſo their jewels, plate, and rich moveables (*k*). This accompliſhed, methods were uſed to prevail with the Abbots of larger foundations to ſurrender. To this end, the Chancellor ſent a ſpecial agent to treat with the Abbot of Athelny, to offer him an hundred merks *per annum* penſion; which he refuſed, inſiſting on a greater ſum (*l*). The Chancellor was more ſucceſsful with the Abbot of St. Oſithes in Eſſex, with whom he dealt perſonally; and, as he expreſſes it in a letter to Cromwell, the Viſitor-General, by great ſolicitation prevailed with him; but then he inſinuates, that his place of Lord Chancellor being very chargeable, he deſired the King might be moved for addition of ſome more profitable offices unto him (*m*). In ſuing for the great abbey of Walden, in the ſame county, which with much ado he obtained; beſides extenuating its worth, he alledged under his hand, that he had in this world ſuſtained great damage and infamy in ſerving the King, which the grant of that ſhould recompence (*n*). But if the year 1536 was grateful to him in one reſpect, it was far from being ſo in another; ſince, notwithſtanding the obligations he was under to Queen Anne Bullen, he was obliged, by the King's command, to be preſent at her apprehenſion and commitment to the Tower (*o*). He ſat afterwards with Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, when he gave ſentence of divorce on the pre-contract between the Queen and the Lord Piercy (*p*); and on the fifteenth of May, in the ſame year, he ſat in judgment on the ſaid Queen (*q*), notwithſtanding we are told by Lloyd, that with great addreſs he avoided it (*r*). The lengths he had gone in ſerving the King, and his known diſlike to Popery, induced the northern rebels in the ſame year, to name him as one of the evil counſellors, whom they deſired to ſee removed from about the King's perſon (*s*); which charge, however, his Majeſty, as far as in him lay, wiped off, by his well-penned anſwer to the complaints of thoſe rebels, wherein an excellent character is given of the Chancellor (*t*). When the authors of this rebellion came to be tried, the Chancellor declined ſitting as Lord High-Steward, which high office was executed by the Marquis of Exeter (*u*), on whom ſhortly after, *viz.* in 1538, Audley ſat as High-Steward, and condemned him, his brother, and ſeveral other perſons, to ſuffer death as traitors (*w*). In the latter end of the ſame year, *viz.* on the twenty ninth of November, 30 Hen. VIII., the Chancellor was created a Baron of this realm, by the ſtile of Lord Audley of Walden in the county of Eſſex, and was likewiſe inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*x*). In the ſeſſion of Parliament in 1539, there were many ſevere acts made, and the prerogative carried to an exceſſive height. The eſtabliſhing thoſe which were ſtiled the Six bloody Articles, may well ſerve as an inſtance of the former, and the giving the King's proclamation the force of a law, is a pregnant proof of the latter. It does not very clearly appear, who were the King's principal Counſellors in theſe matters; but it is admitted by the beſt hiſtorians, that the rigorous execution of theſe laws, which the King firſt deſigned, was prevented by the interpoſition of the Lord Audley, in conjunction with Cromwell, who was then Prime Miniſter, and the Duke of Suffolk, the King's favourite throughout his whole reign (*y*). In the beginning of the year 1540, the Court was exceſſively embarraſſed. Cromwell had brought about the marriage between his maſter and Anne of Cleves, and the King, from the beginning, expreſſed a great coldneſs for the Lady: however, he married her, and heaped extraordinary honours upon his Miniſter, created him Earl of Eſſex, made him Lord High-Chamberlain of England, and honoured him with the Garter, which he ſeems to have done only to make his fall the greater, and by ſo much the more acceptable

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(*b*) Hiſt. Martyr. Anglor. ap. Strype, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Parl. Rolls; 27 Hen. VIII. Godwin's Annals, edit. 1675, p. 80. Herbert, p. 191. Burnet, Collier, Vol. ii. p. 114.

(*k*) Gurdon's Hiſt. of Parliaments, Vol. ii. p. 363.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi ſupra. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Book vi. p. 306.

(*o*) Godwin's Annals, p. 80. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73. Collier, Vol. ii. p. 116.

(*p*) Godwin's Annals, p. 81. Collier, Vol. ii. p. 117.

(*q*) See the copy of the royal Commiſſion in the General Dictionary, tom. iii. p. 452.

(*r*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 73.

(*s*) Speed's Chron. 1037. Herbert, p. 208.

(*t*) Speed's Chron. 1039.

(*u*) Godwin's Annals, p. 93.

(*w*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 216.

(*x*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 383. Pat. 30 H. VIII. p. 5.

(*y*) Godwin, p. 93. Herbert, p. 210. Collier, p. 168.

to the people: for ſhortly after he was committed to the Tower, and attainted by bill, which though it ſeems to have been a method made uſe of merely to avoid his trial by his Peers, yet it was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords without oppoſition, or ſo much as one vote againſt it, which ſhews the diſpoſition of the times, and the temper of the Chancellor (*z*). Immediately after his fall, a new queſtion was ſtirred in Parliament, *viz.* How far the King's marriage was lawful? This was referred to the judgment of a ſpiritual court; and there are yet extant the depoſitions of Thomas Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, and Cuthbert, Lord Biſhop of Durham, wherein they jointly ſwear, that the papers produced to prove the retraction of the Lady Anne's contract with the Duke of Lorrain, were inconcluſive and unſatisfactory (*a*). Other Lords and Ladies depoſed to other points, and the iſſue of the buſineſs was, that the marriage was declared void by this court, which ſentence was ſupported by an act of Parliament, affirming the ſame thing, and enacting, That it ſhould be high-treaſon to judge or believe otherwiſe (*b*). This obſtacle removed, the King married the Lady Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and couſin-german to Anne Bullen (*c*). Nothing is clearer from hiſtory, than that the Chancellor was ſtreightly attached to the Houſe of Norfolk; and yet in the latter end of the year 1541, he was conſtrained to be an inſtrument in the ruin of the unfortunate Queen; information of her bad life before her marriage, being laid firſt before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by him communicated to the Chancellor (*d*). The King being made acquainted with the matter, appointed Lord Audley one of the Commiſſioners to examine her, which they did, and there is yet extant a letter ſubſcribed by him and the other Lords, containing an exact detail of this affair, and of the evidence on which, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, the Queen and others were attainted (*e*). The whole of this buſineſs was managed in Parliament by the Chancellor, and there is reaſon to believe, that he had ſome hand in another buſineſs tranſacted in that ſeſſion; which was the opening a door for the diſſolution of hoſpitals, the King having now waſted all that had accrued to him by the ſuppreſſion of abbies (*f*). Some other things of the like nature were the laſt teſtimonies of the Chancellor's concern for his maſter's intereſt; but the next year he did ſtill more for the Houſe of Commons. The caſe is very remarkable, and therefore we ſhall relate it. In the 34th of Henry VIII., George Ferrers, Eſq; Burgeſs for Plymouth, was arreſted, and carried to the Compter, by virtue of a writ from the Court of King's Bench. The Houſe, on notice thereof, ſent their Serjeant to demand their Member; in doing which, a fray enſued at the Compter, his mace was broke, his ſervant knocked down, and himſelf obliged to make his eſcape as well as he could. The Houſe, upon notice of this, reſolved they would ſit no longer without their Member, and deſired a conference with the Lords; where, after hearing the matter, the Lord Chancellor Audley declared the contempt was moſt flagrant, and referred the puniſhment thereof to the Houſe of Commons; whereupon Thomas Moyle, Eſq; who was then Speaker, iſſued his warrant, whereby the Sheriff of London, and ſeveral other perſons, were brought to the bar of the Houſe, and committed, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to Newgate (*g*). This precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who at that time expected the Commons would offer him a ſubſidy; the Miniſtry, and the Houſe of Lords, knowing the King's will, gave the Commons the compliment of puniſhing thoſe who had impriſoned one of their Members. Dyer, mentioning this caſe, ſays, 'The Sages of the 'Law held the commitment of Ferrers legal, and though the privilege was allowed him, 'yet was it held unjuſt (*h*).' As the Chancellor had led a very active life, he grew now infirm, though he was not much above fifty years old, and therefore began to think of ſettling his family and affairs. But previous to this, he obtained from the King a licence to change the name of Buckingham College in Cambridge, into that of Magdalen, or Maudlin (*i*) ſome will have it, becauſe in the latter word his own name is included (*k*). To this college he was a great benefactor, beſtowed on it his own arms, and is generally reputed its founder (*l*). His capital ſeat was at Chriſt-Church in town, and at Walden in Eſſex; and to preſerve ſome remembrance of himſelf and fortunes, he cauſed a magnificent tomb to be erected in his new chapel at Walden (*m*). About the beginning of April, 1544, he was attacked by his laſt illneſs, which induced him to reſign the ſeals: but he was too weak to do it in perſon, and therefore ſent them to the King, who delivered them to Sir Thomas Wriotheſley, with the title of Keeper, during the indiſpoſition of the Chancellor (*n*); which is a circumſtance not remarked by any of our hiſtorians, and which, notwithſtanding, we ſhall fully juſtify in a note [*D*]. On the nineteenth of April, Lord Audley made his will, wherein, amongſt other things, he directs, that his executors ſhould

(*z*) Godwin, p. 100. Herbert, p. 225.

(*a*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. i. p. 307. Godwin, p. 101.

(*b*) Herbert, p. Collier, p. 178.

(*c*) Godwin, p. 101. Herbert, p. 225.

(*d*) Godwin, p. 103. Herbert, p. 229.

(*e*) Speed, 1046. Collier, Vol. ii. p. 184.

(*f*) Herbert, p. 242. Collier, p. 188.

(*g*) Hiſtory of Parliaments, Vol. ii. p. 365.

(*h*) Lex Parliamentaria, 263.

(*i*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 120.

(*k*) Sceleton Cant. MS.

(*l*) Fuller, as above.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(*n*) Rymer, Fœd. tom. xv. p. 20.

[*D*] *Juſtify in a Note.*] We are indebted for this remarkable paſſage to Mr. Rymer's excellent collection, wherein we have the following account of this matter, '*Memorandum quod Die Lunæ, &c.* i. e. Memorandum, that on Monday the 21ſt of April, in the 'year of the reign of our Lord Henry VIII., by the 'Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, 'King, Defender of the Faith, and of the Churches 'of England and Ireland, Supreme Head, the thirty-'fifth, Thomas Audeley, Knight, Lord Audeley of 'Walden, the Chancellor of England being then 'through infirmity of body weak, and conſidering his 'incapacity to execute the functions of his office, 'either in doing juſtice to the King's ſubjects, or 'in

ſhould, upon the next New-year's day after his deceaſe, deliver to the King a legacy of one hundred pounds, from whom, as he expreſſes it; *he had received all his reputations and benefits* (o). He died on the laſt of April, 1544, when he had held the ſeals upwards of twelve years, and in the fifty-ſixth of his life, as appears by the inſcription on his tomb (p) [E]. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorſet, by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Mary; Mary died unmarried, ſo Margaret became his ſole heir (q). She married firſt Lord Henry Dudley, a younger ſon of John Duke of Northumberland, and he being ſlain at the battle of St. Quintin's, in Picardy, in the year 1557 (r), ſhe married a ſecond time, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to whom ſhe was alſo a ſecond wife, and had by him a ſon Thomas, who, by act of Parliament, in the twenty-ſeventh of Elizabeth, was reſtored in blood; and in the thirty-ninth of the ſame reign, ſummoned to Parliament by his grandfather's title, as Baron of Walden (s). In the firſt of James I., he was created Earl of Suffolk, and being afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England, he built on the ruins of the Abbey of Walden, that noble palace, which, in honour of our Chancellor, he called Audley-End (t). C.

(o) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(p) Weaver's Funeral Inſcriptions, p. 614.

(q) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 383.

(s) Journal of Parliament, 27 Eliz.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 280.

'in overlooking the proceſſes paſſing under the Great 'Seal of our Sovereign Lord the King; the ſaid ſeal 'then in the hands of the ſaid Thomas Lord Chancel-'lor, to our ſaid Lord the King, by Edward North, 'Knight, and Thomas Pope, Knight, ſent, and the 'ſaid Edward and Thomas, the ſaid ſeal in a certain 'white leathern bag included and ſealed with the ſeal 'of the ſaid Lord Chancellor to the King's Majeſty, 'at his New Palace in Weſtminſter, about three in 'the afternoon, in the preſence of Thomas Hennage, 'Knight, and Anthony Denny, Eſq; did there pre-'ſent, humbly beſeeching on the part of the ſaid Tho-'mas Lord Chancellor, his ſaid Majeſty, that he 'would be graciouſly pleaſed to accept the ſaid ſeal. 'Whereupon our Sovereign Lord the King, the ſeal, 'by the hands of the ſaid Edward and Thomas, did re-'ceive and accept, and in his cuſtody did retain till 'the next day, *viz.* until Tueſday the 22d of April, 'in the 36th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord 'the King; on which day, about three in the after-'noon, our ſaid Lord the King, the ſaid ſeal, in the 'ſame chamber, in preſence of Anthony Denny, Eſq; 'and Thomas Carden, Eſq; unto the Honourable 'Thomas Wriotheſley, Knight, Lord Wriotheſley, to 'keep and exerciſe during the infirmity of the ſaid 'Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, committed, and 'him the ſaid Thomas Lord Wriotheſley, Lord 'Keeper of the King's Great Seal, during the in-'firmity of the ſaid Lord Chancellor, there conſti-'tuted and ordained, with authority to exerciſe and 'perform all and ſingular ſuch acts, as the Lord 'Chancellor of England, by virtue of his office, 'might do and perform; and the ſaid Thomas Lord 'Wriotheſley, the ſaid ſeal, from the hands of our 'Sovereign Lord the King, thankfully receiving the 'care and cuſtody of the ſaid ſeal upon him, took, 'and therewith retired (20).

(20) Rymer, Fœd. tom. xv. p. 20.

[E] *Inſcription on his Tomb.*]

EPITAPH of Thomas Lord Audley, in Walden-Church.

The ſtroke of Death's inevitable dart,
Hath now (alas!) of life bereft the heart
Of Sir Thomas Audley, of the Garter Knight,
Late Chancellor of England, under our Prince of might;
Henry the Eighth, worthy of high renown,
And made by him, Lord Audley of this town.
Obiit ultimo Aprilis, A. D. 1544. Henrici 36.
Cancellariatus ſui 13. Ætatis 56. (21)

(21) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 614.

To this we will add his character as contained in the following Elegy, the diction of which is far from being deſpicable, as the matter is perfectly conſiſtent with his hiſtory:

Treaſure of arms and arts, in whom were ſet
The mace and books, the court and college met,
Yet both ſo wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, and neither, either wrong,
But pois'd and temper'd, each reſerv'd its ſeat,
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat;
The Courtier was not of the furious ſtrain,
The hand that acts, doth firſt conſult the brain;
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice and might,
The Scholar did direct the Courtier right,
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conſpire,
And twiſt their curles about the hallow'd fire,
'Till in that harmony of ſweets combin'd
We can nor muſk, nor ſingle amber find,
But gums meet gums, and their delights ſo crowd,
That they create one undiſtinguiſh'd cloud;
So to thy mind theſe rich ingredients preſt,
And were the mould and fabric of thy breaſt,
Learning and courage mixt, and temper'd ſo,
The ſtream could not decay, nor overflow;
And in that equal tide, thou didſt not bear,
From courage, raſhneſs; nor from learning fear (22).

(22) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 75.

[In the Parliamentary Hiſtory, there are the heads of ſeveral ſpeeches delivered by Sir Thomas Audley on different occaſions, chiefly as Lord Chancellor. But they contain nothing in them peculiarly remarkable; being either mere explanations of the buſineſs for which the two Houſes were aſſembled, or elſe abounding with the praiſes of King Henry the Eighth. In an age of the meaneſt compliances with the will of the Prince, Lord Audley undoubtedly equalled, if he did not exceed, all his contemporaries in ſervility. We do not meet with a ſingle inſtance in which he dared to have an opinion, or will of his own. However contradictory the King's meaſures and commands might be to Lord Audley's private ſentiments, or to reaſon and juſtice, he inſtantly obeyed. He brought in the bill for the Six Articles, which the timid Cranmer had the courage to oppoſe for three days together. And what did Lord Audley gain by the forfeiture of his integrity? He obtained, it may be ſaid, a fortune and a peerage. But his time was ſpent in perpetual drudgery; he muſt have been kept in continual terror by his imperious and tyrannical maſter; and he was worn out when he was not much more than fifty years of age. The whole duration of his public life was not fifteen years (23).

(23) Parliamentary Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 42. 59. 79. 84 91. 106. 119. 122. 134. 140. 144. 149. 154. 157. 165. 173. 179. 180. 185.

The caſe of George Ferrers is a very remarkable one in the Hiſtory of Parliamentary Privilege, and hath been greatly agitated in the warm debates which have been carried on upon that ſubject, during the preſent reign. An account of it may be ſeen in many writers, and more recently in a publication of Mr. Hatſell's, Chief Clerk of the Houſe of Commons (24). Mr. Hatſell is of opinion, from the many new and extraordinary circumſtances attending the caſe of Ferrers, that the meaſures which were adopted, and the doctrine which was now firſt laid down with reſpect to the extent of the privileges of the Houſe of Commons, was more owing to Ferrers's being a ſervant of the King's, than that he was a Member of the Houſe of Commons.] K.

(24) Collection of Caſes of Privilege of Parliament, p. 53—59.

AVESBURY (ROBERT of), a very ancient Engliſh hiſtorian. We are altogether ignorant at what time he was born, or who were his parents; but as to his condition, he tells us himſelf, in the title of his hiſtory, that he was Regiſter of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Court (a). His deſign ſeems to have been the compoſing a hiſtory of the reign of that glorious Prince Edward III., from ſuch authentic materials as

(a) See the rubrick on the MS. in the Harleian Library.

came

came to his hands, but when he had ran through about thirty years, he was very probably ſurprized by death, in the latter end of the year 1356, or in the beginning of the year following (*b*). As he propoſed to himſelf only a plain narrative of facts, illuſtrated by exact copies of ſuch public papers as came into his power; he did not trouble himſelf much about the elegance of his ſtyle. We may however affirm, that it is far from being harſh, or diſagreeable, allowing for the bad taſte and rudeneſs of thoſe times, and that the apparent candour and impartiality of the hiſtorian, makes us full amends for his want of eloquence. His accuracy in point of dates, is another very great advantage, which our author has, over moſt of the writers of his time, and his care in ſtating all public actions from records, rather than from his own notions, is another incident, which renders his hiſtory truly valuable. One may juſtly wonder how ſo curious a MS. as this came to lie ſo long hid, even from ſome of the moſt induſtrious ſearchers after Engliſh antiquities. The learned and induſtrious Leland moſt certainly never ſaw it; otherwiſe we cannot doubt of his taking notice of it. It was likewiſe unknown to Bale, though he had a great collection in this way, and was particularly curious about MSS. which concerned our hiſtory. Fox, the Martyrologiſt, had ſeen it (*c*). Archbiſhop Parker had it in his cuſtody, and peruſed it (*d*). So had John Stowe, who mentions Aveſbury in his Chronicle (*e*), and, from him, Pits ventures to tell us, that he flouriſhed about 1340, though he is ſo modeſt as not to pretend to any acquaintance with his works (*f*). A foreign writer, following this authority, fixes him to the ſame year (*g*). What is not a little extraordinary, the famous Mr. Jocelyn, chaplain to Archbiſhop Parker, never ſaw this MS. though in his patron's poſſeſſion (*h*): neither in later times did it come to the hands of the induſtrious Anthony Wood (*i*), otherwiſe he would certainly have cited it in his hiſtory and antiquities of the univerſity of Oxford, there being in this hiſtory, a large account of a ſquabble between the ſcholars and townſmen of Oxford, in 1354 (*k*), of which Wood ſpeaks copiouſly from other writers (*l*). At laſt, after being ſo long buried in obſcurity, the indefatigable Thomas Hearne printed it at Oxford, from a MS. belonging to Sir Thomas Seabright (*m*). This MS. was the ſame that had formerly been in the hands of Archbiſhop Parker, from whom it paſſed to William Lambard, the famous Antiquary, from him to Thomas Lambard, and at length it came to Sir Roger Twyſden, a remarkable lover of Engliſh hiſtory, and with the reſt of his valuable library, was purchaſed by Sir Thomas Seabright (*n*). Beſides theſe, there are two other MSS. in being, one in the Harleian Library, and the other, in the Univerſity Library at Cambridge, with both which, the accurate printed edition was compared. All theſe MSS. are thought to be as old, as the time in which our author flouriſhed. There is joined to this hiſtory, and in the ſame hand-writing, a French chronicle, from the firſt planting of Britain, to the reign of King Edward III.; but this, Mr. Hearne, with good reaſon, conceives to have been the work of ſome other author, and therefore did not print it with Aveſbury's hiſtory (*o*). In all probability, the reaſon they were thus joined together was this, that the French chronicle ends exactly where our author begins. That Aveſbury himſelf could not ſo eaſily write in French, appears plainly from this, that he choſe to inſert long papers in that language, in his Latin hiſtory; whereas he would ſurely have tranſlated them, if he had been ſo well ſkilled in French, or elſe have written the whole in that language, which would have made it more uniform. In the Harleian MS. this chronicle hath the following title, *Cronica Gallice, cujuſdam Anonimi, à primis incolis Britanniæ uſque ad initium Regni Regis E. III., vulgo nuncupat, fructus temporum* (*p*). This title was placed there by Sir Symonds d'Ewes, Knight and Baronet, a celebrated Antiquary, and once the poſſeſſor of that MS. There were likewiſe added to the MS. copies, certain notes of a miſcellaneous nature, under the title of, Minutiæ; *i. e. Trifles*. Theſe too are denied by Mr. Hearne, to have been written by Aveſbury: however, he has preſerved them, as well as a genealogical table, which ſhows the right Edward III. had to the crown of France (*q*). As this ancient hiſtorian is ſo little known to the generality of readers, and as the printed copy of his works is now become as ſcarce as many MSS., it cannot be improper to give a conciſe account of his work, and the character it bears in the judgment of ſome of the ableſt critics in this kind of learning, in the notes [*A*]. In the ſame place, the reader will alſo find a farther account of

(*b*) Prefat. T. H. p. 5.

(*c*) Act. & Monum. T. I. p. 472.

(*d*) Vid. Prefat. T. H p. 48.

(*e*) Page 282, edit. 1631.

(*f*) In Appendice ad Opus de illuſtrib. Scriptor. *ib.* Angliæ, p. 899.

(*g*) Carol. Du-Freſne in indice Scriptorum ad A. D. 1340.

(*h*) Præfat. T. H. ad Hiſt. R. de Aveſbury, p. 22.

(*i*) Præfat. T. H. p. 26.

(*k*) Page 197.

(*l*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. ad An. Dom. 1354.

(*m*) Præfat. T. Hearne, p. 22.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(*p*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*q*) Vide Hiſt. R. de Aveſb. p. 264.

[*A*] *In the Notes.*] The title of this hiſtory in the MS. ran thus, Mirabilia geſta magnifici Regis Angliæ Domini Edwardi tercii poſt Conqueſtum, Procerumque, tactis Primitus quibuſdam geſtis de tempore Patris ſui Domini Edwardi ſecundi, quæ in Regnis Angliæ, Scociæ & Franciæ, ac in Aquitannia & Britannia, non humana ſed Dei Potencia, contigerunt, per Robertum de Aveſbury, Curiæ Cantuarienſis Regiſtri Cuſtodem, compilata, Anglorum Memoriæ merito commendanda Legi poterunt in hac verba. That is, *The wonderful acts of the moſt magnificent Lord Edward the Third, after the Conqueſt, King of England, and of his Peers, with ſome touches of what happened in the time of his father Edward the Second, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, as alſo Aquitain and Britanny, not through the will of men but of God, compiled as worthy of being known to Engliſhmen, by Robert of Aveſbury, Keeper of the Regiſter of the Court of Canterbury, in the following Words* (1). He opens his hiſtory with the marriage of Edward the Second with Iſabella the daughter of Philip the French King, ſirnamed the Fair, which was ſolemnized the 25th of January 1307. By which lady he had his ſon Edward, afterwards King Edward the Third, in the year 1313. He then proceeds to ſhew, that King Edward the Second reigned with

(1) Aveſb. Hiſt. de reb. geſt. Edward III. p. 1.

of Mr. Hearne's edition of this author, which is the more neceſſary, becauſe, in his appendix, there are ſeveral curious pieces, which the inquiſitive reader will be glad to hear of, and know where to find. This method we ſhall make uſe of, whenever we mention any of the old hiſtorians publiſhed by him, becauſe as theſe books grow every day more ſcarce, their contents ought to be publiſhed elſewhere, and eſpecially in a work like this [*B*]. A few of the Minutiæ alſo are added as curioſities worthy particularly the Engliſh reader's notice, who cannot ſo much as have a chance of meeting with them any where elſe. Beſides, they ſerve to ſhow, what odd fragments are ſometimes met with in ancient MSS. and the care that was taken before printing was invented, to preſerve whatever might be of uſe, either to the learned, or to the common ſort of people [*C*].

with a continued ſeries of ill fortune for nineteen years, till Queen Iſabella and her ſon Edward landing with ſome foreign troops at Harwich, and joining with the Barons, dethroned him. Edward the Third then entered upon the government, being but fourteen years old, and was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter on the feaſt of the converſion of St. Paul, in the year 1326 (2). After this, we have the hiſtory of the famous Roger Mortimer, to the time of his fall and death. The pretenſions of Edward the Third to the kingdom of Scotland come next under the author's care, and are very largely treated, and then in its order, the hiſtory of the war carried on in that country, the victory of Huntinemore, and the peace with the Scots (3). After this we have an account of King Edward's pretenſions to the French crown, with the war that followed in ſupport of them: a particular account of the great atchievements of King Edward, and of his ſon Edward the Black Prince, with ſeveral original letters of the Prince and Sir John Wyngfield (4). Another Scots war employs afterwards his pen, in which King David Bruce was taken priſoner. He alſo relates very minutely, all the tranſactions between King Edward and the Baliol family, the taking and retaking the town of Berwick, and concludes his work with an account of a bad ſeaſon in the year 1356 (5). Then follows a liſt of the perſons killed and taken priſoners in the famous battle of Poictiers, which was fought by Edward the Black Prince, on the 19th of September in the ſame year (6). Dr. Robert Brady made great uſe of our hiſtorian, and mentions him with much reſpect in theſe words. Robert of Aveſbury wrote the life of Edward the Third, and as he reports of himſelf, was Keeper of the Regiſtry of the Court of Canterbury; he lived in the time of Edward the Third. A MS. in Sir Symonds D'Ewes' library in Stow Lanthorn in Suffolk (7). Mr. Tyrrell cites him alſo, and ſays he was a conſiderable writer of that age, and very exact in his account of King Edward's actions beyond the ſea, as having taken them from ſeveral original letters of perſons of note (8). It ſeems the MS. this gentleman had, went no lower than the year 1355; but that publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, contains the occurrences of the next year to the end of ſummer, or rather to the beginning of autumn (9).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 6.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 24.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 218. 224.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 252.

(6) As all our hiſtorians ſay.

(7) In his account of authors and records made uſe of by him in the laſt volume of his hiſtory.

(8) In the Preface to his third Volume of his General Hiſtory of England.

(9) Vide Hiſt. p. 252.

[*B*] *Eſpecially in a work like this.*] Before this edition of Aveſbury by Hearne, there is a Preface of forty pages, dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, the 21ſt of November 1720. It contains a very large account of the MSS. made uſe of in this edition, together with abundance of literary anecdotes which one would hardly expect there. He is particularly hard upon Anthony Wood, whom he charges with making uſe of the MS. collections of Twyne and Langbain, without quoting them, and this he tells us of his own knowledge (10). There are alſo ſome curious remarks on the ſtory of Roſamond, and explanatory notes on the fray between the townſmen and ſcholars of Oxford mentioned in the text (11). Then follow teſtimonies relating to the author, and a liſt of the ſubſcribers to this edition. The book itſelf comes next, and contains 255 pages. It is very carefully printed from the MS. with various readings, and all the marginal remarks of the ſeveral poſſeſſors of the MS. he had conſulted, together with ſuch emendations as could be collected from Walſingham and other ancient Engliſh hiſtorians. The Minutiæ take up eleven pages excluſive of a ſcheme, ſhewing the genealogy of Edward the Third, and his claim in conſequence thereof to the crown of France.

(10) Præfat. ad R. de Aveſbury, p. xxviii.

(11) *Ibid.* p. xxxiii.

Thus far the MS. We have then in one leaf, a liſt of the Saxon authors, which had come to the hands of Mr. John Jocelyn mentioned in the text (12). To this is added another liſt of the MS. writers of Engliſh hiſtory, and the places where their works were to be found (13). It contains 28 pages. Both theſe were printed from MSS. in the Cotton library. We come now to Mr. Hearne's Appendix. The firſt piece we meet with there is a tranſcript of an old Beadle's book at Oxford: it belonged formerly to Anthony Wood, and contains a great many curious things: it conſiſts of 14 pages, and is illuſtrated with notes and references (14). The ſecond paper is a collection of MS. notes, relating to the ancient orders of the Univerſity of Oxford (15). Then we have a letter written by Dr. Chriſtopher Potter, relating to the privileges of the Univerſity of Oxford, with the form of degrading Mr. William Prynne. This was ſent to the editor by the reverend and learned Mr. Baker of St. John's (16). The fourth piece is a tranſcript of a very ancient roll relating to the manor of Woodſtock, made in the reign of Edward the Firſt, and of which the editor had this copy, through the kindneſs of John Brydges, Eſq; of Lincoln's-Inn, a great collector of ſuch curioſities (17). The laſt piece, and indeed the moſt curious of them all, is a tranſcript of the love-letters, between Henry the Eighth, and Anne Bullen, taken from the originals kept in the Vatican at Rome, A. D. 1682 (18). After the Index there follows in this, as in moſt of Mr. Hearne's books, a liſt of the pieces publiſhed by him at that time, and which is a full proof of the uſefulneſs of ſuch notes as this. There is inſerted in this catalogue a very curious piece printed from an authentic MS., the title of which follows: *Injunctions given in the viſitation of the moſt Reverend Father in God, the Lord C. Pole's Grace, Legate de Latere, by his Subdelegate, James, by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop of Glouceſter throughout his Dioceſe of Glouceſter* 1556 (19).

(12) Hiſt. p. 367.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 269.

(14) *Ib.* p. 299.

(15) *Ib.* p. 344.

(16) *Ib.* p. 328.

(17) *Ib.* p. 338.

(18) *Ib.* p. 347.

(19) *Ib.* p. 376.

[*C*] *Either to the learned or common ſort of people.*] Theſe mixed memoranda ſeem to have depended wholly on the will of the tranſcriber, who added them to the MS., merely that the worth of the one might preſerve the other. As for inſtance, *the following genealogy, ſhowing how the Britiſh King Arthur was allied to Joſeph of Arimathea.* Helanis nepos Joſeph genuit Joſue, Joſue genuit Aminidab, Aminidab genuit Caſtellers, Caſtellers genuit Manael, Manael genuit Lambrod et Urkard, Lambrod genuit filium qui genuit Ygernam, de qua Rex Uter Pendragon genuit nobilem & famoſum Regem Arthurum, per quod patet, quod Rex Arthurus deſcendit de Joſeph (20). The following was better worth preſerving. Nota, quod in Anglia ſunt Eccleſiæ parochiales, XLVI. M^l. VIII^c. XXII. Item villa, LII. M^l. CC. IIII^xx. V. Item epiſcopatus, XVII. Item Feoda Militum, LIII. M^l. CC. XV. de quibus religioſi habent, XXVIII. M^l. that is, Note, *that in England there are pariſh Churches* 46822, *Towns* 52285, *Biſhopricks* 17, *Knights Fees* 53215, *of which there are* 28000 *in the hands of the Clergy* (21); the reader muſt obſerve that this note was written about the middle of the XIVth Century (22). The following is a receipt printed exactly after the MS., whereby the orthography of that age appears. *For to ſtanche bledyng atte the noſe, take clene clay, and tempere hit with vynegre, and with the juys of an herbe that is y clepud burſa paſtoris, and, make there of a chapelet of good brede, and do a boute the hed of hym that bledeth, and hit ſhal ſtanche* (23).

(20) *Ib.* p. 257.

(21) Minut. p. 264.

(22) See in the text.

(23) Minut. p. 264.

†

AUGUS-

AUGUSTIN, or, by contraction, AUSTIN *(St.)* uſually ſtyled the *Apoſtle of the Engliſh*, and the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was originally a Monk in the convent of St. Andrew at Rome, and had his education under St. Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I. [*A*]; by whom he was diſpatched into Britain, together with forty other Monks of the ſame order, for the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons to the Chriſtian religion (*a*). This miſſion was undertaken about the year of Chriſt 596 [*B*]. Auguſtin and his companions having proceeded a little way on their journey, began to diſreliſh their employment, and concluded it was more adviſeable to return, than to take ſo long a journey to a ſavage and infidel nation, to whoſe language they were utter ſtrangers. This reſolution being taken, they diſpatched Auguſtin to Rome, to obtain the Pope's leave for their return: but that Monk ſoon came back with a letter of exhortation to the Miſſionaries [*C*], by which they were encouraged to proſecute their undertaking (*b*). At the ſame time the Pope wrote to Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles (*c*) [*D*], and to the King and Queen of the Franks, to aſſiſt them with neceſſaries in their

(*a*) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Gent. Angl. l. i. c. 33. *See alſo* H Huntington Hiſt. l. iii. init. *apud* Script. poſt Bedam Francof. 1601.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* c. 24.

[*A*] *St. Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory* I.] This pious and good Pope had himſelf projected, and undertaken, the converſion of the Engliſh Saxons, before his advancement to the See of Rome. For, walking one day through the market, and obſerving certain beautiful youths expoſed to ſale, he aſked of what country they were; and being informed they were Britons, he fetched a deep ſigh, and ſaid, it was a lamentable conſideration, that the prince of darkneſs ſhould be maſter of ſo much beauty, and that ſo fine an outſide ſhould have nothing of God's grace within. The ſight of theſe youths made ſo great an impreſſion on Gregory's piety, that he applied himſelf to Pope Benedict, earneſtly requeſting that ſome perſons might be ſent to preach Chriſtianity in Britain. But perceiving nobody willing to undertake the miſſion, he offered himſelf for the ſervice, and, with the Pope's leave, ſet forward on his journey, to the great regret of the Clergy and people of Rome. He had not been gone above two or three days, before the Pope had a remonſtrance delivered to him in the ſtreets for ſending away Gregory, and was therefore obliged to recall him. Johannes Diaconus, in his *Life of St. Gregory*, tells this ſtory ſo well, that the learned reader ſhall have the pleaſure of ſeeing here the original. *Quadam die, cum advenientibus nuper negotiatoribus, multa venalia in foro Romanæ urbis fuiſſent propoſita, multique ad emendum undique confluxiſſent; contigit et Gregorium virum Deo digniſſimum præterire. Qui cernens inter alia pueros corpore candidos, forma pulcherrimos, vultu venuſtos, capillorum quoque nitore perſpicuos, eſſe venales, interrogavit mercatorem de qua patria illos attuliſſet. Ille reſpondit, de Britannia inſula, cujus incolarum omnium facies ſimili candore fulgeſcit. Gregorius dixit: Chriſtiani ſunt iidem inſulani, an adhuc Paganis erroribus implicantur? Mercator reſpondit, Non ſunt Chriſtiani, ſed Paganis tenentur laqueis irretiti. Tum Gregorius graviter ingemiſcens, heu, proh dolor, inquit, quam ſplendidas facies princeps tenebrarum nunc poſſidet, tantaque frontis ſpecies vacuam ab interna Dei gratia mentem geſtat! Rurſum interrogavit quod eſſet vocabulum gentis illius? Mercator reſpondit, Angli vocantur. Bene, inquit,* Angli, *quaſi* Angeli, *quia Angelicos vultus habent, et tales in cœlis Angelorum decet eſſe concives. Iterum ergo interrogat, quod nomen haberet ipſa Provincia? Mercator reſpondit, Provinciales illi Deiri vocantur. Et Gregorius, Bene, inquit,* Deiri, *quia* De Ira *ſunt eruendi, et ad Chriſti gratiam convocandi. Rex, ait, illius provinciæ quomodo nuncupatur? Mercator reſpondit; Aelle. Et Gregorius alludens ad nomen, dixit, Bene rex dicitur* Aelle, Alleluia *etenim in laudem creatoris in partibus illis oportet decantari. Mox itaque accedens ad Benedictum Apoſtolicæ ſedis Pontificem, cœpit vehementer expetere, ut in Britanniam aliquos verbi miniſtros mitteret. Quo cum neminem velle ire cognoſceret, ſemet ipſum quoque non dubitavit ingerere, dummodo ſibi pontifex licentiam commodaret. Qui licet cum magna cunctatione totius cleri ac populi, Gregorium ſponte proficiſci cupientem, abire permiſit, imprecatus ei divinitus proſpera miniſtrari. De cujus abſentia Romani plurimum perturbati, deliberato conſilio, trifario per loca viæ contigua unde Pontifex ad B. Petri Baſilicam profecturus erat, partiuntur, eumque turmatim taliter alloquuntur: Petrum offendiſti, Romam deſtruxiſti, quia Gregorium dimiſiſti. Quibus ſententiis omnino Papa perterritus, miſit continuo nuntios qui virum domini revocarent. A quibus, trium dierum itinere jam emenſo, compulſus eſt (licet magnopere triſtaretur) ad proprii monaſterii curam redire* (1). I hope *Punning* is no offence to Religion; if it is, I know not how we ſhall excuſe St. Gregory, who, upon ſo very ſerious an occaſion as the converſion of poor ignorant Pagans to Chriſtianity, could not forbear quibbling three times in a very ſhort converſation with a merchant upon that ſubject.

(1) Joan. Diacon. Vit. S. Gregor. l. ii. c. 21.

[*B*] *This miſſion was undertaken in the year of Chriſt* 596.] Bede, and the whole ſtream of authors after him, aſſign this date; ſo that the year, in which Auguſtin was ſent into Britain, is paſt diſpute. How long he continued in this iſland, till death took him away, is not ſo generally agreed. Moſt of the writers in Wharton (2), who have given us the ſucceſſion of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, tell us, that Auguſtin ſat ſixteen years, and place his death in the year 616, about twenty years after his arrival in Britain. But Wharton (3) and the editor of Bede (4), have ſhewn, with great probability, that he died in 604 or 605, and conſequently the interval from his miſſion to his death comprehends no more than eight or nine years.

(2) Anglia Sacra, Tom. I. *paſſim.*

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 89. *See the remark* [*W*].

(4) Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. &c. publiſhed by J. Smith, S. T. P. Cantab. 1732. p. 81. not. 2.

[*C*] Pope Gregory's *Letter of exhortation to the Miſſionaries.*] In this letter he tells them, 'it is 'better not to enter upon a worthy deſign, than to 'break off what is commendably begun.' For this reaſon he earneſtly beſeeches them 'to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in carrying on the great work 'they were engaged in, and not to be diſcouraged at 'the fatigues of the journey, or cenſures of bad men; 'but to preſs forward with the greateſt zeal and application, being well aſſured they ſhould be rewarded with eternal glory in heaven.' By the ſame letter he enjoined them to pay obedience to Auguſtin as their Abbot, and concludes with his benediction, wiſhing them ſucceſs in their labours. But let us produce the letter itſelf. It is extant in the *ſixth Book* of *St. Gregory*'s Letters (5).

(5) *Vide* Bede, publiſhed by J. Smith. *In Append.* n. 6. p. 674.

Gregorius Servus Servorum Dei, Servis Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

QUIA melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his quæ cæpta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, ſummo ſtudio, dilectiſſimi filii, oportet, ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Deo cœpiſtis, impleatis. Nec ergo vos labor itineris, nec maledicorum hominum linguæ deterreant: ſed omni inſtantia omnique fervore quæ inchoaſtis, Deo auctore, peragite; ſcientes quod laborem magnum æternæ retributionis gloria ſequitur. Remeanti autem Auguſtino præpoſito veſtro, quem et Abbatem vobis conſtituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite, ſcientes hoc veſtris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid in vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens Deus ſua vos gratia protegat, et veſtri laboris fructum in æterna me patria videre concedat. Quatenus et ſi vobiſcum laborare nequeo, ſimul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia laborare ſcilicet volo. Deus vos incolumes cuſtodiat, dilectiſſimi filii. Data die decima Kalendarum Auguſtarum, imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo quarto, poſt conſulatum ejuſdem Domini Noſtri anno decimo tertio, Indictione XIV.

[*D*] —— *Etherius, Archbiſhop of Arles.*] It is generally taken for granted, that here is a miſtake in the printed copies of Bede, and that *Etherius* is put inſtead of *Virgilius*, ſince Etherius was at that time Biſhop of Lyons. But whether the miſtake conſiſts in that, is a matter of doubt. For, in the firſt place, the

their journey: by means of which recommendations they were every where entertained with great kindneſs and reſpect, and furniſhed with interpreters [*E*]. And now Auguſtin and his companions, having taken their journey through France, embarked for Britain, and, landing in the Iſle of Thanet, ſent ſome of the French interpreters to King Ethelbert [*F*], acquainting him that they were come from Rome with the moſt joyful tidings, and offering him an everlaſting kingdom in Heaven. The King, having for the preſent ordered them to continue in the iſle of Thanet, ſome time after ſent for them, and gave them audience, ſitting in the open air [*G*]. Auguſtin having opened his commiſſion, the King told them, their doctrine was new to him, and that he could not ſuddenly recede from the religion of his country: however, as their coming was with a kind intention, he gave them leave to convert as many of his ſubjects as they could, and aſſigned their place of reſidence at *Dorovernum*, ſince called Canterbury [*H*]; which they

the letter, which is in Bede inſcribed to Etherius Archbiſhop of Arles, is not to be found under that title in the collection of Gregory's Letters. In the next place, there is in that collection another Letter to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles, of the ſame tenor, but a different form. From whence we may collect, that the miſtake is rather in the letter itſelf, than in the inſcription. Auguſtin being ready to ſet out on his journey, Pope Gregory wrote ſeveral letters in the ſame day; the originals of which lying together in his Holineſs's ſcrutore were tranſcribed by Nothelmus: and why might he not take one for another, and, by miſtake, tranſpoſing the names and titles, carry the letter which was written to Etherius, Biſhop of Lyons, in the room of that which was written to Virgilius, Archbiſhop of Arles?

[*E*] *They were —— furniſhed with French interpreters.*] Biſhop Godwin obſerves from hence, that the language of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks was at that time much the ſame: which is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince thoſe two nations were both of German original, and were tranſplanted into Britain and Gaul much about the ſame time, it being not above an hundred and fifty years ſince the arrival of the Saxons in this iſland. *Nam præterquam quod humaniſſime ubique accepti ſunt, comitatui illorum non paucos adinvenerunt qui interpretum vice fungerentur; ut eadem quodammodo lingua Angli Francique tunc uſi videantur; quod à ratione quidem non abhorret, cum uterque et Franci et Angli (ſive Anglo-Saxones malueris appellare) Germaniæ fuerint populi, unde iſti in Britanniam ante annos* 150, *illi in Galliam* 130 *vix dum elapſis migraverint* (6).

(6) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. edit. 1616, p. 43.

[*F*] —— *Ethelbert, King of Kent.*] This Prince's dominions, as Bede obſerves (7), extended as far as the Humber. It is true, the kingdoms of the Eaſt-Saxons and the Eaſt-Angles were now in being: but Ethelbert being a more potent Prince than the reſt, ſeveral of thoſe petty kings were tributaries to him. He was at that time married to Bertha, daughter of Clotaire I., King of the Franks. That Lady was a Chriſtian, and, by the articles of her marriage, had the free exerciſe of her religion allowed her, and a church in the ſuburbs of Canterbury, called St. Martin's. One Luidhard a French Biſhop (8), who came over with her, officiated as her Chaplain and Confeſſor (9). Chriſtianity having this countenance at Ethelbert's court, we may reaſonably imagine that ſeveral of the Saxons were either brought over, or at leaſt diſpoſed for converſion, before the arrival of Auguſtin. And thus, by theſe preparatory ſteps, the way was paved for the Miſſionaries, and King Ethelbert diſpoſed to give them a more favourable reception. For this reaſon Capgrave (10) calls Luidhard *Auguſtin's Harbinger*, and affirms, that he prepared the way for his coming, and made his enterprize more practicable. Which remark will appear very reaſonable to any one, who conſiders with what unexpected kindneſs Auguſtin was received at his firſt arrival in Britain.

(7) Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 25.

(8) *The hiſtorians ſtyle him* Epiſcopus Sylvanectenſis. i. e. *Biſhop of* Senlis, M. Rapin, *by miſtake, calls him Biſhop of* Soiſſons.

(9) Baronii Annal. T. VIII. *ad. an.* 597.

(10) *In* Vita. S. Auguſtini.

[*G*] *The King —— gave them audience, ſitting in the open air.*] The reaſon why Ethelbert received them in this manner proceeded forom a ſuperſtitious fancy, which made him decline truſting himſelf in a houſe with theſe ſtrangers; for fear, if they had dealt in the black art, they might have ſurprized his underſtanding, and proved too hard for him. *Caverat enim ne in aliquam domum ad ſe introirent, vetere uſus augurio, ne ſuperventu ſuo, ſi quid maleficæ artis habuiſſent, eum ſuperando deciperent* (11). 'But theſe good men,' continues Bede, 'held no 'correſpondence with the Devil, but had their authority and credentials from Heaven. When they 'were introduced to the King, they carried a ſilver 'croſs for their banner, together with the picture 'of our bleſſed Saviour, and, ſinging divine ſervice, 'they put up their prayers to God Almighty for 'his bleſſing on themſelves and thoſe they came to 'convert.' *At ille non dæmoniaca, ſed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini ſalvatoris in tabula depictum, lætaniaſque canentes, pro ſua ſimul, et eorum propter quos et ad quos venerant, ſalute æterna Domino ſupplicabant* (12). Baronius (13), in tranſcribing this paſſage of Bede, falls into ſome tragical reflections on the condition of the modern Church of England. He repreſents the caſe, as if the Engliſh, in his time, had, in a manner, apoſtatized from Chriſtianity. He tells us, that Auguſtin the Apoſtle of the Engliſh was a Monk, and that the reſt of the Miſſionaries were of the ſame order; that they appeared at their audience, and made their entrance into Canterbury, with the croſs and the picture of our Saviour carried before them: and then he complains, that theſe things were all forgotten and laid aſide by the modern Engliſh. Let us hear how Mr. Collier replies to this charge. That author obſerves, that *the terms of communion ſtand by no means upon the ſame foot they did in Gregory the Great's time* (14). Then he proceeds to a particular refutation of the Cardinal's charge. 'It may be replied, in the firſt place, '(ſays he) as to the monaſtic life, that the Church 'of England has not declared againſt it in any of her 'articles. Beſides, the Cardinal may remember, that 'the diſſolution of Abbies here, was an act of the 'State, and not of the Church; that it was prior 'to the Reformation, and carried on by a prince 'and parliament of the Roman Communion in all 'points, excepting the Supremacy. Secondly, As to 'the croſs and our Saviour's picture, the Church 'of England has a great regard for both of them, 'and makes uſe of the firſt in the ſolemn admi-'niſtration of Baptiſm. 'Tis true, we dare not carry 'our reſpects to the lengths of the Church of Rome. 'And if we examine the paſſage in Bede, though 'we find St. Auguſtin, and his companions, carried 'the croſs, and our Saviour's picture, in their 'proceſſion, yet there is not the leaſt intimation that 'they worſhipped them. Nay, 'tis plain that image-'worſhip was none of the doctrine of Rome in that 'age: for Pope Gregory the Great determines flatly 'againſt it.' Here Mr. Collier produces part of two letters, written by St. Gregory to Serenus Biſhop of Marſeilles (15), in proof of his aſſertion; and then goes on to ſhew, that this Pope did not carry the ſupremacy up to the pretenſions ſince inſiſted on by the court of Rome, as appears from his complaint againſt John Biſhop of Conſtantinople, for taking the title of *Univerſal Biſhop* upon him (16), and from three other letters, one to the Emperor Mauritius (17), the ſecond to Anaſtatius Biſhop of Antioch (18), and the laſt to Eulogius Biſhop of Alexandria (19).

(11) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(12) *Id. ibid.*

(13) Ubi ſupra, c. 23.

(14) Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. I. B. ii. p. 65.

(15) Gregorii Epiſt. læ, l. vii. epiſt. 109, & l. ix. epiſt. 9.

(16) *Ib.* l. iv. epiſt. 34.

(17) *Ib.* l. vi. epiſt. 30.

(18) *Ib.* ep. 24.

(19) *Ib.* l. vii. epiſt. 30.

[*H*] *The King aſſigned their place of reſidence at —— Canterbury.*] Namely, in the pariſh of St. Alphege, on the north-ſide of the *High* or *King's Street*, where, in Thorn's time, the Archbiſhop's palace ſtood, now called *Stable-gate* (20). Before Auguſtin's time, here was a kind of Oratory, or Chapel for the Royal Family, where they worſhipped and offered ſacrifice to their Gods. *Conceſſit iis locum habitationis in civitate Doroberniæ ſituatum, videlicet in parochia ſancti Alphegi ex oppoſito regiæ ſtratæ verſus aquilonem, per quam murus palacii archiepiſcopalis*

(20) Dart's Hiſt. of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, p. 2.

they entered in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn (*d*) [*I*]. Here Auguſtin and his companions applied themſelves to the ſtrict ſeverity of the monaſtic life, and preached the Goſpel jointly with the French Chriſtians in the church of St. Martin's; to which they were confined till the converſion of the King himſelf [*K*]; after which they had full liberty to preach in any part of that Prince's dominions (*e*). Auguſtin was ſo ſucceſsful in his labours for the propagation of Chriſtianity, that it is ſaid he baptized ten thouſand perſons of both ſexes, in one day, in the river Swale [*L*]. And now, by direction of the Pope, he went over to Arles in France, where he was conſecrated Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the Engliſh nation [*M*] by the Archbiſhop of that place; after which, returning into Britain, he diſpatched away Lawrence, a Prieſt, and Peter, a Monk, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope

(*d*) *Ibid.* c. 25.

(*e*) *Ibid.* c. 26.

thiepiſcopalis in longitudine ſe extendit — ſitus ille Stablegate *vocatus eſt; fuerat enim tunc temporis quaſi oratorium pro familia regis, ut ubi adorarent, et diis ſuis libamina immolarent* (21).

(21) Chronica W. Thorn. *apud* X Scriptores, col. 1759.

[*I*] *They entered* Canterbury *in proceſſion, ſinging an hymn.*] It was a very ſhort one, conſiſting only of this petition. 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni 'miſericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua 'a civitate iſta, et de domo ſancta tua, quoniam 'peccavimus. Alleluia (22). — *O Lord, according 'to thy mercy, we beſeech thee, let thine anger and 'thy fury be turned away from this city, and from thy 'holy place; for we have ſinned. Hallelujah.*'

(22) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[*K*] — *Till the converſion of the King himſelf.*] This Prince could not long hold out againſt the exemplary life of the Miſſionaries, the reaſonableneſs of their doctrine, and the miracles wrought by Auguſtin, in confirmation of it. In ſhort, King Ethelbert was baptized, and his example had a wonderfull effect in promoting the converſion of his ſubjects. One part of his conduct on this occaſion deſerves the higheſt commendation. Though he was extremely pleaſed at his ſubjects becoming Chriſtians, yet he compelled no body to his own belief, only beſtowing more countenance and affection upon thoſe that were proſelyted to Chriſtianity. For he had learned (ſays venerable Bede) from his inſtructors in the way of ſalvation, that force and dragooning was not the method of the Goſpel; that the religion of Jeſus Chriſt was to make its way by argument and perſuaſion; to be matter of choice, and not of compulſion. *Didicerat enim a Doctoribus auctoribuſque ſuæ ſalutis, ſervitium Chriſti voluntarium non coactitium eſſe debere* (23). I ſhall leave the reader to make his own reflexions on this matter, and to compare the ſpirit of moderation and Chriſtian charity, which actuated St. Auguſtin and King Ethelbert, with that perſecuting *inquiſitorial*, ſpirit, which has ſince prevailed in the Church of Rome.

(23) Bede, ubi ſupra, c. 26.

[*L*] *Auguſtin baptized ten thouſand perſons in one day in the river Swale.*] This we are told by Gervaſe: 'Beatus autem Auguſtinus verbum Dei 'prædicans, et ubique pedibus non in equis faleratis 'incedens, concurrentibus populis baptizavit una die 'promiſcui ſexus decem millia in flumine quod ab 'incolis *Sualewe* vocatur, prope Eboracum (24) — '*But St. Auguſtin, preaching the word of God, and 'going about every where on foot, not on a horſe 'with rich trappings, baptized in one day a mixed 'multitude of both ſexes, in number ten thouſand, in 'a river near York, called by the inhabitants* Sua-'lewe.' Camden (25) gives us the following extract from an ancient fragment of that age, in which the ſtory is thus related. *Upon one ſingle Chriſtmas-day (to the eternal honour of the Engliſh nation) Auſtin baptized above ten thouſand men, beſides an infinite number of women and children. But, pray, how ſhould Prieſts, or others in holy orders, be got, to baptize ſuch a prodigious number? The Archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated the river* Swale, *commanded by the criers and principal men, that they ſhould with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity baptize each other. Thus were they all regenerate, by as great a miracle, as once the people of Iſrael paſſed through the divided ſea, and through Jordan, when it was turned back. For in the ſame manner here, ſo great a variety of ſex and age paſſed ſuch a deep channel, and yet (which in human account is incredible) not one received harm. A ſtrange miracle this was! but what is yet a greater, the river cures all diſeaſes and infirmities. Whoever ſteps in faint and diſordered. comes out ſound and whole. What a joyful ſight was this for angels and men! ſo many thouſands of a proſelyte nation coming out of the channel of the ſame river, as out of the womb of one mother! one ſingle pool preparing ſo many inhabitants for the heavenly manſions. Hereupon Pope Gregory (with all the companies of the Saints above) broke forth into joy, and could not reſt till he had written to Eulogius, the holy Patriarch of Alexandria, moſt joyfully to congratulate him upon ſo vaſt a number being baptized on one Chriſtmas-day.* But this ſtory is not without its difficulties. For in the firſt place, the river *Swale*, in which this wonderful Baptiſm was performed, is ſaid to be near York. But it does not appear from Bede, that Auguſtin ever travelled ſo far northward. In the next place, what theſe authors aſcribe to Auguſtin, is by Bede related of Paulinus Archbiſhop of York; who, according to that hiſtorian, baptized in the river Suale, which runs by Catterick. *Baptizabat in fluvio Sualua, qui vicum Cataractam præterfluit* (26). Nevertheleſs, we have the teſtimony of Pope Gregory, in the above-mentioned letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, that Auguſtin baptized no fewer than ten thouſand converts. The truth of the caſe ſeems to be, that our Miſſionary baptized his converts, not in the Suale near York, but in another river of the ſame name at the mouth of the Medway. The miſtake of Gervaſe and others aroſe from confounding Auguſtin with Paulinus. I ſhall only obſerve farther, that the view of theſe writers, in ſending him ſo far northward, ſeems to have been, partly to give the higher idea of his labours and his authority, and partly to make it the more probable that he was the occaſion of the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor (27).

(24) Gervaſii Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1632.

(25) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, *in fol.* p. clxvi.

(26) Bede, l. ii. c. 14.

(27) See the remark [*W*].

[*M*] *He was conſecrated Archbiſhop and Metropolitan of the Engliſh nation.*] Baronius pretends, that Auguſtin was conſecrated a Biſhop in France, before his arrival in Britain (28). This he infers from St. Gregory's letter to Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, in which he acquaints him that the new Engliſh converts were baptized the Chriſtmas after Auguſtin's arrival (29). If this be true, Bede muſt be miſtaken in reporting that he travelled from Britain to Arles for the Epiſcopal character. But, in the beginning of the next century (30), the Cardinal ſeems to quit the authority of Pope Gregory's epiſtle, to rely upon Bede; for he tells us, that Auguſtin, purſuant to the Pope's inſtructions, went from Britain to Arles for his conſecration. M. Rapin cenſures Auguſtin for being in too much haſte to take upon himſelf the dignity of an Archbiſhop. 'Had he been content (ſays that author) with the 'ſimple title of Biſhop, there would have been no-'thing extraordinary in it. But one cannot help 'being ſurprized to ſee him aſpire to the dignity 'of an Archbiſhop, at a time when there was as 'yet no Biſhop under his juriſdiction. It is true, 'the Pope had given him leave to aſſume that title, 'in caſe his miſſion was followed with ſucceſs. But, 'by *ſucceſs*, it is moſt probable Gregory meant the 'general converſion of the Engliſh, and not that of 'a part only of the kingdom of Kent, one of the 'ſmalleſt of the Heptarchy. How great a progreſs ſoever Auguſtin had made in reſpect to the ſhort 'time of his abode in Britain, it was however but 'ſmall in compariſon of what remained to be con-'verted. So that his precipitation in aſſuming 'the dignity of Archbiſhop and Primate of Eng-'land, at a time when there was but one ſingle 'church there, namely that of Canterbury, is doubtleſs not very much to his honour. All that can 'be ſaid in his juſtification is, that the progreſs, 'which Chriſtianity made at its firſt ſetting out at 'Canterbury, gave him reaſon to think that the 'converſion of the reſt of England would ſoon fol-'low (31).'

(28) Annal. *ad an.* 597 Sect. 26.

(29) Gregor. Epiſt. 30. l. vii.

(30) Baron. *ib. an.* 601. Sect. 62.

(31) Rapin, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, l. iii. *Etat de L'Egliſe de Kent.*

with the ſucceſs of his miſſion, and to deſire his reſolution of certain queſtions. Theſe emiſſaries being returned, brought with them Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries [*N*], together with a Pall [*O*], and ſeveral books, veſtments, utenſils, and ornaments for the churches (*f*). His Holineſs, by the ſame meſſengers, gave him directions concerning the

(*f*) *Ibid.* c. 27.

[*N*] *Gregory's anſwers to Auguſtin's queries.*] Venerable Bede has reported them at length (32); and here follows an abridgment of them, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the Engliſh reader. I. *Queſtion*, 'How 'ought the Biſhops to behave towards their Clergy? 'Into how many portions ought the offerings at the 'altar to be diſtributed? And how is a Biſhop to act 'in the church?' With reſpect to the firſt point, the Pope refers Auguſtin to St. Paul's Epiſtles to Timothy. With regard to the ſecond, he tells him, that the Roman Church requires the Biſhops to divide the revenues of the church into four portions; the firſt for the Biſhop, the ſecond for the Clergy, the third for the Poor, and the fourth for the repairs of the churches. As to the third point, which would have been very obſcure, if the Pope had not cleared it up in his anſwer, he ſays, that Auguſtin being a Monk, ought not to live ſeparated from his brethren, but after the cuſtom of the firſt Chriſtians, who had all their goods and poſſeſſions in common. He adds, that if there were any of the brethren, who had not received holy orders, and who could not contain, they were at liberty to marry, and might receive their portions in their own houſes; becauſe it is ſaid in Scripture, that, in the beginning of Chriſtianity, diſtribution was made to each according to their neceſſities. As to other Chriſtians, the Pope tells him, it was not neceſſary to preſcribe any rule concerning the giving alms to them, ſince Jeſus Chriſt himſelf has ſaid, *Give alms of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you.* II. *Queſtion.* 'Since there is but one Faith, how 'comes it to paſs, that the cuſtoms of Churches are 'different in relation to public worſhip, and that 'the Gallican and Roman Churches are not uniform 'in this matter?' The Pope adviſes him, upon this head, to take from each Church, what he ſhould judge to be moſt ſuitable and convenient for the Church of England. III. *Queſtion.* 'What puniſh-'ment ought to be inflicted on thoſe, who rob or 'plunder the church of its goods?' Gregory anſwers, that we ought to diſtinguiſh the motives of the theft, whether it was through neceſſity or covetouſneſs; and that, in puniſhing the robber, we ſhould proceed with gentleneſs and charity. As to the meaſure of the reſtitution to be made to the church, he decides, that ſhe ought by no means to receive more than ſhe loſt. IV. *Queſtion.* 'May two bro-'thers marry two ſiſters, who are not related to 'them by blood?' Gregory anſwers, that ſuch marriages are lawful. V. *Queſtion.* 'Within what de-'gree of conſanguinity are marriages lawful?' Pope Gregory bars this relation no farther than couſin-germans; ſo that one remove from this nearneſs of blood, leaves the parties at liberty to inter-marry; which is more than the preſent Church of Rome allows. VI. *Queſtion.* 'May a Biſhop be conſecrated 'by one Biſhop alone, when the diſtance of place 'makes it inconvenient for the Biſhops of other 'dioceſes to aſſemble for that purpoſe?' Gregory replies, that, for the preſent, Auguſtin being the only Biſhop in England, there was a neceſſity he ſhould ordain Biſhops without aſſiſtants: but, to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he orders him to eſtabliſh Biſhops in places not too far diſtant from each other. VII. *Queſtion.* 'How am I to behave 'with reſpect to the French, and Britiſh Biſhops?" The Pope anſwers peremptorily, that he gives him no juriſdiction over the French Biſhops, becauſe the Archbiſhops of Arles had for a long time received the Pall from his predeceſſors, and he did not think it lawful to deprive them of the authority they were in poſſeſſion of; but as to the Britiſh Biſhops, he puts them all under Auguſtin's juriſdiction. VIII. *Queſtion.* 'Is it lawful to baptize a woman, who is with child?' The Pope anſwers in the affirmative, not apprehending any inconvenience that might ariſe from ſuch practice. IX. *Queſtion.* 'How long ought a woman 'to ſtay, after her lying-in, before ſhe is re-admit-'ted into the Church?' Gregory limits no time, but allows women to enter into the Church as ſoon after their delivery, as they can with ſafety. X. *Queſtion.* 'How long after the birth of a child, ought the 'ceremony of baptiſm to be deferred?' The Pope allows baptiſm to be adminiſtered, the very moment after the birth. XI. *Queſtion.* 'How long ought 'the huſband to ſtay, after the wife's lying-in, be-'fore he returns to her embraces?' Gregory gives a very long anſwer to this queſtion, and takes occaſion to blame thoſe mothers, who ſuffer their children to be ſuckled by ſtrange nurſes, aſcribing ſo blameable a practice to their incontinence; for which reaſon he decides, that the huſband ought not to return to his wife, till after the child is weaned. Nevertheleſs he permits thoſe women, who do not ſuckle their children, to lie with their huſbands after the uſual time of purgation. XII. *Queſtion.* 'Is it law-'ful for a woman to enter into the Church at all 'times?' The Pope has a great deal of reaſoning upon this head, and concludes, that the infirmities of women ought not to hinder them from aſſiſting at the public devotions of the Church. XIII. *Queſtion.* 'May a man, who has lain with a woman, come 'into the Church, or receive the Communion, be-'fore he has waſhed himſelf?' Here, Gregory, as uſual, makes a good number of diſtinctions, and concludes, that ſuch men would do better to refrain ſome ſhort time from going into the church, or receiving the Communion. XIV. *Queſtion.* 'Is it 'lawful for a man, after impure dreams, to receive 'the Communion; and, if he be a Prieſt, may he 'adminiſter it?' The Pope's anſwer to this queſtion is exceedingly full of diſtinctions, between what is, and what is not, a ſin. At laſt he concludes, that a man, under ſuch circumſtances, ought to abſtain from the Communion. Nevertheleſs, he allows a Prieſt in this caſe to adminiſter the Sacrament, provided no other can be found to officiate in his room. Theſe are the difficulties, of which Auguſtin deſired a ſolution from his Holineſs. It is true, they do not ſerve to give us the higheſt idea imaginable of this Miſſionary's judgment. However, Gregory thought it proper to reply to them in the fulleſt manner, as if they had been of the laſt importance. He had the converſion of the Engliſh very much at heart; and for this reaſon, he is ſo far from diſcouraging Auguſtin, that he beſtows the higheſt commendations on him.

(32) Hiſt. Eccl. l. i. c. 27.

[*O*] He received from Pope Gregory *the Pall.*] This being the firſt example in our hiſtory of the Pall being ſent into England, I ſhall here entertain the reader a little with the form, antiquity, and deſign of this habit of diſtinction, and the great conſequences it has drawn along with it. The PALL, as Harpsfield (33) deſcribes it, is a ſmall piece of woollen cloth, put over the Archbiſhop's ſhoulders, when he officiates. It is not ornamented with any rich dye, but is of the original colour of the wool on the ſheep's back. It is laid upon St. Peter's tomb, by the Biſhops of Rome, and then ſent away to the reſpective Metropolitans. This ancient ceremony is ſuppoſed to ſignify theſe two things; firſt, that the homelineſs of the Pall might prevent the Archbiſhop's growing vain, from the richneſs of the reſt of his habit; ſecondly, that, conſidering the Pall was taken from St. Peter's tomb, he might be careful to adhere to St. Peter's doctrine. Thus far Harpsfield. But the learned Peter de la Marca, Archbiſhop of Paris, has a much larger and more inſtructive diſcourſe upon this ſubject. As to the form, he obſerves (34), that the modern Pall is very different from the ancient. That now in uſe is nothing but a border of white woollen cloth, made round, and thrown over the ſhoulders; from which hang two other pieces, the one falling down upon the breaſt, and the other upon the back; the whole ornamented with red croſſes, and tacked on with three golden pins. But the ancient Pall was a rich robe of ſtate, and hung down to the ground, being the ſame with that which the Greeks called Ωμοφοριον. This the Latins called *Pallium*; which is a proof that it was an entire garment, and not, as at preſent, a cover

(33) Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. c. 6.

(34) De Concord. Sacerd. et Imper. l. vi. c. 6 & 7.

the ſettling epiſcopal Sees in Britain [*P*], and ordered him not to pull down the idol-temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches [*Q*]; cautioning him withal not to be puffed up with the miracles *(g)* he was enabled to work in confirmation of his miniſtry

(g) See the remark [*AA*].

only for the ſhoulders, breaſt, and back. And Pope Gregory informs us, in one of his letters (35), that it was a magnificent habit, deſigned to put the Prelate in mind, that his life ought to anſwer the dignity of his habit. The learned Peter de la Marca obſerves farther (36), that the Pall was part of the Imperial habit, and that the Emperors gave the Patriarchs leave to wear it. Thus Conſtantine's *Donation*, inſerted in Gratian's *Decretum*, informs us, that the uſe of the Pall was given to the Biſhop of Rome by that Prince. It is true, De Marca acknowledges this donation to be a counterfeit evidence: nevertheleſs the antiquity of it is not very inconſiderable, it being extant in the time of Charles the Great, and Adrian I. (37) So that the Pall's being a favour from the Emperors, is an opinion of above eight hundred years ſtanding. This point may be farther proved by unqueſtionable authority; for Liberatus Diaconus tells us (38), that Anthimus, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, being expelled his See, returned the Pall to the Emperor Juſtinian; which muſt imply, that he had received it from that Prince. De Marca produces ſome other proofs of this point (39), which the reader may conſult, if he is not already ſatisfied. Among other encroachments of the Papal on the Imperial power, the privilege of granting the Pall was no inconſiderable one, as it made the Archbiſhops and Patriarchs entirely dependent on the See of Rome. The neceſſity of procuring the Pall, was decreed in the eighth General Council of Conſtantinople, held in the year 872, in the Pontificate of Adrian II. This council paſſed a Canon to oblige the Metropolitans to receive confirmation from their reſpective Patriarchs, either by impoſition of hands, or the grant of the Pall. This Canon is not in the Greek text of the Council, but only in the verſion of Anaſtaſius. However, we may infer thus much from it, that it was no leſs cuſtomary for the Eaſtern Patriarchs, to ſend the Pall to the Metropolitans within their juriſdiction, than for the Pope to ſend it to thoſe of the Weſt (40). After the Metropolitans of Europe had ſubmitted to the above-mentioned Canon, and owned themſelves obliged to receive the Pall, they had new conditions of ſervitude impoſed upon them by the See of Rome. For now they were obliged to promiſe obedience and ſubjection to the Apoſtolic See under their hand-writing. This new law was introduced by Boniface, Archbiſhop of Mentz, in the Synod held by him, A. D. 742 (41). Gregory VII., who was of an enterprizing temper, reſolved to ſecure the ſubjection of the Metropolitans by a ſtronger tye, and accordingly changed the promiſe of obedience into the following oath of allegiance; *Non ero in conſilio, neque in facto, ut vitam, aut membra, aut Papatum perdant.* i. e. 'I will neither be aſſiſting with my perſon or 'advice, to the intent that they *(the Popes)* may 'loſe life, limb, or Popedom (42).' As to the Pall, the *Decretals*, publiſhed by order of Pope Gregory IX., in the XIIIth century, obliged every Archbiſhop not to call a council, bleſs the chryſm, conſecrate churches, or ordain Biſhops, till he had received his Pall from the See of Rome; at the delivery of which he was to ſwear fidelity to the Pope.

(35) Epiſt. 112. l. vii.

(36) Ubi ſupra, c. 6.

(37) *Id. ibid.* & l. iii. c. 12.

(38) *In* Breviar. c. 21.

(39) Ubi ſupra, l. v. c. 30. *Sect.* 3. & *ib.* c. 33. 36. *item* l. vi. c. 6. *Sect.* 10.

(40) De Marca, ubi ſupra, l. vi. c. 7. *Sect.* 5.

(41) *Id. ibid. Sect.* 6.

(42) *In* Regiſtro Gregor. VII. l. vi. *poſt* Epiſt. 17.

[*P*] *The Pope gave him directions concerning the ſettling Epiſcopal Sees in Britain.*] This he did in a letter dated the 10th of the Kalends of June. After acquainting him, that he had ſent him the Pall, as a mark of his eſteem for the great ſervice he had done in converting the Engliſh, he orders him to erect twelve Sees within his Province, and that the Biſhop of London ſhould receive the Pall from the Apoſtolic See. He likewiſe orders him to ſettle a Biſhop at York; adding, withal, that, if that city and the adjacent country ſhould become Chriſtians, he was to form it into a Province, with twelve Suffragans under the Metropolitan of York; to which Archbiſhop his Holineſs deſigned to ſend a Pall, with this reſervation, that he ſhould be ſubject to the Primate of Canterbury. His Holineſs proceeds to direct, that, after Auguſtin's death, the Archbiſhop of York was to preſide over the Biſhops ordained by him, and to be perfectly independent of the See of London; that the precedency of the Biſhops of London and York was to be regulated by the priority of their conſecrations; and that they ſhould act with unanimity for the common intereſt of Chriſtianity, and not claſh or interfere with each other. I ſhall tranſcribe the letter itſelf. It is extant in Bede (43).

(43) Lib. i. c. 29.

Reverendiſſimo et ſanctiſſimo fratri Auguſtino Coepiſcopo Gregorius ſervus ſervorum Dei.

CUM certum ſit pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regni præmia reſervari; nobis tamen eis neceſſe eſt honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in ſpiritualis operis ſtudio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius infudare. Et quia nova Anglorum Eccleſia ad omnipotentis Dei Gratiam eodem domino largiente, et te laborante perducta eſt, uſum tibi Pallii in ea ad ſola Miſſarum ſolemnia agenda concedimus: ita ut per loca ſingula duodecim Epiſcopos ordines, qui tuæ ſubjaceant ditioni, quatenus Lundonienſis civitatis Epiſcopus ſemper in poſterum a Synodo propria debeat conſecrari, atque honoris Pallium ab hac ſancta et apoſtolica, cui Deo auctore deſervio, ſede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus epiſcopum mittere, quem ipſe judicaveris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut ſi eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipſe quoque duodecim Epiſcopos ordinet, et Metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, ſi vita comes fuerit, Pallium tribuere Domino favente diſponimus; quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus diſpoſitioni ſubjacere: poſt obitum vero tuum ita Epiſcopis quos ordinaverit præſit, ut Lundonienſis Epiſcopi nullo modo ditioni ſubjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ Civitatis Epiſcopos in poſterum honoris iſta diſtinctio, ut ipſe prior habeatur qui prius fuerit ordinatus: communi autem conſilio et concordi actione quæque ſunt pro Chriſti zelo agenda; diſponant unanimiter, recte ſentiant, et ea quæ ſenſerint, non ſibimet diſcrepando perficiant. Tua vero fraternitas non ſolum eos Epiſcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per Eburacæ Epiſcopum fuerint ordinati, ſed etiam omnes Britanniæ Sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto auctore, ſubjectos; quatenus ex lingua et vita tuæ ſanctitatis, et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant, atque officium ſuum fide ac moribus exſequentes, ad cæleſtia, cum dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem cuſtodiat, reverentiſſime frater. Data Die decima Kalendarum Juliarum, Imperante Domino noſtro Mauricio Tiberio piiſſimo Auguſto, anno decimo nono, poſt Conſulatum ejuſdem Domini anno decimo octavo, Indictione quarta.

This letter is the more curious and important, as it contains the original plan of the Engliſh Hierarchy, and as it gave riſe to the frequent diſputes in ſucceeding ages between the Sees of Canterbury, York, London, and St. Andrew's in Scotland.

[*Q*] Gregory *ordered him not to pull down the Idol-temples, but convert them into Chriſtian churches.*] The reaſon of this injunction was this; that the natives, by frequenting the ſame temples they had been always accuſtomed to, might be the leſs ſhocked at their entrance into Chriſtianity. And therefore his Holineſs directed, that the idols ſhould be deſtroyed, and thoſe places of worſhip ſprinkled with holy water. And, whereas it had been their cuſtom to ſacrifice oxen to their falſe gods, he adviſed, that, upon the anniverſary of each church's conſecration, the people ſhonld erect booths round about it, and feaſt therein, not ſacrificing their oxen to devils, but killing them for their own refreſhment, and praiſing God for the bleſſing. And thus by allowing them ſome gratifications of ſenſe, they might reliſh Chriſtianity the better, and be raiſed by degrees to the nobler pleaſures of the mind. And here Gregory alledges the example of God himſelf, who, when he diſcovered himſelf to the Iſraelites in Egypt, did not

miniſtry [*R*]. Auguſtin, having fixed his See at Canterbury, dedicated an old church, formerly built by ſome Roman Chriſtians, to the honour of our Saviour; and King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, ſince called St. Auguſtin's (*b*) [*S*]. (*b*) *Ibid.* c. 33. Being thus ſupported by the intereſt of King Ethelbert, Auguſtin made an attempt to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church [*T*]. To this purpoſe a conference was held at a place in Worceſterſhire ſince called *Auguſtin's Oak*; where the Archbiſhop endeavoured to perſuade the Britiſh Prelates to make but one communion, and aſſiſt in preaching to the unconverted Saxons. But failing in this attempt, he was willing to appeal to the ſupernatural evidence of a miracle; and accordingly, at the cloſe of the diſpute, a blind Saxon being brought to the Britiſh Biſhops for a cure, and not meeting with relief, was carried to St. Auguſtin, who preſently reſtored him to ſight. But this not yet ſatisfying the Biſhops, a ſecond conference was propoſed and held [*U*]; which proving as unſucceſsful as the former,

not forbid them the cuſtomary rites of ſacrificing, but transferred their worſhip from the devil to himſelf (44). Thus Pope Gregory condeſcended to the weakneſs of the new converts, and complied with part of their prejudices, as a more likely expedient to reconcile them to Chriſtianity, than if he had indulged them in no circumſtance of their former cuſtoms, but had driven them wholly from one extreme to another.

(44) Gregor. Epiſt. 71. l. ix.

[*R*] —— *Cautioning him not to be puffed up with the miracles, he was enabled to work, in confirmation of his miniſtry.*] After having premiſed his great ſatisfaction at the converſion of the Engliſh, he lets him know he was convinced, that God had wrought ſurprizing miracles in favour of his miſſion. He tells him, he had reaſon to rejoice, that the exterior pomp and dazzling luſtre of miracles, had brought the Engliſh to the inward reformation and ſpiritual advantage deſigned by them; but, on the other ſide, he ought to be afraid, leſt, through human infirmity, he ſhould grow vain upon this privilege. And therefore he deſires him to remember, that, when the diſciples told our Saviour, with an air of tranſport, *Lord, even the devils are ſubject unto us through thy name*, they received this anſwer: *Rejoice not, that the ſpirits are ſubject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven*, Luke x. 17. He proceeds to exhort the Archbiſhop to examine the ſtate of his mind with great care and impartiality, otherwiſe the power of working miracles might prove a ſnare to him. He adviſes him to conſider, how much the Engliſh were the favourites of heaven, ſince God enabled him to alter the courſe of nature, and perform ſuch wonderful things, to promote their converſion. He adviſes him farther, frequently to recollect his own failings; this being a good expedient to preſerve his humility, and ſuppreſs the tumours of pride. Laſtly, he puts him in mind, that whatever degrees of ſupernatural power were beſtowed upon him, they were not deſigned for figure and greatneſs, nor given for his own ſake; but intended principally for the advantage of thoſe, whoſe happineſs he was ſent to procure. *Scio, frater chariſſime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gentem quam eligi voluit, magna miracula oſtendit; unde neceſſe eſt, ut de eodem dono cæleſti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudendo pertimeſcas. Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur: pertimeſcas vero, ne, inter ſigna quæ fiunt infirmus animus ſui præſumptione ſe elevet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem gloriam intus cadat. Meminiſſe etenim debemus, quia diſcipuli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cæleſti magiſtro dicerent*; Domine, in nomine tuo etiam dæmonia nobis ſubjecta ſunt; *protinus audierunt:* Nolite gaudete ſuper hoc, ſed potius gaudete quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem poſuerant qui de miraculis gaudebant; ſed de privato ad communem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiam revocantur quibus dicitur:* In hoc gaudete, quia nomina veſtra ſcripta ſunt in cœlo. *Non enim omnes Electi miracula faciunt; ſed tamen eorum nomina omnium in cœlo tenentur adſcripta. Veritatis etenim diſcipulis eſſe gaudium non debet, niſi de eo bono quod commune cum omnibus habent. Reſtat itaque, frater chariſſime, ut inter ea quæ operante Deo exterius facis, ſemper te interius ſubtiliter judices, ac ſubtiliter intelligas, et temetipſum quis ſcis, et quanta ſit in eadam gente gratia, pro cujus converſione etiam faciendorum ſignorum dona percepiſti. Et ſi quando te Creatori noſtro ſeu per linguam, ſive per opera reminiſceris deliquiſſe, ſemper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut ſurgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quicquid de faciendis ſignis acceperis vel accepiſti, hæc non tibi ſed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi ſalute collata ſunt* (45).

(45) Bede, l. i. c. 31.

[*S*] *King Ethelbert founded the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, ſince called St. Auguſtin's.*] 'Cœnobii 'magnificentiſſimi (*ſays* Godwin) jecit fundamenta 'ſub ipſis mœnibus Cantuarienſis civitatis, ab ipſo 'Petri et Pauli, ſed a poſteris, Divi Auguſtini in ho'diernum uſque diem nuncupati. Nam nondum de'molitum viſitur adhuc, et pars patrimonii regii cen'ſetur. Regia vero, ſuccedentium deinceps Archie'piſcoporum ſemper fuit et eſt adhuc palatium (46). '—— *He* (King Ethelbert) *laid the foundation of* 'a *moſt magnificent convent, cloſe by the walls of* 'the *city of Canterbury, to which he gave the title* 'of *St. Peter and St. Paul; but in after-times it was* 'called *the Abbey of St. Auguſtin, which name it re*'tains *to this day. For it is not entirely deſtroyed,* 'and *what remains is looked upon as a part of the* 'royal *patrimony. It was anciently the reſidence of the* 'Kings *of Kent; afterwards it was given to the Arch*'biſhops, *whoſe palace it ſtill continues to be.*'

(46) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 46.

[*T*] *Auguſtin attempted to ſettle a correſpondence with the Britiſh Biſhops, and to bring them to a conformity with the Roman Church.*] The Britons, from the firſt time of planting Chriſtianity in the iſland, had conſtantly followed the rules and cuſtoms left them by their firſt maſters. But the Church of Rome had made certain alterations in the manner of celebrating divine ſervice, to which it pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The Churches of the Weſt, as being the neareſt to Rome, were the moſt eaſily gained; and almoſt all of them, excepting thoſe of France and Milan, conformed at laſt to the Roman Ritual. But Britain ſtill continued, as it were, A World apart. Since the embaſſy of Lucius to Pope Eleutherius, the Britons had very little communication with the Biſhops of Rome. They acknowledged them only as Biſhops of a particular Dioceſe, or, at moſt, as heads of a Patriarchate, on which they did not think the Britiſh Church ought to be any way dependent. They were ſo far from receiving orders from the Pope, that they were even ſtrangers to his pretenſions. But Auguſtin, full of zeal for the intereſts of the See of Rome, made an attempt to bring them to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Pope over all other Churches. It is not eaſy to ſay, how far Auguſtin intended to have led them, ſince it does not appear, that he had any inſtructions on this head from Gregory I., who was very far from aſpiring to that exceſs of authority, which his ſucceſſors arrogated to themſelves. However, it cannot be denied, that this Pope claimed a juriſdiction over the churches of Britain, ſince, in his letter to Auguſtin, he appointed him Metropolitan of the whole iſland. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that Auguſtin would have inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on this article, if he had not been very ſure of the Pope's approbation.

[*U*] *A ſecond conference was propoſed, and held.*] The appearance at this aſſembly was much greater than at the former; for now there came ſeven Britiſh Biſhops, and a great many learned Monks from the monaſtery of Bancornaburg, or Bangor, who were under the direction of their Abbot, Dinoth. Theſe Britons, at their ſetting forward to the Synod, applied

former, Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity, as a puniſhment of their diſobedience; which, the hiſtorians tell us, accordingly fell upon them (*i*) [*W*]. In the year 604. Auguſtin conſecrated two of his companions, Mellitus and Juſtus, the former to the See of Rocheſter, and the latter to that of London. The ſame

(*i*) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

plied themſelves to a certain Hermit, eminent for virtue and good ſenſe; and aſked his opinion, whether they ſhould give up the uſages and traditions of their Church, and acknowledge the pretenſions of Auguſtin. His anſwer was; if he was a man of God, they ought to be governed by him. They deſired to be informed how they ſhould know whether he was, or not. He replied, 'Our Saviour 'ſays; *Take my yoke upon you, for I am meek and 'lowly in heart.* If therefore Auguſtin be a man 'of an affable and humble diſpoſition, it is very 'probable he has taken the yoke of Chriſt upon 'him, and offers you the ſame privilege. But if 'his behaviour be haughty and inſolent, it is plain 'he is no agent from Heaven, nor is his diſcourſe 'to be regarded.' They aſked him farther, by what marks they were to diſcover his temper of mind. The Hermit anſwered, they ſhould manage it ſo, that Auguſtin and his company ſhould come firſt to the place; and then, if he roſe up to ſalute them at their coming in, they might conclude, that he was ſent from God; but if he neglected to pay them this civility, they might return his contempt, and have nothing to do with him (47). Baronius is by no means pleaſed with the Hermit's criterion: he calls him a falſe Prophet, and charges him with laying down a wrong mark of humility (48). But why all this hard language upon the poor Anchoret, whom Bede acknowledges to have been eminent both for piety and prudence? But the Cardinal pretends to juſtify his ſatire from this text of St. John: *If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine receive him not into your houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed.* Where he ſeems not to have conſidered, that thoſe who were to be received thus coldly, and kept at ſuch a diſtance, were ſuch as *denied our Saviour's being come in the fleſh.* But Auguſtin could not charge the Britons with any infidelity or apoſtaſy from the faith; and therefore he might have received them with reſpect and civility. But Baronius will have it, that Auguſtin knew them to be an obſtinate people, and that they were not to be moved by the authority of the Apoſtolic See. If this be true, why did he give himſelf all this trouble, and appoint a ſecond meeting? Beſides, the Cardinal might have remembered, that it was always the cuſtom of the Church, to treat Heretics, and even Heathens, with common civility. But ſtill the Cardinal will not allow, that Auguſtin's not riſing up to ſalute the Britons, was a ſufficient ground for rejecting his propoſals. *What*, ſays he, *are malefactors to except againſt the authority of their judge, becauſe he will not compliment them? Our Saviour enjoined obedience to the Scribes and Phariſees, becauſe they ſat in Moſes's ſeat; for their pride was no forfeiture of their authority.* Thus Baronius argues upon the ſuppoſition of the Pope's ſupremacy, which was a doctrine the Britiſh Church knew nothing of. But to proceed to the conference. When the Britons came into the Synod, and found that Auguſtin received them ſitting, they reſented the affront, and warmly oppoſed every thing offered by him. The articles inſiſted on by Auguſtin were; that they ſhould celebrate Eaſter, and adminiſter Baptiſm, according to the practice of the Roman Church; and that they ſhould acknowledge the Pope's authority. If they would comply in theſe reſpects, and aſſiſt in the converſion of the Saxons, he would bear with the diſagreement of their cuſtoms in other caſes. But the Britons replied, they could yield none of the points conteſted (49). As to the Pope's authority, what their ſenſe was upon that article, appears by Abbot Dinoth's anſwer, who ſpoke for the reſt. He told Auguſtin, 'That the Britiſh Churches owed the de-'ference of brotherly kindneſs and charity to the 'Church of God, the Pope of Rome, and to all 'Chriſtians; but they knew of no other obedience 'due from them to him, whom they called the 'Pope; that, for their parts, they were under the 'direction of the Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, who, 'under God, was their ſpiritual overſeer and di-'rector.' This part of the conference is not related by Bede, but was tranſcribed from a manuſcript by Sir Henry Spelman (50), who has given it us in Welſh, Engliſh, and Latin, and tells us, he had it from Mr. Peter Moſtin, a Welſh gentleman. It appeared to Sir Henry to be a very old manuſcript, tranſcribed from an older, but without date or author. However, to weaken the authority of this manuſcript, it is objected, that there was at that time no Biſhop of Caerleon upon Uſk, nor had been, ſince the metropolitical juriſdiction had been tranſlated to Menevia, by St. David. In anſwer to which, it is granted, that, from the time of Dubricius, the See was transferred, firſt to Landaff, and then to St. David's; but this latter tranſlation was not agreed to by all the Britiſh Biſhops; and Caerleon being the ancient metropolitical See, it was no abſurdity to mention that place, in a diſpute which turned upon ancient right. But the certainty of the Britiſh Churches rejecting the Pope's authority, does not depend on the credit of this Welſh manuſcript. For the point is ſufficiently clear from Bede, who tells us (51), the Britiſh Clergy declared againſt owning Auguſtin for their Archbiſhop: whereas, had they acknowledged the Pope's ſupremacy, they could not but have ſubmitted to Auguſtin, who acted under his commiſſion. If it be enquired why the Britiſh Clergy were ſo tenacious of their old cuſtoms, as to break with Auguſtin, rather than alter their way of keeping Eaſter, and adminiſtering Baptiſm; it may be replied, that theſe terms were not required of them, as conditions of brotherly communion, but as marks of ſubmiſſion and inferiority. And therefore, the Britiſh Biſhops, perceiving their liberties were ſtruck at, and reſenting, at the ſame time, the ſeeming diſreſpect with which they were treated, were by no means in a diſpoſition to comply with any propoſitions Auguſtin could make to them.

(47) Bede, l. ii. c. 2.

(48) Baron *ad an.* 604. *ſect.* 71.

(49) Bede, ubi ſupra.

(50) *In the firſt Volume of his* Councils, p. 108, 109.

(51) Ubi ſupra.

[*W*] *Auguſtin is ſaid to have threatened the Britons with a terrible calamity —— which —— accordingly fell upon them.*] Being diſappointed at the ſucceſs of this Synod, he ſaid to them, at going away, *If ye will not accept of peace with your brethren, ye ſhall receive war from your enemies; and if ye will not preach the way of life to the Engliſh, ye ſhall ſuffer death from their hands, by way of revenge.* This unfriendly prediction, Bede tells us, was afterwards fulfilled; for Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, marched with a great army to Caerleon, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Britons. The deſcription of this battle, in which near twelve hundred of the Monks of Bangor were put to the ſword, may be ſeen in Bede (52), who takes care to inform us, that *it was fought after the death of Auguſtin.* But ſeveral writers are of opinion, that this paſſage of Bede is interpolated, becauſe it is not found in King Alfred's Saxon verſion, And Biſhop Godwin (53) takes notice of a Charter ſigned by Ethelbert and Auguſtin, in the year 605, which he makes to be the year of this battle. In anſwer to theſe objections, it may be obſerved, that, though the conteſted paſſage be not in King Alfred's tranſlation, yet it was in all the moſt ancient manuſcripts of the original (54); and that Alfred omitted tranſlating it, becauſe the hiſtory of Auguſtin's Life was not yet finiſhed; for, in the next chapter, he is ſaid to have conſecrated two Biſhops, Mellitus and Juſtus. As to the objection of Auguſtin's ſigning King Ethelbert's charter, the learned Sir Henry Spelman obſerves (55), that it was the Saxon cuſtom of that age, to paſs eſtates and privileges without inſtruments in writing; and that King Withred, who reigned about the year 700, was the firſt who introduced written deeds; ſo that all the charters, prior to this time, are to be ſuſpected of forgery. Farther, that Auguſtin died in the year 604, and before the ſlaughter of the Monks of Bangor, the learned Wharton endeavours to put beyond all queſtion. For he alledges the teſtimony of an ancient book, cited by William Thorn; from whence it is evident, that Auguſtin and Pope Gregory both died in the ſame year; but it is paſt all

(52) *Ibid.*

(53) Ubi ſupra, p. 49.

(54) Notæ Wheloc. *in* Bede, c. 2. l. ii.

(55) Council. Vol. I. p. 125.

ſame year, having appointed Laurence to ſucceed him, this Apoſtle of the Engliſh died at Canterbury, and was buried in the church-yard of the monaſtery that went by his name, the cathedral being not then finiſhed: but, after the conſecration of that church, his body was taken up, and depoſited in the north porch (*k*); where it lay, till, in the year 1091, it was removed and placed in the church, by Wido Abbot of Canterbury (*l*) [*X*]. The inſcription upon St. Auguſtin's tomb, given us by Bede (*m*), is generally thought to be ſpurious [*Y*]. The Popiſh writers have, as uſual, aſcribed ſeveral miracles

(*k*) Ibid. c. iii.

(*l*) Chronica W. Thorn *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1793.

(*m*) Ubi ſupra.

all diſpute, that the latter died in 604 (56). It is of great conſequence to ſettle this point, ſince no leſs depends upon it, than the truth or falſehood of an accuſation, which reflects the higheſt infamy on the memory of Auguſtin. For he is charged with having been, not only the author, but even the principal actor, in the tragedy above-mentioned. Biſhop Godwin, who is not inclined to ſpeak favourably of Auguſtin, calls him, with a ſneer, an excellent Prophet indeed, who could ſo readily foretel, what was in his own power to bring to paſs. *Vatem ſcilicet præclarum, qui illa potuit prædicere, quæ ut efficeret, in ſua novit eſſe poteſtate* (57)! Then he goes on to acquaint us, that, by his authority and influence over King Ethelbert, he eaſily prevailed with that Prince to make war with the Britons, and to excite Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, againſt them. And in ſupport of this charge, he cites the following paſſage out of one Thomas Graius, who (he tells us) lived three hundred years ago, and wrote Annals in the French language. 'Auguſtinus ab 'Epiſcopis et aliis inter Britannos doctis hominibus 'hoc pacto rejectus, Ethelberto Cantiorum regi tam 'graviter conqueſtus eſt, ut exercitum protinus gran-'dem collegerit, et in eos impetum faciens, mag-'num illorum numerum interfecerit, quorum nihilo 'magis miſertus eſt quam ſolet lupus ovicularum.— '*Auguſtin, being in this manner rejected by the Biſhops* '*and other learned men among the Britons, complained* '*ſo heavily thereof to Ethelbert, King of Kent, that* '*that Prince immediately levied a conſiderable army,* '*and falling upon them, deſtroyed great multitudes of* '*them, taking no more pity of them than a wolf* '*does of a flock of ſheep.*' Then the Biſhop goes on to acquaint us farther, upon the authority of a very ancient anonymous manuſcript, which he does not cite, that Ethelbert, at the inſtigation of Auguſtin, borrowed forces of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, for carrying on the war againſt the Britons inhabiting Wales; and that Archbiſhop Auguſtin himſelf came up with them, and gained a complete victory over them, at Cheſter (58). If this account were a true one, the Biſhop might well exclaim; *Nimium profecto hæc ſapiunt ambitionem et potentiæ in immenſum augendæ cupiditatem illam effrenem, qua ſemper a primis incunabulis Roma laboravit* (59). i. e. 'Such proceedings ſurely ſavour a little too much 'of that ambition and unbounded thirſt after power, 'which the See of Rome has conſtantly diſcovered.' Bnt if Auguſtin, as is moſt probable, died before the ſlaughter of the Britons, then one half at leaſt of the ſtory is falſe; and if one half be not true, the reader is left to judge what credit the other part deſerves. As a farther juſtification of Auguſtin from the charge in queſtion, let us cite Mr. Collier. 'As 'for Auguſtin's prediction of this calamity (ſays that 'author), it does not at all infer, he was any way 'inſtrumental in it. It amounts only to a warm ex-'preſſion, dropt upon a diſappointment, and a pro-'bable conjecture upon the poſture of affairs; for, 'at that time, the country was much embroiled, 'and the Britons ſurrounded with formidable ene-'mies, ſo that unleſs, by cloſing with Auguſtin, they 'procured King Ethelbert for their ally, he fore-'ſaw the caſe might probably go hard with them. 'Beſides, we are to obſerve, that the defeat was 'given the Britons by King Ethelfrid, a Pagan Prince, 'whoſe dominions lay beyond the Humber, and by 'conſequence could be no homager to King Ethel-'bert. For theſe reaſons, there is no manner of 'likelihood, that Auguſtin ſhould have any intereſt 'or correſpondence with him. To this we may add, 'in the laſt place, that the annals of Ulſter reckon 'the ſlaughter of the Britiſh Monks by King Ethel-'frid to the year of our Lord 613, which was 'certainly after the death of Archbiſhop Auguſtin: 'And this computation is allowed by the learned 'Primate Uſher (60).' Nicholas Trivet, who wrote a Chronicle in Norman French, tells us, as he is cited by Sir Henry Spelman (61), that the cruelty of King Ethelfrid, in falling upon thoſe unarmed Monks, was quickly revenged upon him. For this Prince marching forward, after the victory, towards Bangor, was encountered by a freſh body of Britons, who killed above ten thouſand of his men, routed the reſt, and purſued Ethelfrid as far as the Humber.

(56) Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 91.

(57) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(58) *Then called* Legeceſtria.

(59) Godwin, ib. p. 50.

(60) Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. Vol. i. B. ii. p. 78.

(61) Concil. Vol. i. p. 112.

[*X*] *His body was removed, and placed in the church, by Wido, Abbot of Canterbury.*] William Thorn informs us, that, on the 8th of the Ides of September, A. D. 1091, Abbot Wido tranſlated the body of St. Auguſtin from the place where it had lain near five hundred years, and placed all the larger bones, together with the Saint's head, in a ſtone-coffin; on which was this inſcription:

Inclitus Anglorum Preſul, pius, et decus altum,
Hic AUGUSTINUS requieſcit corpore Sanctus.

But leaſt the Danes and Normans, who made frequent incurſions on thoſe parts of Kent, ſhould deprive the nation of ſo valuable a treaſure; therefore, when the ceremony of the tranſlation was over, and the people were retired home, the venerable Abbot, with a few of the ſenior Monks, went privately into the church by night, and taking out the Saint's head, and part of his body, excepting only the ſmaller bones and ſome aſhes, they placed them in a ſmall urn, ſtrongly ſecured with iron and lead; which they hid in the wall under the Eaſt-window. And as there were but a few brethren entruſted with the ſecret, the memory of it was ſoon extinct; and the body lay concealed an hundred and thirty years, till the time of Abbot Hugh III (62); when on the fifth of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1221, it was diſcovered, and honourably depoſited in three different places. That Abbot to excite the devotion of the people, did, at his own expence, cauſe the Saint's head to be ornamented with gold and precious ſtones, and repoſited by itſelf (63). At laſt, on the third of the Kalends of May, A. D. 1300, Thomas Findon, then Abbot of Canterbury, depoſited St. Auguſtin's relics in a marble tomb, adorned with beautiful carved work; adding withal to the above-mentioned diſtich, this other, in which he expreſſed his great affection for the memory of that Saint:

Ad tumulum laudis Patris almi ductus amore.
Abbas hunc tumulum THOMAS dictavit honore (64).

(62) Chronic. W. Thorn. ap. X Scriptores, col. 1793, 1794.

(63) Id. ibid col. 1877, 1878.

(64) Id. ibid. col. 1977.

[*Y*] *The inſcription on his tomb, given us by Bede, is generally thought to be ſpurious.*] It is this: *Hic requieſcit Dominus Auguſtinus Doruvernenſis Archiepiſcopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum ſuffultus, Aedilberctum Regem, ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Chriſti fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii ſui, defunctus eſt ſeptimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante* (65): i. e. 'Here 'reſts Auguſtin, the firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury, 'who being formerly ſent hither by St. Gregory, 'Pope of Rome, and aſſiſted by God with the power 'of working miracles, converted King Ethelbert and 'his ſubjects from idolatry to the Chriſtian faith; 'and having finiſhed in peace the days of his miniſtry, 'he departed this life on the ſeventh of the Kalends 'of June, in the ſame King's reign.' Againſt the authority of this inſcription, and its pretenſion to ſo great antiquity, it is uſually objected, that the term *Archiepiſcopus* (Archbiſhop) was not then in uſe in the Weſtern Church; as not being commonly allowed to Metropolitans (according to Mabillon and others) till about the ninth Century (66). With Auguſtin, there were buried in the ſame porch the ſix archbiſhops, who immediately ſucceeded him; and in honour of the whole ſeven, *viz.* Auguſtin, Laurence,

(65) Bede, l. 2. c. iii.

(66) Stillingfl. Orig. Eccleſ. p. 21, 22.

miracles to St. Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give the reader a ſpecimen below [Z]. As to his character; Biſhop Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, by which he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland [*AA*]; and that writer is of opinion, that the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended [*BB*]. But in favour of Auguſtin, it muſt be ſaid, that he lived ſuitably to the character of a Miſſionary, and practiſed great auſterities. And if he betrayed any reſtleſſneſs of temper, or ſtrained his authority too far in reſpect to the Britons, it ought to be placed to the account of human infirmities, and covered by his greater merit: This is certain; he engaged in a glorious undertaking, ſurmounted danger and diſcouragement, and was bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs. And what ought to endear his memory to us, is, that he was a ſignal inſtrument in the hand of providence, in eſtabliſhing Chriſtianity in this iſland. The obſervation of the feſtival of St. Auguſtin was firſt enjoined in a ſynod held under Cuthbert Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*n*), and afterwards by the Pope's bull in the reign of King Edward III. (*o*)

(*o*) Chronic. W. Thorn. *apud.* Twyſden. col. 2119.

(*n*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cantuar. *apud* Twyſden, col. 1641.

rence, Mellitus, Juſtus, Honorius, Deus-Dedit, and Theodactus; theſe verſes, Mr. Camden tells us (67), were engraven on marble.

(67) Britannia. *publiſhed by Bp.* Gibſon, *fol.* Vol. i. p. 241.

SEPTEM SUNT ANGLI PRIMATES ET PROTOPATRES,
SEPTEM RECTORES, SEPTEM COELOQUE TRIONES,
SEPTEM CISTERNÆ VITÆ, SEPTEMQUE LUCERNÆ,
ET SEPTEM PALMÆ REGNI, SEPTEMQUE CORONÆ,
SEPTEM SUNT STELLÆ, QUAS HÆC TENET AREA CELLÆ.

Seven Patriarchs of England, Primates Seven,
Seven Rectors, and Seven Labourers in Heav'n,
Seven Ciſterns pure of Life, Seven Lamps of Light,
Seven Palms, and of this Realm ſeven Crowns full bright,
Seven Stars are here beſtowed in vault below.

Theſe ſeven Prelates were buried in the porch of the Cathedral; but all the ſucceeding Archbiſhops were interred in the body of the church, the porch not being large enough to receive any more (68).

(68) Bede, ubi ſupra.

[Z] *The Popiſh writers have — aſcribed ſeveral miracles to St. Auguſtin, of which we ſhall give a ſpecimen.*] William Thorn relates, that, when Auguſtin firſt landed in the iſle of Thanet, at his getting out of the ſhip, he ſtepped upon a ſtone, which retained the print of his foot, as if it had been only mud. That hiſtorian adds, that this ſtone was taken up, and preſerved in a chapel, built by the Saint in that very place; and that great multitudes of people reſorted thither annually, on the day of its depoſition, to pay their devotions to it, and for the recovery of their health (69). John Bromton mentions a very clear fountain of water, which Auguſtin, by his prayers, cauſed to ſpring up, at a time when he wanted water for baptizing (70). The ſame author tells us ſo very extraordinary a ſtory of St. Auguſtin, that I ſhall give it the reader at length. That Prelate coming one day to preach at a village called Cumpton, in Oxfordſhire, the Prieſt of that town complained to him, that a certain officer in the army refuſed to pay him his tythes. Whereupon Auguſtin ſent for the officer, and gently reprimanded him for his obſtinacy in withholding the church's dues. But the ſoldier ſtill refuſing to comply, Auguſtin threatened him with excommunication; and then going up to the altar, he ſaid aloud in the hearing of all the people, *Let no excommunicated perſon be preſent at the Maſs.* This being ſaid, a dead corpſe, which had been buried in the church porch, came immediately out of its grave, and, going into the church-yard, ſtood there erect and motionleſs, during the celebration of Maſs. The people, who ſaw it, came in a fright to Auguſtin, and related the matter. Whereupon the Archbiſhop, preceded by the Croſs and Holy Water, and accompanied by all the people, went to the place, and demanded of the dead body, who he was? To whom the corpſe replied: *When you commanded on God's part, that no excommunicated perſon ſhould be preſent at the Maſs, the Angels of God, who conſtantly attend your ſteps, caſt me out of the place where I was buried, telling me, that Auguſtin, the friend of God, commanded all ſtinking carcaſſes to be thrown out of the Church of God. For, in the time of the Britons, before the fury of the Anglo-Saxons had laid waſte this country, I was Lord of this village; and, though often admoniſhed by the Prieſt of this church, I refuſed paying tythes, 'till being excommunicated by him I died, and was caſt down into hell.* Hereupon Auguſtin and all the company wept bitterly. Then Auguſtin bid the dead body ſhew him where the Prieſt lay buried; which being done, and a few dry bones being found, the Saint addreſſed himſelf to prayer, and then ſaid, *In the name of God, I command thee to ariſe, for I have buſineſs with thee.* Immediately the bones began to unite, and in a ſhort time the Prieſt ſtood before them; who, at the Saint's command, pronounced abſolution on the excommunicated corpſe; after which, both the dead bodies returned to their graves, and fell into duſt. Then Auguſtin, calling the officer, aſked him, if he yet perſiſted in refuſing to pay his tythes. But he, trembling and aſtoniſhed, fell at the Saint's feet, and confeſſed his crime; and, beſtowing all his goods on the church, he became a conſtant follower of Auguſtin, till the day of his death (71). If the reader is not yet ſatisfied, he may read a great deal more of ſuch Legendary ſtuff in the author cited in the margin (72).

(69) Chronic. W. Thorn, ubi ſupra, col. 1759.

(70) Chronic. J. Bromton, ubi ſupra, col. 807.

(71) Id. ib. col. 736, 737.

(72) Goſcelini Hiſt. Minor. de Vita S. Auguſtini, *Apud* Wharton, Pars ſecunda, p. 56, &c.

[*AA*] *Godwin charges him with a reſtleſs ambition, whereby he occaſioned great diſturbances in this iſland.*] 'Homo is (*Auguſtinus*) videtur ſanctitate morum quam ſcientia aut eruditione laudatior, etſi ut homo vitiis non caruerit, ac illo in primis ambitionis, qua dum pluſquam nimis ardeſcerit, magnas hic turbas excitavit, ut quaſi contagio quodam infectus, a loco unde venerat hanc peſtem accepiſſe videatur, ſi Pontificum ſubſequentium ſuperbiam ad apertam tyrannidem graſſantium, potius quam Gregorii, et anteceſſorum ſuorum humilitatem ſpectemus (73). — *Auguſtin ſeems more worthy of praiſe for the holineſs of his life, than his knowledge or learning; though as a man he was not free from faults, eſpecially that of ambition, with which being too ſtrongly poſſeſſed, he was the occaſion of great diſturbances here; inſomuch that he ſeems to have been infected with the malignity of the place from whence he came, and to have brought this plague with him from Rome, if we conſider the pride of the ſucceeding Popes, who openly played the tyrants, rather than the humility of Gregory and his predeceſſors.*' What diſturbances this author means, or what marks of ambition he diſcovered in Auguſtin's conduct, I am at a loſs to ſay; unleſs he had in view the ſlaughter of the Britons, and that Prelate's taking upon himſelf the character of Metropolitan of England, before Chriſtianity had extended itſelf beyond the bounds of Kent, or there were any ſuffragan Biſhops to acknowledge his juriſdiction. But the reader will know better what to think of both theſe events, if he will conſult the remarks [*M*] and [*W*].

(73) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 42.

[*BB*] — *And is of opinion, that the Engliſh were not ſo much obliged to the Church of Rome, for the ſucceſs of Auguſtin's miſſion, as is generally pretended.*] Let the Biſhop once more ſpeak for himſelf. 'Cui tamen Apoſtoli Anglorum non invidebimus appellationem, modo commodè intellectam. Miſſum ſiquidem non inficiamur; ſed per quem? Per Gregorium Epiſcopum Romanum, cui nequicquam plus juris erat in noſtram Angliam quam ipſi Auguſtino — Dabimus porro, ut Anglis prædicaret miſſum. Angliæ tamen pars magna (cur non dixerim maxima) infidelitatis tenebris immerſa jacuit plurimis poſt mortem ejus annis, donec tandem Paulinus in Septentrione anno 625, Wilfridus apud Auſtrales Saxones 681, Fœlix apud orientales Anglos in Norfolcia 630, aliique alibi poſtea Chriſtum primi annuntiarunt (74). — *I ſhall not deny him*

(74) Id. ibid. p. 45, 46.

'*him the title of* Apoſtle of the Engliſh, *underſtood* '*in a proper ſenſe. For I acknowledge, he was ſent*; '*but by whom? By Gregory Biſhop of Rome, who had* '*no more authority over our England, than Auguſtin* '*himſelf. I will grant likewiſe, that he was ſent* '*to preach to the Engliſh. Yet a great part (I* '*might ſay much the greateſt part) of England lay* '*buried in the darkneſs of infidelity many years after* '*his death, till at length Paulinus converted the* '*Northern parts in the year* 625, *Wilfrid the South-*'*Saxons in* 681, *Fœlix the Eaſt-Angles in Norfolk* '*in* 630, *and others other parts of the iſland.*' But, with ſubmiſſion to this author, if it be no objection (and I think it never was urged as ſuch) againſt the merit and character of the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity, that they did not live to ſee the Goſpel fully eſtabliſhed in the countries where they preached; why ſhould it be thought to derogate from the good intentions of Pope Gregory, or the ſervices of Auguſtin, that the latter died long before the entire converſion of this iſland? The Britons, it is true, had received the Chriſtian faith a conſiderable time before Auguſtin's arrival; but the Saxons, who were idolators, having driven the natives into Wales, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt part of the iſland, Heatheniſm had reſumed its antient ſeat in Britain, and the great work of converſion was to be undertaken afreſh. And if the labours of St. Auguſtin ſucceeded ſo far, as to lay a ſufficient foundation for the gradual propagation of Chriſtianity, till the whole country ſhould at length embrace it; the praiſe and the thanks due to ſo bleſſed a work ought not to be the leſs, becauſe it pleaſed God to take the labourer to himſelf long before it was finiſhed. I might add, that Paulinus, who preached to the Northumbrians, was conſecrated by Juſtus, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was contemporary and fellow-labourer with Auguſtin himſelf; ſo that our miſſionary may be conſidered as an inſtrument in the converſion of that kingdom, though he did not live to be witneſs of it. B.

[Mr. Collier's anſwer to Baronius, in the note [*G*], ſavours greatly of ſuperſtition. He might have given a more direct and proper anſwer, by going upon enlarged principles, and ſhewing the abſurdity, and hurtfulneſs in general, of Monkiſh inſtitutions. He might have alledged, that theſe inſtitutions, and other corruptions of Popery, were wiſely and juſtly diſcarded by the Proteſtant Church of England.

The moderation of King Ethelbert, in not compelling his ſubjects to embrace Chriſtianity, was worthy of commendation. However, his beſtowing more countenance and affection on thoſe who became proſelytes, though natural enough, would, in ſome meaſure, have the effect of mixing worldly motives with their converſion.

That Auguſtin was a Biſhop before he landed in England, is not only aſſerted by Baronius, but maintained with very conſiderable ſtrength of evidence, by Mr. Wharton, in his Anglia Sacra. Pope Gregory, in a letter to Brunechild, Queen of France, written in 597, calls Auguſtin *Fratrem et Co-epiſcopum*. It appears that he was conſecrated in Gaul or Germany, in the latter end of the year 597; ſo that, according to this account, Bede is miſtaken in aſſerting that he went to Arles for the purpoſe of receiving conſecration, after he had preached the Goſpel with ſucceſs in Kent (75). Biſhop Tanner expreſſes his approbation of what Mr. Wharton hath advanced upon the ſubject (76). According to this laſt author, though Auguſtin was appointed to his miſſion, by Pope Gregory, in 596, he did not land in the iſle of Thanet till 597 (77).

(75) Anglia ſacra, Tom. i. 89.

(76) Bibliotheca Brit. Hib. p. 57.

(77) Anglia ſacra. Ibid.

The queſtions propoſed by Auguſtin to Gregory, and the anſwers of that prelate, ſtrongly diſplay the ſpirit of the Theology which then prevailed, and ſhew on what trifling matters it was employed. We ſee here the tendencies to that ſchool divinity which afterwards was carried to the moſt ridiculous exceſs.

The confidence with which Gregory, in the note [*R*], ſpeaks of the miracles wrought by Auguſtin is ſomewhat ſurprizing. Did it ariſe from credulity or deceit? Perhaps, it is difficult to ſay; though candour would incline one to impute it to the former principle. No rational man will now believe that any miracles were performed by Auguſtin. If he had a power of working them, why was he not poſſeſſed of the gift of tongues, the moſt neceſſary of all miracles to a preacher of the Goſpel among foreign nations, and with which the real Apoſtles of Chriſt were actually endowed? Whereas Auguſtin was obliged to make uſe of French interpreters.

Mr. Wharton, having offered good reaſons to prove that Auguſtin died on the 26th of May, 604, infers from thence that the charge brought againſt him of having promoted the ſlaughter of the Britons and the Monks of Bangor, cannot be true (78). On the other hand, Dr. Cave ſtrenuouſly maintains the truth of the charge; and contends that he might be the adviſer of the fact, even if it ſhould be allowed (which the Doctor is by no means willing to do) that it did not take place till after Auguſtin's death (79). Tanner ſeems at firſt diſpoſed to embrace Cave's opinion; but afterwards rather retracts it, in conſequence of what had been advanced by Mr. Wharton (80).

(78) Ibid. p. 91.

(79) Hiſtoria Literaria, Tom. i. p. 549.

(80) Bibliotheca, Brit. ubi ſupra.

Notwithſtanding what is ſaid, in the cloſe of the article, in anſwer to Biſhop Godwin, the preſent editors cannot help thinking that the reflections of that writer are, upon the whole, exceedingly juſt. Whatever virtues Auguſtin might be poſſeſſed of, and whatever praiſes may be due to him for introducing Chriſtianity into a part of the iſland, it cannot well be denied that he was a man of a very ambitious ſpirit. Beſides this, his religion was mixed with much ſuperſtition; and he was a vehement promoter of the riſing claims and pretenſions of the Biſhop of Rome. Neither hath full juſtice always been done to thoſe who, before Auguſtin's landing, had, even in Kent, prepared the way for his preaching the Goſpel with acceptance and ſucceſs. Theſe were Bertha, King Ethelbert's Queen; Luidhard, her Biſhop and Chaplain; and the reſt of her French attendants. Godwin hath taken care to ſet this matter in a proper light (81).

(81) De præſul. Angl. p. 43, 44, 45.

Choral muſic was firſt introduced into Britain by the ſingers who attended Auguſtin (82)]. K.

(82) Hawkins's Hiſt. of muſic, Vol. i. p. 402.

AUNGERVYLE (RICHARD), commonly known by the name of *Richard de Bury*, was born at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, in 1281 (*), the ninth of King Edward I. (*a*) His father, Sir Richard Aungervyle, Kt. dying while he was young, his uncle ——— Willowby, a Prieſt, took a particular care of his education; and when he was fit ſent him to Oxford, where he ſtudied Philoſophy and Divinity (*b*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and regular and exemplary life [*A*]. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies there, he became a Benedictine Monk at Durham (*c*). Soon after he was made tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward III. (*d*) And being Treaſurer of Guienne in 1325, he ſupplied Queen Iſabel, when ſhe was plotting againſt her huſband King Edward II., with a large ſum of money out of that Exchequer. For which being queſtioned by the King's party, he narrowly eſcaped to Paris, where he was forced to hide himſelf ſeven days in the tower of a church (*e*). When King Edward III. came to the Crown, he loaded his tutor Aungervyle with honours and preferments. For he at firſt made him his Cofferer, then Treaſurer of the Wardrobe, Archdeacon of Northampton, Prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Litchfield (†), and afterwards Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This laſt place he enjoyed five years, and

(*a*) Godwin de Præſulibus, Lond. 1616, 4to. p. 129. Baleus de Script. Cent. V. n. 69. Pits de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. an. 1349.

(*) This is evident from the memorandum mentioned below, note [*C*].

(*b*) Roſſus Warvic. *apud* Baleum, ibid. Godwin, ibid.

(*c*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Godwin, ibid.

(*e*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(†) Br. Will's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. p. 241.

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning.*] Boſton and Roſſe of Warwick teſtify, that *In utraque (philoſophia tam divina quam humana) magnus evaſit*; *i. e.* He became very eminent for his knowledge both in philoſophy and divinity (1).

(1) Apud Godwin. de Præſul. p. 129.

was

was in that time ſent twice embaſſador to the Pope. In 1333 he was promoted to the Deanery of Wells, and before the end of the ſame year, being choſen Biſhop of Durham, he was conſecrated about the end of December [*B*] at Chertſey in Surrey; the Kings of England and Scotland, the Queen, the two Archbiſhops, five Biſhops, ſeven Earls, and many other perſons being preſent. The next year he was appointed High-Chancellor, and in 1336 Treaſurer of England (*f*). In 1338 he was twice ſent with other Commiſſioners to treat of a peace with the King of France, though to no purpoſe (*g*). As to his character, he was not only one of the learnedeſt men of his time, but alſo a very great patron and encourager of learning. Petrarch he frequently correſponded with: And had for his chaplains, Thomas Bradwardin and Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbiſhops, the firſt of Canterbury, and the ſecond of Armagh; Richard Bintworth ſoon after Biſhop of London, and Walter Segrave of Chicheſter; and Walter Burley, J. Mandut, Rob. Holcot, R. Killington, Doctors of Divinity, the moſt eminent men in that age. His cuſtom was, to have ſome of his attendants read to him while he was at meals, and when they were over, to diſcourſe with his chaplains upon the ſame ſubject. He was likewiſe of a very bountiful and charitable temper; every week he made eight quarters of wheat into bread, and gave it to the poor. Whenever he travelled between Durham and Newcaſtle, he diſtributed eight pounds ſterling in alms; between Durham and Stockton five pounds; between Durham and Auckland five marks; and between Durham and Middleham five pounds (*b*). But the nobleſt inſtance of his generoſity and munificence, was the public library he founded at Oxford, for the uſe of the ſtudents (*i*). This library he furniſhed with the beſt collection of books that was then in England; fixed it in the place where Durham, now Trinity-College, was built afterwards; and writ a treatiſe containing rules for the management of the library, how the books were to be preſerved, and upon what conditions lent out to ſcholars [*C*]. He appointed five keepers, to whom he granted yearly ſalaries [*D*]. This worthy perſon having thus employed himſelf in works of charity and munificence, died at his manor of Auckland, April 24, 1345; and was buried in the ſouth part of the croſs iſle of the cathedral church of Durham, to which he had been a benefactor (*k*).

M.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) H. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, col. 2572.

(*b*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 131.

(*i*) Godwin, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra. A. Wood, Hiſt. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 48.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was conſecrated about the end of December.*] Biſhop Godwin ſays, he was conſecrated the 19th of December; but it appears from Walſingham that it was a miſtake. For the perſon conſecrated about that time, was a Monk of Durham, whom the reſt of the Monks had choſen Biſhop, againſt the King's inclination. Wherefore, upon the King's recommendation, the Pope nominated Richard de Bury, who was conſecrated accordingly, *cito poſt feſtum natalis domini*, ſoon after Chriſtmas. The Monk being a Biſhop without a Biſhoprick, *ſine Epiſcopatu Epiſcopus*, returned to his cloyſter, where he died ſoon after (2). I cannot, by the way, but take notice of a very viſible miſtake that hath crept into Walſingham, at line 24 of the ſame page; the words—*nomine Richardum de Bury*—ought certainly to be blotted out.

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Edw. II. edit. Francof. 1603, p. 133.

[*C*] *He writ a treatiſe*, &c.] This book he entitled *Philobiblos*, from whence he came to be called himſelf *Philobiblos*, a lover of books; and very juſtly, if, as he ſays himſelf in the preface to it, his love of them was ſo violent, that it put him in a kind of rapture, and made him neglect all his other affairs. He finiſhed it at Auckland, January 24, 1344-5, being juſt ſixty-three years of age (3). It was printed at Spires in 1483, at Paris by Badius Aſcenſius in 1500, by the learned Thomas James at Oxford in 1599, 4*to*, and at Leipſic in 1674, at the end of *Philologicarum Epiſtolarum Centuria una, ex bibliotheca Melch. Haiminsfeldii*. It is alſo in manuſcript, not only in the Cottonian library, as appears by the margin, but alſo in the Royal (4), and other libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, *&c.* (5). The book is written in very indifferent Latin, and a declamatory ſtile: It is divided into twenty chapters. In the I. He praiſes wiſdom, and books in which it is contained. II. That books are to be preferred to riches and pleaſures. III. That they ought to be always bought. IV. How much good ariſes from books, and that they are miſuſed only by ignorant people. V. That good monks write books, but the bad ones are otherwiſe employed. VI. The praiſe of the ancient begging friers, with a reproof of the modern ones. VII. In the 7th he bewails the loſs of books, by fire and wars. VIII. He ſhows what fine opportunities he had of collecting books, whilſt he was Chancellor and Treaſurer, as well as during his embaſſies. IX. That the antients outdid the moderns in hard ſtudying. X. That learning is by degrees arrived to perfection, and that he had procured a Greek and Hebrew Grammar. XI. That the Law and Law-books are not properly learning. XII. The uſefulneſs and neceſſity of Grammar. XIII. An apology for Poetry, and the uſefulneſs of it. XIV. Who ought to love books. XV. The manifold advantages of learning. XVI. Of writing new books, and mending the old. XVII. Of uſing books well, and how to place them. XVIII. An anſwer to his calumniators. XIX. Upon what conditions books are to be lent to ſtrangers. XX. Concluſion. Beſides this Philobiblos, our author writ —— *Epiſtolarum Familiarium Librum unum*. Some of theſe letters are to Petrarch, with whom he kept a correſpondence, and who had deſired his opinion about the *Thule* of the ancients. —— He alſo compoſed —— *Orationes ad Principes*, in one book (6). —— Some think it was not *Aungervyle*, but his chaplain R. Holcot, who writ the Philobiblos (7).

(3) This appears from a memorandum at the end of the copy in the Cottonian Library, inter Codices MSS. nondum in loculis repoſitos, IV. 3.

(4) 15 C. XVI. n. 2. 4to.

(5) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(6) Baleus & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(7) See Leland Itin. Vol. III p. 64 and Hearne's Notes on Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 299.

[*D*] *He appointed five keepers*, &c.] At the diſſolution of religious houſes in Henry VIIIth's, reign, Durham college being diſſolved among the reſt, ſome of the books of this valuable collection were removed to the public library, ſome to Baliol-college, and ſome came into the hands of Dr. George Owen, a phyſician of Godſtow, who bought the ſaid college of King Edward VI (8).

(8) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722 Addit. to Oxfordſhire, col. 310.

[Aungervyle is ſaid to have alone poſſeſſed more books than all the Biſhops of England together. Beſides the fixed libraries which he had formed in his ſeveral palaces, the floor of his common apartment was ſo covered with books, that thoſe who entered into it could not with due reverence approach his perſon. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces.—Petrarch calls him *Virum ardentis ingenii*.—He founded a library at Oxford, and it is remarkable, that in his Philobiblion (which according to Mr. T. Warton, was finiſhed in 1343), he ſhould apologize for admitting the poets into his collection. *Quare non negleximus* FABULAS POETARUM. But he is more complaiſant to the prejudices of his age, where he ſays, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books, *Laici omnium librorum communione ſunt indigni*. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatiſes of law. He laments that good literature had entirely ceaſed in the univerſity of Paris. He admits *Panfletos exiguos* into his library. He employed *Stationarios* and *Librarios*, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language;

language; but adds, that he has provided for the ſtudents of his library both Greek and Hebrew Grammars. He calls Paris the *Paradiſe of the World*, and ſays, that he purchaſed there a variety of invaluable volumes in all ſciences, which yet were neglected and periſhing. While he was Chancellor and Treaſurer of England, inſtead of the uſual preſents and new-year's gifts appendant to his office, he choſe to receive thoſe perquiſites in books. By the favour of Edward III., he gained acceſs to the libraries of the moſt capital monaſteries; where he ſhook off the duſt from volumes preſerved in cheſts and preſſes which had not been opened for many ages (9).

Some farther particulars concerning Aungervyle, of leſs note, may be met with in William de Chambre's account of him, in Mr. Henry Wharton's Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 765 – 767.] K.

(9) See, for all theſe particulars, Warton's Hiſt. of poetry, Vol. i. 2d prel. Diſſert. p. 120, 121, note *g*, with the authorities there referred to.

AXTEL (DANIEL), a Colonel in the ſervice of the Long Parliament, and executed for the ſhare he had in the murder of King Charles I. The particulars of this gentleman's life, before he engaged in the ſervice of the Parliament, are ſo deeply buried in oblivion, that, notwithſtanding all the induſtry we have uſed, a very few only, and thoſe of leſs conſequence than we could wiſh, can be brought to light. He was of a good family, and had a tolerable education, that is to ſay, ſuch a one as might fit him for that courſe of life it was intended he ſhould lead, being placed by his relations as an apprentice to a Grocer in Watling-ſtreet (*a*). As he was of a very ſerious diſpoſition, and had been very early tinctured with thoſe principles, which were in that age ſtiled Puritanical, he became an eager follower of ſuch miniſters as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zealous preaching (*b*). His great attachment to theſe ſort of people, and the natural warmth of his own temper, were the occaſions of his quitting his own calling, and going into the army, to which he was principally determined, by keeping a day of faſting and prayer with Mr. Simeon Aſh, Mr. Love, Mr. Woodcocke, and other miniſters, in Lawrence-lane, wherein, according to his judgment, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the Parliament, that he was fully convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, and reſolved to venture his life for it (*c*). Such were the conſequences of the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion, converting their pulpits into ſchools of politics to which it may truly be ſaid, the Civil War owed its beginning, as moſt of the diſmal conſequences with which it was attended, flowed, but too apparently, from the ſame ſource [*A*]. After having thus choſen his party, he behaved in the army with ſo much zeal, courage, and conduct, that he roſe by degrees to the ſeveral commands, of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel, in a regiment of foot (*d*). It was in this laſt capacity, that he acted with great vehemence againſt all endeavours for a reconciliation with the King, and particularly concurred in exhibiting a charge of high-treaſon, againſt eleven members of the Houſe of Commons, for betraying the cauſe of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, with other particulars, which obliged thoſe gentlemen to withdraw, which was the firſt force put upon that Houſe of Commons, and the remembrance of the concern Colonel Axtel had therein, contributed not a little to his deſtruction (*e*). Upon ſeveral changes that afterwards happened, theſe members were again admitted, ſat, and voted in the Houſe, and new ſchemes were entered upon, for reſtoring the Conſtitution by reſettling the government, in order to which the Houſe of Commons, on the fifth of December, 1648, reſolved, 'That his Majeſty's conceſſions 'to the propoſitions upon the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, were ſufficient grounds for 'the Houſes to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the kingdom.' But a great party in the army who thought otherwiſe, determined to prevent the effects of this; and accordingly placed one Colonel Pride with a guard at the door of the Parliament-houſe, having in his hands a liſt of thoſe members who were to be excluded. Accordingly he prevented all of them from entering the Houſe, and ſecured ſome of them who were moſt ſuſpected, under a guard provided for that purpoſe (*f*); which act of his, was ſuppoſed, by ſome of the wiſeſt men in England, to diſſolve and deſtroy the repreſentative

(*a*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, Folio, 1720, p. 780.

(*b*) South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.

(*c*) See Colonel Axtel's Dying Speech, in which this fact is delivered.

(*d*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 89.

(*e*) See Mr. Annesley's Speech in the State Trials, Vol. II. p. 375.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil War, Folio, 1732, p. 563.

[*A*] *Flowed but too apparently from the ſame ſource.*] It is certainly a thing worthy of obſervation, that a ſpirit of religion ill conducted, was the cauſe of all the evils with which the hiſtories of thoſe times are crowded. The firſt ill blood between King Charles and his ſubjects was occaſioned by the ſevere proceedings in the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the cruel cenſures in the *Star-Chamber*; in both of which the Court Clergy were allowed too much power. But while they ſtudied the art of raiſing themſelves by becoming learned in Fathers, Councils, and Polemic Divinity, the other ſort of Clergy applied themſelves to a quite different method, which, however, was as well ſuited as theirs, to the purpoſes they intended it ſhould anſwer. Inſtead of the Fathers they quoted Scripture, inſtead of other people's interpretations they gave them their own; and inſtead of keeping up to the dignity of the ſubject, they took all the pains they could to make it level to the meaneſt underſtandings. By this means, the breach was widened to a monſtrous degree, and while one ſide ſtood high on their learning, the other was run away with by their enthuſiaſm. But what was moſt wonderful, each ſide ſaw the other's error, and remained blind to its own; though at the ſame time, what convinced them of the one, would, if it had been impartially applied, have demonſtrated to them the other. For the common error of both was, that they contended for things as eſſential, which at the ſame time, and in the ſame breath, they confeſſed to be indifferent. By this means it was, that ſuch as meant *beſt*, were drawn to do the *worſt* of things for want of clearly apprehending their own meaning. This will fully appear to be the caſe, if we attentively conſider the principal facts mentioned in this life. Since nothing can be plainer, than that King Charles the Firſt was murdered, for maintaining the power of the Clergy, to which he ſteadily adhered, even after he had given up his own prerogatives. On the other hand, this gentleman, Mr. Axtel, thought his cauſe, the cauſe of God, and believed to the laſt moment of his life, that he ſhed his blood to very good purpoſe, if it hindered his friends from being ever reconciled to the *Surplice* and *Common-Prayer*. Theſe are reflections that naturally ariſe from the ſubject, and which therefore we have a right to make, for certainly the great uſe of this ſort of reading is, *to prevent miſtakes in our own conduct, by obſerving the fatal conſequences of them in the conduct of other men.*

of

of the Commons of England, and to leave thoſe who remained and acted, without any legal authority [*B*]. Yet this remnant of the Houſe of Commons, on the thirteenth of December, revived the vote of non-addreſſes, and though they were but twenty-ſix in number, took upon them to iſſue a commiſſion for trying the King, paſſing a vote on New-year's-day, *That it was treaſon in the King to levy war againſt the Parliament* (*g*). On the ninth of January, the trial of the King was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet and beat of drum, in Weſtminſter-Hall, at the Old Exchange, and in Cheapſide, and all people were ſummoned who had any thing to ſay againſt the King, to appear and be heard (*h*). On the twentieth of January, when the King was brought before the High Court of Juſtice; Colonel Stubberd, and Colonel Axtel, had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs. The King demanded of Serjeant Bradſhaw, who was the Preſident, by what authority they brought him there, and the Preſident appealing to the charge, which was in the name of the Commons and People of England, Lady Fairfax, the General's wife, cried out, *It is a lye, it is falſe, not a half, not a quarter of the people*, Oliver Cromwell *is a rogue and a traytor*, which words were repeated by Mrs. Nelſon. Upon this Colonel Axtel cried out, *Down with the whores, ſhoot them*, which vehemence of his made him be taken notice of (*i*). The people at the time of his Majeſty's paſſing to his trial, moved by the ſadneſs of the ſight, cried out *God ſave the KING*; which obliged ſuch as drove on his death, to procure another cry to countenance their deſign, and therefore Colonel Axtel beat the ſoldiers till they cried *Juſtice! Juſtice* (*k*)! And on the laſt day of the trial, when the common people cried *God preſerve your Majeſty*, the ſoldiers were again taught, by the prevailing argument of the cane, to cry out, *Execution! Execution* (*l*)! After the ſentence was paſſed, the King was carried through the middle of King-ſtreet, in a common ſedan, by two porters, who, out of reverence to his perſon, went bare-headed, till the ſoldiers, under Colonel Axtel's command, beat them and forced them to put on their hats (*m*). After the murder of the King, when Cromwell was ſent into Ireland, the regiment in which Colonel Axtel ſerved, was drawn out by lot for that expedition, which occaſioned his going over into that kingdom, where he made a conſiderable figure, was much eſteemed and truſted by Cromwell, and raiſed for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, as General Ludlow tells us, to the command of a regiment, and the government of Kilkenny and the adjacent precinct, which important truſt, Ludlow farther tells us, he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs, and in his ſtation, ſhewed a more than ordinary zeal in puniſhing thoſe Iriſh, who had been guilty of murdering the Proteſtants (*n*). Other writers repreſent this in quite a different light, and charge him with ſeverities, not at all inferior in cruelty to thoſe committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves (*o*) [*C*]. After Cromwell, on the twentieth of April, 1653,

(*g*) Diurnal, No. 286, from Jan. 1 to Jan. 8. 1648.

(*b*) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. p. 68.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 371, 372.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 371, 372, 373.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 371.

(*n*) Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 89.
(*o*) See Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in Ireland, p. 289. Heath's Chronicle, p. 465.

[*B*] *To leave thoſe who remained and acted without any legal authority.*] The beginning of theſe diſputes in regard to civil affairs, was zeal for the conſtitution. It was thought by many able men, that the King's prerogative had entrenched too much upon the liberty of the ſubject, which certainly implied, that there was a Conſtitution, by which both ought to be regulated; and to remedy this, it was thought requiſite to have the aſſiſtance of a Parliament, the continuance of which ſhould not depend on the will of the King; to which he aſſented, and thereby altered the Conſtitution in a very material point. When this power was taken from the King, the two Houſes aſſumed to themſelves a power of making laws, which was as great an encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, as the King's expecting as much obedience to be paid to his Proclamations, as to acts of Parliament. By degrees things went much farther, and at laſt ſo far, that even the warmeſt friends to Liberty, and thoſe too who were believed to underſtand our Conſtitution beſt, thought it entirely loſt. Serjeant Maynard who certainly was no courtier, and who was never ſuſpected of inclining too much to the power of the Crown, made no ſcruple of declaring, when the vote of *Non-Addreſſes* was under conſideration, that if it paſſed, the Parliament was diſſolved. He founded his judgment upon this, that the Parliament of England was the great council of the King of England; that therefore the relation was reciprocal, and that one could not ſubſiſt without the other. A vote therefore, that they would have no farther correſpondence with the King, was a plain declaration that they would be no longer his council, and then it was very natural for a lawyer, to think *they would be nothing*. It is alſo very remarkable, that ſuch of the wiſeſt and ableſt men, as in the beginning of this Parliament oppoſed the Crown with the greateſt vehemence, made no difficulty afterwards of declaring, that they looked upon the Houſe of Commons as diſſolved, after the firſt force was put upon it. It was from their conceiving things in this light that Mr. Denzil Holles, afterwards Lord Holles; Mr. Anneſley, afterwards Earl of Angleſey; and Sir Orlando Bridgman, ſat as judges upon this Mr. Axtel, and the reſt of the Regicides, without departing in their opinion from their former principles, as appears clearly from their behaviour on theſe trials, in which they all of them affirmed, the force put upon the Houſe made it *no Houſe*, and that ſuch as endeavoured to ſcreen themſelves under the authority of the Parliament, by pleading the warrants they received from the remnant that were left ſitting, had no legal juſtification, becauſe that remainder ceaſed to be a Parliament. In their judgment therefore, the murder of the King was not only Treaſon againſt his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, but Treaſon alſo againſt the Conſtitution; becauſe it was an act done in conſequence of the Conſtitution's being broken and diſſolved, by virtue of an uſurped power. In all which, they ſeemed to have acted very ſenſibly and with great juſtice. For if a man may be guilty of Treaſon, and be puniſhed for it by law, though he pleads the King's command for what he did, which is what no Lawyer ever denied; then, by a parity of reaſon, no man can juſtify the doing an act which is Treaſon by Law, from the authority of any other part of the Conſtitution. Of this Cromwell was ſo ſenſible, that when the act for trying the King was moved to be brought into the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid (1), *That if any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traytor in the world. But ſince Providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs their counſels, though he were not provided on the ſudden to give them counſel.*

(1) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency, P. ii. P. 54.

[*C*] *Committed by the Iriſh rebels themſelves.*] At the end of the Earl of Clarendon's hiſtory of the Iriſh rebellion there is an Appendix, in which two pieces are contained, the firſt intitled, A Collection of the ſeveral Maſſacres and Murders committed by the Iriſh ſince the 23d of October, 1641; and the ſecond is called, a Collection of ſome of the Maſſacres

1653, had turned the Long Parliament out of the Houſe, things took another turn, and he having aſſumed the ſupreme power to himſelf, ſent over his ſon Henry to Ireland, where he commanded at firſt as Major-General, and by his endeavours to eſtabliſh the new government, ſo diſguſted all the godly, but more particularly the Anabaptiſts, that on the twenty-eighth of November, 1656, they ſent Major Jones, and one Mr. Doyley, to acquaint him, that Quarter-maſter-General Vernon, Adjutant Allen, Colonel Barrowe, and Colonel Axtel, deſired to ſpeak with him, upon which he offered to confer with them immediately *(p)*. As ſoon as they came into his preſence, Colonel Barrowe, premiſing his and their many perſonal obligations received from the Major-General, told him, that finding themſelves of late not made uſe of, they could not with ſatisfaction to their conſciences receive pay from the public, without doing ſervice for it, and therefore came to acquaint him, that they had upon ſolemn ſeeking of God, and ſerious deliberation with themſelves, repreſented to his Highneſs and the Lord Deputy, their reſolutions to quit their commands, and had ſent their reaſons for doing it; ſignifying that they had reſerved the delivering up of their commiſſions to the Major General, as a particular mark of their reſpect for him; wherefore he did in his own, and in the name of the reſt of the officers, declare, that they were from thenceforward diſcharged from any public employment in the army; and at the ſame time they all of them tendered their commiſſions, which the Major-General however did not think fit to accept; but they having publickly declared, that they looked upon their offer as a ſufficient diſcharge, he thought fit to appoint them another meeting, the next day, in the afternoon. He told them at this meeting, that he was very ſorry to find they were ſo reſolute in what they had propoſed the day before, as to giving up their commiſſions, and that it was no pleaſant thing to him to receive them, from perſons who had ſo long ſerved the public as they had done. If they quitted indeed upon a conſcientious diſſatisfaction, he knew not well what to reply, but that he hoped, when he parted with them the day before, that they would have given him time to have reaſoned the matter with them, and not have put him upon giving ſo ſudden an anſwer. But ſince conſidering how poſitive they had been, and that they had, contrary to his expectation, and that not in ſo decent a manner as he could have wiſhed, made it the talk of the town, he thought himſelf concerned forthwith to declare his acceptance of their propoſal; and that he ſhould take care, ſince they inſiſted ſo earneſtly upon it, without any provocation of his, and contrary to his deſires, they ſhould be fairly diſcharged the army, and ſatisfied what was due to each of them; and that ſince they were reſolved to retire, he ſhould wiſh them well in their private capacities, and ſhew them all reſpect befitting the place he ſtood in there; and hoped that they would mind the promiſe they made the day before, of ſerving God, and being always ready to ſerve the public, in order thereto. Upon this they ſeemed to expreſs great thankfulneſs, and very high ſatisfaction in the choice they had made; only Colonel Axtel having firſt premiſed, that he thought himſelf now on a level with the Major General, complained in very rough and bitter language of the ill uſage he had met with, and the ſlights that had been put upon him ſince the great Revolution in England, and the power of the Parliament had been devolved upon a ſingle perſon, which Mr. Cromwell bore as patiently as he could; but it appears clearly enough from the letters he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, that he was extremely ſenſible of the uſage he had met with, and looked upon theſe people, as abſolutely diſaffected both to the government in general, and to his family in particular *(q)* [D]. The condition of Colonel Axtel from

(p) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 671.

(q) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 671. 710. 729.

cres and Murders committed on the Iriſh in Ireland, ſince October 23, 1641. It is from this laſt, theſe facts which follow in relation to the conduct of Mr. Axtel, while inveſted with martial power in that kingdom, are taken (2).

(2) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion, P. 353.

'1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel, cut off the head of 'Mr. Fitz-Gerret of Browniford's ſon, and hanged 'the ſons of Mr. Butler of Ballickify, and Mr. Butler 'of Bonidſtown, becauſe their fathers inliſted themſelves in his Majeſty's army.

'One Francis Friſby, an Engliſhman and a Proteſtant, Butler to the Duke of Ormond, having had 'quarter upon the rendition of Kilkenny to Cromwell, 'was apprehended by the ſaid Colonel Axtel, and for 'not confeſſing his Lord's plate, was tortured to death 'by burning matches between his fingers, in the caſtle 'of Kilkenny.

'1651. Major Shertel, an officer of his Majeſty's 'army, having delivered the caſtle of Ballimay, upon 'quarter of life and liberty to Colonel Axtel, was 'run through the body by the ſaid Colonel, and all his 'ſoldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, 'were killed.

'Captain Thomas Shertel, a Captain of horſe in 'his Majeſty's army, coming to Kilkenny upon ſafe 'conduct, was hanged by the ſaid Axtel, becauſe 'he had a good eſtate within two miles of Kilkenny.

'1650. Colonel Axtel hanged fifty of the inhabi'tants near Tomaſtown living under his protection, 'for no other reaſon, but that a party of Cromwell's 'army was defeated the day before in that place, by 'ſome of the Royaliſts.

'Colonel Axtel meeting one day forty men, wo'men, and children, near the wood of Kildonan, who 'were coming for greater ſecurity to live within his 'quarters, cauſed them all to be killed.

'Some ſoldiers of the king's army, being taken in 'a village in Grace's pariſh, Colonel Axtel cauſed all 'the inhabitants of the ſaid village to be apprehended, 'hanged three of them, and ſold the reſt of them to 'the iſland of Barbadoes.

'The ſaid Axtel (as matter of recreation) com'manded his troops to gather together a great num'ber of the protected people near Kilkenny, and be'ing all in a cluſter, bid the troops ruſh through them, 'and to kill as many as happened on the left hand of 'the troop, and to ſpare the reſt. Thirty perſons 'were murdered then on that account.'

[D] *And to his family in particular.*] The facts contained in this remarkable letter of Major-General Henry Cromwell, the reader has above in the text, and what we are to give here, regards only Mr. Cromwell's ſentiments, and the apprehenſions he was under, from the open railing and private intrigues of the Anabaptiſts and other ſectaries, with which the

from this time was very unpleaſant. He lived in a private condition upon the eſtate he had acquired in the ſervice; but inſtead of that power and authority which he had exerciſed for ſix years together over the town and diſtrict of Kilkenny, he was now in the ſtate of a diſaffected man, and not only without truſt and without authority, but alſo ſo much ſuſpected by his ſuperiors, that he could not take the ſlighteſt journey about his private affairs, without having ſpies ſet over him, and being very frequently called to account (*r*). All this was occaſioned by the wild principles and reſtleſs ſpirits of the Anabaptiſts, which as they had brought about the ſubverſion, firſt of one government, and then of another, were now grown as turbulent under a third. Yet Henry Cromwell, when veſted with the character of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was contented to watch over them without perſecuting them; and, except the great jealouſy that he expreſſed of their motions, he kept his word with them very exactly, and treated them as well as they could expect (*s*). After the death of the Protector, Oliver, which happened on the third of September, 1658, things took a new turn, and his ſon Richard, who had aſſumed the title of Protector, immediately after his father's death, ſaw himſelf in the beginning of the next year, reduced to the fatal neceſſity of diſſolving, what he called a Parliament, with which ended his authority, and on the ſeventh of May, 1659 (*t*), the remnant of the Long Parliament, reſumed the power of which they had been deprived by Cromwell; and his ſon Henry, who commanded as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, having ſubmitted, as well as his brother Richard, Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow was ſent over to take the ſupreme authority there, and one of the firſt things he did, being to new model the army, Colonel Axtel came again into play, had a regiment given him, and was one of the few perſons, in whom Ludlow chiefly confided (*u*). It may not be amiſs to remark, that though this gentleman changed his opinion with reſpect to Church matters, and of a Preſbyterian became an Anabaptiſt, yet as to his notions of civil government he remained ſomewhat more ſteady, and was always looked upon as a zealous friend to a commonwealth. It was this diſpoſition of his, and his clear reputation for courage and conduct, as an officer, that induced General Ludlow to make choice of him, to command one diviſion of the Iriſh Brigade, that was ſent over to maintain the Parliament in poſſeſſion of their authority, and to keep out the King, which however they were ſo far from doing, that they contributed very much to his return (*w*). The riſing of Sir George Booth, which happened in Auguſt the ſame year, was the occaſion of their being tranſported to England;

(*r*) Memoirs of the War in Ireland, p. 315.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 325.

(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 418.

(*u*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 689.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 692.

the army in Ireland abounded, even in a greater proportion, than the army in England, where however they were numerous enough. His words are theſe: 'Now although they pretended, ſays he, that what 'they had thus generally charged me with, was the 'ground of their diſſatisfaction; yet amongſt all the 'venom they ſpit againſt me, and in all the plain-'neſs and freedom they were pleaſed to uſe towards 'me, as looking on themſelves to be on even 'ground with me, they would neither now, nor here-'after, inſtance any one particular, whereon to bot-'tom their general calumnies, although myſelf, and 'others, have been urging them thereunto. I can-'not deny, but my actions, and the way I have 'taken for the management of things here, having 'thwarted and checked that exorbitant power, which 'they formerly exerciſed, may probably have added 'to their other diſcontents. Yet 'tis notoriouſly 'known, how theſe gentlemen did with more than 'ordinary inſolence, manifeſt their diſcontents, and 'that in as public manner as they could, againſt 'his Highneſs and the government, when his High-'neſs firſt aſſumed it; and how they have perſiſted 'and grown therein, is as well known, and that 'they have not acquieſced in their own diſſatisfactions, 'but have likewiſe endeavoured to corrupt and ſe-'duce all others, whom they thought capable of re-'ceiving the impreſſions of their factious and trou-'bleſome principle: It has been ſince obſerved by 'others, and ſince ſaid by ſome of their own party, 'that whatever they might pretend to me, as the 'grounds and cauſe of this their withdrawing; yet 'that the apprehenſions which two of them, namely 'Allen and Vernon, had of being under his High-'neſs's diſpleaſure, and the mean eſteem the other 'two had of their commands, with their general diſſa-'tisfaction to the government, was the true prin-'cipal cauſe which induced them to it; and though 'they have ſaid, that the godly are diſcouraged, I 'do yet find a general rejoicing in thoſe that are 'godly, ſober, and well affected; that theſe gen-'tlemen have thus quitted their employments, and 'none troubled but a few of their own party, who 'are more afflicted, that theſe gentlemen have thus 'befooled themſelves, in this their action, rather than 'for any danger imminent to themſelves (3).'

After this, Mr. Cromwell grew ſo uneaſy at the aſperſions thrown upon him by theſe people, that in another letter to the Secretary, he intimated a deſire to lay down his own command, in order to retire and live in peace; on which the Secretary wrote him a long letter, dated from Whitehall, December 16, 1656, in which there are ſome things, that may contribute to the reader's more clearly apprehending theſe matters, and therefore it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe a paragraph or two.

'Your Lordſhip's of the third inſtant, came to my 'hands upon Friday laſt; ſince which, *viz.* yeſter-'day, I received another, whereby I was ſorry to 'find your Lordſhip is under ſome indiſpoſition of 'body, but hope that your next will bring us the 'good news, that the Lord hath again reſtored you, 'as alſo the young Lady, which we heartily pray 'for. I humbly thank your Lordſhip, for the great 'pains you have taken in your's of the third in-'ſtant, to make ſo particular relation of what paſſed 'between your Lordſhip, and thoſe officers, who 'have quitted their commands, which I communi-'cated to his Highneſs, that as he had an account 'of the former part of this buſineſs, from your own 'hand, ſo he might alſo underſtand the iſſue it was 'brought to.

'I am very ſorry to ſee, that diſcontent hath ſo 'far prevailed upon the ſpirits of thoſe, who do 'profeſs to live by higher principles; and truly, I 'ſhould look upon it, as a judgment from God, 'upon me, if I ſhould deſert my place, and leave 'my ſtation, incapacitating myſelf for any public 'ſervice, becauſe all things did not ſquare juſt with 'my apprehenſions (which is the beſt of their caſe), 'or rather, as ſome ſay, becauſe I could not govern 'abſolutely excluſive of all others, this being (if is 'ſaid) the true ground of their diſcontent. Be it 'what it will, it is from themſelves, having no pro-'vocation thereunto from your Lordſhip, which I do 'much rejoice in; and I am very confident, that 'when they do ſeriouſly conſider this action, and with 'an impartial eye view what was in the bottom of 'their ſpirits, that moved them to take and act theſe 'reſolutions, they will be aſhamed of themſelves be-'fore the Lord, and ſearch their hearts, what might 'be the cauſe why the Lord ſhould leave them to 'this deluſion (4).'

(3) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v p. 730.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 708.

but

but they had no ſhare in reducing him, which was performed before their arrival, by Major-General Lambert (*x*). Their coming, however, was eſteemed of great ſervice to the Parliament, though it proved otherwiſe; for Colonel Zanchey, who commanded them, concurred with the army in putting a new force upon that aſſembly, which laſted till Chriſtmas, and then the Rump, as it was called, was again reſtored by the terror of Monk's army, which was marching out of Scotland (*y*). As he at the beginning declared poſitively for the Parliament, Colonel Axtel, and the reſt of the officers of the Iriſh Brigade, kept that body of troops which were eſteemed the beſt in the kingdom, from acting againſt him, which if they had done in conjunction with Lambert, his deſign in all probability had miſcarried. But as Monk very well knew, that thoſe forces would never concur in reſtoring the King, while under the officers who then commanded them, he reſolved to try whether it might not be poſſible, to engage them firſt to change their officers, and then to fall into his meaſures, which was the moſt critical point he had to manage. They were at that time quartered in Yorkſhire, and thither he ſent Colonel Redman, who had commanded a part of thoſe troops in Ireland, under Henry Cromwell, and who was turned out by Ludlow. He carried with him ſome of his friends who had ſerved under him, and on his firſt appearance, the beſt part of the Iriſh brigade very fairly told Colonel Zanchey, and Colonel Axtel, that they might take what meaſures they thought fit, but that for themſelves, they were determined to ſerve under Colonel Redman, and their old officers (*z*). This revolt gave the death's wound to the Republic; for Colonel Redman, purſuant to the orders he had received from General Monk, immediately marched that body of old troops into Cheſhire, which ſo weakened Lambert's army, that was before ſuperior to Monk's, that it left him in no condition to oppoſe the march of that General to London, which Colonel Axtel perceiving, reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, and being thenceforward deprived of all command, endeavoured to ſettle his private affairs, and ſecure himſelf the beſt way he could (*a*). But when a freſh opportunity offered of aſſerting the Good Old Cauſe, Colonel Axtel ſhewed his affection to it, by venturing his life in a very deſperate undertaking, and that too as a private man. The occaſion was this: the Council of State had committed General Lambert to the Tower, in the beginning of the month of March; but on the ninth of April, 1660 (*b*), he made his eſcape from thence, and got down as far as Daventry in Northamptonſhire, where, having aſſembled a conſiderable body of horſe, he was joined by Colonel Okey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Cobbet, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, beſides diverſe ſoldiers that were Anabaptiſts (*c*). Colonel Richard Ingoldſby, and Colonel Streater, who were ſent to reduce Lambert, followed him with ſuch diligence, that on Eaſter-day, which was that year on the twenty-ſecond of April, they came up with him in a plain near Daventry, having only a brook between them. When the two bodies came near, juſt as Colonel Ingoldſby was going to charge, Streater commanded ſix files of muſqueteers to advance. One file gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lambert's horſe. His drums beat, and in good order he advanced, having given ſtrict command, that his muſqueteers ſhould not fire, till they came as near as puſh of pike. But Lambert's men held the noſes of their piſtols towards the ground, and Nelthorp's troop came off to Ingoldſby, Haſlerigg's troop having deſerted him before. For Colonel Ingoldſby ſending Captain Elſemore before him with a party, as he marched to find Lambert, met Captain Haſlerigg, and took him priſoner, but releaſed him upon his parole, to ſend his whole troop over to join Ingoldſby, which he faithfully performed, ſending it to them by his Quarter-Maſter; but he retired himſelf. Colonel Ingoldſby told Lambert he was his priſoner, whereupon Creed and the reſt earneſtly intreated him to do what he pleaſed with them, but to let Lambert eſcape, acquainting him that his life could be of no advantage to him, which Ingoldſby abſolutely refuſed, telling them, that he would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him, by ſuch an ungenerous act. Lambert then turned about his horſe, and attempted to make his eſcape; but Ingoldſby purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vowed to piſtol him if he did not immediately yield. Lambert, in great depreſſion of ſpirits, twice prayed him to let him eſcape; but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted as all as the reſt did, except Okey, Axtel, and Cleare, who eſcaped (*d*). There is ſtill in being a very extraordinary letter, written by Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, giving an account of this defeat, which deſerves the reader's notice, and is therefore preſerved in the notes [*E*]. This

(*x*) Complete Hiſt of England, Vol. iii. p. 215.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426, 427.

(*z*) Barwick's Life, p. 224.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol ii. p. 877.

(*b*) Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 720, 721.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 441.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 126.

[*E*] *Is therefore preſerved in the notes.*] This ſingular piece was after the Earl of Sandwich's deceaſe found among his papers, and ſhews plainly the importance of this defeat, in the opinion of that ſtateſman, who was held to have the beſt head for public affairs of any man in his time. It is very ſhort indeed, but ſhort as it is, we find it very extenſive in point of ſenſe, and we may likewiſe obſerve that cant ſo univerſally prevailed at that time, that even thoſe men who moſt deſpiſed it were obliged to uſe it, and that too not only in public pieces, but in private letters to their friends.

A letter from Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, directed for General Montague, dated Monday morning, indorſed April the 23d, 1660. (5)

(5) Tranſcript from the Earl of Sandwich's MS. in the third Vol. of Mr. Smith's MS. Collection, p. 325.

'MY Lord, your Lordſhip's letter brings that 'account of the fleet, and ſo ſatisfactory as 'might be expected from it, ſince put under the 'conduct of ſuch a general ——— This morning 'the certain news of Colonel Lambert his being 'taken, came to the council. There appeared with 'him ſix troops of horſe in Daventry-Fields in Nor-'thamptonſhire.

This was the laſt ſtruggle that was made in favour of the Commonwealth; and Colonel Axtel uſed his utmoſt induſtry afterwards to conceal himſelf, as foreſeeing that it would not be long, before he might be called to an account, for the large ſhare he had taken in the trial of the King: but his care in this reſpect was to very little purpoſe, for before the cloſe of the month, he was diſcovered and committed to priſon (*e*). We are told by one of his friends, that he was betrayed by a Royaliſt, who having engaged him at a meeting, on pretence of treating with him for the purchaſe of ſome lands, gave notice of the time and place by which he was apprehended and committed to the Tower (*f*). After the King's Reſtoration, the bill of indemnity being then depending in the Houſe of Commons, they, on the fourteenth of June, 1660, reſolved, *That* Daniel Axtel *ſhould be one of the* Twenty *excepted out of that bill* (*g*). On the twelfth of July following, a warrant was ſent for his detention in the Tower, for high treaſon (*h*). On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, the King paſſed the ſo long expected act, of free and general pardon, out of which only two and fifty perſons were excepted, of which Colonel Daniel Axtel was the fiftieth, as alſo the two perſons diſguiſed in frocks and vizors, who appeared upon the ſcaffold at the murder of King Charles I., which perſons were left to be proceeded againſt as traitors, according to the laws of England (*i*). On the tenth of October following, the grand jury for the county of Middleſex, having found bills againſt twenty-eight perſons, for their concern in the King's murder, of which Mr. Axtel was the laſt, they were brought to the ſeſſions houſe in the Old Bailey, where Colonel Axtel was the ſame day arraigned, upon an indictment for compaſſing and imagining the death of the late King; when for ſome time he refuſed to plead, alledging that what he had done was in purſuance of an Act of Parliament, and therefore he conceived no inferior court ought to judge of it, to which point he deſired he might have counſel aſſigned (*k*). But the Court having reaſoned with him, and told him, that in caſe of treaſon, it was the ſame thing to ſtand mute, or to confeſs the indictment, he was prevailed upon to plead Not Guilty. When he was aſked, How he would be tried? and told that the proper anſwer was, By God and his country; he ſaid that was not lawful, *God not being locally preſent:* however, he ſoon after made the uſual anſwer, and put himſelf upon his trial. This did not come on till the fifteenth of October, 1660, when, after challenging ten of the jury, the indictment was opened, in which the Counſel for the Crown obſerved, That the High Court erected for the trial of the late King, had all the formalities of a court, ſuch as their Preſident, their Counſel, their Chaplain, and their Guards; and as ſome of their Judges, one of their Counſel, and their Chaplain had been already tried, they had now brought this gentleman to the bar, as the Commander of the Guard, and then proceeded to call their evidence (*l*). Mr. Holland Simpſon proved, that Colonel Axtel had the command of the ſoldiers below ſtairs, and threatened to ſhoot Lady Fairfax for diſturbing the Court. Colonel Hercules Huncks depoſed, that on the day the King died, himſelf, Colonel Phayre, Colonel Hacker, and Cromwell, being in a room together, Cromwell deſired him to ſign a warrant for the King's execution, which he having refuſed to do, and Cromwell having given him ſome harſh language on that account, Mr. Axtel ſaid, 'Colonel Huncks, I am aſhamed of you, the ſhip is now coming into the harbour, and 'will you ſtrike ſail before we come to anchor.' Mr. Axtel poſitively denied this, and told Colonel Huncks, that himſelf was named in the warrant for execution, and that he wiſhed he did not make others a peace-offering to ſave himſelf. Sir Purbeck Temple ſwore, That Mr. Axtel beat the ſoldiers to make them cry Juſtice and Execution, that he laughed and ſcoffed with them during the trial, and that he ſuffered, and, as the witneſs believed, procured the ſoldiers to fire powder in the palms of their hands, which threw ſuch clouds of ſmoke into the King's face, that he was obliged to riſe out of his chair, and beat it off with his hand. Mr. John Jeonar, who was one of the King's domeſtic ſervants, and attended him at the trial, gave poſitive evidence, that when the Court broke up the firſt day, Colonel Axtel ordered the Guards to cry Juſtice, Juſtice; and the laſt day, Execution, Execution; and he farther depoſed, that being very near the Colonel, he heard him lead that cry, by making uſe of the ſame words himſelf (*m*). One Samuel Burden, who had been a ſoldier in the King's army, but at the time of the trial in Colonel Axtel's regiment, ſwore, that himſelf and others were commanded by the Colonel to give evidence againſt the King, and for that purpoſe were ſent to Mr. Cook, who managed the charge againſt the King, to have their examinations taken, which was accordingly done. This man likewiſe ſwore, that the Colonel ſent one Eliſha Axtel with a file of ſoldiers, to take boat and go down to the common hangman, who lived beyond the Tower, in order to fetch him to execute the King (*n*). Lieutenant Colonel Nelſon depoſed, That in private converſation at Dublin, Colonel Axtel acknowledged to him, that he was concerned in the ſecret of managing the King's execution, and being deſired by the witneſs to tell him who the perſons were that appeared upon the ſcaffold in vizors, he

(*e*) Continuation of the Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 733.

(*f*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 42.

(*g*) Public Intelligence, 4to, by authority of that date, No. 25.

(*h*) Public Intelligence, No. 29.

(*i*) See this act, or Kennet's Regiſter, p. 239.

(*k*) State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 312.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 465. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 82. State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 371.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 372.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 373.

'thamptonſhire. Colonel Okey, Axtel, Creed, Sir 'Arthur Haſlerigg's ſon and others; but when Co- 'lonel Ingoldſby came up, the kind men, without much 'courage, rendered themſelves. Thus God has blaſted 'the wicked in their reputations and bloody deſigns, 'and I hope, will bleſs us with a happy ſettlement, 'which is the prayers of,

'My Lord,

'Your moſt faithful, and

'Humble Servant,

'ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER.'

told

told him they were two Serjeants, well known both to him and to the witneſs, and that their names were Hewlet and Walker (*o*). Such was the evidence given to ſupport the charge in the indictment, for compaſſing and imagining the death of the King. In his defence, Colonel Axtel alledged, that he was a commiſſion officer under the Lord Fairfax, as he had been before under the Earl of Eſſex, and by his commiſſion was to obey his ſuperior officer (who commanded him that day to Weſtminſter-Hall), according to the cuſtoms of war; ſo that if he had diſobeyed his ſuperior officer, then he had died, and now muſt die for obeying him. But the Court told him he might have refuſed without any danger, as well as Colonel Huncks; and that *paſſive* as well as *active* obedience was required from every man, and that neither his nor his ſuperior's commiſſion bid him kill his father, much leſs the father of his country. As for the muſquets, mounted towards the Lady, he ſaid, that if a Lady grew uncivil to diſturb the Court, he could do no leſs than check her: That his ſtriking the ſoldiers for not crying *Juſtice* was a miſtake; for he ſaid he ſtruck them becauſe they did it, ſaying, *I'll give you Juſtice*: That his inciting them at the ſentence to cry *Execution, was the Execution of Juſtice*, and that could do no hurt. The Court took a great deal of pains to ſhew him the inſufficiency of theſe pretences, and how incompatible they were with the conſtitution of this kingdom, and the laws of the land (*p*), upon which ſubject we meet with a very curious and inſtructive paſſage, in the Reports of a very learned Judge [*F*]. The trial laſted, on account of the priſoner's long and large defence, for upwards of three hours, but the jury, without

(*o*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 374.

[*F*] *A very curious and inſtructive paſſage in the Reports of a very learned Judge.*] The perſon here meant is Sir John Kelyng, ſome time Chief Juſtice of the Court of King's Bench. But in order to judge of this point, it is neceſſary to conſider Mr. Axtel's defence more at large, eſpecially as ſome writers magnify it, as the ſtrongeſt, cleareſt, and moſt heroic piece any where extant (6). The beſt and moſt ſenſible ſpeech he made was this, wherein he puts the objection reſolved by Kelyng, and therefore let it ſerve as a ſpecimen of his eloquence:

(6) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. iii. p. 82—86. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 482, 483.

'My Lords, I muſt acknowledge my ignorance of 'the laws, being a thing I never ſtudied, nor have 'the knowledge of. But I have heard it is the duty 'of your Lordſhips and the Judges to be of counſel 'for the priſoner in things wherein he is ignorant in 'matter of Law, to make his juſt defence; and there'fore, my Lord, the indictment itſelf being matter 'of Law, if your Lordſhip pleaſes not to grant me 'counſel to ſpeak to matters of Law, I humbly pray 'that your Lordſhips will be pleaſed that for want 'of knowledge in formalities, punctilioes, and nice'ties of the Law, I may not undo myſelf. I have 'heard by a learned Judge, that though the Judge be 'of counſel to the King, yet by his oath he is alſo to 'be counſellor to the priſoner, and ſtands as mediator 'between the King and priſoner; and therefore, my 'Lord, I ſhall beg that humble favour, that wherein 'I ſhall fall ſhort to make the beſt improvement of 'my plea in matter of Law, that your Lordſhips 'will help me, and not take advantages againſt me, 'as to the niceties, formalities, and punctilioes of the 'Law; and my Lord, this is a reſemblance of that 'great day where Chriſt will be Judge, and will 'judge the ſecrets of all hearts, and of all words, and 'of all perſons, and by him all actions are weighed: 'he knows all our hearts, and whether there be malice, 'or how it ſtands in the frame of each heart before 'him in this place; and therefore I hope, there will 'be nothing by prejudging, or any thing by precluding to be ſo black a perſon, as is ſeemed to be ſaid 'againſt me: my Lords, I muſt ſhorten the time, and 'come to ſpeak as to the authority.

'Lord *Chief Baron*. As to what, Sir?

'Col. *Ax*. I ſpeak as to the authority by which, or 'under which, I acted; I humbly conceive, my Lord, 'under favour, that I am not within the compaſs of 'that ſtatute of 25 Edw. III.; for that, queſtionleſs, 'muſt intend private perſons, *councelling, compaſſing, 'or imagining the death of the King*. But you know, 'my Lords, the war was firſt ſtated by the Lords and 'Commons, the Parliament of England, and by vir'tue of their authority was forced to be raiſed; and 'they pretended by Law, that the right of the militia 'was in them, and your Lordſhips well remember, in 'ſeveral declarations and acts that were mutually ex'changed between his Majeſty and Parliament; and, 'my Lord, that was the authority, the Lords and 'Commons aſſembled in Parliament, raiſed a force, 'and made the Earl of Eſſex General, and after him 'the Earl of Mancheſter of the Eaſtern aſſociation, 'and after that, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lord General 'of the forces; by this authority I acted, and this au'thority I humbly conceive to be legal, becauſe this 'Parliament was called by the King's writ, choſe by 'the people, and paſſed a bill they ſhould not be diſ'ſolved without their own conſents, that the Parlia'ment was in being when the trial was, and a que'ſtion whether yet legally diſſolved.

'In the fourth place, they were not only owned '(and obeyed) at home, but abroad, to be the chief 'authority of the nation, and alſo owned by foreign 'ſtates and kingdoms, who ſent Ambaſſadors for that 'purpoſe: under them did all Judges of the land 'act, who ought to be the eye of the land, and the 'very light of the people to guide them in their 'right actions, and I remember the Judges upon trial '(I have read it of high-treaſon), Judge Thorp, Ni'chols, and Jermin, have declared it publicly, that 'it was a lawful, juſtifiable thing, by the law of 'the land to obey the Parliament of England. My 'Lord, it further appears as to their authority over 'the people of this nation, petitioning them as the 'ſupreme and lawful authority; and, my Lords, as 'I have heard it hath been objected that the Houſes 'of Lords and Commons could make no act; truly, 'my Lord, if you will not admit them to be acts, 'though they entitle them ſo, call them ſo, and are 'obeyed as ſo, by the Judges, Miniſters, and Officers 'of ſtate, and by all other perſons of the nation, yet, 'I hope, they cannot be denied to be orders of Par'liament, and were they no more ſo but orders, yet 'were they ſufficient, as I humbly conceive, to bear 'out ſuch as acted thereby; and, my Lord, the Par'liament thus conſtituted, and having made their 'Generals, he, by their authority, did conſtitute and 'appoint me to be an inferior officer in the army, 'ſerving them in the quarters of the Parliament, and 'within their power, and what I have done, my 'Lord, it hath been done only as a ſoldier, deriving 'my power from the General. He had his power 'from the fountain, to wit, the Lords and Commons: 'and, my Lord, this being done, as hath been ſaid 'by ſeveral that I was there, and had command in 'Weſtminſter-hall, truly, my Lord, if the Parliament 'command the General, and the General the inferior 'officers, I am bound by my commiſſion, accord'ing to the laws and cuſtoms of war, to be where the 'regiment is; I came not thither voluntarily, but 'by command of the General, who had a commiſſion '(as I ſaid before) from the Parliament. I was no 'counſellor, no contriver, I was no Parliament-man, 'none of the Judges, none that ſentenced, ſigned, 'none that had any hand in the execution, only that 'which is charged, is, that I was an officer in the 'army; if that be ſo great a crime, I conceive I am 'no more guilty than the Earl of Eſſex, Fairfax, 'or the Lord of Mancheſter.' [Who was then ſitting 'on the bench.] Judge *Mallet* told him, he was not charged as an officer in the army. 'My Lords, ſaid 'he, that is the main thing they do inſiſt upon. My 'Lord, I am no more guilty, than his Excellency the

'Lord

without going from the bar, found him guilty. On the ſixteenth of October, he was brought up again to the Seſſions-houſe, in order to receive ſentence, at which time Mr. Axtel inſiſted, that there was no overt-act proved againſt him ſufficient to ſupport the indictment, and ſuggeſted, that he died only for words; upon which the Lord Chief Baron obſerved, that it was otherwiſe, that he was preſent in the Court, beating the ſoldiers, and ſending for an executioner, which were all of them facts, and not words. Upon this Colonel Axtel appealed to God, that he did not find himſelf guilty of conſulting, contriving, or having any hand in the death of the King; and concluded that he was innocent, and prayed God that his blood might not cry againſt them (*q*). Then ſilence being commanded, the Lord Chief Baron made a long ſpeech, in which he told Colonel Francis Hacker and Mr. Axtel, that they had no cauſe to hope for mercy, nor was there any room for mercy, and then pronounced that ſentence which is uſually given in caſes of high-treaſon (*r*). After he was carried back to Newgate, he ſhewed himſelf very full of ſpirit and courage, ſpoke to every body that was about him with great vehemence and zeal for the cauſe in which he died, as appears very fully from the account of his behaviour, printed after his death, by the care of thoſe of his party [*G*]. In this diſpoſition he continued, without the leaſt alteration, or ſinking of his ſpirits, which muſt be

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 402.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 403, 404.

'Lord General Monk, who acted by the ſame authority, and all the people in the three nations; and, my Lord, I humbly ſuppoſe, if the authority had only been an authority in fact, and not right, yet thoſe that acted under them ought not to be queſtioned; but if the authority commanded, whatſoever offence they committed, eſpecially that that guided me was no leſs, than the declared judgment of the Lords and Commons ſitting in Parliament; they declared that was their right as to the militia, and having explained ſeveral ſtatutes of Henry VII., wherein the King having interchanged ſeveral declarations with the Parliament, the Parliament comes to make an explanation on that ſtatute, and, my Lord, it is in folio 280, wherein they do poſitively expound it, and declare it as their allowed judgment. To clear up all ſcruples, to all that ſhould take up arms for them, ſays the Parliament, there, as to the ſtatute of the 11 of Henry VII., chap. 1. which is printed at large, comes there to explain it in general, and comes here, folio 281, and gives this judgment: it is not, ſay they, agreeable to reaſon or conſcience, that any one's duty ſhould be known, if the judgment of the High Court of Parliament be not a rule to them. In the next place, this is the next guidance, rule, and judgment of Parliament upon the expoſition of this ſtatute, and as they have ſaid in ſeveral places (was it not too much to take up your Lordſhip's time), they are the proper Judges and Expounders of the Law. The High Court of Parliament have taken upon them to expound the Law, and ſaid, that we Lawyers will give the meaning of the text, contrary to what they have expounded the meaning under their hands. In the ſame declaration, his Majeſty is pleaſed to quit that ſtatute upon which I ſtand indicted, the 25 Edward III., where they do, my Lord, expound this very ſtatute, in the declaration made in 1643, folio 722. I come to the declared judgment, wherein they did poſitively ſay, that the perſons that do act under their authority, ought not to be queſtioned as perſons guilty, folio 727; that is the expoſition that the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament do make upon the ſtatute (7).'

(7) State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 373, 374. He added, that if the repreſentatives of the people were guilty, the people were guilty, and then it would be impoſſible to find a jury.

This ſpeech ſhews how capable Mr. Axtel was of defending himſelf, and pleading for his life; and at the ſame time demonſtrates how calmly, equally, and juſtly, the Court dealt with him, allowing him all the liberty requiſite for a man in his condition. But notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible arguments, the Lord Chief Juſtice before mentioned, has told us what the Law is, and what a man has to truſt to, when he comes before a Court of Juſtice, in theſe words: '(8) Memorandum, that upon the trial of one Axtel, a ſoldier, who commanded the guards at the King's trial, and at his murder; he juſtified, that all he did, was as a ſoldier, by the command of his ſuperior officer, whom he muſt obey or die. It was reſolved that was no excuſe, for his ſuperior was a traitor, and all that joined with him in that act were traitors, and did by that approve the treaſon, and where the command is traiterous, there the obedience to that command is alſo traiterous.'

(8) Kelyng's Reports, p. 13.

[*G*] *After his death by the care of his party.*] He aſſerted conſtantly, that he was a martyr for the good old cauſe; ſaid, he wiſhed the King as well as his own ſoul; but conceived that they had murdered him, and might as well have done it in the Tower, as have made all that buſtle; for they had nothing in their own Law, or in God's law, that would condemn him, but it was enough, his name was Axtel. Such was his diſpoſition, and ſuch his notion of the juſtice that was done him. But to proceed with that relation which his friends have given of him.

Having given an account to ſome perſons for their ſatisfaction, about his proceedings againſt the rebels in Ireland, he ſaid, I can ſay in humility, that God did uſe me as an inſtrument in my place, for ſuppreſſing of the bloody enemy, and when I conſidered their bloody cruelty in murdering ſo many thouſands of Proteſtants and innocent ſouls, that word was much upon my heart; *give her blood to drink for ſhe is worthy*; and ſometimes we neither gave nor took quarter, though ſelf-preſervation would have ſaid, give that which you may expect to have.

One coming in told him, that his fellow-priſoner died nobly and chearfully (well, ſaid he, how do they ſtand); *anſwer was made, upon a ladder. Bleſſed be God*, ſaid he, *it is a Jacob's ladder.*

The ſun ſhining in the room, he ſaid, If it be ſo glorious to behold the ſun, what will it be to behold the Son of Glory? Laying his hand upon (his fellow-priſoner) Colonel Hacker, he ſaid, *Come, brother, be not ſo ſad; by this time to-morrow we ſhall be with our Father in glory; and what hurt will they do us, to bring us through the croſs to the crown? Well, our God is the God of Newgate.*

Then the officer coming to carry them down into the dungeon, he took his leave of many of his friends then preſent, ſaying, Love the Lord Jeſus, love the Lord, and weep not for me, for God hath wiped away all tears; and coming to the door of the dungeon ſaid, I am now going to my bed of roſes, my laſt bed.

Many friends being with him, there was an eminent godly miniſter of the Preſbyterian way, and Colonel Axtel taking him by the hand, ſaid, I have one word to ſpeak to you, it is much upon my heart, that one great cauſe, why the Lord contends thus with his people, is for want of their love towards them that were not of their minds; to which the miniſter replied, Truly, Sir, I think ſo too; the Lord help us, that wherein we ſee we have done amiſs we may do ſo no more.

Then ſaid Colonel Axtel, I bleſs God I have not much to charge myſelf with in this matter: Colonel *Hacker* then ſaid, *but I have much to complain of in that matter.* Colonel Axtel afterwards ſitting on his bed-ſide, clapping his hands, ſaid, if I had a thouſand lives I would lay them all down for the Cauſe: *whereupon another godly miniſter then preſent, aſked him what he meant by the Cauſe.* Colonel Axtel replied, Sir, I tell you I mean the cauſe which we were encouraged to, and engaged in under the Parliament, which was for common right and freedom, and againſt the Surplice and Common-prayer book; and I tell you, that Surplices and Common-prayer books ſhall not ſtand long in England, for it is not of God.

And

be attributed to his notions of religion, that had made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, as entirely prevented his feeling any thing of that weakneſs and terror, which is incident to human nature, at the near approach to death, and of a violent and ſhameful death eſpecially (s). But the account beforementioned ſhews us, that he remained firm to the laſt, and ſpoke with the ſame freedom that day he died, as on any other in his whole life [*H*]. On Friday the nineteenth of October, about nine in the morning, Colonel Francis Hacker, and Colonel Daniel Axtel, were drawn on one hurdle from Newgate to Tyburn, where they behaved with great boldneſs and reſolution, more eſpecially the latter, who was the better ſpeaker of the two, and who did not fail to juſtify his conduct to the people, with the ſame ſort of arguments he had uſed before his Judges, as may be ſeen in a note (t) [*I*]. After the execution was performed, the head of Colonel Axtel was ſet up at the farther end of Weſtminſter-Hall, and his quarters were in like manner diſpoſed

(s) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. i. p. 482, 483.

(t) State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 414.

And afterwards thinking he ſhould not die that day, deſired ſome retirement, but news coming that he muſt die within an hour (though it was not ſo); he quickly made himſelf ready to go, and looking upon his gloves, ſaid, Theſe are my wedding gloves, my mortal muſt marry immortality.

Some friends going to ſee him the night before he was executed, found him at ſupper very chearful, and many being preſent, he ſaid, take heed of temporiſing, &c. for that hath been the occaſion of great evil. Then ſpeaking to an officer there preſent that had continued till of late in the army, ſaid, Brother, thou haſt been greatly guilty herein, the Lord forgive thee, thou haſt a great hand in this. To which the perſon replied, *I confeſs I have been ſo too much*. Colonel Axtel anſwered, there is yet mercy for thee if the Lord give repentance.

Moreover, he ſaid, *The Lord forgive that poor wretch*, Lieutenant-Colonel Nelſon, *for he hath ſworn falſely in his evidence, and now is that word made good*, that brother ſhall betray brother unto death; and ſpeaking of Colonel Tomlinſon, ſaid, *Ah! he hath appeared five pound lighter in twenty, than I thought him to be; and for* Colonel Huncks, *he was the uncivileſt of all about the late King, and yet he comes in a witneſs againſt Hacker and me.*

That evening many friends being with him, he prayed with them; and in that duty, the Lord, by his Spirit, filled him with excellent expreſſions to the great refreſhing of thoſe about him, and bewailing the great diviſions amongſt God's people: he ſaid, Lord, if they will not live together in love, thou wilt make them lie together in ſufferings. Then minding their preſent condition, ſaid, Lord, death is the King of terrors to nature, but it is a believer's choice friend; it is thy high-way to lead us into glory. After prayer, taking notice of his daughter, he ſaid to her, *Get an intereſt in Chriſt*, and keep cloſe to him, he will be a better father to thee than I; and ſo took his leave of her (9).

(9) Speeches and prayers of ſome of the late King's Judges, 4*to*. 1660, p. 85, 86.

[*H*] *On that day he died, as on any other in his whole life.*] It is very clear from the account that has been already given, that no man could behave with greater firmneſs than Mr. Axtel did; yet was he very far from boaſting of it, or from attributing it to his natural courage: on the contrary, he checked ſome of his friends for praiſing his conſtancy, and very wiſely adviſed them, to ſay nothing of him till they ſaw him upon the uppermoſt round of the ladder: he told his daughter at the ſame time, *That he had left* Jeſus Chriſt *an executor in truſt for her* (10). This was in the evening of the day before he died, in which day, he is ſaid to have prayed ſolemnly five times, by which, very probably, he heated himſelf to ſuch a degree, as ſerved to keep up that extraordinary fervour he ſhewed to the laſt.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 84.

The day of their execution being come, ſeveral godly miniſters ſpent ſome time in prayer with Colonel Axtel and Colonel Hacker; and many friends coming in to pay their laſt reſpects, Colonel Axtel ſeeing one of his familiar friends and companions, ſaid, My dear brother, thou art better than I am, and yet I muſt go to Heaven before thee for all that.

He very chearfully ſaid to diverſe then with him, 'Dear friends, rejoice, I am going where ye ſhall be 'alſo; yea, where we ſhall be for ever with the Lord, 'and never part, and be without any more change. 'I beſeech you follow the Lamb wherever he goeth, 'though he may lead you in a harſh, diſmal, and 'difficult way; yet at laſt he will bring you into a 'pleaſant path, and cauſe you to lie down in pleaſant 'paſtures in the land of reſt.

'Oh! be faithful unto the death, and he will give 'you a crown of life, as he hath given to your 'ſuffering brethren. Oh! all that we have or do 'ſuffer, is but to make Chriſt and heaven more 'ſweet, dear, and glorious unto us; all the ſad ſteps 'we ſhall tread on this ladder, is but to mount us 'to heaven, for at the top are angels ready to receive 'us, as was on Jacob's ladder; ALL the things I 'meet with move me not, I bleſs my God, for I am 'ſure to fight a good fight, and finiſh my courſe with 'joy.'

Afterwards taking his leave of his ſon, embracing him in his arms, he ſaid, My dear ſon, fare thee well, I muſt leave thee, get an intereſt in Chriſt and love him, nothing elſe will ſtand thee in ſtead, but an intereſt in him. Then calling for his Bible, he hugged it, ſaying, this hath the whole cauſe in it, and I may carry this without offence; and calling to a friend, he deſired him to remember his love to the congregation where he was a member; and after took his leave of all his friends, exhorting them, with much chearfulneſs, to love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and keep cloſe to him, and ſo with great joy addreſſed himſelf to go to his next work (11).

(11) State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 414.

[*I*] *As may be ſeen in a Note.*] When they came to the place of execution, Mr. Axtel deſired leave of the Sheriff to ſpeak freely to the people, becauſe, as he ſaid, it was the laſt time he was to ſpeak. The Sheriff told him, that he knew very well what the court forbid him to enter upon when at his trial, which therefore he ſhould avoid there, and confine himſelf to his preſent concern, and then he ſhould have free leave to deliver what he thought fit, the rather becauſe he had intimated that he would ſpeak ſomewhat for the benefit of the people. This leave thus obtained, Mr. Axtel turned towards the people with a rope about his neck; and, becauſe Colonel Hacker was no great orator, delivered the ſenſe of them both to a prodigious concourſe of people, in a ſpeech to the effect following:

I ſay, the very cauſe for which I have engaged is contained in this book of God (having the Bible in his hand), both in the civil and religious rights of it, which I leave to you (giving the book to Mr. Knowles). You ſee a dead man living, and yet I hope I ſhall live to all eternity, through the mediation of Jeſus Chriſt the Mediator of the covenant of Free Grace. I muſt truly tell you, that before the late wars it pleaſed the Lord to call me by his Grace through the work of the miniſtry; and afterwards keeping a day of humiliation in faſting and prayer, with Mr. Simeon Aſh, Mr. Love, Mr. Woodcock, and other miniſters in Laurence-Lane, they did ſo clearly ſtate the cauſe of the Parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own conſcience of the juſtneſs of the war, and thereupon engaged in the Parliament ſervice (which, as I did, and do believe) was the cauſe of the Lord; I ventured my life freely for it, and now I die for it.

Then Mr. Sheriff ſaid to this purpoſe, Sir, remember yourſelf.

Colonel Axtel proceeded: And after the work of the Lord was done in England, my lot caſt me in the ſervice of Ireland, and I thank the Lord I was ſerviceable to the Engliſh nation in that country, and have diſcharged my duty fully, according to the truſt committed to me there. As for the fact for which I now ſuffer, it is for words, only for words, and but for words, and the ſentence is already reverſed in my own conſcience; and it will be reverſed by Jeſus Chriſt,

disposed of, so as to become spectacles in other public places. But the body of Mr. Hacker was, by his Majesty's great favour, given entire to his friends, and by their care was

by and by; I pray God, from the very bottom of my soul, to forgive all that have had any hand in my death, both witnesses and jury, and the court that passed sentence; for considering the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he hath laid it down, Matt. v. 44. 'It hath been said of old time, love your neighbours, and hate your enemies; but I say unto you, 'love your enemies, and pray for them that hate and 'despitefully use you, that you may be the children 'of your father which is in heaven.'

I desire, according to this doctrine, from the bottom of my heart, that God would give them true repentance, and not lay their sin to their charge, nor my blood, which by God's and man's law (I think), could not justly have been brought here to suffer: but I bless God I have some comfortable assurance, that I shall be embraced in the arms of Christ, and have cause to hope that his Spirit shall carry my soul into the Father's hands. And if the glory of this sun-shine be so great (the sun then shining bright), how much more is the glory of the Son of God, who is the Sun of righteousness? I think it convenient to give you some account of my faith. I believe all things written in the Old and New Testament, as the principles and doctrine of a believer's faith: I believe the blessed ordinances of Christ, that it is our duty to hear the word preached, to seek unto God in prayer, and to perform family duties, and to walk in the communion of Saints; and, for my own part, I am a member of a congregation, which I judge to be the way of Christ (and were it for that only I were to die I would witness to it), which is a company of men born again by his grace, that walk in the ways of Christ blameless and harmless. I believe Jesus Christ died for poor sinners, of whom I am chief as the Apostle Paul saith. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation. That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. And if the Apostle might say so, much more may I.

My friends and countrymen, I have reason to bewail my own unprofitable life, having been very unfruitful unto the people of the Lord. The Lord knows I have much fault upon my part, were it not for the blood of Christ that cleanseth and washeth me, according to his promise, saying, I loved you and washed away your sins in my own blood. For there is no remission of sins without the blood of Christ. I desire you all to loath and cast off sin; it were better to suffer than to sin. It is better to die than to sin, nothing could grieve our Saviour but sin, and therefore have a care of that. You and I must meet one day at the bar of Christ, and the Son of God shall be our judge, for God hath committed all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son as they honour the Father. This day is a resemblance of that day, therefore be serious; I beg as much good to your immortal souls as I expect to enjoy by and by. I beseech you beg of God, that he would save your souls, and omit no opportunity through the strength of the Lord, to believe and put your trust in the Lord Jesus Christ. Be sure to labour after assurance of your interest in him, or else you will be of all men most miserable; for I of all men were most miserable, if I had not believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.

Blessed be the Lord that brings me into this state; let the way or means be what they will, it is God's sovereignty who made these creatures so, to dispose of them how he pleaseth, and God hath ordained this death for me from all eternity. The Lord Christ often prayed, Thy will be done; this is the Lord's will. He hath numbered my days, and my times are in his hand. Many seek the ruler's favour, but every one's judgment is from the Lord. When Pilate said unto Christ, Knowest thou not, that I have a power to crucify thee? Christ answered him, Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above. Therefore I acknowledge the righteous hand of God; he is righteous, but I am sinful. Therefore will I bear God's indignation, because I have sinned against him.

It is said of Jesus Christ, that for the joy set before him, he endured the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of God, where I hope to see him by and by in glory and majesty, and to see his angels and believers worshipping of him, and therefore I despise the shame; our Saviour died upon the cross without sin; I am a sinful creature, a wretched sinner, and shall I expect better than he that was my master? He who was holy, and never had a sinful thought in all his life, and died not for himself, but for us, that we might live through his death, that through his poverty we might be made rich; and Christ having done this for his people, it should not be in their eyes thought a despicable thing, that we should suffer for him, having been engaged in the work of God. But Christ must prevail in righteousness, and he will prevail. Now, Mr. Sheriff, I thank you for your civility and for this leave (12).

(12) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 89, 90, 91.

Then Colonel Hacker rose up, and spoke to him in private, after which Colonel Axtel asked the Sheriff, whether they were both to die together, and being answered in the affirmative, Colonel Hacker read a paper, containing what he had particularly to say, and which was very short; he then intreated Colonel Axtel, that he would be (to use his own words) both their mouths to God. Mr. Axtel complying with this request, having first entreated the silence and attention of the people, and that they would join with him in his application to God, with a composed frame of spirit, and an audible voice, he prayed for better than half an hour, in which he prayed for the government, the magistrates, and for the executioner; he likewise prayed very heartily for the King, under the name of the Chief Magistrate of this nation, and throughout the whole did not receive the least interruption (13).

(13) *Ibid.* p. 91—96.

After he had ended his prayer, he gave the Sheriff thanks again for his civility, and then turning to Colonel Hacker, they saluted and embraced each other in their arms, and said, The Lord sweeten our passage, and give us a happy meeting with himself in glory. Then pulling his cap over his eyes, expecting, as is supposed, that the cart should be drawn away, with his hands lifted up, he uttered these words, with a loud and audible voice, Lord Jesus receive my spirit; but the cart staying a little longer, he lift up his hands a second time, and with the like audible and loud voice, said, Into thy hands, O Father! I recommend my spirit; and yet in regard there was no man found to put forward the horse to draw away the cart, until the common hangman came down out of the cart himself to do it: the carman, as many witnesses affirm, saying, He would lose his cart and horse, before he would have a hand in hanging such a man; by this means he had opportunity to lift up his hands and utter the like words a third time also (14).

(14) State Trials, Vol. ii. p. 416, concluding the account there.

One thing more his friends thought very remarkable, that when Colonel Axtel, and Colonel Hacker, were taken out of the sledge into the cart, the spectators being in great numbers there, behaved themselves very civilly; only two persons among them, as soon as the ropes were put about their necks, cried out very earnestly, Hang them, hang them, rogues, traitors, murderers; hang them, draw away the cart. Whereupon a man that stood by them, desired them to be civil, and said, Gentlemen, this is not civil, for the Sheriff knoweth what he has to do; and thereupon they were silent, and gave attention to Colonel Axtel's speech and prayer; but before he had done, those very persons were so affected, that they could not refrain from pouring out many tears upon the place, and went aside to a place a little more retired to weep; and that man that before desired them to be civil, went after them, and beheld them to his great admiration, as himself hath narrated (15).

(15) Speeches and Prayers of the late King's Judges, p. 96.

This behaviour fully justifies, what was said in a former note, of the force of Enthusiasm. C.

[It hath been observed to us, with regard to the stricture upon Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper's letter in the note [*E*], that we are not to weigh the language of other times by the balance of our own. I cannot see, says our correspondent, any thing like cant in this letter. The name of God is introduced with propriety and decency. The prayer for a happy esta-

was decently interred. At the time of his death, the Colonel left behind him a widow and ſeven children, for whoſe ſubſiſtence he had made a competent proviſion in the time of his proſperity.

bliſhment is what even Sir Anthony, though not much addicted to prayer, would naturally have made at a juncture ſo critical.

Colonel Axtel's plea, that he acted only as a ſoldier, under the orders of his General, though not ſtrictly legal, or held to be admiſſible in the caſe of treaſon, has, notwithſtanding, a great deal of force. An officer, under command, cannot refuſe obedience without deſtruction to himſelf. The malignity of the crime, in putting King Charles the Firſt to death, did, without doubt, principally lie in thoſe by whoſe aſſumed authority it was done. However, Axtel was a voluntary and chearful inſtrument in all that he did at the King's trial. How great an enthuſiaſt he was, is evident from the account here given. His ſincerity cannot be called in queſtion; but his manners were fierce, and, if Lord Clarendon's relation of his conduct in Ireland be true, they were in the higheſt degree barbarous. He was a ſteady and conſiſtent Republican, in which view his oppoſition to Cromwell doth him honour.

Too much, we think, is aſcribed in the text to the Anabaptiſts, as having ſubverted the government of Ireland. They appear only to have acted in conjunction with other ſectaries. It is worthy of obſervation; that the Antipædo-Baptiſts, whoſe principles have been deemed ſo wild, and whoſe exceſſes in Germany were ſo great (though not, perhaps, wholly unprovoked), are now as peaceable and orderly a ſet of people as any which exiſts.] K.

AYLESBURY (THOMAS), the ſecond ſon of William Ayleſbury, by his wife Anne, daughter of John Poole, Eſq; was born in the city of London, ſome time in the year 1576 (*a*). He received his education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, from whence he went to Oxford, and in 1598, became a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies, and eſpecially affected the Mathematics. This made him known to perſons of the greateſt parts in the univerſity, and was the reaſon of his being careſſed by ſome of the greateſt quality in the kingdom (*b*). On the nineteenth of June, 1605, he took his degree of Maſter of Arts. After he quitted the univerſity, he became Secretary to Charles Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High-Admiral of England; in which poſt he had an opportunity of improving his mathematical knowledge, as alſo of giving many and ſhining proofs of it. On this account, when George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, ſucceeded the Earl of Nottingham as High-Admiral, Mr. Ayleſbury not only kept his employment, but was alſo, by the favour of that powerful Duke, created a Baronet, the nineteenth of April, 1627, having been before made Maſter of Requeſts, and Maſter of the Mint (*c*). Theſe great employments, as they furniſhed him with the means of expreſſing his regard for learned men, ſo in him they met with a perſon, who put them to their right uſe. He not only made all men of ſcience welcome at his table, and afforded them all the countenance he could, but likewiſe gave to ſuch of them as were in narrow circumſtances, regular penſions out of his pocket, and carried them with him to his houſe in Windſor-Park, where he uſually ſpent the ſummer. In this manner he treated Walter Warner, a moſt ſkilful Mathematician; and who, at his requeſt, wrote a treatiſe of coins and coinage (*d*). The famous Mr. Thomas Harriot, was another of his dependants, as appears by a poem addreſſed to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, by Biſhop Corbet [*A*], as alſo from the grateful acknowledgment made by that learned perſon in his will, whereby he bequeathed to Robert Sidney, Viſcount Liſle, and Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, all his writings, and all the manuſcripts he had collected (*e*). Nor was the aſſiſtance, which Sir Thomas afforded to men of merit, confined within the bounds of his own capacity, but extended to the recommendation of them to ſuch noble and generous patrons, as he had an intereſt in. Thus he recommended Mr. Thomas Allen of Oxford, to his maſter the Duke of Bucks, and to other noble perſons, who honoured him with their friendſhip and protection. This very learned perſon confided his manuſcripts, for he would never publiſh any thing, to Sir Thomas, who was in theſe matters the moſt knowing and moſt candid critic

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. col 168. See alſo the inſcription on his grave-ſtone.

(*b*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Catalogue of Baronets, Temp. Car. 12mo. MS. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 459.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 461.

[*A*] *By Biſhop Corbet.*] This Poem was written on the appearance of the Comet on the 9th of December 1618, and is, conſidering the ſtyle of that age, a good performance. From the following lines the point mentioned in the text is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed:

Now for the peace of God and men adviſe
(Thou that haſt wherewithal to make us wiſe)
Thine own rich ſtudies and deep HARRIOT's mine,
In which there is no droſs, but all refine, &c. (1)

(1) See his Poems printed at London, 1672, p. 56.

The ſtudy of the Mathematics was at this time much encouraged, and had been ſo for many years. The Earl of Leiceſter, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, had ſome ſkill in this ſcience, and a great eſteem for ſuch as were learned therein. His ſon, Sir Robert Dudley, was alſo a patron of Mathematicians, and ſo was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being confined many years in the Tower of London, diverted himſelf with the converſation of eminent ſcholars in this kind of knowledge, among whom our Sir Thomas Ayleſbury often obtained a ſeat. His collections of ſcarce and valuable books, learned and curious MSS. which he acquired, not only by his own induſtry, and at great expence, but alſo as in the text mentioned, by the gifts of his obliged friends, were either loſt in our troubles at home, or were diſpoſed of in the time of his diſtreſs abroad. Among theſe were ſeveral of Mr. Harriot's pieces, and thoſe bequeathed to him by Mr. Warner, ſome of which well deſerved to have been made public. As to thoſe which were given him by Mr. Allen, they related moſtly to Aſtrology; and among them were the ſecond and third books of the famous Ptolemy the Geographer, *de Aſtrorum judiciis cum expoſitione Thomæ Allen* (2). Theſe were in thoſe days, when Aſtrology paſſed for a ſcience, held to be invaluable treatiſes, and therefore ſome copies were procured, one of which was in the hands of William Lilly, the Almanack-maker, who preſented his tranſcript to Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; (3). It does not appear, that Sir Thomas Ayleſbury ever wrote any thing himſelf, but inaſmuch as he bountifully aſſiſted ſuch men of parts as ſtood in need of his favour, we cannot think the compliment we have paid more than he deſerved.

(2) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 575.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra.

of

of his time (f). In 1642, adhering ſteadily to the King, he was of conſequence ſtripped of his places, and plundered of his eſtate. However, he bore up chearfully under his misfortunes till 1649, when having ſeen the bloody murder of his Sovereign, he grew ſick of his country, and retiring with his family into Flanders, lived for ſome time at Bruſſels. In 1652, he removed to Breda, where he led a very private life, his loyalty having left him very little to live on; and in 1657, being then eighty-one years of age, he ended his days with honour, and was interred in the great church, through the care of his illuſtrious ſon in-law. He left a ſon, William, of whom in the next article, and a daughter, Frances, who married Edward Hyde of Perton, in the county of Wilts, afterwards the juſtly famous Earl of Clarendon (g). C.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 575.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 479.

AYLESBURY (William), ſon of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Baronet, became very early a gentleman commoner of Chriſt-Church, and took a degree in Arts at ſixteen years of age (a). Though he had at that time the proſpect of a very plentiful fortune, yet he purſued his ſtudies with ſuch diligence, and behaved with ſo much modeſty and prudence, that King Charles I. made choice of him to be Governor to George Villiers, Duke of Bucks, and his brother Lord Francis, with whom he went to travel (b). He met in Italy with a very extraordinary misfortune. Walking one evening in the garden of the houſe where they lodged, he was ſhot, through a hole in the wall, and a couple of bullets lodged in his thigh: thoſe who did it leaped over the wall, came up, and looked upon him, begged his pardon, told him they were miſtaken, and that they intended to have ſhot another perſon, which was all the ſatisfaction he ever received (c). He returned into England with his pupils a little after the Civil War commenced, and carried them with him to Oxford, where he preſented them to the King. His Majeſty expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in regard to Mr. Ayleſbury's conduct (d), and promiſed on the firſt vacancy, to make him groom of his Bed-chamber; which promiſe, however, he lived not to perform. His Majeſty likewiſe recommended it to Mr. Ayleſbury, to tranſlate into Engliſh the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in France, by Davila. How far he complied, the reader will ſee in the note [A]. After the King's murder, he retired with his father to Antwerp, and dwelt there as long as his circumſtances would afford it; but at length, through very want, returned into England in the year 1650; ſpending his time here, as moſt of the Royaliſts did, in ſeeking ſhelter and a meal of meat where it was to be had. Living ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, chiefly at Oxford, which was always loyal, till the year 1657, when the Protector fitted out a fleet to go on ſome expedition to the Weſt Indies, as alſo to carry a ſupply to the iſland of Jamaica, our author, from pure neceſſity, engaged himſelf as Secretary to the Governor; which poſt he enjoyed not long, death removing him when he had been but a ſhort time in the iſland (e).

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 216.

(b) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

(c) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 803.

(e) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 216.

[A] *The reader will ſee in the note.*] The reaſon why his Majeſty made choice of Mr. Ayleſbury to tranſlate this book was, becauſe he was a perfect maſter of the Italian language. It ſhould ſeem, however, that our author was a little indolent, ſince even with the aſſiſtance of his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, it was not fitted for the preſs till ſome years afterwards, when it appeared under the following title, *The Hiſtory of the Civil wars of* France. *Written in Italian by* Henry Canterino d'Avila, *London*, 1647, *folio*. There was a *ſecond edition* of this work in 1678, and in the Epiſtle prefixed thereto, it is ſaid, that the whole was tranſlated by Sir Charles Cotterel, except here and there a paſſage in the four firſt books (1). This ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to write in partnerſhip; for Mr. Ayleſbury had been then many years dead, and could not therefore poſſibly anſwer for himſelf. Before I cloſe this note, I muſt crave leave to obſerve, that there is ſomething very remarkable in King Charles I., commanding this book to be tranſlated, ſince it is certain, that thoſe dreadful ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, of private calamities and public confuſion, which were ſo admirably depicted in that work, came afterwards to be acted on the Theatre of Britain, and therefore a better caveat could not have been thought of for preventing thoſe miſchiefs, than the timely publication of this book. As to our author Ayleſbury, and his friend Sir Charles Cotterel, they for ſome time lived together in the houſe of Mr. Ayleſbury, at Breda, where Doctor Morley, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, officiated as their chaplain, till Mr. Ayleſbury's misfortunes came upon him (2). By the immature death of our author in Jamaica, the male line of this family was extinguiſhed, and his ſurviving ſiſter Frances, Counteſs of Clarendon, became heireſs of what could be recovered of her father's, Sir Thomas Ayleſbury's, eſtate (3). C.

(1) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 216.

(2) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 770.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 479.

AYLMER, or rather as himſelf wrote it, ÆLMER (John), was deſcended from a very ancient [A] and honourable family, ſeated at Aylmer-Hall, in the county of Norfolk (a). He was born ſome time in the year 1521 (b), and being a younger brother

(a) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk, Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova Lond. 1738, 4to. Vol. iii. p. 297.

(b) See the inſcription in note [Q].

[A *Deſcended from a very ancient family.*] There is no doubt of our author's being of a very ancient and genteel family, ſince his elder brother was Sir Robert Aylmer, of Aylmer-hall, in the county of Norfolk and their anceſtor Sheriff of this county, in the reign of Edward II. (1) But it muſt be allowed, that Mr. Strype, in his Life of this Prelate, confounds himſelf and his reader on this head, and by endeavouring to make the thing exceſſively plain, hath rendered it ſcarcely intelligible (2). That the Biſhop really wrote his name Ælmer, at leaſt ſometimes, is certain, and that this might proceed from ſome affectation of deſcending from a Saxon family, is not improbable, ſince it is as certain, that the Aylmers of Norfolk did not uſe this manner of writing, nor is the name of a Sheriff of London, A. D. 1501, ſo written, but plainly Aylmer, as in the text (3). The foregoing articles will ſhew, that there really was ſuch a name as this in uſe in thoſe times; but then it was a Chriſtian name, and Mr. Strype does not pretend to account for its becoming a ſurname, which however we ſhall endeavour to do. Fuller had informed him, that Aylmer-hall ſtood in the pariſh of Tilſley (4), which pariſh not being to be found, Mr.

(1) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk.

(2) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. a. 192, and 324.

(3) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 802. Delaune's Preſent State of London, p. 243.

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

brother, was either recommended by his relations, or recommended himſelf by his pregnant parts, even in his nonage, to the then Marquis of Dorſet (Henry Grey), afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was pleaſed to honour him with the title of his Scholar, and gave him an exhibition at the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*). When he had there attained a competent proviſion of univerſity learning, the Marquis recalled him from thence, and took him into his own houſe, where he became tutor to his children, amongſt whom was the Lady Jane, who, for ſome days, was ſtiled Queen (*d*). This excellent Lady, under Mr. Aylmer's tuition [*B*], became wonderfully learned in the Latin and Greek tongues, reading in the latter with great eaſe and pleaſure, the moſt ſublime and difficult authors, and even writing in that language with great elegancy, as well as ſtrength of ſentiment (*e*). By the care of Mr. Aylmer, ſhe received right principles of religion. For he went early into the opinions of the primitive Reformers; and having for his patrons the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Edward VI., he was for ſome time the only preacher in Leiceſterſhire; where he ſo effectually fixed the Proteſtant religion in the minds of the people, that neither force nor fraud could blot it out (*f*). The firſt preferment beſtowed upon him, was the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln (*g*), which giving him a ſeat in the Convocation [*C*], held in the firſt year of Queen Mary, he boldly oppoſed that return to Popery, to which the body of the Clergy ſeemed generally inclined. He was one of ſix, who, in the midſt of all the violences committed in that aſſembly, offered to diſpute all the controverted points in religion, againſt the moſt learned and famous champions of the Papiſts. But when the ſupreme power began to argue, not by words but by force, Archdeacon Aylmer withdrew, and if we may credit one of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, eſcaped in almoſt a miraculous manner [*D*], beyond the ſeas (*b*); where he reſided firſt at Straſbourg, afterwards at Zurick in Switzerland, and there in peace followed his ſtudies, employing all

(*c*) Hiſtorical Collections, relating to the Life and Acts of Biſhop Aylmer, by J. Strype, A. M. Lond. 1701, 8vo. p. 3.

(*d*) Fuller, ubi ſupra. Aſcham's School-maſter, Lond. 1571, &c. p. 11.

(*e*) Aſcham's Epiſtol. edit. Oxon. A. D. 1703, p. 237.

(*f*) Strype, p. 8.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 712.

(*b*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

Mr. Strype ſuppoſes that it muſt be in Tilney pariſh, which lies in Merſhland, or Marſhland, where a later writer confidently places it (5), though I find no direct teſtimony that in this pariſh it really ſtands. But this part of the country appears ſo evidently gained from the ſea, and was formerly with ſuch difficulty kept from its old maſter, that it is not very likely any Saxon family ſhould remain here. But in North Erpingham Hundred, in the ſame county, there is a conſiderable village, called Ailmerton, or Elmerton (6), which is truly a Saxon name, and ſignifies a place ſeated on the Old Marſh; and there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that after ſurnames became faſhionable, the poſſeſſor of this manor took that of Aylmer, or Elmer, a thing uſual in other places (7).

(5) See Magn. Britan. Antiq. & Nova, p. 297.

(6) See Speed's Maps, p. 35.

(7) Camden's Remains, edit. 1606, p. 107.

[*B*] *Under Mr. Aylmer's tuition.*] It is not a little ſtrange, that Mr. Strype, with all his induſtry, ſhould not be able to diſcover at what college in Cambridge our author had his education (8). As to his conjectures that it might be here, or it might be there, they may ſerve to miſlead, but not inſtruct us; and therefore it is ſufficient to note, that Fuller affirms he was bred there, and that Anthony Wood ſuggeſts he took his degrees in Arts at that univerſity (9). In Strype's Life, there is not one date between his birth and firſt preferment, though there are ſeveral circumſtances mentioned, the time of which might have been eaſily fixed. Mr. Aſcham viſited the Lady Jane Grey, in the month of Auguſt, 1550 (10), and found her under the tuition of Mr. Elmer, who was then in the 30th year of his age. The place at which ſhe then reſided, was her father's ſeat at Broadgate, in Leiceſterſhire; the family were hunting; and Mr. Aſcham going to wait on the young Lady, ſurpriſed her reading the Phædon of Plato. This naturally led him to inquire, how a Lady of her age, for ſhe could not be then above fourteen, arrived at ſuch a perfection both in Philoſophy and the Greek tongue? To which ſhe anſwered thus, as Mr. Aſcham himſelf informs us; 'I will tell you, 'quoth ſhe, and tell you truth, which, perchance, 'you will marvel at. One of the greateſt benefits 'which ever God gave me, is that he ſent ſo ſharp 'and ſevere parents, and ſo gentle a ſchoolmaſter. 'For when I am in preſence either of father or 'mother, whether I ſpeak, keep ſilence, ſit, ſtand, 'or go; eat, drink, be merry or ſad; be ſewing, 'playing, dancing, or doing any thing elſe, I muſt 'do it, as it were, in ſuch weight, meaſure, and 'number, and even ſo perfectly, as God made the 'world, or elſe, I am ſo ſharply taunted, ſo cruelly 'threatened, yea, preſently ſometimes with pinches, 'nips, and bobs (or other ways, which I will not 'name, for the honour I bear them), ſo without 'meaſure miſordered, that I think myſelf in Hell, 'till time come that I muſt go to Mr. *Elmer*, who 'teacheth me ſo gently, ſo pleaſantly, with fair 'allurements to learning, that I think all the time 'nothing while I am with him; and when I am 'called from him, I fall a weeping, becauſe whatſoever I do elſe but learning, is full of grief, 'trouble, fear, and wholly miſliking unto me; and 'this my book hath been ſo much my pleaſure, 'and bringeth daily to me more pleaſure, and more 'yet, in reſpect to it, all other pleaſures, in very deed, 'be but trifles and troubles unto me (11).' So much was Mr. Aſcham affected with this interview, that in a letter to Lady Jane, dated the eighteenth of January, 1551, he ſpeaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apoſtrophe, addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Aylmer, felicitates him on his having ſo ingenious a ſcholar, in a ſtrain of compliment, which he ſays the great Sturmius made uſe of to him, ſpeaking of his happineſs, in having the Lady Elizabeth for his pupil. In this letter it is, that he deſires Mr. Aylmer, to whom he foreſaw it would be ſhewn, to engage the Lady Jane, to write a letter in Greek to himſelf, and another to Sturmius, and alſo deſires they might continue to live in the ſame learned friendſhip and intercourſe, which they had hitherto done (12).

(8) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 3.

(9) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 712.

(10) E. Grant, de Vita & Obitu R. Aſchami, p. 17.

(11) Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, p. 11. b.

(12) Aſcham. Epiſt. p. 237.

[*C*] *A ſeat in the Convocation.*] In the beginning of the year 1553, Mr. Aylmer ſucceeded Chriſtopher Maſſingberd, who deceaſed the 8th of March, in the ſame year, in the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, if Wood may be believed (13); but Mr. Strype ſays, that he ſucceeded Dr. Dedicot (14). However it was, he ſat in the Convocation, which met the 16th of October, in the ſame year at London: The firſt day he ſaid little; but the next he diſputed boldly againſt the Real Preſence, and with great learning, reading ſeveral quotations from the Fathers, which he had collected, from his note book. But the hiſtory of this diſpute is much too long for a note, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to a book, where it may ſtill be read at large (15). This conduct, though it gained him great reputation, loſt him his Archdeaconry; into which came John Harriſon, in the year 1554, being no doubt a zealous Papiſt (16).

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 712.

(14) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 9.

(15) Fox's Martyrs.

(16) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *Almoſt miraculous manner.*] Mr. Fuller takes notice, that the ſhip on board which Mr. Aylmer embarked, was ſo unlucky as to be ſearched and yet he eſcaped, partly through the friendſhip of the captain, and partly through his own lowneſs of ſtature. For there being in the hold a very large wine veſſel, with a partition in the middle, Mr. Aylmer

all his time [*E*] in acquiring knowledge, or in providing that others ſhould acquire it (*i*). During the time of his exile, he improved himſelf likewiſe by travel; and towards the end of it, gave a ſignal proof of his learning, moderation, and love to his native country, by penning a ſober anſwer to an outrageous book, written by John Knox, againſt the government of women [*F*]. After the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the Engliſh throne, Aylmer returned home, and was one of the eight Divines, appointed to diſpute with as many Popiſh Biſhops at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of a great aſſembly (*k*). A. D. 1562, he obtained the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, by the favour of Mr. Secretary Cecil (*l*). In right of this dignity, he ſat in the famous Synod held the ſame year, wherein the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, and its Reformation, from the abuſes of Popery, were carefully examined and ſettled (*m*). In this ſituation he continued for many years [*G*], and diſcharged the duty of a good ſubject to the government under which he lived, in Church and State; being one of the Queen's Juſtices

(i) Strype, p. 10—17.

(k) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent XVI. Book ix. p. 56.

(l) Strype, p. 18.

(m) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 328.

Aylmer ſat in the one end of it, while the ſearchers drank wine drawn out of the other (17). No queſtion, but many ſuch contrivances there were in the days of Queen Mary, when the confuſions in Church and State, made numbers of all ranks prefer ſafety in foreign climates, to that affection which nature taught them for their own.

(17) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk.

[*E*] *Employing all his time.*] His thoughts, though in a diſtant country, were continually employed in the ſervice of England, and of Engliſhmen. He publiſhed (as Mr. Strype ſuppoſes) Lady Jane Grey's letter to Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, and who apoſtatized. He aſſiſted the famous Fox, in tranſlating the Hiſtory of Engliſh Martyrs into Latin, as alſo in the verſion of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Vindication of the Book on the Sacrament, againſt Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. which verſion however was never printed or publiſhed. When his ſtudies and the care he took of his fellow-exiles allowed him leiſure, he viſited moſt of the univerſities of Italy and Germany, and had an offer from the Duke of Saxony, of the Hebrew Profeſſorſhip of *Jena*, which he refuſed, on a proſpect of ſpeedily returning home (18).

(18) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

[*F*] *Againſt the government of women.*] As this was the only work of conſequence, which our author Aylmer ever publiſhed; as it was the groundwork of his future fortunes, and at the ſame time, the ſource of thoſe calumnies, which were thrown upon him, it is requiſite that we ſhould give here a full and diſtinct account of the occaſion, and the manner in which it was written. In 1556, John Knox printed, at Geneva, a treatiſe under this title: *The firſt Blaſt againſt the monſtrous Regiment and empire of Women.* The drift of the author was to ſhew, that by the laws of God, women could not exerciſe Sovereign authority (19). The reaſon of his writing of it, was his ſpite againſt two Queens; Mary of Lorrain, then Regent of Scotland, and Mary Queen of England. It was like the reſt of that Divine's pieces, a vehement performance, full of ſtrange opinions, ſupported by a warm flow of enthuſiaſtic rhetorick, which ſufficiently recommended it to all perſons of the ſame complection. He intended a ſecond, and a third part; but the times altering, he did not rend the ears of the public with any more Blaſts. However, this firſt did a great deal of miſchief, and prejudiced the Proteſtant religion exceedingly in the minds of Princes, and thoſe in authority under them. Mr. Aylmer perceiving this, and apprehending alſo the conſequences which might attend the leaving this book unanſwered, reſolved to employ his pen in the performance of a duty incumbent upon him, as a Chriſtian Divine, and a good ſubject. His piece was intitled, *An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects, againſt the late blowne Blaſte, concerning the Government of Women. Wherein bee confuted al ſuch Reaſons as a Straunger of late made in that Behalfe. With a briefe Exhortation to Obedience.* It was printed at Straſbourg, anno 1559, and was dedicated to the Earl of Bedford, and Lord Robert Duddely (afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, then) Maſter of the Queen's Horſes. This book is written with great vivacity, and at the ſame time diſcovers its author's deep and general learning. At the opening of this work, there are ſome curious remarks on Mr. Knox's want of ſkill in politics, and the Law of Nations: the author then proceeds to a logical refutation of his arguments, and in doing this, he enters into a compariſon of the Civil, or Roman Law, with that of this land. In his exhortation to obedience, he pays great compliments to the new Queen Elizabeth, giving however this reaſon for his not ſetting his name to his book, that he might write with greater liberty, and be the leſs ſuſpected of flattery. A ſeaſonable and well-judged antidote this was to Knox's furious poiſon, and well calculated to ſoften Queen Elizabeth's reſentment, which had begun to diſcover itſelf againſt the exiles (20). Yet with all this moderation, it ſo happened, that our author retaining in his mind, too quick a ſenſation of the ſeverities exerciſed by Queen Mary's Popiſh Biſhops, let fall ſome odd expreſſions, and amongſt them theſe; 'Come off, ye Biſhops, away 'with your ſuperfluities, yield up your thouſands, 'be content with hundreds; as they be in other 'reformed Churches, where be as great learned men 'as you are. Let your portion be Prieſt-like, not 'Prince-like. Let the Queen have the reſt of your 'temporalities, and other lands, to maintain theſe 'wars, which you procured, and your miſtreſs left 'her embroiled in; and with the reſt to build and 'found ſchools throughout the realm. That every 'pariſh-church may have his preacher, every city 'his ſuperintendant, to live honeſtly, and not 'pompouſly, which will never be, unleſs your 'lands be diſperſed, and beſtowed upon many, which 'now feed and fat but one.' Other paſſages there are to the ſame purport, which Mr. Strype tells us very confidently, were intended of the Popiſh Biſhops; which, with his leave, is a viſible abſurdity, as appears from the words above cited; *other reformed Churches.* Not but that the Popiſh Biſhops are alſo ſtruck at by what follows; but the ſcope of the words take in the whole order, and in this ſenſe they were underſtood. Aylmer himſelf, when this paſſage was afterwards objected to him, diſdained ſuch trifling, and anſwered like a man of ſenſe; *When I was a child, I ſpoke like a child, and thought like a child,* &c. (21) His inclining to what was afterwards called Puritaniſm, in thoſe days, appears farther by his choice of his Patrons, the *Earl* of *Bedford*, and *Lord Dudley*. This was a topic his enemies would never part with, when he came afterwards to change his opinions, and to act with the ſame quickneſs and vehemency in defence of Prelacy, which he had before diſcovered in this work, in writing againſt it. While we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to note, that the reflection this piece drew upon him, did probably deter Mr. Aylmer from meddling with the Preſs again; to which he retained an irreconcileable averſion, except in caſes of neceſſity, to the very end of his life.

(19) See the article of FOX.

(20) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223. Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 119. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 712.

(21) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 269. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 108.

[*G*] *Continued for many years.*] In this note we ſhall lay before the reader, ſome particulars worthy his notice, which happened to Mr. Aylmer, between his return to England and his promotion to the Biſhopric of London. He was about forty years old when he firſt became known at court, having for his faſt friend, Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and for his Patron, Secretary Cecil. Before the eccleſiaſtical preferments were ſettled, Cecil made liſts of Divines, proper to be recommended to Biſhopricks. In one of theſe, conſiſting of nineteen names, ſtood Aylmer, but though twelve of that number were honoured with mitres, he was paſſed by (22). However, he had no great reaſon to complain, his Archdeaconry being a very profitable preferment. In the roll of the ſubſcriptions to the thirty-nine articles in the Synod, mentioned in the text, which ſubſcriptions were

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 154.

Juſtices of the Peace, as alſo an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, which gave him a great inſight into affairs, and rendered him fitly qualified for the epiſcopal function (*n*). October the tenth, 1573, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, in the univerſity of Oxford (*o*). The next year the Archbiſhop of Canterbury made choice of him, to anſwer a book written in Latin againſt the government of the Church of England; but after thoroughly conſidering it, Dr. Aylmer declined the taſk (*p*), which ſome in thoſe days (perhaps unjuſtly) attributed to diſcontent, becauſe he was not made a Biſhop. To this dignity he had been often named by that excellent man, Matthew Parker, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, but always ſet aſide, either through the intereſt of the Archbiſhop's enemies, or his own (*q*). For there were of both, and the latter failed not to ſuggeſt, that in the ſame book where Aylmer had made his court to the Queen, he had alſo ſhewn his ſpleen againſt Epiſcopacy (*r*). At laſt, in the year 1576, on Dr. Edwin Sandys being promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of York, Dr. Aylmer was made Biſhop of London (*s*), not without the furtherance of his predeceſſor, who was his intimate friend, and had been his fellow-exile. Yet, immediately after his promotion, Biſhop Aylmer found, or thought he found, cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop [*H*]. However his Grace aſſiſted at his conſecration, on the twenty-fourth of March 1576. But this did not hinder Biſhop Aylmer from ſuing Sandys for

(*n*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 109.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 318. Life of Aylmer, p. 22.

(*q*) Strype, p. 20.

(*r*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 712.

(*s*) Godwin de Præſul Part i. p. 252. Wood, ubi ſupra. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent XVI. B. ix. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p 97.

were made on the 15th of February 1562, he ſubſcribed thus; *Johannes Ælmerus*, Archid. *Lincoln.* (23). He did not ſtir much in this aſſembly, and when the great debate was on the ſix points, relating to feaſt-days, ceremonies, organs, *&c.* he was abſent, and ſo were many more, to the number of twenty-ſeven (24). It was doubtleſs by the Archbiſhop's intereſt, Mr. Aylmer was made a Juſtice of Peace, and put into the high commiſſion; and Mr. Wood aſſures us, that his being in theſe poſts, is taken notice of in the Oxford regiſter in the entry of his degrees (25). He was very active in all his ſeveral employments: however, his book was ſtill harped upon, by ſuch as had no kindneſs for his perſon. Amongſt the reſt, one Mr. Norton, a Miniſter, writing to Dr. Whitgift, to diſſuade him from anſwering Mr. Cartwright, the Puritan's book, remarked, that Mr. Aylmer's unſeaſonable paradox to truth, had hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment ſo much as he hoped. But Dr. Whitgift in his anſwer, ſupported Mr. Aylmer's doctrine, and vindicated him from the charge of writing for preferment (26). Many of theſe reports, no doubt, had reached our Archdeacon's ears; and therefore we need not wonder that he declined the Archbiſhop's motion of writing an anſwer to the treatiſe, *de Diſciplina*, which would certainly have created him new enemies, and have contributed nothing towards pacifying the old. It was not only Parker, our author's friend and countryman, that thought him the propereſt perſon to be employed in ſuch a work: Grindal then lately preferred from London to York, thought ſo too; but was apprehenſive that Aylmer would not take the pains (27). Indeed it was not reaſonable to expect he ſhould. He had already a great deal upon him, and it is admitted on all hands, that he left nothing unexecuted which depended upon him; inſomuch that many years after, it was acknowledged, that the dioceſe of Lincoln felt the good effects of his adminiſtration. The Archdeacon's diligence was ſomewhat impeded by a diſpute he had with the Biſhop, which induced a law-ſuit: but at length the parties, to avoid ſcandal, ſubmitted the matter in debate to Matthew, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Robert, Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whom it was finally determined in 1572 (28). When Grindal was made Archbiſhop of York, Aylmer was talked of for his ſucceſſor in the See of London, and Parker recommended him warmly to Secretary Cecil. The Earl of Leiceſter, our author's firſt Patron, ſtarted an objection, though he ſeemed to eſpouſe his intereſt; which objection was, that it would ſeem ſtrange to raiſe an Archdeacon at once, to ſo conſiderable a See: after all, Sandys was preferred for that time (29). It is pretty evident, that neither of the parties which were then in the Church, had any liking to our Archdeacon. Thoſe who were warm for Uniformity, remembered his declamation againſt Biſhops, and the other party again, hated him alſo on account of his book; for though none durſt openly own it, yet Knox's doctrine had many followers. Beſides, Aylmer's conduct as an Archdeacon, and an eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, ſeemed to ſpeak an alteration in his ſentiments; and thus, though no objection could be made to his parts, learning, or application to buſineſs; yet doubts and jealouſies, retarded his preferment for nearly fifteen years, notwithſtanding his own merit, and the warm ſolicitation of powerful friends.

(23) *Ib.* p. 328.

(24) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 19.

(25) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 109.

(26) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 21.

(27) *Ib.* p. 22.

(28) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(29) Godwin de Præſul. edit. Lond, 1616. p. 252.

[*H*] *Cauſe to complain of the Archbiſhop.*] The diſpute between our Biſhop Aylmer, and his predeceſſor, Archbiſhop Sandys, is a point not to be ſlipt over haſtily, or treated with any partiality. We ſhall endeavour to ſtate it fairly, truly, and from proper authorities. Sandys was Aylmer's particular friend, had been his fellow-exile, and recommended him warmly for his ſucceſſor in the See of London (30). In his farewel ſermon preached at Paul's Croſs, he was pleaſed to give this character of him, then, appointed to ſupply his place. 'My hope is that the Lord 'hath provided one of choice, to be placed over 'you a man to undertake this great charge, for 'ſtrength, courage, great wiſdom, ſkill in govern-'ment, knowledge, as in many other things; ſo 'eſpecially in the Heavenly myſteries of God, that 'I doubt not, but my departure ſhall turn very much 'to your advantage (31).' When Dr. Aylmer came to town on this occaſion, the Archbiſhop courteouſly entertained him at his houſe. When he departed for York, he left ſeveral things in the houſes belonging to his Biſhoprick, for his uſe and benefit, all which ſo obliged the new Biſhop of London, that a little before his conſecration, he ſaid, he would demand nothing for dilapidations; and a little after, promiſed to be contented with an hundred pounds, as the Archbiſhop offered to juſtify on his oath, in a paper under his hand (32). When Sandys was gone to York, our Biſhop, or, as Strype ſays, ſome buſy lawyer for him, ſet up many demands; requiring firſt the rent to Lady-day, and ſome time after ſtept back to Michaelmas (33). To this Sandys objected, that till Candlemas, he was Biſhop of London, and had ſpent in hoſpitality there, five hundred and fifty pounds more than he had received ſince Michaelmas: that neither Biſhop Young, nor the late Archbiſhop Grindal, had been ſo dealt withal, but enjoyed all they received. This anſwer, which was addreſſed to the Treaſurer, ended with theſe words; 'He is able, 'and I am a beggar; I have in that ſpace been at 'all the coſts, and taken all the pains, he none; ſo 'that if the reſtitution-day be found on the Purifi-'cation of our Lady, it will look farther back 'than I thought (34).' Biſhop Aylmer, it ſeems, in order to demonſtrate the ability of his Grace to anſwer his demands, ſent to the Lord Treaſurer, a note of what accrued to the Archbiſhop in his new dioceſe. His Lady-day's rents 500 *l.* demeſnes 400 *l.* benevolence of his Clergy 800 *l.* in wood 3000 *l.* (35) The Treaſurer fairly ſent a copy of this note to the Archbiſhop, who in his anſwer to his Lordſhip's letter ſays, I have ſet a brief and true comment on this 'falſe text, as by the billet incloſed to your Lord-'ſhip you may perceive.' That billet ran thus: *The Lady-day rents are unwue by a great ſum, and perhaps part of the tenths will be required of me; the demeſnes not 5ths, the Clergy's benevolence in two years to come; ar*

(30) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 428. Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 27.

(31) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 424.

(32) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 570, 571.

(33) *Ib.* p. 426. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 26.

(34) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 426.

(35) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 26. Annals, Vol. ii. p. 426.

for dilapidations, which after ſome years proſecution he recovered (*t*). December the fifteenth, 1577, our Biſhop began his firſt viſitation, wherein he urged ſubſcriptions, which ſome miniſters refuſed, and not contented therewith, reviled ſuch as ſaw no reaſon to hinder them from ſubſcribing, calling them diſſemblers, and comparing them to Arians and Anabaptiſts (*u*). He was alſo extremely aſſiduous in public preaching, took much pains in examining ſuch as came to him for ordination, and kept a ſtrict eye over all the Diſſenters in thoſe times, as well Papiſts as Puritans; in which he acted ſo far as his epiſcopal authority would permit, and where he found that not ſufficient, he wrote freely to the Treaſurer Burleigh [*I*], as to what he thought farther neceſſary (*w*). When the plague raged in London, in the year 1578, our Biſhop ſhewed a paternal care of his clergy and people. For, as on the one hand, he would not expoſe the former to needleſs perils, ſo on the other he provided, that theſe laſt ſhould not be without ſpiritual comforts (*x*). In 1581 came out Campion's book, ſhewing the reaſons why he had deſerted the Reformed, and returned to the Popiſh communion. It was written in very elegant Latin, and dedicated to the ſcholars of both the univerſities; for which reaſon the Treaſurer Burleigh, thought it very proper that it ſhould be anſwered, and referred the care thereof to our Biſhop, who though he gave his opinion freely upon the ſubject, and promiſed his aſſiſtance, if the anſwering it was put into a method which he propoſed, yet he declined the undertaking ſingly [*K*], on account of the great buſineſs he had upon his hands (*y*). He was indeed no great friend to controverſy, which he thought turned the minds of the people too much from the eſſence of religion, made them quarrelſome and captious, indifferent ſubjects, and not very good Chriſtians. On this account, he held a ſtreighter rein over the Puritans than over the Papiſts, impriſoning one Woodcock, a

(*t*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 119.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 29.

(*w*) Strype's Annals. Fuller's Church Hiſtory. Pierce's Vindication.

(*x*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 44.

(*y*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra, & p. 53.

as to the wood, he might as well have rated the houſes to pull down and ſell; he hath as much wood at London. At the end of the Archbiſhop's letter are theſe remarkable words; 'Coloured covetouſneſs, an 'envious heart, covered with the coat of diſſimu-'lation, will, when opportunity ſerve, ſhew itſelf; 'my Lord, I am ſore dealt withal, and moſt ſhame-'fully wronged on every ſide; my only comfort is, 'that a clear conſcience will anſwer for me before 'God, and that when I ſhall be tried, *veritas li-'berabit me.*' In another letter to the Treaſurer, the Archbiſhop inſinuates, that this note was ſent to the Treaſurer, rather to bring difficulties upon him, than from any hopes the Biſhop had of getting by it himſelf. 'For how, continues his Grace, came 'he to look for this, that the Biſhop of York would 'give his revenues to ſo unthankful a man, that ſo 'ſoon as he had holpen him on with his rochet, was 'transformed, and ſhewed himſelf in his own na-'ture (36).' It does not appear how this matter was ended; but Mr. Strype tells us, that Biſhop Aylmer commenced another ſuit againſt his predeceſſor for dilapidations, computing them at upwards of twelve hundred pounds (37), which demand was afterwards carried much higher, as the reader will ſee in the text.

(36) *Ib.* p. 427, 428.

(37) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 29.

[*I*] *To the Treaſurer Burleigh.*] By a letter of the Biſhop's, dated the 30th of December 1579, it appears, that he kept a very ſtrict eye over the Papiſts. That letter is directed to the Treaſurer, and it relates to one Carter, a Printer, whom, together with his Preſs, the Biſhop ſeized, and ſent the man to the Gatehouſe. In his cuſtody the Biſhop found a French treatiſe, intitled, *The Innocency of the Scottiſh Queen*, which his Lordſhip calls a very dangerous book, becauſe the ſaid Queen, is there ſtiled heir apparent of this crown; he alſo intimates, that the man was an old offender, out of whom there was nothing to be ſifted (38). What influence the Biſhop's letter had on the Treaſurer at this time appears not, but ſomething may be gueſſed, from the following paſſage out of Stowe. 'On the 10th of January 1584, at 'a Seſſion holden in the Juſtice-Hall of the Old Baily, 'London, William Carter, of the city of London, 'was there indicted, arraigned, and condemned of 'high-treaſon, for printing a ſeditious and traite-'rous book in Engliſh; intitled, *A Treatiſe of 'Schiſm*; and was for the ſame, according to the 'ſentence pronounced againſt him, on the next mor-'row, drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there 'hanged, bowelled, and quartered (39).' On all other occaſions, the Biſhop bore hard upon the Papiſts, and upon all the favourers of the title of the Queen of Scots. Another particular inſtance of this, we have in the caſe of one Mr. Thomas Pond, formerly a perſon of ſome diſtinction, now a priſoner in the Marſhalſea. Two Miniſters, it ſeems, went to confer with him upon religious ſubjects, but they found him ſo knotty a diſputant, that they could by no means manage him; which when they had reported to the Biſhop, he inſtantly gave directions for his being removed to his caſtle of Biſhops-Stortford. where, as the Papiſts ſay, he was confined in a very dark melancholy dungeon (40). The truth ſeems to be, that the Biſhop thought that men of this diſpoſition, in the neighbourhood of London, might do a great deal of miſchief, by perverting weak people to their religion, as we may gather by ſeveral letters of his to the Treaſurer on this ſubject. In all of them, he writes very pathetically, and expoſtulates with his Lordſhip, for not being ſo warm in this matter as himſelf was; intimating that rebellion was a thing neceſſarily connected with their religion, wherefore Stateſmen, as well as Churchmen, were bound to look ſtrictly after all favourers of Popery (41).

(38) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 45. Annals, Vol. ii. p. 587.

(39) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 698.

(40) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 47.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 3.

[*K*] *Declined the undertaking ſingly.*] This book of Campion's which was publiſhed in 1581, gave the Adminiſtration no ſmall uneaſineſs. It was written in very elegant Latin, in a quick and taking ſtile, dedicated to the ſcholars in both univerſities, among whom it was ſecretly diſperſed. One of the principal points inſiſted on therein, was the ſtrange and contradictory doctrines taught by ſome of the firſt Reformers, on which ſubject he had a whole chapter intitled *Paradoxa* (42). The Treaſurer was very deſirous that this book ſhould be anſwered, and anſwered effectually, for which reaſon, he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London; but it ſo happened, that his Lordſhip was then but juſt recovered of an ague, which at going off left him a ſore leg. Beſides, he could not with all his induſtry, procure the book; however, he wrote his opinion to the Treaſurer freely, and that opinion was this. He thought ſome of the Deans, Archdeacons, and Clergy who had preferments without cures of ſouls, ſhould be employed in collecting materials for ſuch an anſwer, and that others ſhould be appointed to put them in order: He even drew up a liſt of theſe, and no doubt his Lordſhip's deſign was to have gone to the bottom of things; and to have juſtified the Reformation thoroughly. He ſuggeſted however to his Lordſhip, that though himſelf had been well acquainted with many of theſe great men (the chief reaſon of the Treaſurer's applying to him) and had a profound veneration for their virtues; yet that he well knew, even theſe great men were not free from blame, or their writings from faults; wherefore he was for ſupporting the Reformation, rather than the Reformers (43). He continued in this ſentiment after Lord Burleigh ſent him the book, which he was far from thinking ſo extraordinary a performance as many held it to be (44). The Treaſurer thought ſuch an anſwer as the Biſhop deſired, too great an honour done him; and ſo Dr. Whitaker was employed to confute it, which he did in a learned piece written alſo in the Latin tongue (45).

(42) *Ib.* p. 52.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 48—52.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 54.

ſtationer

ſtationer or bookſeller, for vending a treatiſe, intitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, which tended to ſubvert the Church as it was then conſtituted (*z*). He had likewiſe ſome diſputes with one Mr. Welden, a perſon of a good eſtate and intereſt, in Berkſhire, whom he procured to be committed by the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners (*a*). Theſe proceedings rouſed the Puritans, who treated him as a perſecutor, and an enemy to true religion [*L*]. However, this did not diſcourage the Biſhop: he was a warm and a ſteady man, thought the peace of the Church was to be ſecured by the authority of its Fathers, and therefore he executed his epiſcopal power, as far and as often as it was neceſſary (*b*). Thus he ſuddenly ſummoned the Clergy of London to his palace, on Sunday the twenty ſeventh of September, 1579, at one of the clock. On this ſummons forty appeared; and the Dean being likewiſe preſent, the Biſhop cautioned them of two things, one was, not to meddle with the Ubiquitarian controverſy; the other, to avoid meddling with the points treated in Stubb's book, intitled, *The Diſcovery of a gaping Gulph, &c.* written againſt the Queen's marriage, with Monſieur, the French King's brother, and wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the Queen wavered in her religion (*c*). This method being found very effectual, he ſummoned his Clergy often, and made ſuch ſtrict inquiries into their conduct, as gained him great reputation with ſome, though it expoſed him to the cenſures and ill-will of others (*d*). This diſpoſition perhaps might occaſion, in ſome meaſure, that violence with which he was proſecuted before the Council, in May 1579, for cutting down his woods, in reſpect to which he was ſeverely checked by the Lord Treaſurer, a circumſtance which much raiſed the Biſhop's choler. However, notwithſtanding his angry letters to that great nobleman, and his long and laboured defence of himſelf, he was, at length, by the Queen's command, forbidden to fell any more [*M*]. He had notwithſtanding better ſucceſs againſt the Archbiſhop of York, his predeceſſor. For inſtead of his firſt demand of twelve hundred pounds for dilapidations, upon a view in 1580 (*e*), they were eſtimated to be one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two pounds; and though the cauſe then had not a final hearing, yet the Archbiſhop of York, only endeavoured to obtain a mitigation of damages, and that a part of the burthen ſhould fall on the executors of Archbiſhop Grindal, who had been his predeceſſor in the dioceſe of London (*f*). On the ſixth of April in the ſame year, there was a dreadful earthquake; and in the dead of

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 56.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 59.

(*b*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Cent. XVI. B. ix. Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 61.

(*d*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 110. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 64.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 113.

(*f*) Strype's Annals.

[*L*] *An enemy to true religion.*] The opinion the Puritans entertained of our Biſhop, will beſt appear from what is ſaid of him by Mr. Peirce in his Vindication of the Diſſenters; for as he is a very accurate author, and never ſpeaks but from authority, whatever he delivers may be conſidered as the judgment of his party in the times of which he ſpeaks, 'Dr. John Aylmer, 'ſays he, Biſhop of London, was a man of a moſt 'intemperate heat, who perſecuted the Puritans with 'the utmoſt rage, and treated Miniſters with ſuch 'virulent and abuſive language, as a man of ſenſe, 'and indifferent temper, would ſcorn to uſe towards 'porters and coblers (46).' As an inſtance of this he gives us the examination of one Merbury, a Miniſter, which is too long to be tranſcribed here: there are in it abundance of hard names, which are ſaid to have fallen from the Biſhop; but then it muſt be owned, that there is a great deal of impertinency in the Miniſter's diſcourſe (47). As to the particular inſtances of his ſeverity mentioned in the text. Thomas Woodcock was a young Stationer, who ſuppoſing that the book called an *Admonition to the Parliament*, might be ſold to good profit, becauſe it was prohibited, got a conſiderable number of them into his hands, which he vended freely, though with as much ſecrecy as he could (48). For this, Biſhop Aylmer committed him to Newgate, and though he was ſtrongly ſolicited by eminent perſons for his releaſe, yet he abſolutely refuſed it, whereupon the Maſter, Wardens, and principal perſons of the Stationer's Company, addreſſed themſelves to the Lord Treaſurer for the man's releaſe, but with what ſucceſs does not appear (49). The affair of Mr. Welden gave his Lordſhip more trouble. In the year 1597, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſuſpended the Miniſter of Cookham in Berkſhire: Biſhop Aylmer ſent down one Keltridge, to ſupply the Miniſter's place; but Mr. Welden, who was a conſiderable man in the pariſh, oppoſed him, and ſpoke very diſreſpectfully of the Biſhop. Upon this, his Lordſhip granted an attachment againſt him, which the defendant held to be illegal, and did not ſubmit to; which occaſioned the Biſhop's ſending a Purſuivant with a letter. Mr. Welden ſubmitted to this, ſaying, 'That now the Biſhop of London had 'learnt good manners; adding afterwards, what is 'he but a private man, yet it muſt be, An't pleaſe 'your Lordſhip, at every word: there never was a 'Biſhop ſo vilely eſteemed as he, I believe he is as 'ill thought of as ever was Bonner.' Theſe words being proved by depoſition, Mr. Welden, for ſpeaking them, and for refuſing to anſwer, was committed by the Eccleſiaſtical Court, in the abſence of the Biſhop, becauſe it was his own cauſe (50). However, his Lordſhip wrote a warm letter to the Treaſurer upon this ſubject, beſeeching him to ſupport the Commiſſioners in their proceedings againſt this man, for that otherwiſe the Queen's ſervice muſt ſuffer (51).

(46) Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 97. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 342.

(47) Peirce, ubi ſupra. Neal, p. 441.

(48) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 57.

(49) *Ibid.* p. 59.

(50) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(51) *Ibid.* p. 86.

[*M*] *Forbidden to fell any more.*] One of the greateſt troubles this Prelate ever met with, was an information exhibited againſt him to the Council, for cutting down his woods, and thereby prejudicing his ſucceſſors in the See of London. The Biſhop juſtified himſelf, and gave in a long anſwer to all the objections, which anſwer is ſtill extant. The whole amount of the ſales, as thoſe who accuſed him ſet it forth, was a thouſand pounds: the Biſhop, in the cloſe of his anſwer, ſays very cautiouſly, that in three years, he thinks they may amount to ſix hundred pounds (52). The Treaſurer ſpoke to him warmly at the Council-table, and went even ſo far as to tell him, that a Biſhop had been deprived for ſuch doings (53). This matter hung a long while before the Council; but in the end, her Majeſty thought fit to direct, that he ſhould cut down no more of his wood. After ſome time this matter broke out again. One Litchfield, a Court Muſician, informed againſt him, that he cut down the elms at Fulham, an accuſation, which, very luckily for the Biſhop, the Queen knew to be falſe; for ſhe had lodged at Fulham, after the time the elms were ſaid to be cut down, and had complained that the proſpect from her lodgings had been ſpoiled by the over thickneſs of the trees (54). The Biſhop's enemies, and eſpecially the Puritans, did not fail to magnify theſe little imputations, inſomuch as to alledge that the Biſhop's name ought to be tranſpoſed; and that inſtead of *Elmar*, he ſhould be called *Mar-Elm* (55). Strype vindicates the Biſhop very warmly in his Life; but certain it is, that Biſhop Bancroft, amongſt other things which he charged upon our Prelate, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on this, that he had ſpoiled the woods of his See, and left them in ſuch a condition, that they would ſcarce ſerve his ſucceſſor with firewood (56); and indeed, if the reader reflects on the note he gave in to the Archbiſhop of York, he cannot but diſcern what right the Biſhop had, in his own opinion, to the cutting down of timber (57).

(52) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 150, in the appendix.

(53) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 51.

(54) Admonition to the People of England, printed, A D. 1589. p. 56.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church, by Sir John Harrington.

(56) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 195.

(57) His note to the Treaſurer about Biſhop Sandys, in note [*H*].

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the night of the firſt of May, it was felt again, which as it exceedingly terrified the people, ſo the Biſhop, that he might turn their concern to a proper object, and at the ſame time exhibit to them reaſonable grounds of comfort, compoſed certain prayers to be made uſe of in the public ſervice (*g*). In 1581, the Biſhop had a pretty rough ſtruggle with the Lord Rich, who kept one Wright a Puritan Miniſter in his houſe, and would have compelled the Biſhop to licenſe him to preach in his dioceſe. In the end however the Biſhop had the better; for on a hearing before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, Wright was committed to the Fleet, and ſome others who had been buſy in this affair, to other priſons (*h*). This increaſed the number of his enemies, of whom he had not a few before, who daily ſuggeſted that he was a violent man, and ſought to veſt too great a power in Churchmen. Theſe repreſentations had ſuch effect, that ſometimes meſſages were ſent to him, to abate ſomewhat of the rigour of his proceedings (*i*). His Lordſhip, however, ſtill ſupported the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, by his preſence and authority; and though a milder courſe might have made him more eaſy, yet he thought it better to ſuffer himſelf, than that the Church ſhould (*k*). As he had formerly, ſo now he had many doubts concerning the Treaſurer, from whoſe hands uſually came his reproofs: but upon the winding up of his cauſe, before the Council about felling of woods, he ſaw clearly, that he had no friend equal to the Treaſurer, who, though he endeavoured by his admonitions to prevent his falling into ſuch difficulties, yet generouſly exerted his utmoſt power to help him out of them, ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity, and the good of the common weal (*l*). From this time forward, therefore, the Biſhop applied chiefly to the Treaſurer, for any favours he expected from Court, particularly with regard to the buſineſs of his tranſlation; for what with one thing or other, he was exceedingly ſolicitous to be removed from London, either to Winchester or Ely; but with reſpect to this, though he had many fair promiſes, all his intereſt could not procure a performance (*m*). New informations, ſome with little, many with no cauſe at all, were exhibited againſt him, and the trouble theſe gave him was not a little, notwithſtanding that on a thorough examination, his conduct conſtantly eſcaped cenſure (*n*). In 1583 he performed his triennial viſitation, and having therein diſcovered many ſcandalous corruptions in the eccleſiaſtical courts, eſpecially in the buſineſs of commuting penances, he wiſely and honeſtly repreſented what came to his knowledge to the Privy-Council, which was all he could do. About this time alſo he ſuſpended certain Miniſters, who were accuſed of Nonconformity; and it appears, that upon a thorough examination of the matter, his Lordſhip did impartial juſtice, in reſtoring one Mr. Giffard, whom he had twice ſuſpended, when thoſe who had charged him were able to make nothing out (*o*). In 1584, he obtained judgment againſt Archbiſhop Sandys for a thouſand pounds. In this year alſo he committed Mr. Thomas Cartwright, a famous Puritan Miniſter, who had written warmly againſt the Hierarchy, and was a very ſtirring man in that cauſe, which the Biſhop underſtood to be the diſturbance of the public peace (*p*). Yet for this his Lordſhip incurred the Queen's diſpleaſure; and a little after his Lordſhip was given to underſtand, that he ſtood accuſed to her Majeſty, for impairing the revenues of his biſhopric, of which he purged himſelf, by exhibiting a ſtate of the biſhopric as it then ſtood, compared with the condition it was in when he became Biſhop (*q*). Other difficulties he met with, on account of the ſhare he had in executing her Majeſty's eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, from which there were continual appeals to the Privy Council, where the Lords who favoured the Puritans, did not fail to object to the Biſhop's conduct, which, conſidering his warm temper, afflicted him not a little (*r*). In 1585 he compoſed a prayer to be uſed on account of the rainy unſeaſonable weather, which he recommended to private families, as well as directed to be read with the public prayers. He alſo uſed his intereſt to quiet the murmurs of the common people in London, againſt the crowds of ſtrangers who fled hither, to avoid the perſecutions raiſed againſt them, for embracing the Proteſtant religion (*s*). In the ſummer of the year 1586, the Biſhop went his next triennial viſitation, and at Malden in Eſſex, his Lordſhip narrowly eſcaped an outrageous inſult, intended againſt him by ſome diſaffected perſons [*N*]. His ſon Dr. Theophilus Aylmer, whom he had made Archdeacon of London, did this year alſo call the Clergy before

(*g*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 689. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 78.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(*i*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Strype's Annals.

(*k*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 89. 94.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 220.

(*m*) Strype's Annals.

(*n*) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 105.

(*o*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 103. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 109.

(*p*) Peirce's Vindication, p. 102. Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 116. Strype's Annals. See the article of CARTWRIGHT.

(*q*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 118.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 123.

[*N*] *By ſome diſaffected perſons.*] The common people in Eſſex were extremely averſe to our Biſhop, and at Malden eſpecially his enemies were not a few. In order to expreſs their reſentments, when he came thither in the courſe of his viſitation, certain tradeſmen in the town, hired a fellow to come into the church in the guiſe of an idiot, to whip off the Biſhop's cap, and to toſs it amongſt them, who under pretence of reſtoring it, were to throw it about the church: this goodly contrivance the Biſhop diſcovered, before it was carried into execution, and prevented it. This he looked upon as a very fortunate thing, becauſe propably, it might otherwiſe have been attended with great tumult, and perhaps have produced bloodſhed. He inquired narrowly after the authors of this ſcandalous machination, and having diſcovered, committed them, which not a little terrified the magiſtrates of this place, and abated the ſpirits of the Biſhop's enemies. He wrote alſo to the Council with great earneſtneſs upon this ſubject; but after all, it ſeems he did not think fit to proceed farther that way in his viſitation (58). He purchaſed the Manor of *Much-Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*, and reſided frequently at the houſe belonging thereto, whereby he brought this part of his dioceſe into better order than it had been before. His ſon Theophilus he made Rector of this place, and uſed his aſſiſtance in the diſcharge of a burthen, which was now grown too heavy for him. This, as it was a great eaſe to the Biſhop, ſo it was of great benefit to the dioceſe, for Dr. Theophilus Aylmer was a moſt excellent man; and indefatigable in his duty, as appears by the articles drawn up by him, and delivered to his Clergy, which are mentioned in the text.

(58) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 125.

before him, and gave them many excellent inſtructions, being himſelf a very pious and primitive divine (*t*). In 1587, the Biſhop entered into a new ſcene of trouble, on account of one Mr. Robert Cawdry, ſchoolmaſter, whom the Lord Burleigh had preſented to the living of South Luffenham in Rutlandſhire, where after preaching ſixteen years, he was convened before the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and at length, the Biſhop ſitting as Judge, deprived (*u*). Cawdry would not ſubmit to the ſentence; upon which the matter was re-examined by the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, at Lambeth, where to deprivation, degradation was added. However, the thing did not end ſo; for Cawdry ſtill refuſing to ſubmit, made new and warm repreſentations to the Lord Burleigh, who favoured him as much as with juſtice he could: but after near five years conteſt, nothing could be obtained, the Biſhop's and Archbiſhop's ſentences being ſtrongly ſupported, both by the Civil and Common lawyers (*w*). In 1588, his Lordſhip reſtored one Mr. Henry Smith, a very eloquent and much admired preacher, whom he had ſuſpended for contemptuous expreſſions againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, which however Smith denied (*x*). In 1589, his Lordſhip expreſſed, in pretty ſtrong terms, his diſlike of certain libels againſt the King of Spain, giving it as his reaſon, that on ſo glorious a victory, it was better to thank God, than inſult men, eſpecially Princes (*y*). That year alſo he viſited his dioceſe, though he was grown old and very infirm, and ſuſpended one Dyke at St. Alban's, though he had been recommended by the Lord Treaſurer (*z*). In 1591 he cauſed the famous Mr. Cartwright to be brought before him out of the Fleet, and expoſtulated with him roundly, on the diſturbance he had given the Church (*a*). In 1592, he ſtrongly ſolicited in favour of Dr. Bullingham, and Dr. Cole, that they might be preferred to biſhopricks, but without ſucceſs, which his Lordſhip foreſaw. For he obſerved when he applied for them, that he was not ſo happy as to do much good for his friends; yet he added, he would never be wanting in ſhewing his good will, both to them and to the Church (*b*). About this time, caſting his eye on Dr. Bancroft, a riſing and very active man, he warmly endeavoured to obtain leave to reſign his biſhoprick to him, as a man every way fit for ſuch a charge; but in this alſo he was diſappointed, which it ſeems lay heavy at his heart; for even on his death-bed, he expreſſed his earneſt deſire that Bancroft might ſucceed him (*c*). So indeed he did, but not immediately, and dealt as ſharply with our Biſhop's children, as he had done with his predeceſſor Sandys; and on the ſame head, that is, of dilapidations (*d*). In 1592, the Biſhop aſſiſted at his ſon's viſitation, as Archdeacon of London; and it is remarkable, that at this viſitation, the Biſhop exerted himſelf with as much zeal and ſpirit as he had ever ſhewn in his life (*e*). His great age, and great labours, however, weighed him down by degrees, ſo that on the third of June 1594, he yielded to fate, being ſeventy-three, and his body being brought from his palace at Fulham, was interred in his own cathedral church of St. Paul, before St. George's chapel, under a fair ſtone of grey marble, with an inſcription which is ſtill preſerved, as the reader will find in a note, though the ſtone on which it was engraven, together with many others, was demoliſhed by the ſaints, when St. Paul's church was converted to another uſe than its founders deſigned (*f*). Biſhop Aylmer married Judith Bures, or Buers, of a very good family in Suffolk, by whom he had a very numerous offspring, *viz.* ſeven ſons, and two or three daughters, of whom in their proper place. As to the perſonal qualities of the Biſhop, they were, as thoſe of moſt men are, good and bad, the former perhaps too much magnified by his friends, as the latter were by his enemies. We will ſpeak briefly and candidly, firſt of the one and then of the other. He was ſolidly and extenſively learned in all things, that became either a great churchman, or a polite man to know. He was very well verſed in the three learned languages, had read much hiſtory, was a good logician, and very well ſkilled in the Civil Law. As a Divine, he wanted no accompliſhments; for he had ſtudied, and underſtood the Scripture thoroughly; could preach, not only rhetorically but pathetically; and in the courſe of his life-time, never buryed his talent [*O*]. He was in his heart, from the conviction of his head, a Proteſtant, and oppoſed Popery warmly, not from a fanatical peeviſhneſs, but from

(*t*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 127.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. p. 181.

(*w*) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 147.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 152.

(*y*) Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 99. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 157.

(*z*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 436. Strype, p. 158.

(*a*) Neal's Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 433. Peirce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 101. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 160.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 168.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 169.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 194.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 170.

(*f*) Godwin de Præſul. p. 252. Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 174.

All, however, could not ſtill the clamours of thoſe who were offended at our Prelate's activity; and who took pains ſo to miſinterpret all his actions, that perhaps, never any Biſhop ſince the Reformation, was pictured in a worſe light, than he hath been (59).

(59) In the famous pieces *Martin Mar-Prelate. Practices of the Prelates. Work for the Cooper* As well as by later authors, ſuch as Peirce and Neal.

[*O*] *Never buried his talent.*] We have already, in the courſe of theſe notes, as well as of the text, entered ſo often into the Biſhop's character, as a ſcholar and a divine, that we have not much to ſay here. Some particulars, however, which others have thought remarkable, we muſt not omit, and others that have occurred in the peruſal of the hiſtory of theſe times deſerve a place; of both we ſhall treat as ſuccinctly as poſſible. The Biſhop was not only well verſed in Hebrew literature himſelf, but alſo a great friend of all ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of that tongue. Amongſt others, he was remarkably kind to the celebrated Mr. Broughton, and warmly eſpouſed his interpretation of that article in the Creed, which reſpect's Chriſt's deſcent into Hell, a point in thoſe days very warmly diſputed. Broughton's interpretation, to which the Biſhop adhered was this: That the deſcent ſpoken of, was not a local deſcent into the priſon of the damned; but Chriſt's paſſing into Paradiſe, agreeable to the Greek word *Hades*, and the Hebrew *Scheol*; which are often rendered into Engliſh by the *Grave*, and do not ſtrictly, or properly ſignify Hell (60). When he obſerved the thoughts of the congregation to wander while he was preaching, he would take a Hebrew Bible out of his breaſt, and read a chapter out of it, as which, when the people naturally gaped and looked aſtoniſhed, he putting it up again, ſhewed them the folly of liſtening greedily to new and ſtrange things, and giving ſmall attention to matters regarding themſelves, and of the utmoſt importance (61). The ſpirit and eloquence of his diſcourſes recommended him as a popular preacher; and it was obſerved, that in all times

(60) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 246.

(61) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XVI. B. ix. p. 223.

from a juſt ſenſe of its errors, which he had the courage to combat openly in the days of Queen Mary, and the honeſty to ſuppreſs, as it was his duty, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With all this, and indeed with a temper not a little haſty, he was a good-natured, facetious man, one extremely diligent and painful in the ſeveral employments he went through; of too generous a temper to be corrupted, and of much too ſtout a one to be brow-beaten. He was a magnificent man in his houſe, as appears by his houſehold, which conſiſted of fourſcore perſons, to whom he was a good maſter; that is, both a father and a friend. After his fatigues he was wont to refreſh himſelf, either with converſation or at bowls. As to his failings, his temper was without doubt a little too warm, his expreſſions ſometimes a little too blunt, and his zeal, it may be, ſomewhat above the true ſtandard. His enemies charged him with an exorbitant love of power, which diſplayed itſelf in various extraordinary acts of ſeverity, of which the reader will find an account in the notes; with covetouſneſs, which prompted him to ſpoil his See, and injure a private man; with intemperate heat againſt Puritans, with a ſlight regard of the Lord's day, and with indecencies in ordinary ſpeech; all which are likewiſe in the notes examined [*P*]. On the whole, we may juſtly affirm, that the times he lived in conſidered, he might be ſtiled a perſon of extraordinary wiſdom [*Q*], a worthy Prelate, and a bleſſing to the Church. At the time of his deceaſe he left ſeven ſons, and either two or three daughters

times of difficulty or danger, Biſhop Aylmer was called to preach at court, which he did willingly, and with ſuch chearfulneſs as raiſed the minds of his audience, and had very happy effects (62). His zeal for the Church was unfeigned, as appeared eſpecially in the latter part of his life, when it bred him nothing but diſcontent and diſquiet: yet he never abated it, never departed from what he thought right on account of any ſolicitations, or omitted giving advice, and ſuch advice too as he judged moſt proper, though he knew it would neither be well liked or at all followed. In the courſe of his life he had ſeen adverſity as well as proſperity; and as in the former he had never betrayed any timidity, ſo he would never forſake or diſſemble his principles for the fear of loſing the latter.

(62) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

[*P*] *Examined in the notes.*] The pains taken by the Biſhop's adverſaries to draw together whatever might hurt his character cannot be well magnified; nor can it be denied, that in many inſtances his temper and actions are much miſrepreſented. In a celebrated work, publiſhed on purpoſe to ſet certain Prelates in an indifferent light, our Biſhop is very roughly handled. Among leſſer matters, he is charged with detaining ſtolen goods. It ſeems certain thieves, after ſtealing a parcel of cloth belonging to ſome Dyers at the Old Swan in Thames-ſtreet, left it in his manor of Fulham. The Dyers claimed it, but the Biſhop ſaid it was his own, becauſe taken in his Lordſhip. On which the remarker paſſes this ſentence, *That it being part blue, part green; the former might well ſerve for the Biſhop's liveries, and the latter for covering his cuſhions and tables.* One George Allen, a Grocer, dying, and by his will appointing Thomas Allen, and Richard Alworth of London, Merchants, his executors, they finding an entry of fourteen pounds in the deceaſed's books, as due from the Biſhop of London, went on an Eaſter-Wedneſday to demand it: the Biſhop anſwered he owed them nothing; or if he did, they might go ſue him. Upon this they expoſtulated with him, to which if they were to be believed, he returned, *Away citizens! you are raſcals! you are worſe than wicked Mammon!* then lifting up his hands, and letting them fall again, *You are thieves, you are coſeners, take that for a Biſhop's bleſſing, and ſo get you hence!* And ſo he cauſed them to be thruſt out of doors. It is ſaid, that he kept one Beniſon, a poor man, a long time in the Clink priſon, without any great cauſe (63). The ordaining of his porter, and making him Miniſter at Paddington, and continuing him there a long time after he was blind, hath afforded much matter of complaint. That matter, however, which we find oftenеſt objected to the Biſhop, is his playing at bowls on the Sabbath-day; and to place this in the ſtrongeſt light, it is alledged, that he would ſometimes loſe his temper thereat; or, to expreſs it in the words of our author, following his bowl, he would cry *rub, rub*, adding when it went too far, *the Devil go with it*, and then ſays the relator, he would follow it himſelf (64). To moſt of theſe charges anſwers have been given, which it is our duty to report. As to the cloth it was thrown in a dry ditch, where the Biſhop cauſed it to be watched for two nights, in hopes of detecting the thieves, afterwards he directed it to be brought into his own houſe, where it was kept till the Dyers claimed it; who yet did not make proof that it was their cloth, or that the thieves were executed for ſtealing it; and, on the other hand, the Biſhop was informed by his lawyers, that this cloth being waived in his manor, the property was altered, and transferred to the liberties. The debt due to the Grocer was, it ſeems, contracted without the Biſhop's knowledge, it being his conſtant direction to all with whom he dealt, to ſuffer none of his family to have any thing without ready money; yet it was paid. As to Beniſon, he was a very refractory ſtubborn man. However, the Biſhop overſhot himſelf in committing him, ſince he was cenſured for it by the Council; and had it recommended to him to make him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, As to the ordaining of his Porter, Mr. Strype endeavours to defend it, by urging that there was but a ſmall congregation at Paddington, where commonly for the meanneſs of the ſtipend, no Preacher could be had. An odd excuſe, if Mr. Strype knew, as he might have eaſily done, that this depended altogether on the Biſhop of London; for which reaſon, when Dr. Sheldon leaſed the manor to his family, he took away this reproach, by obliging them to make a handſome allowance to the Miniſter. In reſpect to bowling, it is alledged, that the Biſhop learned this cuſtom at Geneva, where, though the people were very ſtrict, it was never held unlawful, even on the Sabbath, after divine ſervice was over. The Biſhop himſelf uſed to ſay on this head, that he never withdrew himſelf from ſervice or ſermon: That Chriſt was the beſt judge of the Sabbath, and he had ſaid, that it was made for man, and not man for it, and that as to any haſty expreſſions that eſcaped him, he intended no evil, and that they ought to be looked on in the light of human frailties (66).

(63) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 196—203.

(64) Strype, ubi ſupra Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p 712,

[*Q*] *A perſon of extraordinary wiſdom.*] Our Prelate in his perſon had nothing extraordinary, being of a mean ſtature, and remarkable for wearing of a very long beard: in his private life he was a man of œconomy, but withal, loved magnificence, which induced him to keep ſo large a family as he did. In his youth, he gave pregnant marks of his courage, which did not deſert him in his old age; for it is reported, that when he conceived himſelf very ill treated, by his ſon-in-law, Squire, who by a baſe contrivance would have tarniſhed the reputation of his wife, the Biſhop's daughter; the old man took him into a private room, and having reproached him for his wickedneſs and ingratitude, afterwards diſciplined him ſtoutly with a cudgel (67). Another inſtance of his courage, Mr. Strype gives us a long account of; which, in few words, amounts to this. Queen Elizabeth was once grievouſly tormented with the tooth-ach, and though it was abſolutely neceſſary, was yet afraid to have her tooth drawn; Biſhop Aylmer being by, to encourage her Majeſty, ſat down in a chair, and calling the tooth-drawer. *Come*, ſaid he,

(66) Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 206, 207.

(67) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 22.

ters (*g*). His ſons were, firſt, Samuel, who was bred to the Law, in which he became very knowing. He was ſtiled, of Claydon-Hall in the county of Suffolk, and was High-Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Charles I., and by two wives left a numerous poſterity (*h*). His ſecond, Theophilus, a moſt worthy Divine, Archdeacon of London, Rector of Much-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, and Doctor of Divinity. He was Chaplain to King James, an able and zealous preacher, apt to be a little too warm againſt the Puritans; charitable to ſo extenſive a degree, that he left his own family in but indifferent circumſtances. He lived a true pattern of Chriſtian piety, and died heroically, cloſing his own eye-lids, and with theſe words in his mouth, *Let my people know that their Paſtor died undaunted, and not afraid of death: I bleſs my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctancy, but a ſure confidence in the ſin overcoming merits of Jeſus Chriſt.* This happened January 1625. He was buried in his own pariſh-church, and the excellent Primate Uſher preached his funeral ſermon (*i*). His third, John, who for ſome eminent ſervice was knighted, and ſtyled Sir John Aylmer, of Rigby, in the county of Lincoln, Knt (*k*). Fourth, fifth, and ſixth, Zachary, Nathaniel, and Edmund, of whom we know nothing particularly, except that Zachary and Edmund, were the warmeſt friends that age produced. When Edmund lay ſick, Zachary continued with him night and day till his death, and when a perſon came to meaſure the body, in order to make a coffin, Zachary would be meaſured alſo, and in a very ſhort ſpace, took poſſeſſion of the coffin made for him, at the ſame time with that of his deceaſed brother (*l*). Theſe gentlemen ſeem to have been Divines. His ſeventh, Tobel, i. e. *God is good.* Archbiſhop Whitgift was his godfather, and the reaſon he was thus named, was his mother's being overturned in a coach, without receiving any hurt, when ſhe was big with child. He wrote himſelf, Tobel Aylmer, of Writtle, in the county of Eſſex, Gentleman. He married a gentleman's daughter in that county, and had by her ſeveral children (*m*). As to the Biſhop's daughters, Judith, the eldeſt, married William Lynch, of the county of Kent, Eſq; The ſecond, Elizabeth, married Sir John Foliot of Perton, in the county of Worceſter, Knt. Either a third daughter, or elſe Lady Foliot, took for her ſecond huſband, Mr. Squire, a clergyman, a man of wit but very debauched, and a great ſpendthrift, though he had large preferments. He made a very unkind huſband to his wife, which her father, the Biſhop, ſo much reſented, that as Martin Mar-Prelate phraſes it, *He went to buffets with his ſon-in-law, for a bloody noſe.* This Squire died poor, leaving a ſon named John, who was well educated, and provided for as a Clergyman, at the expence, and by the procurement of his uncle, Dr. Theophilus Aylmer, which he repaid with the utmoſt gratitude (*n*). To all his children, our Biſhop, by his will, bearing date the twenty ſecond of April, 1594, bequeathed large legacies, as alſo ſome to his grand-children, appointing his two ſons Samuel and Theophilus his executors, with Dr. Richard Vaughan, who was alſo his relation. C.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 174, 175.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 176.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 184.

(*k*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 185.

(*m*) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 192.

[In the preceding article, the character of Biſhop Aylmer is repreſented in too favourable a light. He certainly perſecuted thoſe, whoſe religious ſentiments were different from his own, with a degree of rigour and ſeverity, which no zeal for any opinions can juſtify. Whether his conduct, in the exerciſe of his epiſcopal juriſdiction, was ſuch as can reaſonably be attributed to *extraordinary wiſdom*, may very juſtly be queſtioned. More moderation towards thoſe who had not arrived to the ſame pitch of orthodoxy with himſelf, and a more gentle exerciſe of that eccleſiaſtical power with which Government had inveſted him, would undoubtedly have been no diſcredit to his character. He appears to have been far from an amiable man [*R*]: his conduct in the caſe of Beni-

he, *though I am an old man, and have but few teeth to ſpare, draw me this*; which was accordingly done, and the Queen, ſeeing him make ſo ſlight a matter of it, ſat down, and had her's drawn alſo (68). He was very regular in his private devotions, hearing prayers conſtantly twice a day with his family, and breeding up his children very ſtrictly: he was a wiſe and careful man, with reſpect to his temporal affairs; and as he came to his biſhoprick in good circumſtances, ſo he died very rich, having laid out a little before, ſixteen thouſand pounds in one purchaſe (69). But as he had proſecuted his predeceſſor, Sandys, very ſeverely for dilapidations; ſo his ſucceſſor Bancroft, was no leſs troubleſome to his eldeſt ſon, on the ſame account. Mr. Aylmer, who had ſtudied the Law, alledged that his father's perſonal eſtate only was liable on this account, and as the greateſt part of that was expended on his funeral, he thought himſelf ſafe. But Biſhop Bancroft, alledging, that lands being purchaſed with the money, which ſhould have repaired the houſes belonging to the biſhoprick, thoſe lands ought in reaſon to be liable; he prevailed, and ſo at laſt a part of the eſtate was ſold, in order to make him ſatisfaction (70). The inſcription mentioned in the text is ſtill preſerved in Stowe's Survey of London, and ran thus.

(68) Life of Aylmer, p 292.

(69) *Ib.* p. 175.

(70) *Ib.* p. 195.

Hic jacet certiſſimam Expectans
Reſurrectionem ſuæ Carnis. D.
Johannes Aylmer, D. Epiſcopus
Londini. Qui obiit diem ſuum
An. Dom. 1594. Ætat. ſuæ 73.
Ter Senos Annos Præſul; ſemel Exul, & idem
Bis Pugil in Cauſa Religionis erat (71).

(71) Stowe, p. 252.

Here lieth in a certain expectation of the Reſurrection of the body, John Aylmer, Lord Biſhop of London, who died A. D. 1594, *aged* 73.

For eighteen years the Prelate's robe he wore,
Once, baniſh'd for his faith he fled;
Twice, the high poſt of Champion for it bore,
So juſt, ſo active, was the life he led.

[[*R*] *He appears to have been far from an amiable man.*] 'It is in vain that we ſeek, in the accounts 'that are tranſmitted to us of the actions of his life, 'any evidences of his poſſeſſing the virtues of meek-'neſs, moderation, candour, and humanity. On the 'contrary, he was paſſionate and over-bearing, often 'treated thoſe who were brought before him in a very 'abuſive and indecent manner, and exerciſed the au-'thority with which he was inveſted by virtue of the 'Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, with great rigour, and 'ſometimes with cruelty (72).'

(72) Britiſh Biography, 8vo. 1767. Vol. iii. p. 237. *Vid.* alſo, Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, ſecond edit. 4to. p. 229. 237, 238. 245. 251. 257. 290. 384.

ſon,

on [S], as well as in other inſtances, was extremely cenſurable. His behaviour to Archbiſhop Sandys was very ungrateful; and the charge of covetouſneſs, which was brought againſt him, ſeems to have been well-grounded. One or two curious paſſages in his book againſt Knox, as ſelected by Mr. Strype, will be found in the notes [T].]

[S] *His conduct in the caſe of Beniſon, &c. was extremely cenſurable.*] This perſon, whoſe name was Barnaby Beniſon, and who is ſaid to have been a city divine of good learning, was ſuſpended and impriſoned ſeveral years by Biſhop Aylmer, on pretence of ſome irregularity in his marriage. The Biſhop charged him with being married in an afternoon, and in the preſence of two or three hundred people, by Mr. Field, a Non-conformiſt; for which he committed him to the Gate-houſe, where he lay from the year 1579 to the year 1584. Mr. Beniſon being thus cruelly treated, on ſo trifling a pretence, found means to get the affair laid before the council; and in his repreſentation of his caſe he declared, that he had invited but forty perſons to his wedding, of which there were only twenty preſent; that he was married in the morning, and according to law; that when the Biſhop ſent for him, and charged him with ſedition, he cleared himſelf to his ſatisfaction; but that after he was gone home, he gave private orders under his own hand, for his being apprehended and ſent to the Gate-houſe; that he was ſhut up there in a dungeon eight days, without knowing the cauſe of his impriſonment, though Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Fox, the martyrologiſt, who were both at the wedding, and ſaw the whole proceeding, went to the Biſhop, and aſſured him, that he was not guilty of the fault with which he was charged; but the Prelate would not releaſe him, without ſuch ſecurity for his good behaviour and appearance as he was unable to procure. 'Thus I continue ſeparated from my wife, 'ſays Beniſon, in his petition to the council) before 'I had been married to her two weeks, to the great 'trouble of her friends and relations, and to the 'ſtaggering of the patient obedience of my wife; for 'ſince my impriſonment, his lordſhip has been en'deavouring to ſeparate us, whom God has joined 'together in the open preſence of his people. Where'fore I moſt humbly beſeech your godly honours, for 'the everlaſting love of God, and for the pity you 'take upon God's true Proteſtants, and his poor 'people, to be a means that my pitiful cry may be 'heard, and my juſt cauſe with ſome credit be 'cleared, to God's honour and her majeſty's, whoſe 'favour I eſteem more than all the biſhop's bleſſings, 'or bitter curſings; and that I now being half dead, 'may recover again to get a poor living with the 'little learning that God has ſent me, to his glory, 'to the diſcharging ſome part of my duty, and to 'the profit of the land.'

The council were ſo well convinced of the hardſhip of Mr. Beniſon's caſe, and of the injuſtice with which he had been treated by Biſhop Aylmer, that they ſent to his lordſhip the following letter: 'Whereas Bar'naby Beniſon, miniſter, has given us to underſtand, 'the great hindrance he has received by your hard 'dealing with him, and his long impriſonment, for 'which if he ſhould bring his action of falſe impri'ſonment he ſhould recover damages, which would 'touch your lordſhip's credit; we therefore have 'thought fit to require your lordſhip, to uſe ſome 'conſideration towards him, in giving him ſome ſum 'of money to repay the wrong you have done him, 'and in reſpect of the hindrance he hath incurred by 'your hard dealing towards him. —— Therefore 'praying your lordſhip to deal with the poor man, 'that he may have occaſion to turn his complaint 'into giving us a good report of your charitable 'dealing, we bid you heartily farewell.

'Hampton-Court, November the 14th 1584.

Signed,

Ambroſe Warwick,	Fr. Bedford,
Fr. Knollys,	Rob. Leiceſter,
Walter Mildmay,	Charles Howard,
Fr. Walſingham,	James Crofts,
Wm. Burghley,	Chr. Hatton (73).'
Bromley Chan.	

(73) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. i. p. 294.

To this letter of the council in Beniſon's behalf, Biſhop Aylmer returned an anſwer in the following terms: 'I beſeech your lordſhips to conſider, that it 'is a *rare example* thus to preſs a biſhop for his zea'lous ſervice to the queen and the peace of the church, 'eſpecially the man being found worthy to be com'mitted for non-conformity, to ſay nothing of his 'contemptuous uſing of me; nevertheleſs, ſince it 'pleaſeth your lordſhips to require ſome reaſonable 'ſum of money, I pray you to conſider my *poor eſtate 'and great charges* otherwiſe, together with *the great 'vaunt the man will make of his conqueſt over a biſhop.* 'I hope therefore your lordſhips will be favourable 'to me, and *refer it to myſelf*, either to beſtow upon 'him *ſome ſmall benefice*, or otherwiſe to help him, *as 'opportunity offers.* Or if this ſhall not ſatisfy the 'man, or content your lordſhips, leave him to the 'trial of the law, which I hope will not be ſo plain 'for him as he taketh it. Surely, my lords, this 'and the like muſt greatly diſcourage me in this poor 'ſervice of mine in the commiſſion (74).' The manner in which the biſhop anſwered the accuſation againſt him, is a ſufficient evidence that his conduct could not be defended. What reparation Beniſon obtained for the injurious treatment he had received, or whether any, does not appear.

(74) Neal, ubi ſupra, p. 295. Britiſh Biography. Vol. iii. p. 235, 236.

[T] *One or two curious paſſages in his book againſt Knox, &c.*] One of theſe relates to the conſtitution of the Engliſh government. 'The regiment of Eng'land,' ſays our Prelate, 'is not a mere *Monarchy*, 'as ſome for lack of conſideration think; nor a mere '*Oligarchy*, nor *Democracy*; but a mixed rule of all 'theſe. Wherein each one of theſe have, or ſhould 'have, like authority. The image whereof, and 'not the image, but the thing indeed, is to be ſeen 'in the Parliament-houſe; wherein you ſhall find 'theſe three eſtates, the King or Queen, which re'preſenteth the *Monarchy*; the noblemen, which be 'the *Ariſtocracy*; and the burgeſſes and knights, the '*Democracy*. The very ſame had Lacedæmonia, the 'nobleſt and beſt governed city that ever was. They 'had their King, their Senate, and Hippagretes, 'which were for the people. As in Lacedæmonia 'none of theſe could make or break laws, orders for 'war or peace, or do any thing without the other; 'the King nothing without the Senate and Com'mons, nor either of them or both without the King; 'albeit the Senate and Ephori had greater authority 'than the King had. In like manner, if the par'liament uſe their privileges, the King can ordain 'nothing without them: if he do, it is his fault in 'uſurping it, and their folly in permitting it. 'Wherefore, in my judgment, thoſe that in King 'Henry's days would not grant him, that proclama'tions ſhould have the force of a ſtatute, were good 'fathers of the country, and worthy commendation 'in defending their liberty (75).' This paſſage has been urged in oppoſition to Mr. Hume, in order to ſhew, that much juſter ideas of the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, were entertained in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, than is admitted by that hiſtorian (76).

(75) *Vid.* Strype's Life and Acts of John Aylmer, Biſhop of London, p. 269, 270.

Though Biſhop Aylmer, in his piece written againſt Knox, was an advocate for the propriety of inveſting women with the government of ſtates and kingdoms, yet he appears not to have been a very partial friend to the ladies in general. 'Women,' ſays he, 'are of two ſorts. Some of them are wiſer, 'better learned, diſcreeter, and more conſtant, than '*a number* of men. But another, and a worſe ſort 'of them, and the *moſt part*, are fond, fooliſh, wan'ton, flibbergibs, tattlers, triflers, wavering, wit'leſs, without counſel, feeble, careleſs, raſh, proud, 'dainty, nice, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, rumour'raiſers, evil-tongued, worſe-minded, and in every 'reſpect doltified with the dregs of the Devil's dung'hill (77).'

(76) Britiſh Biography, Vol. iii. p. 240, 241.

Of the French nation, our Prelate expreſſed his ſentiments in the following words: 'They are the 'proudeſt, the untrueſt, and the moſt tyrannical 'nation under the ſun. I except not the Spaniards; 'whoſe dominion the Italians in Milan, Naples, 'Sicily, and elſewhere, can much better brook and 'abide, than the light and inconſtant French, as 'Cæſar called them (78).'] T.

(77) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 276.

(78) *Ibid.* p. 272.

AYRMIN or AYERMIN (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Norwich in the reigns of Edward II. and III., was deſcended of an ancient and wealthy family, ſeated at Oſgodby in Lincolnſhire (*a*). He was a Canon in the cathedral church of York, and afterwards in that of Wells; and was for ſome time Keeper of the Seal, and Vice-Chancellor to King Edward II, under the Chancellor John Biſhop of Norwich, who could not diſcharge his office by reaſon of ſickneſs (*b*). About this time, *an.* 1319, a war having broken out between England and Scotland, Ayrmin had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, in a battle between the Scotch and the Yorkiſts [*A*]. Afterwards recovering his liberty, he was made Chancellor of England under King Edward III., and afterwards Treaſurer (*c*). Being ſent Ambaſſador to the court of Rome, he is ſaid to have neglected the buſineſs of his embaſſy, and to have employed his time and intereſt in obtaining the biſhopric of Norwich, which was then vacant. In which application meeting with ſucceſs, he returned to take poſſeſſion of that See: which the King hearing, and being diſguſted at his proceedings, ſent ſoldiers to Norwich to apprehend him; but Ayrmin lay hid in the cathedral church, till, by the interpoſition of friends, the King was reconciled to him, and conſented to his conſecration (*d*) [*B*]. This Prelate gave two hundred pounds to buy lands for the maintenance of two Prieſts to ſay maſs for his ſoul for ever (*e*). Fuller (*f*) tells us, he was credibly informed, that Biſhop Ayrmin purchaſed the manor of Silk-Willoughby, in Lincolnſhire, which, with other fair eſtates, continued ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. He died March the 28th, 1337, after having ſat eleven years (*g*).

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies of England, *Lincolnſhire*, p. 155.

(*b*) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(*c*) Wharton, *ibid.*

(*d*) Monachus Norwicenſ. Annon. de Epiſc. Norwic. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

(*f*) Ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Godwin ſays he died at Charing-Croſs near London, Sharingæ juxta Londinum. *Ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *He was taken priſoner in a battle between the Scotch and Yorkiſts.*] Fuller tells us this from an old anonymous Chronicle in manuſcript (1), which take as follows, with that author's tranſlation. 'Epiſcopus Eborum, Epiſcopus Eliæ, Theſaurarius, Abbas Beatæ Mariæ Eborum, Abbas de Selbie, Decanus Eborum, Dominus Willielmus Arymanee, Vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac Dominus Johannes Dabeham, cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum, & Civibus properanter civitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen Swale nuncupatum ſparſis cuneis tranſeuntes, et indiſpoſitis ſeu potius confuſis ordinibus, cum adverſariis congreſſi ſunt. Scoti ſiquidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes, in noſtros agminibus ſtrictis audacter irruerunt; noſtrorum denique in brevi laceratis cuneis atque diſſipatis, corruerunt ex noſtris, tam in ore gladii, quam aquarum ſcopulis ſuffocati, plus quam 4000, et capti ſunt Domini Johannes de Papeham, et Dominus Willielmus de Arymanee, ut præfertur, de Cancellaria, &c.——*The Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Treaſurer; the Abbot of St. Mary's in York, the Abbot of Selby, the Dean of York, Mr. William Arymane Vice-chancellor, and Mr. John Dabehame, with almoſt* 8000 *men, as well horſe as foot, and citizens haſtily going out of the city, paſſing over a certain river, called Swale, with ſcattered parties* (*), *and with diſordered, or rather confuſed ranks, encountered the enemy. The Scotch, cunning in war, warily ruling the greatneſs of their army, boldly ruſhed on our men with well-ordered troops, and afterwards in ſhort time having broken and ſcattered our parties, there fell of our men, with the mouth of the ſword, and choaked with the water, more than* 4000, *and Mr. John de Pabehame, and Mr. William Armayne of the Chancery, as aforeſaid, were taken priſoners.*'

(1) Worthies of England. *Lincolnſhire*, p. 156.

(*) Faſhioned in form of a wedge.

[*B*] *The King —— conſented to his conſecration.*] The Monks of Norwich had elected into the See, Robert Baldoc, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and Chancellor of England; and ſome pretend he had received the temporalities from the King; but, being informed that the Pope had reſerved the diſpoſition of that See to himſelf, he voluntarily renounced his election (2). But others, with more probability, tell us, the King refuſed his aſſent to Baldoc's election (3). However it be, it is certain it was ſet aſide in favour of Ayrmin, who had obtained the Pope's collation to the See of Norwich. B.

(2) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 413.

(3) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Norwic. *an.* 1325.

AYSCUE, AYSCOUGH, or ASKEW (Sir GEORGE), an eminent Engliſh Admiral in the laſt century. He was deſcended from a very good family in Lincolnſhire, and entered early into the ſea ſervice, where he obtained the character of an able and experienced officer, and the honour of knighthood from King Charles I (*a*). This, however, did not hinder him from adhering to the Parliament, when by a very ſingular intrigue they got poſſeſſion of the fleet, and ſo zealous he was in the ſervice of his maſters, that when in 1648, the greateſt part of the navy went over to the Prince of Wales, he, who then commanded *the Lion*, ſecured that ſhip for the Parliament, which was by them eſteemed both an acceptable ſervice, and an action of great importance (*b*) [*A*]. As this was

(*a*) Some Notices of Eminent Perſons in England, MS. once W. Lilly's.

(*b*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 317.

[*A*] *An acceptable ſervice, and an action of great importance.*] This revolt of the fleet was among thoſe extraordinary things, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or to prevent. It was owing entirely to the diſpoſition of the common ſeamen, for ſcarcely any officer was at all concerned in it and at a time too, when the Parliament was every where victorious, ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive the cauſes of ſo great a change. In order to underſtand this matter, it muſt be remembered, that the Parliament had, in the beginning of the war, drawn off the fleet from the King's ſervice, partly by working upon the minds of the ſeamen, and partly by the turning upon him his own commiſſion of Admiral, which he had granted to the Earl of Northumberland, but with a proviſo in that commiſſion, to hold this office no longer than till the Duke of York was of age to execute it, as the King his father intended he ſhould (1). It was of this very clauſe, which had ſerved them in the beginning, that the Parliament began now to be afraid, and it was their fear that produced the very thing which it apprehended. The Earl of Warwick, and his Preſbyterian officers, who had brought off the navy from the King, were not likely to go all the lengths that were then expected from them. The Parliament, therefore thought fit to bring in new officers, and accordingly appointed one Colonel Rainſborough, Vice-Admiral, and ſent him into the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet with that title (2). But when he came thither, the ſailors had been for ſome time politicians, and having probably catched up ſome words that fell from their officers, had after mature deliberation, ſettled theſe three points among themſelves. The firſt was, that the Parliament muſt be either doing or contriving ſomething very bad, becauſe in Scotland, Eſſex, Lancaſhire, Kent, and eſpecially at London, people were generally diſcontented, and alſo becauſe they could not truſt thoſe good old officers, who had ſo faithfully ſerved them at ſea, but were putting others into the fleet, in whom, though they might, the ſeamen could not at all confide. They were likewiſe very clear, that as the King's cauſe declined from the moment the fleet left him, ſo without doubt it would recover, when the fleet returned to his ſervice,

(1) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 158.

(2) Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

was a ſufficient proof of his fidelity, he had the command given him in a ſquadron, that was employed to watch the motions of the Prince of Wales; and accordingly ſailed therewith to the coaſt of Ireland, where, by his vigilance, he prevented his Highneſs from doing what he would otherwiſe have done, and by his great intereſt with the ſeamen he drew many of them back to that ſervice from which they had deſerted (*c*). This recommended him ſtrongly to the Parliament, who, the next year, ſent him with a conſiderable number of ſhips, and the honourable title of Admiral in thoſe ſeas, to the coaſt of Ireland, which commiſſion he diſcharged with equal vigour and vigilance, ſupplying Dublin with proviſions, attending the army upon all emergencies, and contributing in every reſpect ſo effectually to the reduction of Ireland, that the Parliament not only thought fit to continue him in his command for another year, but likewiſe ordered an immediate proviſion to be made for the payment of his arrears, and preſented him with one hundred pounds, as a ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices (*d*) [*B*]. After the war was finiſhed in Ireland, and the Parliament had thereby time and opportunity, to think of the proper means of ſubduing the reſt of the dominions of the crown of England to their obedience, Sir George Ayſcue had orders to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron, to reduce the iſland of Barbadoes, but before he was in any readineſs to ſail, his orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, that the Parliament had received information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the iſles of Scilly put into their hands, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce theſe iſlands firſt. Blake and Ayſcue were employed in this expedition (*e*), in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St. Mary, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late King's army; ſo that if thoſe diſputes had been decided by the ſword, the engagement muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the remains of the King's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with General Blake, and Admiral Ayſcue, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions, after which Blake returned to England, and Ayſcue proceeded on his voyage to Barbadoes (*f*). The Parliament, when they firſt heard of the reduction of Scilly, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had reaſon, ſince privateers from thence did ſo much miſchief, that ſcarcely any trade could be carried on with tolerable ſecurity. But when the conditions were known, ſome great men changed their opinions, and gave Blake to underſtand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, ſo that it was doubtful whether the Parliament would ratify this agreement. Blake ſaid, that if they had given Sir John Greenville good conditions, they had done it with good reaſon; that in the firſt place, it ſaved the effuſion of Engliſh blood; and next, that there was a ſtrong ſquadron of Dutch ſhips at no great diſtance, the commander of which had offered Sir John no leſs than 100,000 pounds, to put theſe iſlands into his hands;

(*c*) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 395.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 406, 411—414.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 636.

(*f*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.

ſervice, which was a point ſo clear in marine politics, that it was never once controverted. Thirdly, the Duke of York was now become a fine young Prince, had juſt made his eſcape to Holland, and was very capable of making them a good Admiral (3). When Rainſborough, therefore, came on board in the Downs, they aſked him in very plain terms, Whether he would go with them, and ſeek their Admiral the Duke of York? which he reſenting, and beginning to talk in high terms, they very fairly ſent him and a boat-full of his new Captains on ſhore, and hoiſted ſail, and bore away for the Dutch coaſt (4). This was in the month of July 1648, and the ſhips that thus quitted the Parliament's ſervice, were twenty men of war, moſt of them of the firſt and ſecond rates, well manned and furniſhed, and theſe ſoon after appeared at the mouth of the river Thames, by which the commerce of the city of London ſuffered ſeverely (5). We need not wonder therefore, that Sir George Ayſcue's preſerving, in ſuch a juncture, his ſhip for the Parliament, gained him a great degree of credit, and confidence, with his maſters.

(3) The Civil Wars of England, p. 231.

(4) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.

(5) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 317.

[*B*] *A ſpecial mark of their favour, and the juſt reward of his ſervices.*] In the very beginning of this affair, the Parliament treated Sir George very reſpectfully; for they deſired that he would go over in the expedition to Holland, to look after the ſhips that had deſerted (6). But when their authority was a little better eſtabliſhed, they took more upon them; for they did not grant him a commiſſion, and thereby give him the rank of Admiral, but they paſſed a vote that he ſhould command in thoſe ſeas as Admiral (7). Yet Sir George was far from regarding theſe points of ceremony, but did his duty ſo effectually, that he entirely changed the face of affairs in Ireland, and this with a very ſmall force; for, whereas the garriſon of Dublin was in danger of ſtarving, he took care to ſupply them from time to time with proviſions, and thereby preſerved that city. He ſo carefully watched the revolted fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, that he put it entirely out of his power to execute any thing of importance, and at laſt blocked him up in the harbour of Kinſale. It was he alſo, who eſcorted and ſecured the landing of Cromwell's army, ſo that to this gentleman might be juſtly attributed, the Parliament's recovering themſelves, and ſecuring that kingdom after the King's murder, when they had very little hopes of it (8). They might very well thank their Generals at ſea, paſs congratulatory votes in their favour, order the miniſters who preached before them, to take particular notice in their ſermons, of their diligence and ſucceſs, and endeavour to ſecure ſuch neceſſary inſtruments to their ſervice, by providing for the due payment of their arrears (9). All theſe ſteps were equally juſt and natural on both ſides, and it was this conduct, that on the one hand, raiſed the reputation of the Parliament ſo high, for wiſdom, policy, and juſtice, and, on the other, ſecured them ſuch an uninterrupted ſeries of good fortune in all their deſigns. This we find very juſtly remarked by Ludlow, Hollis, and Whitlock, nay, and in ſome meaſure, by the great Lord Clarendon himſelf, who, as he had it not in his power to deny the fact, ſo he was by no means unwilling to own it; and indeed all the writers of thoſe times agree, that however the Parliament came by their power, they managed it with dignity, decency, and diſcretion. The obſervation I would make upon all this, and I hope the reader will agree with me, that it is an obſervation worth making, is, *That* Sir George Ayſcue, *and the reſt of the officers at ſea, as they behaved well, were encouraged and rewarded by their maſters, who kept ſo ſtrict an eye over all the ſervants of the public, that it was impoſſible for men of no merit to riſe, or for ſuch as really poſſeſſed it to paſs unregarded.*

(6) Votes and Ordinances of Parliament, Jan. 11, 1648.

(7) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 385.

(8) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 119. Sir Richard Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 2, 3. Carte's Hiſt. of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 67.

(9) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 406, 411, 412, 413, 414.

that

that if the Parliament did not approve of his conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a miſtake of that ſort for the future, by laying down his commiſſion, as he was confident Sir George Ayſcue would likewiſe do (*g*). Upon this there was no more ſaid of the articles, which were honourably complyed with, and Sir George received orders to ſail immediately to the Weſt-Indies, which he obeyed, never expecting to hear any more of theſe articles, which as they were made with good reaſon, ſo he thought they would have met with a good reception; but he had afterwards cauſe given him to apprehend, that whatever benefit the Parliament might receive from the ſervice itſelf, they were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done [*C*]. Sir George continued his voyage, without meeting with any croſs accident, till his arrival at Barbadoes; which was on the twenty-ſixth of October, 1651. He then found his enterprize would be attended with great difficulties, and ſuch as had not been foreſeen at home. The Lord Willoughby, of Parham, commanded there for the King, and had aſſembled a body of five thouſand men for the defence of the iſland. He was a nobleman of great parts and greater probity, one who had been extremely reverenced by the Parliament, before he quitted their party, and whoſe worth had ſo ſtrongly recommended him, both to the eſteem and affection of the inhabitants, that he had as abſolute a diſpoſal of their perſons and properties, as it was neceſſary for a Governor to have, who was in ſuch a ſituation; and the uſe he made of his power and influence, was as perfectly right in itſelf, as the critical circumſtances of thoſe times required (*h*). Sir George, though he fully apprehended how many and how great obſtacles lay in his way, yet ſhewed no ſigns of concern, but boldly forced his paſſage into the harbour, and made himſelf maſter of twelve ſail of *Dutch* merchantmen that lay there, hoping that this might raiſe an inſurrection in the iſland, in which however he was miſtaken. The next morning he ſent a ſummons to the Lord Willoughby, requiring him to ſubmit to the authority of the Parliament of England, to which his Lordſhip anſwered, that he knew no ſuch authority, that he had a commiſſion from King Charles II., to be Governor of that iſland, and that he would keep it for his Majeſty's ſervice at the hazard of his life. That he might be able to make good his word, he put the iſland and its inhabitants into the beſt poſture of defence poſſible, and being much ſuperior in ſtrength, Sir George thought it not prudent to land the few troops he had, and thereby diſcover his weakneſs to ſo cautious an enemy (*i*). In the mean time, he received a letter by an advice-boat from England, with the news of the King's being defeated at Worceſter, with one intercepted from Lady Willoughby, containing a very particular account of that unhappy affair. Upon this he ſummoned Lord Willoughby a ſecond time, and accompanied his ſummons with Lady Willoughby's letter, which however made no impreſſion upon his Lordſhip, who continued firm in his reſolution, of holding out the iſland as long as he could (*k*). All this time, Sir George anchored in *Speights* bay, and ſtayed there till December, when the Virginia Merchant fleet arriving, he reſolved to take that opportunity to land with the greater advantage; for he made as if they were a reinforcement that had been ſent him, and he had only waited for them till then; whereas, the truth was, he had not above two thouſand men, and the ſight of the little army on ſhore, made him cautious of venturing his men, till he thought the inhabitants had conceived a greater idea of his ſtrength, than they had done before (*l*). The Virginia ſhips were welcomed at their coming in, as a ſupply of men of

(*g*) The Proſe Works of the Lord Viſcount Landſdown, p. 256, 257.

(*h*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. ii. p. 18.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p 17.

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 385.

(*l*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. ii. p. 17.

[*C*] *They were far enough from being ſatisfied with the manner in which it was done.*] It is the misfortune of all governments, that have a diſtruſt of their own titles, to be jealous and ſuſpicious to a very unreaſonable degree; and this was one of the very few foibles, to which our Long Parliament was ſubject, and which proved in the end the ruin of their power. For Oliver Cromwell, and the people he truſted, knowing that there was no means of ſubverting that Senate, but by dividing them, and thereby rendering their bottom narrower; they took great pains to infuſe into honeſter mens heads than their own, that ſuch as were mere acts of generoſity and virtue, flowed from a ſecret regard to the Royal Cauſe. And thus they brought both Blake and Ayſcue to be conſidered, after all their ſervices, as men not fit to be truſted. There were ſome pains likewiſe taken, to infuſe into the minds of Blake and Ayſcue, a deep reſentment of this undeſerved uſage; and that this was not altogether without effect, appears clearly, from the warmth expreſſed by Blake about it (10). Yet after all, there are ſome paſſages relating to the reduction of theſe iſlands, which deſerve the reader's attention, and which will clear up many difficulties, even in the beſt hiſtories we have of thoſe times. In the firſt place it is certain, that the leſſer iſlands were actually taken by the Parliament's forces; that Sir John Greenville was blocked up by land and ſea in the iſland of St. Mary, which he had fortified indeed, and had a competent number of men to defend; but then, there were two things againſt him: The *firſt*, that the King his maſter could afford him no ſuccours; the *ſecond*, that though the Dutch would have bought the iſland of him, yet he had no reaſon to hope, they would take him or his troops on board, in caſe they were diſtreſſed by the Parliament forces. Theſe were certainly very good reaſons, for that brave man's endeavouring to make the beſt terms for himſelf he could (11). Yet the Parliament had no juſt cauſe to blame their generals for what they did in this buſineſs, ſince theſe iſlands were ſo ſituated, that, in the hands of an enemy, neither England nor Ireland could have been ſafe; and if reaſonable terms had not been granted to Sir John Greenville, he muſt have been obliged to have accepted the terms offered him by the Dutch, who both could and would have yielded him that protection, which it was not in the power of his maſter to afford (12). Yet after all, Sir George Ayſcue had no ſhare in actually granting him theſe conditions; ſince it manifeſtly appears, that he not only wrote for, and had the Parliaments orders to continue his voyage to Barbadoes, but was actually ſailed before the articles were ſigned, which was on the 23d of May 1651 (13). The account given by the Earl of Clarendon of this matter, is very ſhort, and is wrong placed; for he brings it in after the Dutch war was begun, and at the cloſe of his account of the reduction of Barbadoes and Virginia (14); which ſhews, how neceſſary a thing it is for the true underſtanding of Engliſh hiſtory, to have the lives of particular perſons drawn up in this manner, with a cautious regard to facts and dates, and a clear diſtinction of what was and what was not done by them (15), which the authors of our general hiſtories have not attended to, ſo much as they ought.

(10) Lord Landſdown's Proſe Works, Vol ii. p. 256, 257.

(11) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 492. 493.

(12) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(13) See theſe articles in MS. in the Library of the Society for propagating the Goſpel.

(14) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(15) See a further account of this whole tranſaction in our article of BLAKE.

war,

war, and he preſently ordered his men on ſhore: 150 Scotch ſervants aboard that fleet, were added to a regiment of 700 men, and ſome ſeamen, to make their number look more formidable. Sir George had on board his fleet one Colonel Allen, a gentleman of Barbadoes, who came from thence into England, to ſolicit from the Parliament, a force ſufficient for the reduction of the iſland, and therefore he was thought the propereſt man to command the forces on ſhore (*m*). He accordingly landed with them on the ſeventeenth of December, and found Lord Willoughby's forces well entrenched, near a fort they had upon the ſea-coaſt. They attacked him, however, and, in a ſharp diſpute, wherein about ſixty men were killed on both ſides, had ſo much the advantage, that they drove them to the fort, notwithſtanding that Colonel Allen, their Commander, was killed by a muſket ſhot, as he attempted to land. The ſoldiers and ſeamen however puſhed on, and made themſelves maſters of the fort, and four pieces of cannon that were in it. After this, the ſailors returned to their ſhips, which cruized up and down, to prevent any ſuccours coming to the iſlanders, or any merchants trading with them. The ſoldiers poſted themſelves in the fort, and from thence made incurſions into the country, upon which the chief of the inhabitants grew weary of the war, which Sir George underſtanding, by the correſpondence he had in the iſland, he by the ſame means procured Colonel Moddiford, who was one of the moſt leading men on the place, to enter into a treaty with him, and this negociation ſucceeded ſo well, that Moddiford declared publickly for a peace, and joined with Sir George to bring Lord Willoughby, the Governor, to *reaſon* as they phraſed it (*n*). Sir George's men were now all on ſhore, and made up a body of two thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe, for many deſerters had come over to him. If Colonel Moddiford had joined him with his party in attacking them, there was no hope of the Governor's eſcaping, who having before deſerted the Parliament, could expect no mercy from them, if he was taken without a treaty (*o*). But perhaps all theſe conſiderations would ſcarcely have prevailed with that generous nobleman to have given up the iſland, if an accident had not happened, which put moſt of the gentlemen about him into ſuch confuſion, that he could no longer depend upon their advice or aſſiſtance. The thing happened thus: his Lordſhip perceiving his ſuperiority lay chiefly in horſe, reſolved to make a briſk puſh with the body under his immediate command; and having, previous to the execution of his deſign, called together his officers, while they were ſitting in council, a cannon-ball beat open the door of the room, and took off the head of the centinel poſted before it, which ſo frighted all the gentlemen of the iſland, that they not only compelled their Governor to lay aſide his former deſign, but to retire to a place two miles farther from the harbour (*p*). Sir George Ayſcue, taking advantage of this unexpected good fortune, immediately ordered all his forces on ſhore, which conſiſted, as was ſaid, of two thouſand foot, and one hundred horſe, to advance under the command of Captain Morrice, as if he intended to have attacked them in their entrenchments, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into ſome of the principal perſons about the Governor, that, after mature deliberation on his own circumſtances, and their diſpoſition, he began to alter his mind, and thereupon to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian and Engliſh blood, both parties appointed commiſſaries to treat (*q*). Sir George named Captain Peck, Mr. Searl, Colonel Thomas Moddiford, and James Colliton, Eſq; the Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Peers, Charles Pim, Eſq; Colonel Ellice, and Major Byham, who on the ſeventeenth of January agreed on articles of rendition, which were alike comprehenſive and honourable. The Lord Willoughby had what he moſt deſired, indemnity, and freedom of eſtate and perſon, upon which, ſoon after, he returned to England (*r*). The iſlands of Nevis, Antigua, and St. Chriſtopher, were, by the ſame capitulation, ſurrendered to the Parliament, with a proviſo, that Lord Willoughby, Colonel Walrond, and ſome other perſons mentioned in that treaty, were reſtored to their eſtates, and the inhabitants were promiſed, not only indemnity but protection, in the quiet enjoyment of their plantations, upon condition that they did nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth (*s*). This treaty being ſigned, Mr. Searl was appointed Governor of Barbadoes, and Mr. Rynell, of Antigua and the Leeward Iſlands (*t*), in virtue of a commiſſion, granted to Sir George Ayſcue for this purpoſe. The news of the reduction of theſe iſlands, made ſuch a noiſe in that part of the world, that Captain Dennis who was detached with a few ſhips to Virginia, reduced it without much trouble (*u*); after which, Sir George conſidering that he had fully executed his commiſſion, and that his preſence was no farther neceſſary in America, reſolved to return with the ſquadron under his command to England, which he accordingly did, and arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth of May, 1652 (*w*), was received with all imaginable teſtimonies of joy and ſatisfaction by the people there, to whom he was well known before, as his late ſucceſs alſo ſerved not a little to raiſe and heighten his reputation [*D*]. It was not long after his arrival, before he

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Letters and other papers relating to public affairs, from 1640 to 1666, MS. In this collection is a Letter from one N. Byham, containing a detail of this affair.

(*o*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. ii. p. 18.

(*p*) Mr. Byham's Letter before cited.

(*q*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 387.

(*r*) Hiſtory of Barbadoes, p. 195.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 388.

(*t*) See his Letter to Cromwell, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. iii. p. 351.

(*u*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. i. p. 376, 377.

(*w*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 534.

[*D*] *Served not a little to raiſe and heighten his reputation.*] The reduction of Barbadoes was firſt attempted, becauſe it was thought of greater conſequence than any of our plantations, and the people leaſt affected to the new government. We have an excellent, though conciſe, account of this from the pen of Lord Clarendon (16). 'Barbadoes, ſays he, which was 'much the richeſt plantation, was principally inhabited 'by men that had retired thither only to be quiet, and 'to be free from the noiſe and oppreſſions in England, 'and without any ill thoughts towards the King, many 'of them having ſerved him with fidelity and courage 'during the war, and that being ended, made that 'iſland their refuge from farther proſecutions; but having now gotten good eſtates there (as it is incredible 'to what fortunes men raiſed themſelves in few years in 'that plantation), they were more willing to live in 'ſubjection under that government at that diſtance, 'than

(16) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

he found himſelf again obliged to enter upon action; for the Dutch war which broke out in his abſence, was then become extremely warm, and he was forced to take a ſhare in it, though his ſhips were ſo extremely foul, that they were much fitter to be laid up, than to be employed in any farther ſervice. On the twenty-firſt of June, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, in obedience to the orders he had received from London, came to Dover, with his ſquadron of eleven ſail, and there joined his old friend Admiral Blake, on board whoſe ſhip he dined, and was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect and kindneſs, by that famous commander (*x*). In the beginning of the next month, Blake having received orders to ſail northward, and deſtroy the Dutch herring fiſhery, Sir George Ayſcue was left to command the fleet in the Downs. Within a few days after Blake's departure he took five ſail of Dutch merchantmen (*y*), and had ſcarcely brought them in, before he received advice, that a fleet of forty ſail had been ſeen not far from the coaſt, upon which he gave chace, fell in amongſt them, took ſeven, ſunk four, and ran twenty-four upon the French ſhore, all the reſt being ſeparated from their convoy, which, conſidering that Sir George had with him only the ſquadron he brought from Barbadoes, was very gallantly performed, as Whitelock judiciouſly informs us (*z*). In the account that Sir George gave of this action to the Parliament, he obſerved, that running Dutch ſhips upon the French ſhore, was the ſame thing as ſinking or burning them, for though the French defended them vigorouſly from the Engliſh ſhips that purſued them, yet they afterwards went aboard the Dutch, and plundered them without mercy (*a*). The Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, who was at ſea with a great fleet, having information of the ſituation that Sir George Ayſcue was in, reſolved to take advantage of him, and with no leſs than one hundred ſail, clapped in between him and the river, and reſolved to ſurprize ſuch ſhips as ſhould attempt to go out; or, if that deſign failed, to go in and ſink Sir George and his ſquadron (*b*). The Engliſh Admiral ſoon diſcovered their intention, and cauſing a ſignal to be made from Dover caſtle, for all ſhips to keep to ſea, he thereby defeated the firſt part of their project. However, Van Tromp attempted the ſecond part of his ſcheme, in hopes of better ſucceſs, and on the eighth of July when it was ebb, he began to ſail towards the Engliſh Fleet; but the wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an anchor about a league off, in order to expect the next ebb. Sir George, in the mean time, cauſed a ſtrong platform to be raiſed between Deal and Sandown caſtles, well furniſhed with artillery, ſo pointed, as to bear directly upon the Dutch as they came in. The militia of the county of Kent were alſo ordered down to the ſea-ſhore, to entertain the enemy with their ſmall ſhot; notwithſtanding which preparation,

(*x*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 536.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(*z*) Memorial, p. 538. Lilly's Almanack, as in note [*E*]. Heath's Chronicle, p. 326.

(*a*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 538.

(*b*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 522.

'than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former tranſgreſſions, which upon the articles of ſurrender they were indemnified from. Nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord Willoughby of Parham (who was upon many accounts odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governor there by the King's commiſſion) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.' It is not an eaſy matter to give a very clear and diſtinct detail of tranſactions within this period of time, becauſe there are viſible contradictions in moſt of the accounts hitherto publiſhed, ariſing from cauſes which it would take up too much time to mention here. We are informed by Whitelock, that the Parliament received an account of the reduction of Barbadoes on the 23d of April 1652, and that after the articles were read, the houſe ordered the meſſenger one hundred pounds: He farther ſays, that Lord Willoughby was forced to this ſurrender, by his men's deſerting him, and going over to Colonel Moddiford, and that he had good terms granted him, becauſe his force was ſtill the greater, and to avoid the deſtruction of that goodly iſland which was already much waſted (17). It ſeems that our Sir George Ayſcue was much in the good graces of William Lilly, the famous almanack-maker, who particularly honoured him, by preſerving in his obſervations the dates of his greateſt exploits, which is what I do not find he ever did for any other perſon of what rank ſoever, and which makes it ſtill more extraordinary, he did this after Sir George was laid aſide. Thus, in his aſtrological predictions for the year 1653, in the month of January, he ſets down this memorandum. 'Barbadoes ſurrendered unto Sir George Ayſcue for the uſe of the parliament the 11th of January 1651, who alſo, by his prudence and ſweet diſpoſition, reduced all our weſtern plantations, to his great honour, and extream benefit of this commonwealth.' Again, in the month of May, the ſame year, he ſets down the following obſervation: 'May the 25th, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, Knt. returned ſafe from the weſtern iſlands to Plymouth, to the great joy of the people, he having reduced all the weſtern iſlands, and taken from the Dutch about forty ſail of ſhips.' It is viſible enough from hence, that Sir George was in great credit with the people, and one may reaſonably ſuſpect, that beſides the regard this man might have for our admiral, he might intend the rendering the Parliament odious to the populace, by expoſing their ingratitude to ſo worthy a commander; and there is the greater cauſe to believe this, if we reflect upon theſe two points: *Firſt*, That Lilly's predictions and obſervations governed at that time all the common people, and therefore he was uſed as a ſtate-engine upon every great revolution. *Secondly*, That he was a ſhrewd enemy to the Parliament at this time, appears plainly, by his poſtſcript to his predictions for the next year 1654, the beginning of which, becauſe his pieces are very ſcarce, I will tranſcribe for the benefit of the reader. 'Wearied to behold the giddineſs of the Engliſh nation, who neither love the Lord General Cromwell, or army, our preſervers; and as ſorrowful to hear the woeful complaints of many ſad diſtreſſed people, whoſe lamentable petitions ſeveral years had made fruitleſs addreſſes to the late diſſolved parliament; I was reſolved ever hereafter to have been a ſilent ſpectator, and not a forward actor as ſometimes I had been, having ſmarted for preſuming to tell theſe late Demi-Gods, of that change they are now ſenſible of: Seriouſly, it grieved my ſoul to hear the complaints of the country people, when they told me how tyrannous, how imperious, how like prerogative-men, many of the late Parliament carried themſelves in their ſeveral counties. There could not be a beneficial office either by ſea or land, but a ſon, kinſman, nephew, or friend of theirs, muſt have it; whilſt the maimed ſoldiers, or well-affected Chriſtians, who had loſt all his or their eſtates for their ſervices, were ready to ſtarve; nay, many ſuch did ſtarve and die for pure hunger, ſlighted, ſcorned, and unpitied, by ſome of thoſe unmerciful Preſbyterians.' He goes on at large to juſtify the turning out the Parliament, and all that was afterwards done, in order to get the government entirely into his own hands by Cromwell, chiefly from theſe topics, that the Parliament were reſolved to ſit for ever, that they were exceſſively ungrateful to ſuch as had ſerved with the utmoſt fidelity, and that they gave every thing to their own creatures or to their relations.

(17) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 531.

the Dutch Admiral did not recede from his point, but at the next ebb weighed anchor, and would have ſtood into the port; but the wind coming about ſouth-weſt, and blowing directly in his teeth, conſtrained him to keep out, and being ſtreightened for time, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave Sir George ſafe in the harbour, with the ſmall ſquadron he commanded (*c*). He was ſoon after ordered to Plymouth, to bring in under his convoy five Eaſt-India ſhips, which he did in the latter end of July; and in the firſt week of Auguſt, brought in four French and Dutch prizes, for which activity and vigilance in his command, he was univerſally commended (*d*) [*E*]. In a few days after this, intelligence was received, that Van Tromp's fleet was ſeen off the back of the Iſle of Wight, and it was thereupon reſolved, that Sir George with his fleet of forty men of war, moſt of them hired merchantmen, except flag-ſhips, ſhould ſtretch over to the coaſt of France to meet them. Accordingly on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, between one and two of the clock at noon, they got ſight of the enemy, who quitted their merchantmen, being fifty in number. About four the fight began; the Engliſh Admiral with nine others charging through their fleet, his ſhips received moſt damage in the ſhrouds, maſts, ſails, and rigging, which was repaid the Dutch in their hulls. Sir George having thus paſſed through them, got the weather-gage, and charged them again, but all his fleet not coming up, and the night already entered, they parted with a drawn battle (*e*). Captain Peck, the Rear-Admiral, loſt his leg, of which, ſoon after, he died. Several Captains were wounded, but no ſhip loſt, only ſome ſhattered and torn. Of the Dutch, not one was ſaid to be loſt, though many were ſhot through and through, but ſo that they were able to proceed on their voyage, and anchored the next day after, being followed by the Engliſh to the Iſle of Baſſa; but no farther attempt was made by our fleet, by reaſon, as it was pretended, of the danger of the French coaſts, from whence they returned to Plymouth-Sound, to mend and repair their rigging (*f*). The truth of the matter was, ſome of Sir George's Captains were a little baſhful in this affair, and the fleet was in ſo indifferent a condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to refit, before they proceeded again to action (*g*) [*F*]. He

(*c*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 539, 540, 541. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 364.

(*d*) See the authorities for this in note [*E*].

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 541. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 637. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.

(*f*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*g*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 542.

[*E*] *For which activity and vigilance in his command he was univerſally commended.*] Theſe were ſearching times for men to live in, who were charged with public employments; for every man thought himſelf at liberty to enquire into their conduct, and to publiſh all he knew. We muſt not imagine however, that this extenſive liberty of the preſs, was owing to the ſuperior virtue of thoſe times; ſince, in reality, it was not; but rather to the weakneſs of new eſtabliſhed governments, which having raiſed and wrought themſelves into power by the help of the preſs, were aſhamed to uſe their authority immediately againſt what had procured it. The news of the Dutch war met Sir George Ayſcue at Plymouth, who inſtantly attacked and took all the veſſels of that nation he could meet with, for which we find him particularly taken notice of in all the hiſtorical collections of thoſe times, though from their haſtineſs in ſetting down his exploits from ſuch accounts as came firſt to hand, they do not agree extremely well with each other in their relations. William Lilly, in his almanack for 1653 beforementioned, ſets down the following particulars: 'In July '1652 near Calais, Sir George Ayſcue took, ſunk, 'and diſperſed thirty-ſix ſhips of the Dutch; for you 'muſt underſtand, this gallant man doth all his actions in good and hearty earneſt for this common-'wealth. I hope he will prove worſe terror to the 'Dutch than Drake to the Spaniard.' To the ſame purpoſe other writers expreſs themſelves, more eſpecially Whitelock, who ſeems to have had a very ſtrict intercourſe with, and a great friendſhip for, our Admiral, as appears by his ſetting down every tranſaction in which he was concerned, during the time he continued at the head of the fleet, and ſometimes with very ſingular marks of commendation and applauſe (18).

[*F*] *It was abſolutely neceſſary to refit before they proceeded again to action.*] In the text, the account is taken *verbatim* from Heath, who ſeems to have conſtantly copied the advices publiſhed by the State; ſo that I look upon him as one of the beſt writers we have in matters of this nature. It is however certain, that there were various reports concerning this engagement, ſome of which reflected on the commander, and ſome on thoſe who ſerved under him. Whitelock, who wrote preciſely as things came to hand, and neither more nor leſs than his advices contained, tells us, (19) 'On the '18th of Auguſt, that Sir George Ayſcue and the 'Dutch fleet was engaged about Plymouth, and that 'there had paſſed two or three thouſand ſhot between 'them.' On the 24th he had received clearer accounts, from whence he writes thus: 'Letters, that 'Sir George Ayſcue, by advice of his council of war, 'went after the Dutch fleet to the coaſt of France, 'and there engaged them, who were ninety ſail of 'ſhips, thirty of them merchantmen, who left their 'fleet upon the beginning of the engagement.

'That Sir George had but thirty-eight ſail and 'four fireſhips, and four ſcouts; that he and four 'others charged through the whole body of the enemies 'fleet, and received many ſhots in their hulls, maſts, 'and rigging, the enemies deſign being to ſpoil them. 'But Sir George tacked about and weathered them, 'and charged them all again, and ſo continued engaged till dark night.

'That he loſt but one fire-ſhip, which ſet herſelf 'on fire, being ready to ſink, and ſaved her men, and 'turned her among the enemy. That the Dutch Admiral was ſunk. That the next day the Engliſh 'fleet kept fight of the Dutch fleet, but would not 'engage upon the French coaſt, but went to the 'northward to repair their ſhips.' The account given by Lord Clarendon, differs ſomething from this: 'Sir 'George Ayſcue ſtanding weſtward, *ſays he*, engaged 'with thirty ſail of men of war, the whole Dutch 'fleet conſiſting of ſixty ſhips of war and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, ſo that the 'night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the 'Holland ſhips of war were ſunk, and moſt of the men 'loſt. The Dutch in that action, applying themſelves 'moſt to ſpoil the tackling and ſails of the Engliſh, in 'which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that on the next 'morning they were not able to give them farther 'chace, till their ſails and rigging could be repaired (20).' The Dutch writers give a very different account of this affair; they aſſert, that their own fleet was ſo far from being ſuperior, that it was ſcarcely equal to that of the Engliſh (21); which however is no better than a fallacy, ſince though Admiral de Ruyter had no more than thirty-eight men of war under his command, yet he had ſixty merchantmen under his convoy; and out of theſe he took twenty of the ſtouteſt and beſt manned into the line, and as they acted in every reſpect as well as men of war could have done, there is no great wonder that they were taken for men of war by the Engliſh ſailors who engaged them, and that from their report this miſtake is crept into hiſtory. We have ſeen that Lord Clarendon, in his account of this battle, ſays, that the Dutch fired chiefly at the Engliſh rigging, which at firſt ſight looks, as if they had had a mind to retire from them. Yet when one conſiders that the author of de Ruyter's life gives us a long ſpeech made by that Admiral, reflecting on the baſe behaviour of the Engliſh, and encouraging his officers to purſue and attack them even in their own harbour of Plymouth (22); I ſay, when one conſiders this, and that

(18) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 368. 385. 406. 411, 412, 413, 414. 420, &c.

(19) Memorials, p. 541.

(20) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 637.

(21) La Vie et les Actions memorables du Sieur M. de Ruyter, p. 10.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 14.

He proceeded next to join Blake in the Northern Seas, where he continued during the beſt part of the month of September, and took ſeveral prizes; and towards the latter end of that month, Sir George returned with General Blake into the Downs, with one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war (*b*). On the twenty-ſeventh of that month a great Dutch fleet appeared, after which, Blake with his fleet ſailed, and Sir George Ayſcue, purſuant to the orders he had received, returned to Chatham with his own ſhip, and ſent the reſt of his ſquadron into ſeveral ports to be careened (*i*). It does not appear that the Parliament openly expreſſed any diſlike, or diſtaſte at Sir George's behaviour, upon his coming home, but, on the contrary, ſhewed him all the regard and reſpect imaginable, though he had ſome friends who informed him, that this was in appearance only; ſince they could not help expreſſing a diſlike to the terms he had granted to the Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, which they conſidered as the ſecond part of Sir John Greenville's buſineſs, for which they had been ſo angry both with him and Blake. All this, however, Sir George bore without any viſible ſigns of diſcontent, profeſſing that he had done what he took to be his duty, and would continue ſo to do, as long as he commanded in the Engliſh fleet, without troubling himſelf about the humours of particular men, whom, after all his endeavours, he might find it impoſſible to pleaſe. But while theſe jealouſies and heart-burnings ſubſiſted on both ſides, an occaſion offered which enabled all parties to ſatisfy themſelves. It ſo fell out, that towards the end of November, 1652, the famous General Blake lying at the mouth of our river, began to think that the ſeaſon of the year left no room to expect farther action, for which reaſon he detached twenty of his ſhips to bring up a fleet of colliers from Newcaſtle, twelve more he had ſent to Plymouth, and our Admiral, as is before obſerved, with fifteen ſail, had proceeded up the river in order to their being careened. Such was the ſituation of things, when Van Tromp appeared with a fleet of eighty-five ſail (*k*). Upon this Blake ſent for the moſt experienced officers on board his own ſhip, where, after a long conſultation, it was agreed, that he ſhould wait for, and fight the enemy, though he had but thirty-ſeven ſail of men of war, and a few ſmall ſhips (*l*). Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of November a general engagement enſued, which laſted with great fury from one in the afternoon till it was dark. Blake in the Triumph, with his ſeconds the Victory and the Vanguard, engaged for a conſiderable time near twenty-ſail of Dutch men of war, and they were in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed and deſtroyed by ſo unequal a force (*m*). This, however, did not hinder Blake from forcing his way into a throng of enemies, to relieve the Garland and Bonadventure, in doing which he was attacked by many of their ſtouteſt ſhips, which likewiſe boarded him, but after ſeveral times beating them off, he at laſt found an opportunity to rejoin his fleet (*n*). The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh conſiſted in five ſhips, either taken or ſunk, and ſeveral others diſabled. The Dutch confeſs, that one of their men of war was burnt towards the end of the fight, and the Captain and moſt of his men drowned, and alſo that the ſhips of Tromp and Evertſon were much diſabled (*o*). At laſt, night having parted the two fleets, Blake ſuppoſing he had ſufficiently ſecured the nation's honour and his own, by waiting the attack of an enemy, ſo much ſuperior, and ſeeing no proſpect of advantage by renewing the fight, retired up the river: but Sir George Ayſcue, who inclined to the bolder but leſs prudent counſel, was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion (*p*) [G]. The ſervices this great

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*k*) Baſnage Annals des Provinces Unies, Vol. i. p. 260.

(*l*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 521. Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*m*) Adm. Blake's Letter.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.

(*o*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 111.

(*p*) *Id. ibid.*

that the moſt impartial and Engliſh hiſtorians own, that de Ruyter offered Sir George Ayſcue battle afterwards, who refuſed it (23); this muſt appear in a very different light. It was ſome time before I could penetrate this myſtery: for though Mr. Colliber, a very induſtrious writer, and one whoſe perfect knowledge in the Dutch hiſtory, enabled him to ſet many things in a better light, than any of our writers of naval hiſtory, denies the fact, and treats de Ruyter's ſpeech as a mere fiction (24); yet I could not ſubſcribe in that to his opinion, becauſe, as I have obſerved, the Engliſh writers of thoſe times confirmed what the Dutch ſay, and acknowledge, that Sir George Ayſcue declined fighting (25), but thought there muſt be ſomething more in it, and upon ſifting the matter thoroughly, I found the truth to be this: Sir George Ayſcue had a fleet of thirty-eight ſail, but the greateſt part of them neither did not would fight; ſo that the whole fire of the Dutch fleet fell upon nine or ten ſail that did their duty; and the reaſon that the Dutch fired at their rigging, was in hopes of diſabling them from making a retreat, that the next day they might be able either to ſink or take them. This accounts clearly for all the dark and contradictory paſſages that we have met with. It ſhews us, why Sir George Ayſcue retired to his own ports to refit, it explains and juſtifies de Ruyter's ſpeech, and it manifeſts the true reaſon why Sir George afterwards refuſed to fight when de Ruyter challenged and provoked him. This I ſay is the myſtery hitherto never explained by any of our writers, and which therefore I take to be a very curious and valuable diſcovery. But the reader may perhaps imagine that this is all conjecture; and if it were ſo, I ſhould have no reaſon to be aſhamed of it. But William Lilly has ſet down the very fact, and it is from his account that I have made this diſcovery. His words are theſe: 'Auguſt 16, 1652, Sir George Ayſcue, near Plymouth, 'with fourteen or fifteen ſhips only, fought threeſcore 'ſail of Dutch men of war, had thirty ſhot in the 'hull of his own ſhip, twenty merchant ſhips (I ſuppoſe 'merchantmen converted into men of war) never came 'in to aſſiſt him, yet he made the Dutch give way. 'Why our State ſhall pay thoſe ſhips that fought not, 'we of the people know not. This is he that is a 'gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part 'of a generous commander in all his actions.' There cannot, I think, be any clearer account or better authority than this, either expected or demanded, ſince thereby all the different relations of this engagement, which have appeared hitherto ſo unintelligible, and in many reſpects ſo contradictory, are fully explained and perfectly reconciled.

(23) Heath's Chronicle, p. 226.

(24) Column. Roſtrat. p. 102.

(25) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

[G] *Was ſo diſguſted at this retreat, that he laid down his commiſſion.*] We have this circumſtance in the author cited in the text, who took it from the Dutch accounts; for the Engliſh ſay not one word of Sir George Ayſcue's being in the engagement; but they acknowledge that Blake retreated, as being ſenſible both of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, and of the too great ſuperiority of the enemy. The next day which was the thirtieth, Tromp ſent into Harwich and Yarmouth to ſee if the Engliſh fleet was there; but they had retired firſt to Dover, and then up the river, where they were ſafe. In the mean time, the Dutch

great man had rendered his country, were none of them more acceptable to the Parliament, than this act of laying down his command. They had long wiſhed and waited for an opportunity of diſmiſſing him from their ſervice, and were therefore extremely pleaſed that he had ſaved them this trouble: however, to ſhew their gratitude for paſt ſervices, and to prevent his falling into abſolute diſcontent, they voted him a preſent of three hundred pounds in money, and likewiſe beſtowed upon him three hundred pounds *per annum* in Ireland (*q*). There is good reaſon to believe, that Cromwell and his faction were as well pleaſed with this gentleman's quitting the ſea-ſervice: for as they were then meditating, what they ſoon afterwards put in execution, the turning the Parliament out of doors, it could not but be agreeable to them, to ſee an officer who had ſo great credit in the navy, and who was ſo generally eſteemed by the nation, laid aſide in ſuch a manner, both as it gave them an opportunity of inſinuating the ingratitude of that aſſembly to ſo worthy a perſon, and as it freed them from the apprehenſion of his diſturbing their meaſures, in caſe he had continued in the fleet; which it is highly probable might have come to paſs, conſidering that Blake was far enough from being of their party, and only ſubmitted to ſerve the Protector, becauſe he ſaw no other way left to ſerve his country, and did not think he had intereſt enough to preſerve the fleet, after the defection of the army, which perhaps might not have been the caſe, if Sir George Ayſcue had continued in his command (*r*). This is ſo much the more probable, as it is very certain that he never entered into the Protector's ſervice, or ſhewed himſelf at all willing to concur in his meaſures; though there is no doubt that Cromwell would have been extremely glad of ſo experienced an officer in his Spaniſh war. He retired after this to his country-ſeat in the county of Surrey, and lived there in great honour and ſplendour, viſiting, and being viſited by perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, both natives and foreigners, and paſſing in the general opinion of both, for one of the ableſt ſea-captains of that age (*s*). Yet there is ſome reaſon to believe that he had a particular correſpondence with the Protector's ſecond ſon, Henry; ſince there is ſtill a letter in being from him to Secretary Thurloe, which ſhews that he had very juſt notions of the worth of this gentleman, and of the expediency of conſulting him in all ſuch matters as had a relation to maritime power; which letter, as it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find in the notes (*t*) [*H*]. The Protector, towards the latter end of his life, began to grow

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

(*r*) See this more fully treated in our article of BLAKE.

(*s*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. i. p. 545.

(*t*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. iv. p. 198.

Admiral kept plying between Calais and Dungenneſs, ſo much elated with his laſt ſucceſs, that he ſailed with a birch broom in his main-top, to ſignify that he had ſwept the ſeas of the Engliſh (26). This was what Ayſcue foreſaw; and the very apprehenſion of which, made him reſolve to quit the ſervice: for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was a man of ſuch undaunted courage, that he knew not how to ſubmit to fortune; and was much more inclined to embrace a voluntary death, than to expoſe his country to the loſs of any credit by his miſcarriage; which, notwithſtanding, came to be his fate, in ſpite of all the care he took to avoid it. There was one reaſon which, at this juncture, inclined the Parliament to part the more readily with this excellent officer, which deſerves to be conſidered. It is this: they began to diſcern Cromwell's intention to overturn them, and to ſet up a new form of government by the power of the army, which they ſaw he had gained, by putting in creatures of his own. In order therefore to get the better of this deſign, they formed a very extraordinary project; which was to new model the army, by ſending ſuch of the regiments as they ſuſpected moſt to ſerve on board the fleet; and to make this ſcheme anſwer their purpoſe the better, they thruſt in abundance of land-officers to command their fleet, and it was to make way for theſe that they ſuffered Sir George Ayſcue and ſome other officers to quit that ſervice (27). But in this they ſtrangely over-reached themſelves: for Cromwell ſeeing there was no time to be loſt, and that by this ſtep they had for the preſent equally diſobliged the ſeamen and alarmed the army, puſhed on his deſign with greater vehemence, and by craftily managing two parties, who though they wiſhed equally ill to the Parliament, leaſt of all intended the ſetting him up, deceived and got the better of them all; while the officers of the fleet having their hands full of the Dutch war, thought themſelves obliged to ſerve their country the beſt they could, notwithſtanding this change of government, which though they did not reliſh they could not remedy. Before this great change was brought about, which was in the month of April, 1653, Sir George Ayſcue was retired to his country-ſeat in Surrey, with a ſettled reſolution to live in an honourable privacy, and never concern himſelf farther with public affairs; which is the reaſon that we never meet with him in the councils of ſtate, or any other of the new ſchemes of government that were ſet up in ſucceeding times. How far this conduct of his may on the ſtrict principles of patriotiſm be juſtified, I ſhall not take upon me to determine: but this is certain, that ſome of the wiſeſt and ableſt men in the kingdom thought in the ſame way, and acted in the ſame manner, till they had an opportunity afterwards of entering again into the public ſervice, when the government was better eſtabliſhed, and ſtood once more upon a legal baſis. There might alſo be a particular reaſon that might determine Sir George Ayſcue to act as he did, which was this, that he had never interfered in any of thoſe dark deſigns by which the government was overturned, or been made uſe of as an inſtrument in any of the violent meaſures practiſed for overturning it; ſo that in his ſtate of rural retirement, he had very little to apprehend from new changes, but might be truly ſaid to have all things to hope, and little or nothing to fear.

(26) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

(27) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. ii p. 450, 451, 452.

[*H*] *As it is equally curious and ſhort, the reader will find it in the notes.*] It does not appear from the letters that go before, or that follow after this, what the buſineſs was that Sir George Ayſcue was to be conſulted upon: but in all probability it might be with regard to the ſettlement at Jamaica, which was then a point under conſideration, about which Mr. Cromwell took a great deal of pains; and therefore it is not at all improbable that he might wiſh Mr. Secretary Thurloe would inquire the ſentiments of ſo able an officer as Sir George Ayſcue, and one whoſe experience, in regard to that ſubject, muſt render him as fit a man to be conſulted thereupon, as any in the kingdom. But this is a conjecture only, and as ſuch is left to the reader's judgment. The letter follows:

H. CROMWELL to Secretary THURLOE.

'SIR,

'THIS incloſed paper was preſented to me by a 'perſon of worth here, who deſired it might be 'communicated to you, and deſired that you would 'hear Sir George Ayſcue (if you think there is any 'thing worthy of your notice) more particularly 'about it; and alſo I make it my requeſt, that you 'would hear him as to other things, and make what 'uſe thereof you think fit. I am

Dublin, Nov. 14, 1655.

'Your loving friend (28),

'H. CROMWELL.'

(28) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

diſſatisfied with the Dutch, the rather, becauſe of the ſhare they had taken in the affairs of the North, where they had eſpouſed the cauſe of the King of Denmark to a degree of partiality, and were projecting the total ſuppreſſion of the Swediſh power. This did not by any means agree with the Protector's plan in regard to foreign affairs, and as it was not in his nature to bear with any diſappointment in his views, ſo he reſolved to deſtroy this ſyſtem of the Dutch, and yet without entering immediately into a war with them. It was with this view, that he encouraged the Swedes to cultivate, with the utmoſt diligence, a maritime force, promiſing in due time to aſſiſt them with a ſufficient number of able and experienced officers, and with an Admiral to command them, who, in point of reputation, was not inferior to any then living (*u*). It was upon this occaſion, and for this ſervice, that he caſt his eyes upon Sir George Ayſcue; but not caring to deal directly with a man who had declined acting under his government, and had never frequented his court, he reſolved that the propoſition ſhould be made him by the Swediſh Ambaſſador, and ſent the Lord Keeper Whitelock to introduce him to the Admiral at his country-ſeat (*w*). We have a large and very curious account of this conference, and of that part of the converſation which was fit for the public view, preſerved by Whitelock himſelf, and which the reader, no doubt, will be very well pleaſed to ſee in his own words [*I*]. This interview had its effect: Sir George Ayſcue from that time began to entertain favourable thoughts of the deſign, and brought himſelf by degrees to approve of the propoſition that was made him, ſo far as to think at leaſt, not only of quitting the retreat he had choſen, but even of accepting the offer made him, and of going over for that purpoſe to Sweden (*x*). But as great undertakings move ſlowly, and there is much time neceſſary for ripening ſuch vaſt projects into execution; ſo we find that Sir George Ayſcue had not brought himſelf to an abſolute compliance in reference to this deſign, before the death of the Protector (*y*). Yet that did not hinder his cloſing at laſt with the propoſals made him from Sweden, and putting every thing in order for his journey, towards the

(*u*) Notices of eminent Perſons, &c. MS.

(*w*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 649.

(*x*) Thurloe's Stat. Papers, Vol. iv. p. 260.

(*y*) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 677.

[*I*] *The reader will no doubt be very well pleaſed to ſee it in his own words.*] It appears clearly from Mr. Whitelock's own authority, that a treaty was concluded with the Swediſh Miniſter, Mr. Coyett, whom the Protector had knighted, and who was therefore called Sir Peter Coyett, on the ſeventeenth of the preceding month; for the concluding of which treaty, Whitelock himſelf was a Commiſſioner, the rather becauſe he had been Ambaſſador from the Parliament of England in Sweden, where he had been very well received; and this probably created in him an extraordinary reſpect for that nation, as a ſignal proof of which, he undertook, before the Ambaſſador's departure, to carry him to dine with Sir George Ayſcue, of which interview he wrote thus (29):

(29) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 649, 650.

'Auguſt the 13th, 1656, the Ambaſſador of Swe-
'den dined at Sir George Ayſcough's houſe in Sur-
'rey, where they had a very noble entertainment.
'The houſe ſtands environed with ponds, motes, and
'water, like a ſhip at ſea; a fancy fitter for the ma-
'ſter's humour, who is himſelf ſo great a ſeaman.
'There he ſaid *he had caſt anchor*, and intend-
'ed to ſpend the reſt of his life in a private retire-
'ment.

'The Ambaſſador underſtanding the abilities of Sir
'George in ſea affairs, did (according to his cuſtom)
'endeavour to improve his own knowledge, by his diſ-
'courſes and queſtions to the company, according to
'their ſeveral capacities and abilities. He therefore
'found many queſtions to demand of Sir George, and
'had much diſcourſe with him about ſea-matters, and
'particularly concerning our Engliſh frigates; he was
'very inquiſitive to know of Sir George, *Whether he*
'*eſteemed them the beſt of any ſort of ſhips for fight.*'
Sir George anſwered freely, '*That he did not eſteem*
'*them the beſt ſhips for fight, but held, that the old*
'*faſhioned Engliſh ſhips, of the biggeſt rate, beſt for*
'*fight*;' and being aſked his reaſon, ſaid, '*becauſe*
'*they were ſtronger than the frigates, would endure*
'*the ſhaking of their own guns, and the blows of the*
'*enemy, better than the frigates could, and were firm,*
'*and like caſtles in the ſea, and not ſo eaſy to be boarded*
'*as the frigates, being higher built.*'

The Ambaſſador replied, '*That they themſelves*
'*could not ſo eaſily board another ſhip being ſo high*
'*built.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That when they came*
'*to boarding, they that aſſailed, had not ſo great a*
'*trouble of going down their own ſhip as the going up*
'*their enemies; and the high building was no hindrance*
'*to their boarding of another, but was the better de-*
'*fence for themſelves.*' The Ambaſſador alſo objected,
'*That they could not ſo eaſily come about and fetch up*
'*another ſhip as the frigates could.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That they could eaſily enough tack about upon*
'*any occaſion in fight, but confeſſed that they could not*
'*ſo ſoon fetch up another ſhip, nor take, or leave, as*
'*the frigates could, which he ſaid was rather an in-*
'*ducement to cowardice than courage; and ſome Cap-*
'*tains, when they knew they could leave an enemy*
'*as they pleaſed, would engage in the fewer blows;*
'*whereas the old built ſhips muſt ſtand to it, and the*
'*men knowing that there was no running away, would*
'*have the better mettle to fight it out.*' The Ambaſſador aſked, '*Which would laſt longeſt, the ſhips built*
'*after the old faſhion or the frigates.*' Sir George anſwered, '*That the old buildings were more ſtrong and*
'*ſubſtantial than the building of the frigates, which*
'*was made long and light for ſailing, and therefore*
'*could not laſt ſo long as the other; and they carrying*
'*many guns, and being thus made, their own guns did*
'*much ſhake and wear them, more than the guns of the*
'*other did.*' They had much diſcourſe of this nature, which added much to the entertainment.

It appears clearly from hence, that Sir George Ayſcue was exactly of the ſame opinion with the ableſt ſeamen of our times, in reſpect to the building of ſhips of war. He judged, that the capacity, firmneſs, and ſtrength of our men of war, gave us great advantages, that the end and deſign of ſhips ſhould be chiefly conſidered in building them, and therefore that ſhips of war ſhould rather be diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength and conveniency for fighting, than by the neatneſs of their form, or their being extraordinary good ſailors. Sir William Monſon, the ableſt of our writers upon maritime affairs, thought the ſame way; and it is very remarkable, that long before the Dutch wars began, he foretold, that if ever that ſtate differed with us, they would make their utmoſt efforts to gain the firſt battle at ſea, for which he gives ſeveral reaſons (30); and it is no leſs remarkable that they really attempted this, and that their famous Admiral Tromp attacked Blake in the firſt battle in the Downs, with a force vaſtly ſuperior, and that Blake eſcaped by nothing but the ſize and ſtrength of his ſhips, which enabled him with four or five to bear the fire of almoſt the whole Dutch fleet, till ſuch time as the reſt of his own ſhips were able to come in to his relief, and then the matter was ſpeedily determined, and contrary to the hopes and expectation of the Dutch, who thought they ſhould have gained an eaſy and complete victory by ſurprize, which would have forced the Engliſh Common-wealth to make peace upon their terms (31). In like manner, through the whole courſe of that war, it was the large ſize and firmneſs of our ſhips, which gave us ſuch great advantages, not only in the opinion of our own commanders, but of the Dutch themſelves, as might be ſhewn at large if this were a proper place.

(30) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. iii. p. 462.

(31) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 405, 406.

latter end of the year 1658. But as ſuch a deſign as this was could not be put in execution, without making ſome ſtir, and thereby raiſing public diſcourſe about it; ſo this had ſuch an effect upon the Daniſh Miniſter then reſiding here, that he could not forbear writing to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, in pretty ſtrong terms upon the occaſion, inſinuating, at the ſame time, ſome general reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue (z) [K]. This, however, had no effect, either in procuring an interpoſition from the State, to prevent Sir George from proſecuting his deſign, or in obliging him to alter his reſolution. On the contrary, as ſoon as he had ſeen the officers embarked, and had diſpatched ſome private buſineſs of his own, he proſecuted his voyage, though in the very depth of winter. This expoſed him to great hardſhips, which, however, he endured with much conſtancy; and on his arrival in Sweden, he was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of civility and reſpect by the King, who was extremely well pleaſed with his coming, and might very probably have made good his promiſe, of promoting him to the rank of High-Admiral of Sweden, if he had not been taken off by an unexpected death (a) [L]. This put an

(z) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. vii. p 412.

(a) Puffendorff Hiſtoire de Suede, Vol. ii. p. 30.

[K] *General reflections on the character of Sir George Ayſcue.*] It is remarkable, that the Daniſh Miniſter, though he appears to have been ſenſible of the deſign, did not think proper to complain during the life-time of Oliver: but when he ſaw Richard inveſted with his title only, and not his power, he addreſſed himſelf to the Secretary in the following epiſtle, which is very ſingular in its kind, ſince it ſhews at once, how little kindneſs its author had for Sir George Ayſcue, and how much he ſtood in fear of him (32).

(32) Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 412.

'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

'TALK has been this many months, that Sir George Ayſcue, and ten or twelve ſea Captains were to take ſervice under the King of Sweden, which I would not be induced to believe, thinking the ſaid Ayſcue could not turn a mercenary ſoldier of another Prince, whilſt the war in his own country laſted; if he could not be ſatisfied with that wealth and honour he has gotten, and live a retired and quiet life; but I have been deceived in my opinion, and find, that certainly he, and the ſaid Captains, are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of war, and Sir George the whole Swediſh fleet; wherewith I have thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordſhip, in hope his Highneſs will think it convenient to ſtay his and their journey, as judging it more convenient that his ſubjects ſhould rather aſſiſt the King my maſter, than, in the ſervice of the King of Sweden, help to oppreſs him; and this, I think, would be alſo conform to the ſenſe of the article of that treaty, concluded between his late Highneſs, of immortal memory, and the King, my maſter, viz. *Ita ut neutra pars populuſve, aut ſubditi alterutrius, neque per ſe, neque per alios, directè, vel indirectè, quidquam agat, vel quantum in ſe eſt, agi, permittat, in damnum aut præjudicium alterius, verum altera alteram omnibus bonis officiis adjuvavit, atque alterius rem & commodum pro virili promovebit*; *i. e.* ſo that no part of the people or ſubjects of the one, or of the other, either by themſelves or by others, directly or indirectly, ſhall either do, or, as far as in their power lies, permit to be done, any damage or prejudice to the other, but ſhall to each other render all ſorts of good offices, and promote one the other's advantage as much as in them lies.

'*I reſt, your Lordſhip's,*

'*(whoſe perfect recovery I heartily wiſh)*

'*moſt humble and obedient ſervant,*

Covent-Garden, 27 Sept. 1658. 'SIMON PETKUM.'

[L] *If he had not been taken off by an unexpected death.*] This Swediſh monarch, who invited Sir George into his dominions, and who was always firmly attached to England, was Charles Guſtavus, who came to the throne by the voluntary reſignation of Queen Chriſtina, daughter to the famous Guſtavus Adolphus, in the year 1654, and ſoon after engaged in a war with Poland, becauſe the monarch, who then governed, had oppoſed his acceſſion, on the ſcore of his hereditary right to the crown of Sweden; and in a very ſhort ſpace of time, King Charles over-ran the greateſt part of Poland, forcing the King to take ſhelter in Sileſia. This war, which laſted as long as the Swediſh monarch lived, and was the ſole buſineſs of his reign, ended in a manner very far different from that in which it began: for the Poles, foreſeeing that the conqueſt of their country would raiſe his Swediſh Majeſty abundance of enemies, abſolutely refuſed to make peace with him upon any terms, though he was maſter of both their capitals, Cracow and Warſaw, and of the greateſt part of the kingdom, and themſelves conſtantly beaten in every engagement. In this they judged right; for though at the beginning King Charles was at peace with all his neighbours, yet his rapid conqueſt of Poland, ſtirred him up many enemies: for, firſt, the Emperor dreading this acceſſion of power to a Swediſh Prince, granted ſuccours to King Caſimir of Poland; then the Muſcovites invaded Livonia; the Danes broke with him next, in hopes of recovering what they loſt to his predeceſſors; and though, in the beginning, he had the Elector of Brandenburgh for his ally, he afterwards deſerted him, and joined his enemies; and Prince Ragotſki of Tranſilvania, who invaded Poland likewiſe at his inſtance, was called home by the Turks entering his own dominions; and in the firſt battle he fought againſt them, was killed upon the ſpot (33). The King of Sweden, notwithſtanding this change of affairs, continued the war, and, which is more ſurpriſing, continued it with ſucceſs, more eſpecially againſt the Danes, which drew the Dutch into the quarrel, under pretence of their alliance with Denmark. But in reality, out of regard to their own intereſt; for they were perſuaded, that if this monarch ſucceeded in his deſigns, he would exclude them from the trade of the Baltick: and it was to prevent this, that they ſent a ſtrong fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Danes. This meaſure of theirs greatly offended the Protector Oliver, who had always kept up a ſtrict friendſhip with Sweden, which he would willingly have aſſiſted with a powerful fleet, if it could have been done without breaking with the Dutch, for which his affairs were not then ripe (34). This put him upon ſending twenty experienced officers, to command the Swediſh ſhips, and to encourage Sir George Ayſcue to enter into the ſame ſervice, upon a propoſal the King had made of declaring him Admiral; and if this ſcheme had anſwered in his life-time, there is no doubt, he would have ſent a ſtout Engliſh fleet to have ſupported them. His ſon Richard might, probably, intend to have purſued his father's meaſures, and it is very likely, that with this view he ordered Admiral Montague, with a numerous ſquadron of men of war, to ſail for the Sound; but the Long Parliament reſuming the ſupreme authority, ſent inſtructions to that Admiral to join the Dutch (35). But while theſe things were tranſacting, King Charles had puſhed on the war with ſuch vigour, that he was actually become maſter of moſt part of the Daniſh territories, and had even laid ſiege to Copenhagen, which he would infallibly have taken, if the Dutch had not relieved it by beating his fleet; which conſtrained him to turn the ſiege into a blockade, which he continued in ſpite of the Dutch. It was at this juncture that Sir George Ayſcue arrived, who at firſt put him in hopes of ſome aſſiſtance from England; but this quickly vaniſhed in conſequence of the Revolution before mentioned, notwithſtanding which, Sir George Ayſcue continued in great credit with his Majeſty, and attended him to Gottenburg, where he had ſummoned an aſſembly of the States, becauſe of its lying upon the coaſt, which gave

(33) Hiſtoire de Suede par Puffendorff, Liv. iii.

(34) See the article of CROMWELL (OLIVER).

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 416.

an end to his hopes in that country, and diſpoſed Sir George Ayſcue to return home, where a great change had been working in his abſence, which was that of reſtoring King Charles II. It does not at all appear, that Sir George had any concern in this great affair; but the contrary may be rather preſumed, from his former attachment to the Parliament, and his making it his choice to have remained in Sweden, if the death of the Monarch, who invited him thither, had not prevented him. On his return, however, he not only ſubmitted to the government then eſtabliſhed, but gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the adminiſtration, that he ſhould be at all times ready to ſerve the public, if ever there ſhould be occaſion, which was very kindly taken, and Sir George Ayſcue had the honour to be introduced to his Majeſty, and to kiſs his hand (*b*). It was not long before he was called to the performance of his promiſe; for the Dutch war breaking out in 1664, he was immediately put into commiſſion by the direction of the Duke of York, who then commanded the Engliſh fleet. In the ſpring of the year 1665, Sir George Ayſcue hoiſted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, under the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich, and in the great battle that was fought the third of June in the ſame year, that ſquadron had the honour to break through the centre of the Dutch fleet, and thereby made way for one of the moſt glorious victories ever obtained by this nation at ſea (*c*). For in this battle, the Dutch had ten of their largeſt ſhips ſunk or burned, beſides their Admiral Opdam's, that blew up in the midſt of the engagement, by which the Admiral himſelf, and upwards of five hundred men periſhed. Eighteen men of war were taken, four fire-ſhips deſtroyed, thirteen Captains, and two thouſand and fifty private men made priſoners; and this with ſo inconſiderable loſs, as that of one ſhip only, and three hundred private men (*d*). As there was ſome time requiſite, for refitting and repairing the Engliſh navy, after ſo warm an action, the Duke of York, who commanded the fleet in that engagement, returned to London; but not till the King had viſited the navy, where, going on board the Royal Charles, at the Buoy of the Nore, he knighted ſeveral of the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late battle, and made a grand naval promotion. The fleet being again in a condition to put to ſea, was ordered to rendezvous in Southwold-Bay, from whence, to the number of ſixty ſail, they weighed on the fifth of July, and ſtood over for the coaſt of Holland. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant Earl of Sandwich, to whom was Vice-Admiral Sir George Ayſcue, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman Rear-Admiral, Sir William Penn was Admiral of the White, Sir William Berkley Vice-Admiral, and Sir Joſeph Jordan Rear-Admiral. The Blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whoſe Vice and Rear, were Sir Chriſtopher Mimms, and Sir John Harman (*e*). The deſign they went on was, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or, at leaſt, to take and burn the Turkey and Eaſt-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence. They ſucceeded in neither of theſe ſchemes; de Ruyter returned unexpectedly by the north of Scotland, and arrived ſafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleets, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of Commodore Bitter, choſe to take the ſame northern route, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh navy; but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of Bergen in Norway (*f*). The Earl of Sandwich having detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman to attack them there, returned home, and in his paſſage had the good luck to take eight Dutch men of war, which ſerved as convoys to their Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, and ſeveral merchant-men richly laden, which finiſhed the triumphs of that year (*g*). The plain ſuperiority of the Engliſh over the Dutch at ſea, engaged the French, in order to keep up the war between the maritime powers, and make them do their buſineſs by deſtroying each other, to declare on the ſide of the weakeſt, as did the King of Denmark alſo, which, nevertheleſs, had no effect upon the Engliſh, who determined to carry on the war againſt the allies, with the ſame ſpirit they had done againſt the Dutch alone (*h*). In the ſpring, therefore, of the year 1666, the fleet was very early at ſea, under the command of the joint Admirals; for a reſolution having been taken at Court, not to expoſe the perſon of the Duke of York any more, and the Earl of Sandwich being then in Spain, with the character of Ambaſſador-Extraordinary, Prince Rupert, and old General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, were appointed to command the fleet; having under them as gallant and prudent officers as ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Engliſh navy, and, amongſt theſe, Sir William Berkley commanded the Blue, and Sir George Ayſcue the White ſquadron (*i*). Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet, the twenty-third of April, 1666, and ſailed in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the Court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the Duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. This rumour of their joining the Dutch was ſpread by France,

(*b*) Notices of eminent Men, &c.

(*c*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 20.

(*d*) Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Opening of the next Seſſions of Parliament.

(*e*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 539.

(*f*) Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Vol. i. p. 744, 745.

(*g*) See the Earl of Sandwich's Letter on this occaſion.

(*h*) Kennet's Complete Hiſtory, Vol. iii. p. 258.

(*i*) Philips's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 550.

gave him an opportunity of minding the affairs of his kingdom, and of the war at the ſame time. But it falling out unluckily, that a malignant fever reigned there at that time, the King was ſeized thereby, and after an illneſs of a few days, died on the 13th of February, 1660, in the ſixth year of his reign (36), which, as we have obſerved in the text, determined Sir George Ayſcue to return home. Thus the reader has ſeen, in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, the grounds of this expedition, which I judged would be more ſatisfactory, than referring him to various other books, in order to clear up the meaning of what the ſubject led me to deliver in this.

(36) Puffendorff, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

in

in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the Dutch; themſelves, in reality, having no ſuch intention (*k*). Upon the receiving this news, the Court ſent orders to Prince Rupert to ſail with the White ſquadron, the Admirals excepted, to look out and fight the French, which command that brave Prince obeyed, but found it what many wiſe people thought, a mere groundleſs bravado, intended to raiſe the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger. At the ſame time Prince Rupert ſailed from the Downs, the Dutch put out to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and a freſh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coaſt of Dunkirk, and carried his Highneſs towards the Iſle of Wight; but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the Duke to an anchor (*l*). Captain Bacon, in the Briſtol, firſt diſcovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the Engliſh fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority. After the departure of Prince Rupert, the Duke had with him only the Red and Blue ſquadrons, making about ſixty ſail, whereas the Dutch fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying 4716 guns, and 22,460 men. It was the firſt of June when they were diſcerned, and the Duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor, and, as de Ruyter himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he owns, that to the laſt the Engliſh were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages (*m*). This day's fight was very fierce and bloody; for the Dutch, confiding in their numbers, preſſed furiouſly upon the Engliſh fleet, while the Engliſh officers, being men of determined reſolution, fought with ſuch courage and conſtancy, that they not only repulſed the Dutch, but renewed the attack, and forced the enemy to maintain the fight longer than they were inclined to do, ſo that it was ten in the evening before their cannon were ſilent (*n*). The following night was ſpent in repairing the damages ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the Engliſh with freſh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged among the Engliſh, and were in the utmoſt danger, either of being taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition; but Admiral de Ruyter at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled, and Vice-Admiral Vander Hulſt killed (*o*). This only changed the ſcene; for de Ruyter was now as hard puſhed as Tromp had been before; however, a reinforcement arriving, preſerved him alſo, and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt. The Duke finding that the Dutch had received a reinforcement, and that his ſmall fleet, on the contrary, was much weakened, through the damages ſuſtained by ſome, and the loſs and abſence of others of his ſhips, took, towards the evening, the reſolution to retire, and endeavour to join Prince Rupert, who was coming to his aſſiſtance (*p*). The retreat was performed in good order, twenty-ſix or twenty-eight men of war that had ſuffered leaſt, brought up the rear, interpoſing between the enemy and the diſabled ſhips, three of which, being very much ſhattered, were burnt by the Engliſh themſelves, and the men taken on board the other ſhips. The Dutch fleet followed, but at a diſtance. As they thus ſailed on, it happened on the third day that Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral of the White, who commanded the Royal Prince (being the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip of the whole fleet) unfortunately ſtruck upon the ſand called the Galloper, where being threatened by the enemy's fire-ſhips, and hopeleſs of aſſiſtance from his friends (whoſe timely return, the near approach of the enemy, and the contrary tide, had abſolutely rendered impoſſible), he was forced to ſurrender (*q*). This was that famous engagement, which did equal honour to both the maritime powers, and in which both their officers and ſeamen are allowed to have performed as great things as were ever attempted on the watery element. Yet our hiſtorians have given but very imperfect accounts of it, even thoſe who ought to have made it their buſineſs to be more particularly acquainted with this tranſaction; ſo that if we would learn any particulars relating to it, we muſt look for them in the works of ſtrangers, and even of enemies, who, in this reſpect, have been both juſter and kinder, than the authors either of our General or Naval hiſtories (*r*) [*M*]. The Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, in his letter to the States-General, ſays, in few words, That Sir George Ayſcue, Admiral

(*k*) Baſnage, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Sir John Harman's Account of this action in the Complete Hiſtory of England.

(*m*) Vie de l'Amiral de Ruyter, p. 291.

(*n*) See Sir John Harman's Account before cited.

(*o*) Leven Van Tromp, p. 212.

(*p*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 281.

(*q*) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172.

(*r*) See this Point examined in the Notes.

[*M*] *The authors of our General and Naval hiſtories.*] It is certainly a very great fault in men, who undertake to record the tranſactions of paſt ages, that they do not take care to provide themſelves with ſuch authentic papers, in regard to the times of which they write, as are neceſſary to ſet things forth clearly, and to afford ſufficient authority, to ſupport whatever is thus ſet forth. It is by this kind of negligence, that our hiſtories labour under the reproach of being leſs uniform and correct, than thoſe of other nations. In the preſent inſtance it is obſervable, that in the continuation of Heath's Chronicle by Philips, it is only ſaid, That there was none burnt of the Engliſh fleet, but the *Prince*, which had the misfortune to run a-ground upon the Galloper, by means of which, Sir George Ayſcue, the commander, became a priſoner (38). This is very lame and incorrect; for without a competent knowledge of our naval hiſtory, a man might be eaſily led to believe, that Sir George Ayſcue was only Captain of the *Prince*, whereas he was Admiral of the *White* ſquadron in this engagement. In the Complete Hiſtory of England, as it is called, there is only an extract of Sir John Harman's account of this battle, in which this circumſtance is mentioned, in as few words as it is poſſible (39). The Reverend Mr. Echard tells us, the Engliſh had nine men of war taken or burnt, of which the chief was the Prince, a firſt rate ſhip, commanded by Sir George Ayſcough, which being unfortunately ſtranded, Sir George Ayſcough was taken priſoner,

(38) Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 551.

(39) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 281.

miral of the White, having run upon a ſand-bank, fell into their hands, and that after taking out the commanders, and the men that were left, they ſet the ſhip on fire (*s*). But the large relation, collected by order of the States out of all the letters written to them upon that occaſion, informs us, That Sir George Ayſcue, in the Royal Prince, ran upon the Galloper, an unhappy accident, ſays that relation, for an officer who had behaved very gallantly during the whole engagement, and who only retired in obedience to his Admiral's orders. The unfortunate Admiral made ſignals for aſſiſtance; but the Engliſh fleet continued their route; ſo that he was left quite alone, and without hope of ſuccour; in which ſituation he was attacked by two Dutch fire-ſhips, by which, without doubt, he had been burnt, if Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp, who was on board the ſhip of Rear-Admiral Sweers, had not made a ſignal to call off the fire-ſhips, perceiving that his flag was already ſtruck, and a ſignal made for quarter, upon which Rear-Admiral Sweers, by order of Tromp, went on board the Engliſh ſhip, and brought off Sir George Ayſcue, his officers, and ſome of his men, on board his own veſſel, and the next morning Sir George was ſent to the Dutch coaſt, in order to go to the Hague in a galliot, by order

(*s*) Vie de l'Amiral de Ruyter, p. 294.

priſoner, and the ſhip burnt (40). The Continuation of Baker's Chronicle omits this circumſtance entirely, though, in other reſpects, there is a pretty good account of this memorable engagement (41). In Mr. Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, the whole account of this battle takes up but ſixteen lines, in which, therefore, we cannot expect many circumſtances; but there is one very aſtoniſhing, which is, that he makes this fight to have laſted only *three* days, affirming, That Prince Rupert coming in on the *third*, obtained for the Engliſh a complete victory (42). The truth, however, certainly is, That the Duke of Albemarle fought the Dutch fleet on the firſt, ſecond, and third of June, that in the evening of the laſt day, he was joined by Prince Rupert, with the ſquadron under his command, and that on the fourth of June he engaged the Dutch again, in conjunction with Prince Rupert, and after an obſtinate diſpute, forced the enemy to retire towards their own coaſts. Mr. Colliber had reaſon, therefore, to ſay, That Mr. Burchett's accounts of the Dutch wars were ſo ſhort, that they were more apt to raiſe the reader's curioſity, than to ſatisfy it (43). But, after all, Mr. Burchett is a very good writer in other reſpects, and his hiſtory of the French wars, in King William and Queen Anne's reigns, are very copious, circumſtantial, and well digeſted. As for Mr. Colliber himſelf, he took a great deal of pains in peruſing the Dutch hiſtorians, and in taking out of them, whatever might do honour to the Britiſh nation (44). Mr. Lediard has copied him in this reſpect, and very little more (45). As to the writers of private memoirs, we are not much obliged to them for any light they have given us, one only excepted, of whom we ſhall preſently ſpeak. Biſhop Burnet's deſcription of this battle is penned with great bitterneſs, much in favour of the Dutch, and extremely to the diſcredit of the Engliſh; but he mentions no particulars, and ſeems more deſirous of giving his reader his own ſenſe of things, than to inform him of any circumſtances, that might enable him to form a true judgment of them himſelf (46). Biſhop Parker's Hiſtory of his own Times, is rather a picture than a hiſtory, ſo that no aſſiſtance could be received, or indeed expected from thence (47). There is in Sir William Temple's Memoirs, a paſſage relating to this engagement, which deſerves to be remembered, becauſe it ſhews what the ſenſe of the Dutch was upon this ſubject. Sir William tells us, that the famous John de Wit ſpeaking of this action, ſaid (48), 'That the Engliſh 'got more glory to their nation, by the invincible 'courage of their ſeamen in thoſe engagements, than 'by the two victories of this war, and that he was 'ſure, their own people could never have been brought 'on the following days after the advantages of the 'firſt, and he believed that no other nation was 'capable of it but the Engliſh.' But the cleareſt and beſt account, that, with the utmoſt induſtry, I have been able to meet with, both of the whole engagement, and of Sir George Ayſcue's misfortune, is in Dr. Skinner's Life of General Monk; and therefore I ſhall give the reader that part of it, which regards my ſubject, in his own words (49). 'On the 'third of June, in the morning, his Grace ordered all 'the men out of two or three ſlug-ſhips, which were 'unſerviceable, and commanded them to be fired, 'rather than put them to the hazard of falling into 'the enemy's hands in his retreat, and now he had 'not full forty good ſhips with him, to make good 'his retreat againſt about ninety of the enemies. 'But commanding all his weak and diſabled frigates 'to go off before him, and placing about ſixteen 'or twenty of the ſoundeſt and moſt in heart to 'the enemies front, he began a regular and leiſurely 'retreat, which was managed with ſo much bravery 'and courage, that the Dutch, though poſſeſſed with 'ſo many great advantages upon him, had no great 'ſtomach to the purſuit, contenting themſelves to 'follow aloof-off, and to fire their guns at ſuch diſtance as gave no prejudice to the Engliſh fleet; 'till about four in the afternoon, the wind increaſing, they came cloſe upon the Duke in two 'bodies, and ſpent ſome broadſides upon his ſhip, 'but were ſo warmly plied from the Engliſh fleet 'with their ſtern pieces, as made them contented 'to lie further off. The ſame freſh gale, which at 'this time had brought up the Dutch fleet, brought 'alſo the Prince with his ſquadron in view of the 'Duke's ſhips, which now appeared in the moſt 'ſeaſonable minute, having made all the ſail they 'could to come to his relief. Nor was the Duke 'leſs willing to join the Prince and his ſquadron; 'but in making their way towards him, ſeveral of 'the principal ſhips, and among them the Duke 'in the Royal Charles, came aground on the Gapper, 'or the Galloper Sands, but had all of them the good 'fortune to get off again, only the Royal Prince, 'a great and brave frigate, was ſo deeply ſtranded, 'that it was not poſſible to bring her off, but became a prey to the enemy, where Sir George Ayſcough, that commanded in her, and his company, 'were taken priſoners; and when the Dutch alſo 'had in vain attempted to get her off the ſands, 'at night they burnt her down. This unfortunate 'ſtriking of ſo many of our ſhips upon the ſands, 'gave the Dutch ſo great an opportunity of deſtroying the Duke's fleet, as they have cauſe never to 'forgive the commanders, that made no greater advantage of it, where all might have been loſt, if 'the enemy had been brave enough to have adventured for it.' The great Mr. Dryden, in a poem on the memorable events of the year 1666, has given us at once, the moſt beautiful and the moſt copious deſcription of theſe four days fights. But though this ſubject might have afforded as fine a picture in poetry, as any thing that has appeared in that finiſhed piece, yet there is not the leaſt notice taken therein of Sir George or his misfortune, of which however at firſt ſight, though applied by the poet to the Duke of Albemarle, the following ſtanzas might be thought intended (50):

Now at each tack our little fleet grows leſs;
And like maim'd fowl, ſwim lagging on the main:
Their greater loſs their numbers ſcarce confeſs,
While they loſe cheaper than the Engliſh gain.

Have you not ſeen when whiſtled from the fiſt,
Some falcon ſtoops at what her eye deſign'd,
And, with her eagerneſs, the quarry miſs'd,
Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind.

The daſtard crow that to the wood made wing,
And ſees the groves no ſhelter can afford;
With her loud kaws her craven kind does bring;
Who ſafe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

(40) Echard's Hiſtory, p. 830.

(41) Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, p. 831.

(42) Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 399.

(43) In his Preface to Columna Roſtrata.

(44) Columna Roſtrata, p. 166—177.

(45) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, p. 582, 583.

(46) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 229.

(47) S. Parker de Rebus ſuis Comment. p. 108.

(48) Obſervations on the Provinces of the United Netherlands, p. 281.

(49) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 344, 345.

(50) Annus Mirabilis, Stanza lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii.

of General de Ruyter. The Engliſh ſhip was afterwards got off the ſands, notwithſtanding which, General de Ruyter ordered the reſt of the crew to be taken out, and the veſſel ſet on fire, that his fleet might be the leſs embarraſſed, which was accordingly done (*t*). But in the French relation, publiſhed by order of that court, we have another circumſtance which the Dutch have thought fit to omit, and it is this, that the crew gave up the ſhip againſt the Admiral's will, who had given orders for ſetting her on fire (*u*). There were ſome circumſtances which made the loſs of this ſhip, in this manner, very diſagreeable to the Engliſh court, and perhaps this may be the reaſon that ſo little is ſaid of it in our own relations [*N*]. In all probability, General de Ruyter took the opportunity of ſending Sir George Ayſcue to the Dutch coaſt the next morning, from an apprehenſion that he might be retaken in the next day's fight (*w*). On his arrival at the Hague, he was very civilly treated: but to raiſe the ſpirits of their people, and to make the moſt of this dubious kind of victory, the States ordered Sir George to be carried as it were in triumph, through the ſeveral towns of Holland, and then confined him in the caſtle of Louveſtein, ſo famous in the Dutch hiſtories for having been the priſon of ſome of their moſt eminent patriots, and from whence the party, which oppoſed the Prince of Orange, were ſtiled the Louveſtein Faction (*x*). As ſoon as Sir George Ayſcue came to this caſtle, he wrote a letter to King Charles II., to acquaint him with the condition he was in, which letter is ſtill preſerved in the Life of the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter (*y*), and the reader will find a tranſlation of it in the notes [*O*]. How long he remained there, or whether he

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 314.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 326.

(*w*) Leven Van Tromp, p. 213.

(*x*) Vie de l'Amiral de Ruyter, p. 348.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 349.

[*N*] *So little ſaid of it in our relations.*] There are very often circumſtances attending loſſes, which ſo aggravate and heighten them, as to conduce more to our miſery and grief, than the very loſſes themſelves. Theſe, while we feel this paſſion ſtrongly upon us, we are apt to relate; but by degrees, as that paſſion ſubſides, we come to conſider things in a very different light, and often ſtrive to hide and to conceal what we before affected to publiſh. The *Royal Prince*, as all our writers agree, was the largeſt and beſt built ſhip in the royal navy: ſhe carried ninety-two guns, and ſix hundred and twenty men: her guns were all of them braſs, and the veſſel in the beſt condition poſſible. Theſe were reaſons ſufficient to make the loſs of her regretted. But the particular circumſtance hinted at in the text is this: the *Royal Prince* was the ſhip in which the King came over from Holland at his Reſtoration; a fact, ſet down in none of our private memoirs, though ſufficiently known and talked of at the time. But the Dutch, who knew this circumſtance full as well as the Engliſh, have taken ſpecial care to preſerve it (51). It was not a little hard upon Sir George Ayſcue to be laid aſide for this misfortune, which, for any thing appears, did not at all ariſe from any miſtake or overſight of his: but it ſeems that our ſeamen conceived from hence, that he was an unlucky commander, and that was enough in thoſe days to lay any man aſide, it being a conſtant rule with the Court to employ none but popular Admirals, and ſuch as were beloved by the ſeamen. It was on Sunday the third of June, about five in the afternoon, that this ſhip was given up to the Dutch, and about nine ſhe was ſet on fire; becauſe about that time it appeared, that Prince Rupert having joined the Duke of Albemarle, was bearing down again upon the Dutch fleet; ſo that though the *Royal Prince* was got off the ſands, they would not ſpare the time neceſſary to bring her away, but burnt her according to the expreſs inſtructions given by the States-General to de Ruyter.

(51) Vie de l'Amiral de Ruyter, p. 346.

[*O*] *The reader will find a tranſlation of it in the note.*] The reader has ſeen all the account I am able to give him of this letter in the text, and when he has read the piece itſelf, he will be ſenſible of the reaſons which induced me to leave out ſome particulars in the relation, to ſpare him the trouble of peruſing them twice. The letter exactly rendered into Engliſh runs thus (52):

(52) *Ibid.* p. 348, 349.

'SIRE,

'YOUR Majeſty without doubt has been informed that we engaged the Dutch fleet on the 1–10th of this month, between Dunkirk and the North point of England, the enemy lying at anchor, but cutting their cables immediately upon our approach. We attacked them however with ſucceſs two or three times, but as our fleet was much inferior to theirs in number, we were not able to ſuſtain the fight. There happened on this occaſion a great concern among our people, on the ſcore of your Majeſty's couſin being ſailed to the Weſtward with a large ſquadron of ſhips, by which we were very much weakened and diſtreſſed. Several of our ſhips were that day very ill-treated; the Duke of Albemarle's particularly ſuffered much; the Dutch too had ſeveral ſhips ſet on fire, either by accidents happening to their own powder-rooms, or by our fire-ſhips. We fought the next day with freſh courage, but on the third we were ſo unlucky as to run aground, and juſt as we began to float again, we found ourſelves with ſome other ſhips of our ſquadron ſurrounded by the enemy; ſo that to our great regret we were obliged to ſtrike, after having upwards of one hundred and fifty men killed on board our veſſel, and have ſince been carried priſoners hither. After I went on board the ſhip of the Dutch Rear-Admiral, we were informed, that the ſhip confided to my care by your Majeſty had been burned, my Vice-Admiral is alſo taken, and my Lord Berkley is killed. I cannot ſay what happened afterwards in the action, becauſe it has been kept a ſecret from me. In general, however, they ſay, they have taken, ſunk, and burned, thirty-ſix of our ſhips, and that the Dutch have not made fewer than four thouſand priſoners, which God forbid. I beſeech your Majeſty not to take our misfortunes too much to heart, and that you would have compaſſion on my family.

'From my priſon at Louveſteyn,
10th / 20th } June, 1666. 'GEORGE AYSCUE.

'P. S. The officers of the Dutch fleet, as alſo the States-General, have treated me with all imaginable civility. On my arrival at Rotterdam, I was amazed to ſee ſo many thouſand men there, conſidering how many they have on board the Dutch fleet.'

There are ſome circumſtances in this letter, from whence I ſuſpect, that either it is entirely forged, or at leaſt altered to ſerve the purpoſes of the Dutch; as for inſtance, his ſaying, that his Vice-Admiral was taken, and Lord Berkley killed, the former muſt be meant of the ſhip if it be true, and as to the perſon he names in the latter place, he was not Lord Berkley, but Sir William Berkley (53), and therefore this is an error that we can ſcarce ſuſpect Sir George Ayſcue to be guilty of. But what is written after the letter is much more groſs than any thing contained in it; for, in the firſt place, Sir George was not extremely well treated, ſince the Dutch themſelves owned that they took his plate and every thing elſe that was valuable from him; and in the next to magnify the ſtrength of the enemy to his Prince, was a meanneſs of which an Engliſh Admiral muſt have been certainly incapable. Theſe remarks I thought due to Sir George Ayſcue's reputation, though as the letter ſo nearly concerns his perſonal hiſtory, I conceived myſelf obliged to inſert it.

(53) Columna Roſtrata, p. 172, 173.

continued

continued a priſoner to the end of the war, is what we cannot determine from any lights that we have been able to procure; but it is ſaid, that he afterwards returned to England, and ſpent the remainder of his days in peace (z). It is a thing greatly to be regretted, that ſo little care has been taken, to do juſtice to the memories of ſo many great men as have ſerved this nation, ſome at the expence of their lives, and others of their liberties. Their virtues ſurely deſerve a better reward, and it is to be hoped, that the pains we have taken in this collection, will render the doing juſtice to ſuch great and good men, ſo viſibly neceſſary, that ſucceeding generations will have no reaſon to make this complaint. It is with a view to this, that even where we cannot render our memoirs of ſuch illuſtrious perſons ſo compleat as we could wiſh, we labour with the utmoſt diligence to render them as perfect as we can, which obſervation will be ſufficient to excuſe us to our readers, for concluding this article ſomewhat abruptly, ſince it is done merely through want of materials, and not of inclination. C.

(z) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. ii. p. 446.

AYSSERIUS, or ASSERIUS (MENEVENSIS), by ſome called ASSER (a), by others ASKER (b), a learned Monk of St. Davids, concerning whom, though much has been ſaid, yet we find very little written with certainty, rather, as we apprehend, for want of conſidering the matter thoroughly, than from any want of materials, or from any real obſcurity in which his ſtory is involved. We ſhall therefore give as clear and diſtinct an account of him as may be, remove moſt of the difficulties which have been hitherto thought too obſcure in his hiſtory, and leave thoſe controverſial points to be diſcuſſed in the notes, which otherwiſe would ſerve only to puzzle and perplex the text. He was of Britiſh extraction (c), probably of that part of South Wales called Pembrokeſhire, and was bred up in the learning of thoſe times, in the monaſtery of St. Davids (d) (in Latin Menevia), whence he derived his ſurname of Menevenſis. There he is ſaid to have had for his tutor Johannes Patricius, one of the moſt celebrated ſcholars of his age (e). Here he had alſo the countenance of Nobis, or Novis, Archbiſhop of that ſee, who was his relation (f); but it does not appear, that he was either his Secretary or his Chancellor, as ſome writers would have us believe [A]. From St. Davids he was invited to the Court of Ælfred the Great, merely from the reputation of his learning. This ſeems to have been about the year 880, or ſomewhat earlier (g). Thoſe who had the charge of bringing him to Court, conducted him from St. Davids to the town of Dene (Dean) in Wiltſhire, where the King then was (h). He received him with great civility, and ſhewed him in a little time the ſtrongeſt marks of favour and affection, inſomuch that he condeſcended to perſuade him not to think any more of returning to St. Davids, but rather to continue with him as his Domeſtic Chaplain and aſſiſtant in his ſtudies. Aſſerius, however, modeſtly declined this propoſal, alledging, that it did not become him to deſert that holy place where he had been educated, and received the order of Prieſthood, for the ſake of any preferment that he could meet with elſewhere. King Ælfred then deſired, that he would divide his time between the Court and the Monaſtery, that is to ſay, that he would ſpend ſix months at Court, and ſix at St. Davids. Aſſerius would not lightly comply even with this requeſt, but deſired the King's leave to return to St. Davids, to aſk the advice of his brethren, which he

(a) Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Anglor. lib. ii. p. 44.

(b) Ingulph. Hiſt. edit. Oxon. 1684, p. 28.

(c) Leland, Comment. de Script. Vol. i. p. 155.

(d) Aſſer. Menev. Oxon. A.D. 1722, 8vo. p. 47.

(e) Baleus, edit. Wael, 1548, 4to. fol. 65.

(f) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(g) Ibid. p. 47.

(h) Id Ibid.

[A] *Some writers would have us believe.*] The firſt author who ſtarted this notion was Bale (1). He had read probably in our author's own work, that he was related to an Archbiſhop of St. Davids (2), and thence he took occaſion to make him his Chancellor: He does this very abruptly, inſerting his conjecture by way of parentheſis. However, he does not tell us what Biſhop: that was an error left for his tranſcriber Pits (3), who affirms, without heſitation, that he was Secretary, or Chancellor, to Aſſer the Elder, then Archbiſhop of St. Davids. Biſhop Godwin outſtrips both Bale and Pits, and makes Aſſer himſelf the author of this ſtory (4). The great Dr. Cave, following his predeceſſors, aſſerts, that Aſſerius, Biſhop of Sherburn, was a relation and Chancellor to Aſſerius Archbiſhop of St. Davids (5). The induſtrious Thomas Hearne tells us very magiſterially, that the Annals of Ælfred were not written by Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, but by his uncle Aſſer, Archbiſhop of St. Davids (6). In anſwer to all theſe numerous authorities, we ſhall only ſay, that Aſſer, whoever he was, became Archbiſhop of St. Davids, A.D. 909 (7), that is twenty-ſix years after the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, according to the computation of theſe authors, and about a year before the true time of his death (8); ſo that he was Secretary, or Chancellor, to this Archbiſhop ſome thirty or forty years before he became ſo, and this Aſſer is ridiculouſly ſtiled the Elder, though he was made an Archbiſhop thirty years after our Aſſerius became a Biſhop, and if he had been a different perſon, muſt have been conſequently much younger than he. All this long train of miſtakes grew out of the following eaſy paſſage of our author's own writing, viz. 'Sperabant enim, noſtri, minores tribulationes et injurias ex parte Hemeid Regis ſuſtinere, (qui ſæpe deprædabatur illud Monaſterium et parochiam Sancti Degui, aliquando expulſione illorum antiſtitum, qui in eo præeſſent, ſicut & Novis Archiepiſcopum propinquum meum & me expulit aliquando ſub ipſis) ſi ego ad notitiam & amicitiam illius Regis qualecunque pacto pervenirem.' That is, *Our Monks were in hopes that they ſhould ſuſtain fewer troubles and inſults from King* Hemeid *(who had often plundered that Monaſtery and the pariſh of* St. Degui, *ſometimes expelling thoſe who preſided in both places, as it happened to* my relation Archbiſhop Novis and myſelf), *in caſe by any ſuch agreement I came to be conſidered and gain the friendſhip of that Prince* (9). He means Ælfred the Great, for this paſſage contains the reaſons which induced the Monks of St. Davids to conſent that Aſſer ſhould comply with the King's requeſt, and live half the year at Court. From hence it appears, that the Archbiſhop to whom he was related was Novis, who, according to the ancient Annals of St. Davids, became Archbiſhop in 841, and died in 873 (10); and inſtead of being his Chancellor, it ſeems that Aſſerius was parſon of the pariſh of St. Degui or Dewi, as it was called in the Britiſh language, which is alſo aſſerted by ſome writers (11). This ſhews the great uſe of a Critical Dictionary, ſince here is an error detected, which has paſſed current from hand to hand for ſo long a tract of time, and has been tranſcribed without ſcruple by perſons well verſed in our ancient hiſtory.

(1) Script. Brit. Cent. ii. fol. 65.

(2) Annal. de Reb. geſt. Ælfred. p. 49.

(3) De illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 172.

(4) De Præſulib. Angl. P. i. p. 384.

(5) Hiſt. Litt. ad an. 890, edit. col. Allobrog. 1720, p. 476.

(6) In the notes on Spelman's Life of Ælfred, p. 136.

(7) Annal. Eccl. Menev. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. Vol. ii. p. 648.

(8) Chron. Sax. p. 102.

(9) Aſſer. Menev. p. 49.

(10) Ubi ſupra.

(11) W. Malmſb. de geſt. Pont. lib. ii. p. 247.

obtained,

obtained, but in his journey falling ill at Wincheſter of a fever, he lay there ſick twelve months and a week, till the King, wondering at his long ſtay, wrote him letters requiring his return to Court. But it ſeems he was too weak to ride, of which when King Ælfred was informed by his letter, he deſiſted from his requeſt (*i*). As ſoon as he recovered, Aſſerius made a journey to St. Davids, where, conſulting with his brethren on the King's propoſal, they unanimouſly agreed that he ſhould accept it, promiſing themſelves great advantages from his favour with the King, of which, at that time, it ſeems they had great need; one Hemeid, a petty Prince of South Wales, making them exceedingly uneaſy, and ſometimes compelling their Archbiſhop to quit the place of his reſidence. But, at the ſame time, they requeſted of Aſſerius, that he would prevail on the King, to allow him to reſide quarterly at Court and at St. Davids, rather than that he ſhould remain abſent ſix months at a time (*k*). When he came back he found the King at Leoneforde, who received him with great marks of diſtinction. He remained with him then eight months at once, reading and explaining to him whatever books were in his library, whereby he grew into ſo great credit with that generous Prince, that on Chriſtmas-eve following, he gave him the monaſteries of Amgreſbyri, and Banuwille, that is, Ambroſbury in Wiltſhire, and Banwell in Somerſetſhire, with a ſilk pall of great value, and as much incenſe as a ſtrong man could carry, ſending together with them this compliment, *That theſe were but ſmall things, and by way of earneſt of better which ſhould follow them* (*l*). And indeed, ſoon after, Aſſerius tells us, he had Exeter beſtowed upon him, and not long after that, the biſhoprick of Sherburn, which however he ſeems to have quitted in 883 (*m*) [*B*], though he always retained the title, as Wilfred Archbiſhop of York was conſtantly ſo ſtyled, though he accepted of another biſhoprick (*n*). Thenceforward he conſtantly attended the Court, in the manner before ſtipulated, and is named as a perſon, in whom he had particular confidence, by King Ælfred in his Teſtament, which muſt have been written ſome time before the year 885 (*o*); ſince mention is made therein of Eſna Biſhop of Hereford, who died that year. He is alſo mentioned by the King, in his prefatory Epiſtle placed before his tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral, addreſſed to Wulfſig Biſhop of London; and therein the King does not call him Biſhop of Sherburn, but my Biſhop, acknowledging the help received from him and others in that tranſlation (*p*). For as we learn, both from the King and from Aſſerius himſelf, the method uſed by that Prince in tranſlating was this: he had the ſenſe of his author given him by one or other of the many learned men he had about him, and then he digeſted it into an eaſy flowing ſtyle (in which he had a peculiar excellency) that men might thereby be invited to reading (*q*); for Ælfred did not tranſlate as an author to gain reputation, but as a Prince, to promote the public good; neither did he deſign that the books he publiſhed ſhould paſs for exact tranſlations, but for good and uſeful treatiſes, from which ſuch as underſtood none but their mother tongue, might reap profit and inſtruction. It ſeems to have been the near reſemblance, which the genius of Aſſerius bore to that of the King, which gained him ſo great a ſhare in his confidence; and very probably, it was on this account, that Aſſerius drew up thoſe Memoirs of the life of Ælfred which we ſtill have, and which he dedicated and preſented to the King in 893 (*r*). In which work we have a very remarkable account of the manner wherein that Prince and our author ſpent their time together. Aſſerius tells us, that having one day, being the feaſt of St. Martin, cited in converſation a paſſage of ſome famous author, the King was mightily pleaſed therewith, and would have him write it down in the margin of a book he carried in his breaſt; but Aſſerius finding no room to write any ſuch thing there, and yet being deſirous to gratify his maſter, he aſked King Ælfred, whether he ſhould not provide a few leaves, in which to ſet down ſuch remarkable things, as occurred either in reading or converſation: the King was extremely delighted with this hint, and directed

(*i*) *Id.* p. 47, & ſeq.

(*k*) *Id.* p. 49.

(*l*) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 50, 51.

(*m*) *Id* p. 51.

(*n*) See the articles of WILFRED, and ÆLFRED King of Northumberland.

(*o*) Aſſer. Meneν. p. 73.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 83, 99.

(*q*) Aſſer. Meneν. ubi ſupra. Spelman's Life of Alfred, by Hearne, p. 142.

(*r*) Aſſer Meneν. p. 58.

[*B*] *He ſeems to have quitted in* 883.] The reaſon why many writers (12) have placed the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn in this year, is their finding that he was ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick by Sighelmus, who was ſent by King Ælfred to carry his alms to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas in the Indies. William of Malmſbury (13) is ſometimes cited to prove the death of our author in the life-time at leaſt of King Ælfred; but whoever reads him will find that he ſays no ſuch thing: he ſays indeed, that Aſſerius and Sighelmus were both Biſhops of Sherburn in the reign of Ælfred (14), which is true; but the conjecture founded hereupon, that Aſſerius died before Sighelmus ſucceeded is falſe, as appears from what this author himſelf ſays immediately afterwards. For he tells us that this Biſhop Aſſer came from St. Dewi, and conſequently was the author of the Annals of Ælfred written in 893, preciſely ten years after Sighelmus ſucceeded him (15). Though this is ſufficient, yet I think it may not be amiſs to add another proof of this fact, that though Aſſerius lived long after the year 883, yet he was not actually in poſſeſſion of the biſhoprick of Sherburn. In the old hiſtory of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, publiſhed by the learned Wharton, there is an account, that in 905 Pope Formoſus did by his letters to King Edward the Elder, ſon and ſucceſſor to Ælfred the Great, and to Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, exhort them on account of the few Biſhops who were then living, to fill up the vacant Sees; whereupon the Archbiſhop conſecrated ſeven Prelates in one day at Canterbury, amongſt whom one was Biſhop of Sherburn (16). But the Saxon Annals plainly prove, that our Aſſer did not die till 910 (17), which is ſix years afterwards. His quitting this Biſhopric ſo ſoon, is perhaps the reaſon that he does not expreſsly mention its being beſtowed on him as he does his other preferments, but contents himſelf with an oblique account of it (18), and referring frequently to his church at Sherburn, as a place to which he had particular relation (19). This is one of the difficulties we promiſed to remove, and indeed it is one of the greateſt with which the ſtory of this Prelate is affected.

(12) Matth. Weſtmonaſt. A. D. 883. Flor. Wigorn. A. D. 883.

(13) Fr. Wiſe in Vit. Aſſer. Meneν. p. 23.

(14) De geſt. Pont. p. 247.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) Hiſt. de Epiſcop. Bathon. et Wellen. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. Vol. ii. p. 554.

(17) Page 102.

(18) Annal. p. 51.

(19) *Id. ib.* p. 14. 18, 19.

Aſſerius to put it immediately in execution, which he accordingly did. Purſuing this method conſtantly, their collection began to ſwell, till at length it became of the ſize of an ordinary *Pſalter*; and this was what the King called his *Hand-book* or *Manual*. Aſſerius, however, calls it Enchiridion (*s*). In all probability, Aſſerius continued at court during the whole reign of Ælfred, and, for ought we know, ſeveral years after: but where, or when he died, was matter of diſpute, though the Saxon Chronicle poſitively fixes it to the year 910, to which we think no juſt objection can be made (*t*). The reader will obſerve, that we take Aſſer the Monk, and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, for one and the ſame perſon, which ſome however have denied: yet we go farther ſtill, and aſſert him to have been alſo Archbiſhop of St. Davids, for all which, we hope the reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes [*C*]. We do indeed admit, that if there was ſuch a reader in the public ſchools at Oxford as Aſſer the Monk, he muſt have been ſome other perſon of the ſame name, and not our author: but we do not think this point ſo clearly made out, as to deſerve much diſpute about it, ſince it reſts almoſt wholly on the authority of Harpsfield (*u*); for though he cites the Annals of Wincheſter, yet we find no ſuch things in the Annals that we have, nor is the account conſiſtent with itſelf in ſeveral other reſpects, beſides this of Aſſer, as Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved [*D*]. There is no leſs controverſy about the works of Aſſerius, than about his preferments: for ſome alledge that he never wrote any thing but the Annals of King Ælfred: whereas, Pits gives us the titles of no leſs than five other books (*w*)

(*s*) *Id.* p. 57.

(*t*) Chron. Sax. p. 102.

(*u*) Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 161.

(*w*) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 172.

[*C*] *The reader will find ſufficient authority in the notes.*] It would take up too much time, and give the reader too much trouble, to mention all the miſtakes that have been made in relation to our author. It will be a much eaſier and ſhorter method to demonſtrate the truth of the facts above aſſerted, and ſpeak only as occaſion requires of what others have advanced. We will firſt prove, that Aſſer the Monk and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn was the ſame perſon, and this without relying upon authority at all; for if authority could abſolutely decide, we have that of Matthew of Weſtminſter (20) and Florence of Worceſter (21) on our ſide, which ought to be deciſive. But we will wave theſe, and take another method of proving the fact. If Aſſer Menevenſis and Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn were two perſons, then certainly the former treated the latter very ill; for when he is ſpeaking of the learned men the King had about him, he mentions John the Monk of St. Davids, Werfreth Biſhop of Worceſter, Plegmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ethelſtan and Werwalf the King's Chaplains, as perſons aſſiſting that Prince in his ſtudies (22), but he ſays not a word of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn; though he ſpeaks of the very work wherein that Biſhop aſſiſted the King, as the King himſelf tells us (23). This would be the higheſt injuſtice in the world, eſpecially conſidering he addreſſed his book to the King, and utterly inconſiſtent with his own character. But if himſelf was that Aſſer, then it is an inſtance only of his modeſty, and as ſuch is agreeable to the whole tenor of his writings. Yet in another place, he acknowledges the King made uſe of him for thoſe very purpoſes, for which the King himſelf ſays he made uſe of the Biſhop of Sherburn. That Aſſer was alſo Archbiſhop of St. Davids is no new opinion; for both Mr. Tyrrel and Mr. Wiſe have aſſerted it, though we differ in ſome reſpects from each of theſe authors. Mr. Tyrrel's notion was, that his being Archbiſhop of St. Davids, was a fiction of the Monks, in order to do honour to their brother Aſſer (24). Mr. Wiſe again believed he was Archbiſhop of St. Davids, and afterwards Biſhop of Sherburn (25); and in order to ſupport this, he alledges that there is an omiſſion in the Annals of St. Davids, of the year wherein he was made Archbiſhop; and that whereas he is ſaid to have become ſo in 909, the author ought to have placed his death there. But perhaps this is taking too great a liberty with MSS. That Aſſer was really Archbiſhop appears not only from the ancient Annals ſo often mentioned, and from another very ancient manuſcript in the Cotton Library (26), but alſo from the indubitable authority of Gerald Barry, commonly called Cambrenſis, one of his ſucceſſors, who, in his liſt of the Archbiſhops, ſets down Novis, Etwal, Aſſer (27). Our ſuppoſition therefore is, that he ſucceeded Etwal in 883, in which we contradict no manuſcript. As to what the Annals of St. Davids ſay, that he was made Archbiſhop in 909, we muſt ſet down the phraſes made uſe of by the author of thoſe Annals (28).

(20) Ad An. 883.

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) Aſſer. Menev. p. 46.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 85. 90.

(24) Hiſt of England, p. 13.

(25) In Vit. Aſſerii, p. 23.

(26) Claudius, B. vii.

(27) Iten. Cam. l. ii. c. 1.

(28) Vid. Whart. Angl. Sacr. Vol. ii. p. 648.

Anno 841, Novis eſt Epiſcopus Menevenſis.
Anno 873, Novis Epiſcopus moritur.
Anno 909, Aſſer Epiſcopus Britanniæ fit.

It ſhould ſeem therefore, that upon the new regulations made in the Church, mentioned in the former note, Aſſer had an additional juriſdiction given him; otherwiſe, why is he called Epiſcopus Britanniæ, Biſhop of Britain? whereas Novis, and all the other Biſhops, are ſtyled Biſhops of St. Davids. Aſſer therefore might become Biſhop of St. Davids, in 883, and now receive from King Edward the Primacy of Britain, or Wales, ſo far as he could beſtow it, which being a very remarkable fact, was taken notice of by the author of theſe Annals. To prove that Aſſer Archbiſhop of St. Davids, if he was a different perſon from Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, could not be author of the Annals of Ælfred, we need only take notice, that he never mentions his nameſake Aſſer of Sherburn, who aſſiſted that King in his literary labours, particularly in his tranſlation of *Gregory's Paſtoral*, of which mention is expreſsly made in thoſe Annals (29). Add to this, that the Saxon Chronicle, the hiſtory of Æthelward the Monk, and other ancient records of thoſe times, never mention two Aſſers, though they ſpeak copiouſly of one. On the whole therefore we think, that it is at leaſt extremely probable, that Aſſer the Monk of St. Davids became firſt Pariſh-Prieſt of St. Dewi, afterwards Abbot of Ambroſebury and Banwell, then Biſhop of Sherburn, and laſtly Archbiſhop of St. Davids by the favour of King Ælfred, and Primate of Britain through the kindneſs of Edward his ſon.

(29) Page 48.

[*D*] *As Sir John Spelman has juſtly obſerved.*] If Aſſer had really read at Oxford, it is not eaſy to gueſs why he never mentioned it. It is generally conceived that Grimbald went to Oxford in 886: at leaſt it is in that year Aſſerius places the great tumult that happened there on his account (30), which being ſo fair an opportunity, one would think the author could not have paſſed it by without mentioning his own employment, if he really had any in the ſame place. The truth ſeems to be, that whoever framed the ſtory of the Oxford profeſſors, took all the learned men, that are ſpoken of in the hiſtory of Ælfred's reign, and beſtowed them as the accounts he had met with of their works led him; one to Divinity, another to Grammar, which fell to Aſſer's ſhare, becauſe he had grammatically conſtrued Boëtius for the uſe of Ælfred, as William of Malmſbury tells us. Indeed if it were true, what ſome have ſuggeſted, that Aſſer was employed in bringing over St. Grimbald from France (31), then by placing the date a little higher, we might bring this ſtory to ſquare well enough with the chronology of Aſſer's hiſtory: but even then it would not agree with the matter of it; for if he read in the ſchools at Oxford, how could he divide his time between the court and his monaſtery? There is no compariſon between what Aſſer himſelf tells us, and what we have from an anonymous writer, of whom we have but a very indifferent account.

(30) Aſſer. Menev. p. 52.

(31) Leland, de Vita Grimbaldi Collectan. Vol. i. p. 18.

of his writing, and adds, that he wrote many more. The firſt of theſe is a *Commentary on Boëtius*, which is mentioned by Leland, on the authority of the Chronicle of St. Neot's (*x*): the truth is, he explained this author to King Ælfred when he made his Saxon tranſlation, whence the cenſure paſſed upon it, that though it was a work of great uſe in thoſe times, yet it was in a manner ridiculous in ours (*y*): the ſame thing might be ſaid of any literal verſion. The ſecond piece mentioned by Pits, is the Annals of Ælfred's life and reign. The third he ſtyles *Annales Britanniæ*, or the *Annals of Britain* in one book, mentioned alſo by Leland and Bale (*z*), and which hath been ſince publiſhed by the learned Dr. Gale (*a*), who inclined to think it genuine, which is certainly more than it deſerved, as will be ſhewn in a note [*E*]. The fourth piece, he calls *Aurearum Sententiarum Enchiridion, lib.* 1. id eſt, *An Enchiridion of Golden Sayings, in one Book*, which is without queſtion the *Manual* or *Common-Place-Book* made for King Ælfred, and reckoned among his works by this very Pits (*b*): It muſt be owned that Leland had alſo ſpoken of this Enchiridion, but more accurately, and in a manner becoming ſo great a writer; for he ſpeaks of it as an inſtance of the learning and diligence of Aſſer, which it certainly was: and though the collections he made concerning this author, are much better and larger than thoſe of Bale and Pits, yet he modeſtly, upon this ſubject, apologizes for ſpeaking ſo little and ſo obſcurely of ſo great a man (*c*). The next in Pits' catalogue, is a *Book* of *Homilies*, and the laſt, a *Book* of *Epiſtles:* he took it for granted, that Aſſer being a Biſhop, preached ſometimes, and that having ſo many friends, he muſt needs write letters, which is all the foundation that can be in nature for theſe two volumes, no ancient author ſaying a word of them. Of the like ſtamp is Biſhop Godwin's account, of his being buried in his cathedral church of Sherburn (*d*), which is mere gueſs-work, founded on his being Biſhop there; and with equal probability we might ſay, he was buried at St. Davids, though there is not any authority for either. Thus we conclude the article of this moſt excellent perſon, who was, without queſtion, one of the moſt pious, moſt learned, and withal one of the modeſteſt Prelates of the age in which he lived.

(*x*) Comment. de Script. p. 156.

(*y*) Malmſb. de Geſt. Pont. edit. Savil. p. 248.

(*z*) Leland, ubi ſupra. Bale, 65.

(*a*) Int. Script. ex Oxon. 1691. p. 141.

(*b*) De Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 170.

(*c*) Leland in Vit. Aſſer.

(*d*) De Præſul. lib. Angl. P. i. p. 385.

[*E*] *As will be ſhewn in a note.*] The firſt notice we had of theſe Annals was from Leland (32); for as to what Bromton ſays, concerning Aſſer's mentioning King Offa, it does not appear to relate of theſe Annals (33). As to the account given by Leland, it is certain that he ſpeaks very doubtfully, and in a long paſſage which he afterwards blotted out (34), and which is therefore omitted in the printed edition, he aſcribes this very book, commonly called the Chronicle of St. Neots, to a Domeſtic of King Ælfred's. Though in another place he ſays, this Domeſtic abridged the Annals of Aſſerius (35). Dr. Gale who publiſhed it, inclines to think it really the work of Aſſerius (36), and Biſhop Nicholſon concurs with him, becauſe, ſays he, his book inſiſts chiefly on the fortunes of King Ælfred (37). Yet never ſure was a greater injury done to any author, than is done to Aſſerius, by aſcribing to him a work altogether unworthy of him. The very beginning of the Chronicle is little better than nonſenſe, and as to what the author ſays of King Ælfred, he tranſcribes the genuine Annals of Aſſerius, interpolating however many fabulous ſtories, which, without doubt, were invented long after our author's deceaſe. It is true that he ſpeaks often in the perſon of Aſſer (38): but this is no proof of any thing, but the author's ignorance, ſince in the former part of his work he ſpeaks in the perſon of Beda (39), which is a plain proof, that the whole is a tranſcript from various authors, by one who had not judgment enough to leave out thoſe perſonal phraſes which diſturb and confound the work. As to what Leland hath written about this Chronicle, it is eaſily accounted for; he had many large and arduous works upon his hands, and therefore had not leiſure to read every manuſcript which came into his power. Peruſing a part of this manuſcript, and perceiving that the author called King Ælfred his Lord, his Patron, and him to whom he was many ways obliged, he took it for granted, that he muſt have lived in his time: whereas, if he had read the beginning of the book, he muſt, according to the ſame way of reaſoning, have ſuppoſed he lived two hundred years higher. Beſides, at the end of this Chronicle, and there appears no marks of any continuation, we have an account of the death of Aſſer Biſhop of Sherburn, which is placed in the year 909 (40). Hence forward therefore, it is to be hoped, this Chronicle will be cited in the ſame way good judges have always cited it, that is, by the name of Pſeudo-Aſſerius, or the pretended Aſſer (41), as its author is fitly ſtyled. If this ſhould be thought too hard a cenſure, we will offer a conjecture of another nature, which is at leaſt new, and not altogether improbable. This Chronicle of St. Neots was ſaid to be the work of Joannes Aſſerius, whence Pits, ſtupidly enough, calls our author by the ſame name (42), though it is certain, that ſirnames were not in uſe here, till after our acquaintance with the Normans. It is therefore not impoſſible, that this Chronicle might be tranſcribed by ſome perſon whoſe name was John Aſſer or Aſker, for that there has been ſuch a ſirname, is evident from the author cited in the margin (43). In proceſs of time, the likeneſs of the name, and the likeneſs of the matter, might well enough occaſion ſuch a miſtake; but it is now certainly high time to correct it.

C.

(32) Comment. de Script. p. 152. Collectan. Vol. i. p. 210.

(33) Chron. ap. X Script. col. 753.

(34) MS. Vol. iv. p. 115.

(35) Comment. de Script. p. 152.

(36) Præf. ad XV Script.

(37) Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736. p. 48.

(38) Aſſer. Menev. p. 10. Pſeudo. Aſſer. p. 157.

(39) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 145. Bed. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 19.

(40) Pſeudo-Aſſer. p. 174.

(41) F. Wiſe, in Vit. Aſſer.

(42) De illuſtr. Script. p. 172.

(43) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 803, 804.

BABINGTON

B.

BABINGTON (GERVASE), a learned Biſhop in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born in Nottinghamſhire [*A*], being deſcended from the ancient family of the Babingtons in that county (*a*). After having received there the firſt rudiments of learning, he was ſent to Trinity-College in Cambridge (*b*), of which he became Fellow (*c*). On the 15th of July 1578, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood in his own univerſity (*d*). Having laid a good foundation in other parts of learning, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, and became a famous Preacher in Cambridge, the place of his reſidence. When he was Doctor in Divinity, he was made domeſtic Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, Preſident of the Council in the marches of Wales [*B*], by whoſe intereſt he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the church of Landaff (*e*). In 1588, he was inſtalled into the Prebend of Wellington in the cathedral of Hereford (*f*). And, through his Patron's further intereſt, was advanced to the biſhoprick of Landaff [*C*], vacant by the death of William Blethin: he was conſecrated the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, 1591 (*g*). In February 1594, he was tranſlated to the See of Exeter (*h*), and confirmed the ninth of March (*i*) [*D*]. From whence, in 1597, he was tranſlated again to Worceſter (*k*), to which he was nominated Auguſt 30, elected September 15, and confirmed October 4, following (*l*). He was likewiſe made one of the Queen's Counſel for the marches of Wales (*m*). To the library of his cathedral at Worceſter he was a very great benefactor; for he not only fitted and repaired the edifice, but alſo bequeathed thereto all his books, which was a gift of good value (*n*). After having continued Biſhop of Worceſter near thirteen years (*o*), he died of the jaundice (*p*), May 17, 1610, and was buried in his cathedral of Worceſter, without any monument (*q*). As to his character; he was, in the midſt of all his preferments, neither tainted with idleneſs, pride, or covetouſneſs: not only diligent in preaching, but in writing books, for the underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures. So that he was a true pattern of piety to the people, of learning (*r*) to the miniſtry, and of wiſdom to all governors (*s*). He was an excellent Preacher, and happy in raiſing the affections and attention of his audience, which he would keep up till the end of his ſermon (*t*). We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note [*E*]. He

(*a*) *Abel Redivivus*, by T. Fuller, Lond 1651. 4*to* p. 455. and his Church Hiſt. of Britain, edit. 1655. fol. B. x. p. 56.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Babington's Works, edit. 1637. fol. in Preface to his *Queſtions and Anſwers on the X Commandments.*

(*d*) Wood, Faſti edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 118.

(*e*) *Abel Redivivus*, ubi ſupra. The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701. fol. p. 87, 88.

(*f*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Hereford, *&c.* by Br. Willis, Eſq; edit. 1727, 4*to*. p. 604.

(*g*) Godwin, de Præſulib. *&c.* edit 1616. 4*to*. p 641.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 478. Izack ſays it was in 1593. *ubi ſupra*, and Hooker, in his Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, that it was in May 1595.

(*i*) Life and Acts of Archbiſhop Whitgif, by J. Strype, M. A. edit. 1718. fol. p. 430. Mr. Strype is miſtaken there, in ſaying that it was in the See of Landaff our Biſhop was then confirmed.

(*k*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

(*l*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 649. and Strype, as above, p. 518.

(*m*) *Abel Redivivus*, ut ſupra, p. 456.

(*n*) Prince, and Willis, ubi ſupra. See alſo Miles Smith's Preface to the Reader, at the beginning of Biſhop Babington's Works, near the end.

(*o*) Prince, by miſtake, ſays but Three, *ut ſupra*, p. 88. (*p*) *Idem*, Godwin, p. 524. Fuller ſays, he died of an Hectick fever. *Abel Redivivus*, p. 456. (*q*) Fuller, *ibid.* and Willis, as above, p. 649. (*r*) Sir John Harrington ſays, that he was 'for learning inferior to few of his rank.' Brief View, *&c.* p. 128. (*s*) Fuller, Abel, *&c.* p. 456. (*t*) *Idem.* Church Hiſtory, as above. He preached Archbiſhop Whitgift's Funeral Sermon. Strype's Life of that Archbiſhop, fol. 1718, p. 579.

[*A*] *Was born in Nottinghamſhire.*] In his effigies, prefixed to his works, he is ſaid to have been 59 years of age (undoubtedly at the time of his death). If ſo, he muſt have been born in the year 1551. In ſaying that he was born in Nottinghamſhire, I follow Mr. Fuller, afterwards D. D. (1) But Mr. Izacke (2), and after him Mr. Prince (3), affirm, that he was a native of Devonſhire. The latter, particularly, informs us, that a family of that name long flouriſhed in and about Ottery St. Mary in that county; which he ſuppoſes to have been a younger branch of that of Nottinghamſhire. But, after giving the pedigree of that family, he owns, That he did not find, which of the gentlemen (there mentioned) Biſhop Babington challenged as his father: though probably one of them might be ſo.

(1) Ubi ſupra.

(2) Catal. of the Biſhops of Exeter, in his Antiquities of the City of Exeter.

(3) *Danmonii Orientales illuſtres: or*, The Worthies of Devon, as above, p. 87.

[*B*] *He was made domeſtick Chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, &c.*] Whilſt he was in that ſtation, he is ſuppoſed to have aſſiſted his miſtreſs, the Lady Mary Sidney, Counteſs of Pembroke, in her exact verſion of the Pſalms of David into Engliſh metre. For it was more than a woman's ſkill, to expreſs the ſenſe ſo rightly, as ſhe hath done in her verſe; and more than ſhe could learn from the Engliſh and Latin tranſlations (4).

(4) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, *&c.* by Sir John Harrington, Lond. 12*mo*. 1653. p. 128, 129, And Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. i. col. 704.

[*C*] *Was advanced to the Biſhopric of Landaff.*] Which in merriment he uſed to call *Affe*; the *Land* thereof having been long before alienated by his predeceſſor Kitchin, in the days of King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth (5).

(5) Fuller, in Church Hiſtory; and Prince, as above. See alſo Harrington, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He was tranſlated to the See of Exeter, &c.*] To which biſhopric he did an irreparable injury, by alienating from it the rich and noble manor of Crediton, in the county of Devon, reputed worth a thouſand merks *per ann.* rent of aſſize (6).

(6) Prince, as above, p. 88.

[*E*] *We ſhall give the reſt of his character in the note.*] It is comprized in the following verſes, ſet under his picture at the beginning of his works.

Non melior, non integrior, non cultior alter,
Vir, Præſul, Præco, more, fide, arte fuit:
Oſque probum, vultuſque gravis, pectuſq; ſerenum;
Alme Deus, tales præfice ubique gregi. M.S. (7).

(7) The Letters M. S. denote Miles Smith, mentioned already.

The ſubſtance of which is, that there never was a better man, a Biſhop of more integrity, nor a more polite Preacher, *&c.*

publiſhed

publiſhed ſeveral things [*F*]. One particular relating to him is obſervable; namely, that his paternal coat of arms was exactly the ſame as that of his Biſhopric of Worceſter; *viz.* Argent, ten Tourteaux, four, three, two, and one, Gules (*u*). M. (*u*) *Ibid.*

[*F*] *He publiſhed ſeveral things.*] They were printed at firſt in *4to*, then, with additions, in folio in 1615, and again in 1637, under this title, 'The 'works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gervaſe Babington, late Biſhop of Worceſter. Containing comfortable notes upon the five books of 'Moſes, viz. Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, 'Deuteronomie. As alſo an Expoſition upon the 'Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer. 'With a conference betwixt man's Frailtie and 'Faith. And three Sermons. With alphabeticall 'tables of the principall matters of each ſeverall 'Worke.' The *Expoſition of the Lord's Prayer* is dedicated, by the author, to his very ſingular good Lord Henry Earl of Pembroke, *&c.* which dedication is dated from Wilton, the 11th of May 1588. Of the three ſermons; one was preached at Paul's Croſs, the ſecond Sunday in Michaelmas Term 1590, being upon Election; the ſecond was preached at the Court at Greenwich, the 24th day of May, 1590; and the third, is a funeral ſermon upon T. L. Eſq; preached by the author, whilſt he was Biſhop of Landaff. His ſtyle is good, conſidering the time he lived in; though it is too full of quibbles, of jingles, and quaint expreſſions. But ſuch was the falſe taſte, which then almoſt univerſally prevailed.

[That Biſhop Babington was born in Nottinghamſhire, of a conſiderable family in that county, and not in Devonſhire, is farther confirmed by the Hiſtory of Europe, Vol. i. p. 132 (8). Dr. Berkenhout hath juſtly obſerved, that the argument in the note [*A*], for determining our Prelate's birth to the year 1551, which is drawn from the date under the Effigies of him, prefixed to his Works, is far from being concluſive; becauſe the age in a print generally means the age of the perſon repreſented, at the time when he ſat for the picture, and not at the time of his death (9). Mr. Ballard controverts the aſſertion of Sir John Harrington, with regard to the aſſiſtance given by Dr. Babington to the Counteſs of Pembroke, in her tranſlation of the Pſalms, and produces ſeveral inſtances of ladies who have been ſkilled in the Hebrew language. He thinks too, that, as the picture of the Counteſs repreſents her with the book of Pſalms in her hand, it would have been inconſiſtent with her modeſty, if the performance had not been her own, to have been drawn in that manner (10). But, ſurely, it is no impeachment of her title to the work, which was a poetical one, to ſuppoſe that Biſhop Babington, from his ſuperior knowledge of the original, might enable her to give a more exact verſion of ſome particular paſſages.

The Miles Smith, who wrote the Preface to Babington's Works, and the verſes for his picture, inſerted in the note [*E*], was Biſhop of Glouceſter, and a very learned Prelate. He was born in the city of Hereford, and became, about the year 1568, a ſtudent in Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford; from which college he transferred himſelf to *Brazen-Noſe*, and took the degrees in Arts, as a member of that houſe. He was afterwards made one of the Chaplains, or petty Canons of Chriſt-church, and was admitted to the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, whilſt he belonged to that royal foundation. In proceſs of time, he was raiſed to the dignity of Canon reſidentiary of the cathedral church of Hereford: he was created Doctor of Divinity, in 1594; and, at length, in 1612, advanced to the See of Glouceſter, and conſecrated on the 20th of September in that year. His knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Oriental languages was ſo extraordinary, that, upon this account, he was deſcribed, by a learned Biſhop of the kingdom, as a *very walking Library*. It was particularly for his exact and eminent ſkill in the Eaſtern tongues, that he was thought worthy, by King James the Firſt, to be called to that great work, the laſt tranſlation by authority of our Engliſh Bible. In this undertaking he was eſteemed one of the principal perſons. He began with the firſt, and was the laſt man in the tranſlation of the work: for after the taſk was finiſhed by the whole number appointed to the buſineſs, who were ſomewhat above forty, the verſion was reviſed and improved by a dozen ſelected from them; and, at length, was referred to the final examination of Bilſon Biſhop of Wincheſter, and our Dr. Smith. When all was ended, he was commanded to write a Preface, which being performed by him, it was made public, and is the ſame that is now extant in our Church Bible. It was for his good ſervices in this tranſlation, that Dr. Smith was appointed Biſhop of Glouceſter. He died in the beginning of November 1624, and was buried in his own cathedral. He was a ſtrict Calviniſt, and hated the proceedings of Dr. Laud. In 1632, a volume of Sermons, tranſcribed from his original manuſcripts, being fifteen in number, was publiſhed at London, in folio (11).] K.

(8) Sir William Muſgrave's MS. Memoranda.

(9) Biographia Literaria, Vol. i. p. 244, 245.

(10) Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, 2d edition, 8vo. p. 184—186.

(11) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. i. Col. 490. Faſti, *ibid.* p. 148.

BACON (ROBERT), an eminent Divine in the XIIIth century. The place, or time of his birth, cannot be certainly known; but from various circumſtances hereafter mentioned, it ſeems probable that it was about the year 1168 (*a*). Pits indeed informs us, that he was brother to the famous Roger Bacon, for which he produces no authority, and indeed the fact itſelf is highly improbable, if not impoſſible [*A*]. This Robert Bacon ſtudied in his youth at Oxford, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the quickneſs of his

(*a*) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

[*A*] *Highly improbable if not impoſſible.*] This circumſtance is, in the General Dictionary, tranſcribed without ſcruple in the life of (1) Roger Bacon, for as to Robert, they are ſilent. Pits indeed relates it twice, affirming in both places, that Roger, as well as Robert Bacon, preached againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter at Oxford (2). In a ſubſequent note, we ſhall deſtroy the credit of this text: at preſent our buſineſs ſhall be to ſhew, that it is very unlikely they were brothers. Firſt, then, the ſilence of Roger Bacon on this head, ſeems to be a good argument againſt the truth of it. He often mentions in his writings the learned men of his own time, ſpeaks frequently of his patrons and benefactors, and not ſeldom of his diſciples, but not once of his brother (3). Can we therefore believe, that he had one, eſpecially ſo learned and ſo conſiderable a man? Secondly, Leland knew nothing of this relation, who wrote expreſsly of Roger Bacon, and mentions Robert occaſionally more than once (4). In like manner, Bale, who wrote the lives of both the Bacons over and over, was either ignorant of their being brothers, or had a mind we ſhould continue ſo; for he ſays nothing of him in any of his editions (5). It is true, theſe are but negative arguments, and yet, whoever conſiders the diſpoſition of Roger Bacon, the integrity of Leland, and the induſtry of Bale, will ſcarcely imagine that ſo ſingular a thing as this could eſcape them. Thirdly, the ages of theſe celebrated men will by no means allow it. Pits himſelf tells us, that Robert Bacon died in 1248, and that he was *ſenex et plenus dierum*, old and full of days, which muſt imply fourſcore or thereabouts (6); and indeed this agrees very well with all the circumſtances of his life, for Bale tells us, he was very old, when he became a Frier, which was in 1240 (7), when, according to this computation, he muſt have been ſeventy-two; whereas Roger Bacon was born in 1214 (8), ſo that there muſt have been forty-ſix years between them, which is hardly credible there could have been, if they were brethren. We might add to this, the weakneſs, credulity, and haſtineſs of Pits, who concludes frequently from the ſlighteſt appearances, and made no difficulty of giving his readers his own conjectures for true hiſtory. But there is no need of inſiſting longer upon this, our former arguments being ſufficiently concluſive.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 539, in the text.

(2) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318. 306.

(3) Opus majus.

(4) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257. 259. 275.

(5) Edit. 1548, 4to. folio 104. 114. Edit Baſil. 1559. fol. p. 294. 342.

(6) De illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(7) De Script. edit. 1548, 4to. folio 104.

(8) Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 285.

parts, and his aſſiduous application to his ſtudies. Thence, according to the cuſtom of that age, he removed to Paris, where he perfected himſelf in all the branches of learning, which were in repute in thoſe times (*b*). We are not told at what time he returned into England, but it appears clearly, that, after his return, he ſettled at Oxford, and read Divinity lectures there (*c*). His colleague in this office was Dr. Edmund Rich, in our hiſtories commonly ſtyled Edmund Abingdon, a man famous for literature, and yet in the opinion of Leland inferior to our Bacon (*d*). This Dr. Rich had been choſen by the Canons of Saliſbury, Treaſurer of their church, and in 1233, becoming Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his friend Robert Bacon ſucceeded him as Treaſurer of the cathedral church of Saliſbury (*e*). The ſame year he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſermon before his royal maſter King Henry III., at Oxford, whither his Majeſty came, in order to have held a great council of his Lords. In this diſcourſe, Bacon plainly told the King, the miſchiefs to which himſelf and his ſubjects were expoſed, by his repoſing too great a confidence in Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other foreigners, which honeſt ſermon had a great effect on the mind of his maſter, and inclined him to give ſatisfaction to his nobility, who were then, generally ſpeaking, diſaffected (*f*). This ſeaſonable ſervice rendered to the nation, did more to ſecure his memory from oblivion, than his many years laborious reading, or even his learned writings. Yet, by a ſtrange proneneſs to attribute all great things to his nameſake Roger Bacon, a ſtory has been framed of his preaching at the ſame time, and on the ſame occaſion, which doubtleſs was the occaſion that Pits ſuppoſed them to be brothers, though in truth there is no good ground to believe, that Roger Bacon preached at all at that time, or on that ſubject [*B*]. The learned Dr. Cave thought otherwiſe (*g*); but even the authority of ſo great a man ought not to eſtabliſh as a truth, a fact altogether abſurd, as in the notes we have ſhewn it to be, though with all due reſpect to that great man's memory [*C*]. After the pro-

(*b*) Bale de Script. edit. Baſil. 1559. fol. p. 294.

(*c*) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. fol. Vol. i. p. 747. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 193.

(*d*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(*e*) *Idem, ibid.*

(*f*) Matth. Paris, p. 386.

(*g*) Hiſt. Lit. p. 646.

[*B*] *At that time, or on that ſubject.*] All that we know of this matter, is from Matth. Paris, who was contemporary with Robert, and with Roger Bacon. He gives us a large account of King Henry's coming to Oxford in 1233, the occaſion of it, and what fell out there. Peter de Rupibus, Biſhop of Wincheſter, at that time governed the King and kingdom, drawing over ſuch numbers of his countrymen, the Poictovins, that the King was ſurrounded, and the nation ſwarmed with them. The King, ſenſible of the diſaffection of his ſubjects, called a great council of the Lords, to meet at Oxford, on the feaſt of St. John: but when he came thither, he found his ſummons ſlighted by the Barons. On this he, in great wrath, iſſued a ſecond and a third ſummons, reſolving to proceed againſt ſuch of the Lords as did not then attend, as traitors. At this time it was, that Friar Robert Bacon, preaching before the King and ſome Biſhops, told him plainly, that peace was not to be hoped for, till Peter, Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Peter de Rivallis, his ſon, were removed from his councils. Others alſo about the King affirmed the ſame thing. We read farther in this author, that the King hereupon recollecting himſelf, began to incline his heart unto reaſon, which being perceived, a certain court Chaplain, one Roger Bacon, of a facetious diſpoſition, pleaſantly, and yet cynically, reprehended him on this head. My Lord the King, ſaid he, what is it that moſt hurts, and moſt terrifies ſuch as croſs the ſeas? The King anſwered, they know beſt, who do their buſineſs in great waters. But, replied the Chaplain, my Lord, I will tell you, ſhelves and rocks (Petræ et Rupes), and it is ſaid, Peter de Rupibus. It is however neceſſary to give the author's own words. 'In hoc autem colloquio frater quidam Robertus 'Bacum, de Ordine Prædicatorum, qui coram Rege 'et quibuſdam Epiſcopis præſentibus Verbum Dei 'prædicaret; libera voce Regi patentur dixit: quod 'nunquam diuturna pace frueretur, niſi Petrum Win-'tonienſem Epiſcopum, et Petrum de Rivallis filium 'ejus (aut conſanguineum) à conſiliis ſuis amoveret. 'Cúmque alii, qui aderant, idipſum proteſtarentur: 'Rex aliquantulùm in ſeipſo ſe recolligens, cor ſuum 'nationi inclinavit: et cum ſic videret cum mitiga-'tum, quidam clericus de curia, ſcilicet Rogerus 'Bacum, jocundus in ſermone, jocundè ac lepidè, cy-'nicè tamen reprehendens, ait: Domine, mi Rex, 'quid plùs nocet trans fretum navigantibus, aut quid 'plus terret? At Rex: Noverunt facientes operatio-'nes in aquis multis. At clericus: Domine, dicam: 'Petræ et Rupes. Ac diceretur: Petrus de Rupibus. 'Hoc enim erat nomen Epiſcopi Wintonienſis cum 'tali cognomento (9).' It is evident enough that the Robert and Roger, mentioned here, induced Pits to make the celebrated Roger Bacon, the Franciſcan brother to our Robert Bacon, and to aſſert, that they both preached upon this occaſion, which, if there were no objection to the latter part of this paſſage, could not poſſibly be true; ſince at that time Roger Bacon was not above twenty years of age, and conſequently could never anſwer the character of the Roger Bacon, mentioned in the text. Beſides, whoever reads this paſſage carefully, cannot but obſerve that the latter part comes in very abruptly, and looks like a vulgar ſtory, built upon the paſſage before related, which is ſerious, ſolid, and has a ſtrong air of truth. This ſeems indeed to be the bottom of the buſineſs; for in the beſt MS. (10) of Matth. Paris, the ſentence ends with the word, *proteſtarentur*, and all the reſt ſeems to be added by ſome later writers from common fame.

(9) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 386.

(10) Vid. var. Lection. in edit. Watſ. ad p. 386.

[*C*] *To that great man's memory.*] Dr. Cave ſaw plainly the abſurdity of this ſtory, as the date ſtood, and therefore in his life of Roger Bacon, he has altered it, but without any authority. Roger Bacon, ſays he, flouriſhed chiefly about the year 1278, but he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf many years before, for in 1259, he preached before Henry III., at Oxford, at which time he freely reproved him on account of the Poictovins and other ſtrangers, whoſe councils he in a manner wholly followed, admitting them not only to his court, but advancing them likewiſe to the principal offices of State. *Claruit præcipuè circa annum* 1278, *quin et jam ante plus annos inclareſcere cœperat, etiam anno* 1259, *coram Henrico III., Oxonii tunc agente, concionem habuit, quâ regem ob Pictavienſes, alioſque exteros, quorum conſiliis penè unicè agebatur, non modo in aulam admiſſos, ſed et ſummis reipublicæ muneribus adhibitos, liberè coarguebat* (11). If this date could be ſupported, it would ſuit the ſtory of Roger Bacon very well, becauſe at that time he would have been forty-ſix years old; but the miſchief of it is, that it is in the very teeth of truth, as well as againſt all authority: for firſt, Robert Bacon, whoſe ſermon is ſaid to have given occaſion to Roger's, had been then eleven years in his grave, and what is ſtill worſe, Peter de Rupibus, againſt whom the ſermon is ſuppoſed to be preached, had been dead and buried one and twenty years (12). The only circumſtance founded in fact is this, that King Henry was that year at Oxford, where was held that called the *mad Parliament*, of which though we have a long account in Matth. Paris, yet is there nothing ſaid of this preaching, ſo that this emendation of Dr. Cave's cannot poſſibly be admitted. For if you take away the punning invective againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter, there is no colour of authority for the ſtory, and if that remains, the date cannot be altered.

(11) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. i. p. 646.

(12) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. p. 274.

motion

motion of Dr. Rich to the See of Canterbury, the famous Richard Fiſhakel, whom Leland calls Fizacrius, read, in conjunction with our Bacon, in St. Edward's ſchools, for many years together, to their own great honour, and to the benefit of all their hearers; nor were they leſs aſſiduous in preaching, ſo that their labours were equally divided between the learned and the vulgar (*b*). In 1240, Bacon loſt his great patron and intimate friend, Edmund Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and very poſſibly this accident, joined to his fervent piety, and great love to a retired life, might induce Bacon, though he was very old, to enter into the order of Friars Preachers (*i*), of which order alſo was his aſſociate Fiſhakel (*k*). In gratitude to the memory of the Archbiſhop, Bacon wrote his Life, notwithſtanding that Prelate had for ſome years lived, and was even ſo unfortunate as to die under the King's diſpleaſure, which work of his was highly (*l*) eſteemed [*D*]. He wrote alſo many other learned pieces, ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed his reputation, and of which we have nothing now excepting their titles (*m*) [*E*]. At length, worn out with ſo long a courſe of ſtudious application, he yielded to fate in the year 1248, and was interred at Oxford (*n*). His faithful friend Richard Fiſhakel, ſurvived him but a very ſhort time, his affection for him being ſo great, that he wanted a reliſh for life, when Bacon was no longer among the living (*o*). Leland has written very copiouſly upon this extraordinary event (*p*) [*F*]. It is ſcarcely to be conceived, how many miſtakes, both ancient and modern writers have committed in relation to this man. The editor of Leland's Commentaries has in many places corrupted his author, and inſtead of Robert has Roger Bacon, probably becauſe in the MS. he found it contracted. However it be, certain it is, that theſe miſtakes of his have brought great errors into Leland's book, as in the notes will be fully demonſtrated [*G*]. The famous Dr. Fuller hath,

(*b*) Mat. Paris, Vol. i. p. 747. Trivet. Annal. Vol. i. p. 193.

(*i*) Leland, Comment. de Script. p. 275.

(*i*) Bale, de Script. edit. 1548. 4*to.* folio 104.

(*l*) Mat. Paris, Vol. i. p. 864.

(*m*) Bale, de Script. p. 294, 295. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(*n*) Mat. Paris, Vol. i. p. 747.

(*o*) Bale, de Script. p. 295.

(*p*) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

[*D*] *Which work of his was highly eſteemed.*] The long and intimate acquaintance which had ſubſiſted between theſe two great men, St. Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and our Bacon, excellently qualified the latter for writing the life of the former, which though it was a taſk that could not but expoſe him to the ill-will of a court, yet he performed it ſo well, that when Matth. Paris afterwards wrote more largely upon the ſame ſubject, he tells us expreſsly, that he had recourſe to the writings of Richard de Witz, Biſhop of Chicheſter, who had been Chaplain to the Archbiſhop, and to this work of Robert Bacon's (13), as to the moſt authentic memoirs of that Prelate (14). Leland and many others have attributed this life to Roger Bacon, who did indeed receive ſome favours from the Archbiſhop while at Oxford, but as we have ſeen from unqueſtionable authority, could have no ſort of title to this work.

(13) Hiſt. Angl. p. 864.

(14) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

[*E*] *And of which we have nothing now, excepting their titles.*] Bale and Pits (15) agree exactly in the account they give us of the books written by our author, which were the four following, *viz.* Gloſſarum in ſacras Scripturas, Lib. i.; i. e. *Of Gloſſes on the Holy Scriptures, one Book.* Super Pſalterium, Lib. i.; i. e. *On the Pſalter, one Book.* Sermonum Variorum, Liber unus; i. e. *Of Various Diſcourſes, one Book.* Lection. Ordin. Liber unus; i. e. *One Book of Lectures.* Theſe, with the *Life of St. Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, mentioned in the text, and in the preceding note, are all his works, ſo far as we have any account of them, and only two of theſe were known to Bale, when he publiſhed the firſt edition of his book (16).

(15) Bale, & Script. Brit. p. 294, 295. edit. 1559. Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 318.

(16) Bale, de Script. fol. 104. edit. 1548. 4*to.*

[*F*] *Upon this extraordinary event.*] It is in the life of Richard Fiſhakel, that this occurs. He tells us, that he was a moſt excellent Philoſopher and Divine, and on that account ſo dear to Robert Bacon, a man exquiſite in all the branches of literature, that he became his inſeparable companion. He afterwards adds, neither ought we to conceal what our writers of thoſe times mention, that Fizacrius and Bacon were as cloſely united as Bithus and Bacchius, a noble Engliſh pair, whether we conſider their friendſhip, or their learning. As living they were the deareſt companions, ſo in death they were not divided; for as the turtle, when it has loſt its mate, pines itſelf to death; ſo Bacon being dead, Fizacrius neither could nor would ſurvive. O ſingular amity, and worthy of perpetual remembrance! In our printed copy of Leland, the ſentence firſt cited, runs thus. 'Nam et inſignis Philoſophus et 'Theologus fuit, quibus nominibus tam charus erat 'Rogero Bacono, viro undecunque doctiſſimo, ut co-'mes illi individuus adhæreret (17).' This determines all the ſubſequent paſſages to Roger Bacon, than which there could not be a more monſtrous abſurdity, ſince Roger Bacon outlived Fiſhakel forty-four years, the latter dying in 1248, and the former ſurviving to 1292. Now that this is no miſtake in Leland, appears from what Bale has written of the ſaid Fiſhakel. 'He was, *ſays he*, the conſtant com-'panion of Robert Bacon, with whom he ſtudied 'at Paris. Leland tells us of them, that they were 'as ſtrictly united as Bithus and Bacchius, whom 'death itſelf could not divide, for Bacon being 'dead, Fiſhakel could not ſurvive him (18).' The MS. Bale uſed therefore was right, or at leaſt it muſt have been R. Baconus, which he had ſkill enough to read Robert, as it ought to be, and not Roger. To put the matter out of diſpute, Matth. Paris, under the year 1248, gives us this account of their deaths. 'This year, ſays he, died Walter 'Mauclerc, Biſhop of Carliſle, of the order of 'Friars Preachers; as alſo two other Friars of the 'ſame order, who left not greater men, perhaps not 'their equals in Divinity, and other ſciences, among 'the living. Theſe were Friar Robert Bacon, and 'Friar Richard Fiſhaker (or de Fiſhakele) who for 'many years had read excellently in the ſame facul-'ty, and had glorioufly preached the word of God 'to the people (19).'

(17) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 275.

(18) Script. Britan. p. 295.

(19) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 747.

[*G*] *In the notes will be fully demonſtrated.*] Not to tire the reader with a multitude of dry citations, we ſhall here mention but two inſtances of that careleſſneſs, which is complained of in the text. In the life of Matth. Paris, Leland is made to ſay, that this author compoſed the Life of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the Memoirs of Ricardus Vicanius, and Roger Bacon. *Scripſit etiam Vitam* Eadmundi Richii, *Cantiorum Archiepiſcopi, omnia tamen à Ricardo Vicanio, et* Rogeri Bacone, *prius edoctus* (20). This miſtake Leland himſelf could never have made, for he had this out of Matth. Paris's hiſtory, wherein it is ſaid, *Hujus igitur aſſertionibus, necnon et Fratris Magiſtri* Roberti Bacun, *de Ordine Prædicatorum, certificatus Dominus* Mattheus Pariſienſis, *Monachus Eccleſiæ ſancti* Albani, *Vitam memorati ſancti* Edmundi *ſcripſit, et quæ indubitanter didicit à fide dignis, diligenter digeſcit. Quam qui videre deſiderat, in Eccleſia ſancti* Albani *ipſam poterit reperire* (21). The other paſſage is ſtill more flagrant: it is in the article of Edmund Rich, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, where Leland is made to ſay, There was in his time one Roger Bacon at Oxford, a man diſtinguiſhed among the lovers of learning, with whom Edmund was very familiar, and often made uſe of his aſſiſtance; for though in many things he was much ſuperior to Bacon, yet was he inferior to him in learning, or I am much miſtaken. Afterwards he tells us, that this Bacon ſucceeded

(20) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 277.

(21) Hiſt. Angl. Vol. i. p. 864.

hath, with his uſual good humour, taken notice of the common cuſtom of confounding ſeveral learned men of the name of Bacon with each other (*q*): the paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read [*H*]. But what ſeems moſt extraordinary is this, that the induſtrious Thomas Hearne was ſo little acquainted with our author, that he was for ſubſtituting the name of Roger inſtead of Robert, in a MS. he publiſhed out of pure regard to the reputation of the former (*r*), which is however too juſt, and too extenſive, to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps [*I*].

(*q*) Church Hiſt. of Britain, Cent. XIV. p. 96.

(*r*) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 520. See alſo the word BACON in the Index.

ceeded Rich in his office of Treaſurer to the church of Saliſbury (22). But how could any part of this be true of Roger Bacon? How could Dr. Rich uſe the aſſiſtance of a child, or how could Leland prefer the learning of Bacon, who was not twenty years old, when Rich was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury? Is it poſſible, that at thoſe years he could ſucceed in the treaſurerſhip of Saliſbury? Leland's own account of Roger Bacon contradicts it. But if inſtead of Roger, we read Robert Bacon, then all is clear and plain, for he was at that time ſixty-five years of age. But if authority be deſired to ſupport this, even that may be had, in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs terms, for Nicholas Trivet, ſpeaking of Dr. Edmund Rich, and his reading at Oxford, ſays, that he had for his colleague, as reader in Divinity, Maſter Robert Bacon of the order of Friars Preachers, who alſo read with Richard Fiſhakel (23). Thus we ſee what confuſion may be introduced by the miſtake of a ſingle letter, and how neceſſary it is to tranſcribe and print ancient authors, *literatim*, ſince, if inſtead of Roger, it had ſtood in the printed copy R. Bacon, every reader muſt have judged for himſelf, and the editor had eſcaped all blame.

(22) Comment. de Scrip. Britan. p. 277.

(23) Annal. Vol. i. p. 193.

[*H*] *The paſſage is curious and deſerves to be read.*] It is in his Church Hiſtory, wherein having given a conciſe account of Roger Bacon, and the ill treatment he met with from the Monks, he proceeds thus: 'For my own part, I behold the name of 'Bacon in Oxford, not as of an individual man, 'but a corporation of men; no ſingle cord, but a 'twiſted cable of many together. And as all the 'acts of ſtrong men of that nature, are attributed 'to an Hercules; all the predictions of propheſying 'women to a Sibyl; ſo I conceive all the atchieve-'ments of the Oxonian Bacons, in their liberal 'ſtudies, are aſcribed to one, as chief of the name. 'And this in effect, is confeſſed by the moſt learned 'and ingenious orator of that univerſity (24). In-'deed we find one Robert Bacon, who died anno '1248, a learned Doctor, and Trithemius ſtyleth 'John Baconthorpe, plain Bacon, which addeth 'to the probability of the former aſſertion. How-'ever, this confounding ſo many Bacons in one, 'hath cauſed Antichroniſms in many relations. 'For how could this Bacon ever be a reader of 'Philoſophy in Brazen-Noſe College, founded more 'than one hundred years after his death; ſo that 'his Brazen Head (ſo much ſpoken of to ſpeak) 'muſt make time paſt to be again, or elſe theſe 'inconſiſtencies will not be reconciled; except any 'will ſalve it with the Prolepſis of Brazen-Noſe-'Hall, formerly in the place where the college is 'now erected. I have done with the Oxford Ba-'cons, only let me add, that thoſe of Cambridge, 'father and ſon, Nicholas and Francis; the one 'of Bennet, and the other of Trinity college, do 'hold *(abſit invidia)* the ſcales of deſert even, 'againſt all of their name in all the world be-'ſides (25).' After this, it will perhaps ſurprize the reader to tell him, that in the late edition of Moreri's Dictionary, the articles of Robert and Roger Bacon, are very properly diſtinguiſhed, and a very remarkable circumſtance relating to our author is preſerved there in, *viz.* that during his whole life, he kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with the learned men of the univerſity at Paris, and was ſo careful of the reputation of the univerſity of Oxford, and of the proficiency of the ſtudents therein, that he procured the conſtitution relating to profeſſors, which is found in their volume of ordinances, directed by Pope Clement V., to the General Council at Vienna, which are from thence ſtyled the Clementine Conſtitutions (26).

(24) Sir Iſaac Wake in his Rex Platonicus, p. 209, 210.

(25) Ch. Hiſt. of Britain, Cent. XIV. p. 96.

(26) See this article in the ſecond Tome of Moreri's Dictionary, printed at Baſil, 1731.

[*I*] *Too extenſive to ſtand in need of any ſuch helps.*] The circumſtance mentioned in the text, is to be met with in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, at Oxford, 1724. There is a large gap in the poem, where the ſtory of King Henry III. ſhould be related; and to ſupply this, ſome proſe writer hath inſerted a kind of annals, in which we find this note. *A.* xxiii. *Hen.* III. *Maſter* Robert Bacon, *with Maſter* Edmunde *of* Abyngdone, *floreſhed in* Oxendorſe, *of the Craſte of whiche* Bakon *many Mervailes buth I telde a monkes Clerkes* (27). In the index (28) to the book where this paſſage is referred to, Mr. Hearne corrects his author, and ſays, that inſtead of Robert, we ſhould read Roger, in which he is certainly miſtaken, for Edmund of Abington never read with Roger, but with Robert Bacon; and according to the beſt accounts we have, Roger Bacon did not return from his ſtudies in France till a year or two after. But to put the matter out of diſpute, this proſe writer owns, that he took moſt of his facts from Trivet, who, in the year following, ſpeaking of the death of St. Edmund, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, adds, *Fuerat huic Socius in Schola Magiſter* Robertus Bacon, *qui Oxoniis regens in Theologia, Prædicatorum Ordinem eſt ingreſſus* (29). Hence it is clear, that Hearne was wrong in his correction; for this is the very paſſage from which his old writer took the fact, which could not poſſibly be reconciled with the time and courſe of Roger Bacon's life, and yet what the author adds of the wonders performed by this Bacon, might very poſſibly be meant of Roger Bacon. Indeed the Merton college MS. of Trivet's Annals, reads Roger in this place, inſtead of Robert; but erroneouſly, as appears by compariſon with other MSS. and from the concurring teſtimony of Matthew Paris, ſo often cited. Such dry remarks as theſe, are ſometimes neceſſary; and never more ſo, than in the preſent caſe, where ſo many writers, ancient and modern, have confounded two great men, and by attributing the acts of the one to the other, embarraſs both their ſtories, which being now read ſeparately, will appear perfectly clear and ſatisfactory. C.

(27) Page 520.

(28) Page 749.

(29) Annal. Vol. i. p. 193.

BACON, BAKON, BACUN (Roger), a learned Engliſh Monk of the Franciſcan order, who flouriſhed in the XIIIth century. He was born near Ilcheſter in Somerſetſhire, which is held to be the Iſcalis of Ptolemy (*a*), ſome time in the year 1214, and was deſcended of a very ancient and honourable family (*b*). He received the firſt tincture of letters at Oxford, where having gone through Grammar and Logic, the firſt dawnings of his genius were ſo conſpicuous, that they gained him the favour and patronage of the greateſt lovers of learning, and ſuch as were equally diſtinguiſhed by their high rank, and the excellence of their knowledge (*c*), of which, even in that age, there were not a few [*A*]. It is not very clear whether he was of Merton college (*d*) or

(*a*) Hiſt. Joh. Roſſi. MS. p. 91.

(*b*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*c*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257.

(*d*) Plot's Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 219. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 88.

[*A*] *Of which even in that age there were not a few.*] As there is ſcarcely any mention made in our antient hiſtory, of a man more famous, or indeed more juſtly famous, than Roger Bacon; ſo we may ſafely affirm, that, notwithſtanding his high reputation, there never was any man's perſonal hiſtory

of Brazen-noſe Hall (*e*), and perhaps he ſtudied at neither, but ſpent his time at the public ſchools; and when he arrived at years ſufficient to qualify himſelf for academical learning, he went over to Paris, where he made ſtill greater progreſs in all parts of learning, inſomuch that he was looked upon as the glory of that univerſity, and an honour to his country (*f*). It was the faſhion then, for ſuch as deſired to diſtinguiſh themſelves by an early and effectual application to their ſtudies, to reſort to that city, where, at this time, not only many of the greateſt men in Europe reſided and taught, but many of the Engliſh nation, by whom Bacon was highly encouraged and careſſed. Among others, he became known to Robert Grouthead, or, as the French write it, Groſſeteſte, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln (*g*), who was his great patron, and ſingular good friend. While he remained here, he did not confine his ſtudies to any particular branch of literature, but endeavoured to embrace and comprehend the ſciences in general, not however in a ſlight or ſuperficial manner, but fully, perfectly, and to the bottom, by the help of a right method, and a conſtant and eager application. When he had attained the degree of Doctor, he returned again to his own country, and, as ſome ſay, took the habit of the Franciſcan order in 1240 (*h*), when he was about twenty-ſix years of age; but others aſſert, that he became a Monk before he left France (*i*). However that matter be, certain it is, that after his return to Oxford, he was conſidered by the greateſt men of that univerſity, as one of the ableſt and moſt indefatigable enquirers after knowledge, that the world had ever produced; and therefore they not only ſhewed him all the reſpect, and had for him all the eſteem that his great abilities deſerved, but likewiſe, perceiving that the courſe he took of improving and advancing all the ſciences by experiments, required another ſort of aſſiſtance than that either of books or favour, they generouſly contributed, out of their purſes, to his expences, ſo that, as he tells us himſelf, he laid out, within the compaſs of twenty years, no leſs than two thouſand pounds, in collecting curious authors, making trials of various kinds, and in the conſtruction of different inſtruments, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge (*k*) [*B*]. But if this aſſiduous

(*e*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Cent. XIV. p. 96.

(*f*) Cave, Hiſt. Litter. Vol. ii. p. 325.

(*g*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 366.

(*h*) Oudin. Comment. de Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. iii. p. 191.

(*i*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 136.

(*k*) In Opere Minori, cap. xvii.

hiſtory more embarraſſed or perplexed than his; and that chiefly through the want of care and diligence, in ſuch as have undertaken to pen his ſtory. The great Leland has given us little more than a character of him, and confeſſes himſelf, that nothing was more difficult, than to obtain a reaſonable account of his life and writings (1). Biſhop Bale, in the firſt work he publiſhed concerning our Engliſh writers (2), has treated our author very indifferently; but when he was afterwards better informed, he changed his opinion, and did him that juſtice, which his learning and great abilities deſerved (3). From theſe writers we are informed, that he ſtudied at Oxford in the early part of his life, and diſcovering an extraordinary genius for the ſciences, was encouraged and protected by the moſt learned men of that time. What we propoſe in this note, is to diſcover, in ſome meaſure, who thoſe learned men were, ſince we have ſhewn in the former article, that there have been very great miſtakes made in this matter, chiefly by confounding him with his nameſake, Robert Bacon, who flouriſhed much earlier, and who died, when our Roger Bacon was about thirty-four years of age. We will begin with Dr. Edmund Riche, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, though he was not, as ſome have aſſerted, the companion of our Roger in his ſtudies (4), ſince he was promoted to the Archiepiſcopal dignity, when our author was but twenty years old; yet, as he reſided much at Oxford, and was a great encourager of learning, he might be, and indeed was, among the great men, who afforded Roger Bacon frequent marks of kindneſs and favour, when he firſt applied himſelf to learning (5). He was probably under the like obligation to Richard Fiſhacre, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned lectures in the ſciences at Oxford and Paris, in both which places our Bacon ſtudied (6). We learn alſo from the writings of Bacon himſelf, that he was much indebted to William Shirwood, Chancellor of Lincoln, whoſe excellence in all kinds of knowledge, but chiefly in mathematical learning, he very highly celebrated (7). But the moſt remarkable of all his patrons, and him to whom he owed the greateſt gratitude, was Robert Grouthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, a man of prodigious learning, and of moſt unblemiſhed integrity; from whom, in all probability, our author received thoſe lights, that were of greateſt uſe to him in his ſtudies, ſince, as he freely profeſſes in his writings, there was hardly any man in that age, except this Biſhop of Lincoln and his diſciples, who diſtinguiſhed between real and uſeful learning, and that kind of empty and uſeleſs reading, which, through want of good ſenſe, and a true taſte, bore the name and carried the reputation of learning (8), and that, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, to ſuch a degree, as to intitle thoſe who turned their thoughts that way, to reputation and dignity; while ſuch as cultivated that ſort of ſcience which was of real benefit to mankind, fell under grievous ſuſpicions, and were treated as perſons prone to novelties, and dangerous, from their having this diſpoſition, both to Church and State. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, and indeed there is ſufficient authority to ſupport us in affirming, that it was the ſigns not only of pregnant parts, and a happy diſpoſition to literature, that recommended, even in the earlieſt part of his life, our Roger Bacon to the notice and patronage of the great men before mentioned, but likewiſe his docility, and readineſs to purſue, though with the greateſt labour and pains, that method in his ſtudies, which wiſer heads thought might be moſt for his benefit and advantage. It was with this view, that having laid the firſt foundation of learning in the languages and Logic, he went, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, to Paris, where he improved himſelf, by a regular and natural method in all the ſciences, and returned, to the ſatisfaction of all his patrons, with a fair character and high reputation to Oxford, in the twenty-ſixth year of his age (9), which is the firſt date we meet with in his hiſtory.

(1) Comment. de Britan. Scriptor. p. 257.

(2) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Scriptor. fol. 114, b.

(3) Script. Illuſtr. Majoris Britan. fol. Baſil. 1559. p. 342.

(4) See the notes [*D*] and [*G*] in the article of BACON (Robert).

(5) Bale, Script. Illuſt. Majoris, Britan. p. 342.

(6) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

(7) In Tract. de laudibus Mathematicæ Artis, ap. Leland de Script. Britan. p. 261.

(8) Op. Maj. p. 64.

(9) Oudin. Comment. de Scriptor. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. iii. p. 191.

[*B*] *For the improvement of uſeful knowledge.*] While our author ſtudied at Paris, he had an opportunity of diſcovering the true ſtate of learning at that time, and he has given us a very juſt picture thereof in his writings. There had been in the preceding century, a kind of perſecution commenced againſt Philoſophy, founded chiefly upon ſome paſſages collected from the antient Fathers, by Gratian in his Decretals, which had proceeded ſo far, that the divines of that city condemned Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, and excommunicated ſuch as ſhould ſtudy or peruſe his writings (10), which was principally owing to the bad behaviour of one Amauri of Chartres, who advanced abundance of heretical opinions, and amongſt the reſt, that God ſerved for the form to the matter of all natural beings, and that this matter being uncreated was divine; which notion he pretended to ſupport from the writings of Ariſtotle (11). This prejudice was however in ſome meaſure worn off, by our countryman Michael Scotus publiſhing a Latin tranſlation of ſome of Ariſtotle's works, keeping cloſely to the original; whereas moſt of thoſe tranſlations, which had been before in uſe, were made from the Arabic,

(10) Baconi Opus Majus, lib. i. c. 15.

(11) Joan. Launii, de varia Ariſtotelis in Academia Pariſienſi Fortuna. Pariſ. 1662, 8vo, p. 78.

affiduous application to his ſtudies, and the ſtupendous progreſs he made in them, raiſed his credit with the better part of mankind, it excited envy in ſome, and afforded plauſible pretences for covering the malicious deſigns of others (*l*). It is very eaſy to conceive, that the experiments he made in all parts of Natural Philoſophy and the Mathematics, muſt have made a great noiſe in an ignorant age, when ſcarcely two or three men in a whole nation were tolerably acquainted with thoſe ſtudies, and when all the pretenders to knowledge affected to cover their own ignorance, by throwing the moſt ſcandalous aſperſions on thoſe branches of ſcience, which they either wanted genius to underſtand, or which demanded greater application to acquire, than they were willing to beſtow. They gave out therefore, that mathematical ſtudies were in ſome meaſure allied to thoſe magical arts which the Church had condemned, and thereby brought ſuſpicions upon thoſe, whoſe learning ought to have defended them from ſuch imputations, more thán any other men. It was under colour of ſuch kind of ſuſpicion, that Bacon's firſt troubles began, which iſſued in reſtraining him from reading lectures to the young ſtudents in the univerſity, and at length in a cloſe confinement, in which he was almoſt ſtarved, the Prelates and the Monks being afraid leſt his writings ſhould extend beyond the limits of his convent, and be ſeen by any beſides themſelves and the Pope (*m*). But there is great reaſon to believe, that though his application to the occult ſciences was pretended, yet the true cauſe of his ill uſage was, the freedom with which he had treated the clergy in his writings, in which he ſpared neither their ignorance nor their want of morals (*n*). Beſides, his great intimacy with Biſhop Grouthead, might add not a little to the power as well as ſpirit of perſecution; for that Prelate had gone ſo far, as to reprove Pope Innocent IV. by letter, and was ſaid to have made no ſcruple

(*l*) Delrio, Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. xxxi. cap. iii. quæſt. 1.

(*m*) Prælati enim et fratres, me jejuniis macerantes tuto cuſtodiebant, nec aliquem ad me venire voluerant veriti ne ſcripta mea, aliis, quam ſummo Pontifici et ſibi ipſis pervenirent. Epiſt. ad Clement. IV.

(*n*) Vide Bacon. Epiſt. ad Clement. IV. See alſo Dr. Brown's Life of Bacon, prefixed to his tranſlation of Bacon's Treatiſe of the Cure of Old Age.

Arabic, and attended with commentaries of the philoſophers of that nation, which contributed not a little to obſcure the ſentiments of Ariſtotle, and to diſcredit his writings. But when this new verſion appeared, Ariſtotle's writings began to recover their credit; and the new orders of Dominicans and Franciſcans, which were inſtituted about the ſame time, favouring the doctrine of that philoſopher, and defending it in their public lectures, Ariſtotle's character was raiſed ſo high, that the title of philoſopher was ſolely appropriated to him (12). By this means, ſeveral others, beſides Michael Scotus, laboured in explaining his works, and ſoon after divers verſions of them, which were ſaid to have been made by Gerard of Cremona, Alured Anglicus, Herman Alemanus, and Willielmus Flemingus, were made public (13). However, Philoſophy was ſtill in a very rude ſtate, and Bacon himſelf tells us, that though there never was ſo great an appearance of knowledge, nor ſo great an application to ſo many ſciences in ſo many countries, as there had been for forty years paſt, yet there never was ſo great ignorance, and ſuch a variety of errors as then. Thoſe who had undertaken to publiſh new tranſlations of Ariſtotle's works, were not ſufficiently converſant in the languages, or in the ſciences of which they treated. Herman confeſſed to Bacon, that he was rather an aſſiſtant in the tranſlations than a tranſlator himſelf, ſince he employed Saracens in Spain, who had the chief hand in his verſions; Michael Scotus borrowed all that he publiſhed in his own name, from one Andrew, a Jew; and Willielmus Flemingus ſays, 'Bacon, as every body knows at Paris, has no ſkill in 'the Greek language, though he pretends to it; and 'therefore he tranſlates every thing falſely, and corrupts 'the learning of the Latins.' And therefore though Bacon eſteemed Ariſtotle's works as the foundation of all knowledge, yet he thought it would have been an advantage to learning, if all the copies of them, which were then in uſe among the Latins, were deſtroyed; and he declares, that if it had been in his power, he would have burnt them all; for the ſtudy of them was mere loſs of time and the occaſion of error, and the multiplying of ignorance beyond what could be expreſſed. He adds farther, that the herd of ſtudents with their teachers, had no valuable knowledge for the object of their purſuits, and therefore they languiſhed in a ſtupid application to bad tranſlations, and loſt both their time and expence (14); in ſhort, that they were amuſed with a mere appearance, or ſhadow of knowledge, and did not value what they really knew, but what they were thought to know by the ignorant multitude. Such was the ſituation of learning, when our enterprizing author began to ſet about that reformation which he thought neceſſary, and which he likewiſe thought it was impoſſible to make, by any other method than that of

(12) Baconi Opus Majus, l. ii. c. 8.

(13) MS. Cott. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 138.

(14) *Ib.* p. 138.

experiments, which he therefore ſet about with the utmoſt diligence. It was chiefly in theſe experiments, that he laid out ſo large a ſum as is mentioned in the text; about which two queſtions have ariſen, which however, at the bottom, the reader will find to be but one. Taking them however as commonly ſtated, they are theſe: *Firſt*, whether the two thouſand pounds that were thus ſpent, ought to be accounted French or ſterling money? And *ſecondly*, where theſe experiments were made? I muſt confeſs, I apprehend they were made at Oxford, and as this is an affair that muſt be ſolely determined by authorities, I ſhall mention thoſe upon which my opinion is grounded. In the firſt place, Bale tells us, that Friar Bacon incurred the vulgar imputation of magic and ſorcery, by the extraordinary things he performed while he reſided at Brazen-Noſe Hall at Oxon (15), which ſeems plainly to prove, that his experiments were made there. We are likewiſe told by ſeveral authors, that Friar Bacon was made ſo uneaſy by his enemies in the univerſity, that he was obliged to quit it, and live in a little retirement by himſelf, in a place which to this day is called Friar Bacon's ſtudy (16), and we are farther told by the induſtrious Mr. Hearne, that he ſometimes retired in the ſummer to Sunning-Well (17), the knowledge of which, and of the place where he reſided when there, are likewiſe preſerved by tradition. I deſire it may be remarked; that how little weight ſoever may be due to this tradition, with reſpect to the places, yet the tradition itſelf is a good argument, to prove that thoſe extraordinary experiments, which expoſed our author when living, to the inveterate malice of his ignorant enemies, and which will preſerve his reputation with the learned world to lateſt poſterity, were made at Oxford: for had it been otherwiſe, it is not eaſy to conceive how there ſhould have been any tradition there about his ſtudy or obſervatory. There is another thing I would remark upon this head, which, for any thing I know, has not been taken notice of before, and it is this: That the earlieſt of his works, and in which, as will be ſhewn hereafter, he gave the largeſt account of experiments, was addreſſed to William of Paris, and conſequently was not written there, but probably at Oxon (18). It may indeed be objected, that in other parts of his works, our author certainly reckons by French pounds; and if from thence it ſhould be thought requiſite to know what the difference at that time was, between French pounds and pounds ſterling; the queſtion may be eaſily anſwered from our author's own writings, who ſpeaking of the coſt of a burning-glaſs, ſays, that the firſt he made, ſtood him in ſixty pounds Paris money, or twenty pounds ſterling, which ſhews that the French livre was once worth ſix ſhillings and eightpence, though it is now dwindled down to leſs than one ſhilling (19).

(15) In his firſt edition printed in 4*to* at Ipſwich, A. D. 1538, fol. 114, his words are theſe, 'Operatione malorum Spirituum 'Oxonii ad Naſum æneum, 'Scholaſticorum 'Domicilium, 'mirabilia magna feciſſe traditus.'

(16) The moſt learned Olaus Borrichius, in his excellent book called *Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum*, tells us, that he was ſhewn this retirement of Bacon's at Oxford, by Dr. Edmund Dickenſon. Leonard Hutten's Antiquities of Oxford, MS. p. 108.

(17) Langton's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 572.

(18) The title of this treatiſe is, 'De ſecretis 'operibus Artis 'et Naturæ, et de 'nullitate Magiæ.'

(19) Compend. Stud. Theolog. c. i. p. 5.

of declaring to thoſe with whom he was intimate, that in his judgment the Pope was Anti-Chriſt (*o*). Our author's being the boſom-friend of ſuch a man, muſt naturally bring upon him the hatred of a great part of the clergy; more eſpecially, ſince his zeal led him to follow the practice as well as the opinion of his patron, by writing freely to the Pope about the neceſſity of a Reformation (*p*) [*C*]. But notwithſtanding this baſe and barbarous uſage from thoſe, who, of all others, ought to have behaved to him in a different manner, his reputation continued to ſpread itſelf over the whole Chriſtian world, inſomuch that Pope Clement IV., one of the wiſeſt and worthieſt men that for many years had been raiſed to that dignity, wrote him a letter, deſiring that he would ſend him all his works (*q*). This was in 1266, when our author was in the flower of his age, and who, to gratify his Holineſs, collected together, greatly enlarged and ranged in ſome order, the ſeveral pieces he had written before that time, and ſent them the next year by his favourite diſciple John of London, or rather, of Paris, to the Pope (*r*). This collection, which is the ſame that himſelf intitled OPUS MAJUS, or his great work, is yet extant [*D*]. It is ſaid, that this learned book of his procured him the favour of that Pontiff and

(*o*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. p. 875.

(*p*) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. 5. fol. 3.

(*q*) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. ii. p. 294.

(*r*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 367.

[*C*] *Writing freely to the Pope about the neceſſity of a Reformation.*] It appears clearly, that the great motive which induced Roger Bacon to embrace a monaſtic life, was that he might have greater leiſure to attend his ſtudies: and that he was deſirous that all his diſcoveries ſhould tend to the advancement of uſeful knowledge, which he thought of the higheſt conſequence to the honour and peace of the Church. He therefore takes great pains in all his writings to prove this, and to ſhew that the perfecting of Natural Philoſophy, was the ſureſt method of extirpating all hereſies, aboliſhing ſuperſtition, and deſtroying the kingdom of Antichriſt; as the perfecting of Moral Philoſophy, was the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing true religion in the hearts of men, and manifeſting the correſpondence between the laws of nature and the doctrine of the goſpel (20); in which he plainly followed the example of Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, his great patron, and who had written many treatiſes in the ſame way. It was after the death of that great prelate, that he began to be diſturbed by the clergy, and eſpecially by the monks of his own order, under pretence of his endeavouring to innovate and eſtabliſh new doctrines, which they inſinuated might tend to diſturb the peace of the Church. This uſage made a great impreſſion upon his ſpirits, but did not in the leaſt alter his ſentiments, as appears by what he ſays in his addreſs to Pope Clement IV., *that out of a reverence due to his high dignity, which ought to engage him in ſeeking to procure the benefit of the whole world, he was willing, as far as the impediments he laboured under would permit, and his memory would allow, to deduce a regular ſyſtem of true philoſophy to the utmoſt of his power*; adding, at the ſame time, *that if it were not for this reverence, which he had for the* Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, *and the benefits that by him alone might be procured to the whole Chriſtian world, he would not have undertaken what he did, under the circumſtances in which he then was, however preſſed or ſolicited by the whole Chriſtian Church* (21). This ſhews the ſpirit and temper of the man, who had no ſecret or worldly views, but was ſincerely inclined to employ the mighty abilities which God had beſtowed upon him, and all that learning, which, by his own indefatigable pains and induſtry, he had acquired, for the ſervice of mankind; with which view he would have laboured, if his ſociety would have permitted him, in the education of youth, that a new turn might have been given to their ſtudies; and that inſtead of employing themſelves as they had hitherto done, in what was of little or no uſe, they might apply in a regular method to ſuch ſciences, as might prove beneficial both to Church and State. If in this attempt he had ſucceeded, we may eaſily conceive how advantageous it would have been to the whole Chriſtian world, and what a new face it muſt have given to the affairs of learning; ſince, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, our author, by dint of his own penetration, and a right uſe of Experimental Philoſophy, arrived at, and even perfected, many of thoſe diſcoveries, which have done ſo much honour to the moderns, and which by the enquiring into, and publiſhing his writings, it is unqueſtionably manifeſt, might have been long ago known and rendered uſeful to the world, if our author had not been treated as he was, or if there had not been ſuch a tyrannical power exerciſed in the Chriſtian Church, as put it out of the capacity of private men to ſpread their diſcoveries, and to render the progreſs they made in knowledge, as uſeful to mankind as they now do. But it muſt be acknowledged, in juſtice to the memory of this great man, that he does not appear to have had the leaſt tincture of a private ſpirit, but was as communicative as he could; and that all his obſcurities are owing to the malice of his enemies, and not to any inclination he had to conceal his talents, or to raiſe his own reputation, by leaving others in ignorance.

(20) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 29.

(21) MS. Cotton. Tiber. c. v. fol. 2, 3.

[*D*] *This collection, which himſelf intitled* OPUS MAJUS, *or his great work, is yet extant.*] As this has been eſteemed, and with great juſtice, the moſt perfect of all our author's works, and is indeed, in ſome meaſure, a compleat ſyſtem of ſcience, built upon his principles of free inquiry, and uſeful experiments; ſo it is requiſite, that we ſhould give as large and full an account of the motives which engaged him to compoſe it, as, at this diſtance of time, it is poſſible for us to acquire; the rather, becauſe though much has been ſaid on this ſubject, eſpecially by the learned and excellent Dr. Jebb, whoſe induſtry and care in making it public, can never be too much admired or applauded; yet ſome circumſtances there are, that ſtill require ſome light, which if we can bring, it is certainly our duty and what we ought not to neglect, as well out of regard to the memory of ſo extraordinary a perſon, as from what we owe to the public. It was the opinion of the famous Dr. John Dee, who publiſhed an edition of another work of our author's, that his Opus Majus was addreſſed to Pope Clement III. (22); which was certainly an egregious error, ſince that Pope died above twenty years before Roger Bacon was born. We ſhall hereafter account for the occaſion of this ſtrange miſtake, and at preſent content ourſelves with obſerving, that there is unqueſtionable authority for aſſerting that our author compoſed this work, at the requeſt of Clement IV., before he was raiſed to that dignity; and in order to clear this point, it will be neceſſary to give a ſuccinct account of this excellent perſon. He was deſcended of a noble family in the province of Languedoc, in the kingdom of France, and his name was Gui le Gros Fulcodi. He applied himſelf in his youth to the ſtudy of the Law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the bar to ſo high a degree, as to be ſtiled *the light* of that ſcience (23). After the deceaſe of his wife, by whom he had ſeveral children, he entered into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and roſe gradually to the Archbiſhopric of Narbonne in 1259, in which high ſtation he conducted himſelf with ſuch piety and prudence, that in the month of December 1261, he was promoted by Pope Urban IV., to the dignity of Cardinal Biſhop of Sabina (24), and was afterwards declared his Legate in England, in order to compoſe the diſſentions which reigned there, between Henry III. and his Barons. Theſe roſe however to ſuch a height before he could get to England, that he found himſelf obliged to continue at Boulogne, where he remained a long time; and having called together ſeveral Engliſh Biſhops, that were then beyond the ſeas, by their advice and conſent he excommunicated ſuch as took up arms againſt their prince (25), and having committed the execution of the cenſure to thoſe Biſhops, he ſet out for Rome; but being arrived at Perouſa, he there met with the news of his being elected Pope. He

(22) See the laſt of his notes on our author's treatiſe *De ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, &c.* Printed in the fifth Vol. of the *Theatrum Chemicum*.

(23) Aubery, Hiſt. des Card. Tom. i. p. 385.

(24) Chr. S. Antoninus, tit. xx. c. i. ſect. 11.

(25) Tom. XI. Concil. p. 380, Matth. Paris.

and alſo ſome encouragement in the proſecution of his ſtudies (*s*): but if this contributed to raiſe his ſpirits, it could be for a ſhort time only, ſince that Pope died not long after, and

(*s*) Hiſt. Antiq. Oxon. p. 138.

He then continued his journey to Rome with the utmoſt diligence, in the habit of a mendicant Friar; and on his arrival, did all that in his power lay, to avoid accepting that high dignity; but finding his endeavours to no purpoſe, he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the diſcharge of his duty, which he performed with ſuch apoſtolic ſeverity, that never any Pope was more feared or beloved. He was ſuch an enemy to pluralities, that he obliged his nephew who had three Prebends, to relinquiſh two of them, and behaved in every other reſpect in such a manner, as very plainly ſhewed, that he had nothing ſo much in view as the Reformation of the Church (26). It is no wonder, that ſo wiſe, ſo great, and ſo good a man, ſhould have a juſt eſteem for the merits of Friar Bacon, or that he ſhould contemn the weak and fooliſh calumnies that had been ſpread to his prejudice. It was probably during his ſtay at Boulogne, that he ſent letters to our author by Raymund de Lauduno, earneſtly deſiring that he would ſend him his works, which at firſt our Monk declined, becauſe the chief perſons of his order had forbidden him to communicate any of his writings to any perſon whatever, on pain of loſing them, and being compelled to live many days on bread and water (27). But when he afterwards heard, that the Cardinal Legate, was raiſed to the pontifical dignity, and had taken the name of Clement IV., our author, out of reverence to the Holy See, ſignified to him by letter, that he was ready to perform what his Holineſs had deſired. The Pope immediately wrote in anſwer, that he was extremely well pleaſed with the readineſs which he had expreſſed; and commanded him by his apoſtolic authority, and notwithſtanding any injunctions laid upon him, by the chief perſons of his order, or others, to ſend him what he had required by his former meſſenger, aſſuring him that he would take order, with reſpect to thoſe matters of which he had complained. This letter, dated at Viterbo the tenth of the kalends of July, in the ſecond year of his pontificate (28), no ſooner came to the hands of our author, than he prepared to ſatisfy his own promiſe, and the Pope's requeſt. When he had finiſhed his great work, which, as we ſhall preſently ſhew the reader, contains a complete circle of learning for the time in which it was written, he reſolved to ſend it to the Pope by a diſciple of his own, whom he had inſtructed while he was writing it, in all the ſciences of which it treats. There has been a prevailing miſtake with regard to the name of this youth, which almoſt all our writers will have to be John of London (29), and they quote our author Bacon himſelf to prove it; yet it is very certain that he ſays no ſuch thing, as his learned editor Dr. Jebb has well obſerved, but, on the contrary, has diſtinguiſhed him from John of London, who the ſame gentleman very ingeniouſly, and I think very truly, gueſſes to have been John Peccam, a monk of the Franciſcan order, then at London, and who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (30). Whereas, this John ſent by our author with his book, was, as himſelf tells us therein, a poor boy, but of quick and lively parts, whom Bacon undertook to inſtruct with a view, as well to the boy's advantage, as to make an experiment of the poſſibility of infuſing, by the new and natural method which he had invented, the principles of all the ſciences in a very ſhort ſpace of time, which ſucceeded very happily: yet ſuch was the modeſty of our author, that, inſtead of taking occaſion from hence to boaſt, either of his own or his ſcholar's abilities, he draws from it this judicious concluſion, viz. that there was no room to conceive any high notions of the perfection of human wiſdom, when it was poſſible in a year's time, to teach a young man, all, that with the utmoſt induſtry and application, a zealous enquirer after knowledge, was able either to acquire or to diſcover in the ſpace of twenty or even of forty years (31). It is alſo a conjecture of the editor's, that this young man whom others have ſtiled John of London, ought rather to be ſuppoſed to be John of Paris, becauſe to one of that name there are ſeveral epiſtles addreſſed by our author, which is ſo juſt and reaſonable an account, that I think a better can hardly be given of this extraordinary young ſcholar (32). It is very ſurprizing, that this large and excellent work, ſhould have remained ſo long buried in obſcurity; but it is very happy for the learned world, that at length it has been delivered from duſt and oblivion, and ſent abroad with all the advantages imaginable, as it is at preſent in a beautiful folio, neatly and accurately printed for William Bowyer at London, A. D. 1733, under the title of *Fratris* ROGERI BACON *ordinis Minorum Opus Majus ad Clementem quartum Pontificem Romanum. Ex MS. codice Dublinenſi, cum aliis quibuſdam collato, nunc primum edidit.* S. JEBB, *M. D.* The editor has prefixed a long epiſtle addreſſed to Dr. Richard Mead, wherein he gives an account of his author and edition, and obſerves, that very few of his writings had been before publiſhed, though Leland, Balæus, and Pitſeus, have given us a long catalogue of them. However he tells us, that Sir Kenelm Digby, and Dr. George Langbain, Provoſt of Queen's College at Oxford, had formerly undertaken to publiſh Bacon's works, by the advice of Mr. Selden, as appears from their letters to that great man, ſome extracts of which Dr. Jebb has printed. Sir Kenelm Digby has this paſſage in his letter dated from Paris, the 11th of February 1637: *Your collections concerning* Bacon, *I ſhall print before his works under your name.* Dr. Langbain in a letter dated January 30th, 1653, ſays, *When I have heretofore made report to ſome judicious friends, of ſeveral paſſages in Friar Bacon's epiſtle to Pope Clement, which I perceive is the ſame with what you call,* de utilitate ſcientiarum, *they were very much taken, and ſuitors to me for a publication.* In a letter dated February the 9th, 1653, he ſays, *I am very much encouraged by your laſt, to reſume thoſe thoughts which I had laid aſide, of publiſhing that piece of Dr. Bacon:* And in another, dated February the 20th, 1653, he ſays, *That latter copy is of ſo legible a hand, as unleſs I receive a countermand from you, I ſhall not long forbear to get it tranſcribed, with a purpoſe to print all together, for I judge it well deſerves to be more public.* Dr. Jebb had propoſed to have publiſhed all his works about three years before his edition of the Opus Majus; but while he was engaged in that deſign, he was informed by letters from his brother at Dublin, that there was a manuſcript in the college library there, which contained a great many treatiſes generally aſcribed to Bacon, and diſpoſed in ſuch order, that they ſeemed to form one compleat work; but the title was wanting, which had been careleſsly torn off from the reſt of the manuſcript. The Doctor ſoon found that it was a collection of thoſe tracts, which *Bacon* had written for the uſe of Pope Clement IV., and to which he had given the title of *Opus Majus*, ſince it appeared, that what he ſaid of that work in his *Opus Tertium*, addreſſed to the ſame Pope, exactly ſuited with this; which contained an account of almoſt all the new diſcoveries and improvements that he had made in the ſciences. Upon this account Dr. Jebb laid aſide his former deſign, and reſolved to publiſh only an edition of this *Opus Majus*. The manuſcripts which he made uſe of to compleat this edition, are as follows, 1. MS. in the Cotton library, inſcribed *Jul. D. V.* which contains the firſt part of the *Opus Majus*, under the title of a treatiſe *de Utilitate Scientiarum.* 2. Another MS. in the ſame library marked *Tib. C. V.* containing the fourth part of the *Opus Majus*, in which is ſhewn the uſe of the Mathematicks in the ſciences and affairs of the world: in the MS. it is erroneouſly called the fifth part. 3. A MS. in the library belonging to *Corpus Chriſti* in Cambridge, containing that portion of the *fourth part* which treats of Geography. 4. A manuſcript of the fifth part containing a treatiſe upon Perſpective, in the Earl of Oxford's library. 5. A MS. in the library of Magdalen College Cambridge, comprehending the ſame Treatiſe of Perſpective. 6. Two MSS. in the King's library, communicated to the editor by Dr. Richard Bentley, one of which contains the *fourth part* of Opus Majus, and the other the *fifth part.* The reader will probably be pleaſed, with the general account of a work, which till lately was imagined to have been loſt, and which is eſteemed the moſt conſiderable

(26) Trithem. Chron. Hirſaug. A. D. 1269.

(27) MS. Cot. Tiber. c. v. fol. 3.

(28) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Frat. Minor. Tom. ii. p. 294.

(29) Pits. de Illuſtr. Angliæ Script. p. 367.

(30) In his learned Preface to Bacon's Opus Majus.

(31) Bacon Opus Majus, p. 29.

(32) Dr. Jebb in his preface before cited.

and then we find our author under new difficulties, from the ſame cauſes as before; but the ſtorm now roſe higher, and the General of his order, Jerom de Eſculo, having heard his

ſiderable of all his writings. He opens it with obſerving, that there are four great impediments which hinder men from arriving at true and uſeful knowledge, which he lays down thus, I. Too great dependance upon authority. II. Allowing too great weight to cuſtom. III. The fear of offending the vulgar. IV. The affectation of concealing ignorance, by the diſplay of a ſpecious appearance of knowledge. In order to remove theſe, he very fully and clearly ſtates the nature and force of authority, experience, and reaſon, and ſhews how injurious to mankind miſtakes upon theſe ſubjects may be, by miſleading them into abſurd and dangerous opinions, and hindering them from diſcerning truth. After handling theſe nice ſubjects in his ſix firſt chapters, he proceeds in his ſeventh to draw this concluſion, That we are not bound to adhere to every thing we hear or read, but that we ought ſtrictly to examine the ſentiments of thoſe who have gone before us, to add where their notions appear defective, and to correct them, where we may conclude, with reaſon, that they have erred, but with modeſty and decency. He ſupports this by various authorities from prophane authors, and from the Fathers of the primitive Church. In his ninth chapter, he expoſes the folly of affecting ſingularity; in the tenth, the danger of learned pride; and in the eleventh, the folly of being aſhamed of ignorance, and ſtriving rather to conceal than to remove it. In his twelfth, he complains that a great many parts of learning, and thoſe too of the utmoſt importance, were neglected merely from the ignorance of mankind, and that the knowledge of languages and Mathematics, though highly valued by the ancients, were deſpiſed by the moderns, who endeavoured to vindicate themſelves in that point, by the authority of ſome weak though good men. He ſhews that many of the Saints and Fathers were ſubject to the common infirmities of human nature, and, conſequently, that their example ought not abſolutely to determine our conduct; and in the following chapter he obſerves, that there were ſome peculiar reaſons, which prevented them from applying themſelves to Philoſophy, and particularly, becauſe Ariſtotle's books were not then tranſlated into Latin, and they were extremely attached to Plato's writings, whoſe doctrines they found to be inconſiſtent with thoſe of Ariſtotle. In his fourteenth chapter, he proceeds to mention other reaſons, for the neglect of philoſophy in the early ages of the Church, which neglect likewiſe continued among the later divines. In the laſt chapter, he addreſſes himſelf to Pope Clement, and tells him, that if it was not poſſible for him during his pontificate, to perfect the reformation of theſe vulgar errors, yet he might lay a foundation, ſo that his ſucceſſors might, with greater facility, compleat what ſhould be thus happily begun. In the firſt chapter of the ſecond part, he maintains that there is one perfect kind of wiſdom, which is contained in the holy ſcripture, from which ſource all real truth is derived. In the following chapters he demonſtrates, that true Philoſophy is not inconſiſtent with Divinity, but rather contributes to the true knowledge of the Deity and religion, which he confirms from the authority of the antient Chriſtians themſelves; and he tells us in the beginning of the ſeventh chapter, that the whole deſign of Philoſophy conſiſts in this, that we may know the Creator by means of the creature, and perceive the obligations which we are under from the excellence of his nature, and the good which he has exerted in the creation and preſervation of mankind, with the aſſurances of a future felicity, to ſerve him with a proper reverence of mind, and regulation of our behaviour, according to the laws of juſtice and reaſon. In his third part, he ſhews largely the uſefulneſs of grammar, and obſerves, that it is impoſſible for the Latins to obtain the knowledge of thoſe things which are neceſſary both in divine and human learning, without a proper ſkill in other languages, ſince the Old and New Teſtaments are tranſlated from the Hebrew and Greek, and Philoſophy is likewiſe borrowed from thoſe languages and the Arabic. And ſince it is impoſſible to preſerve the propriety and force of one language in another; the conſequence of this therefore is, that none of the Latins can obtain ſuch a knowledge as is neceſſary in the Holy Scriptures and Philoſophy, without underſtanding the original tongues from whence they are tranſlated. The ſecond conſideration which he urges in proof of this is, that the tranſlators had not words enough in Latin to expreſs the terms of the ſciences. In the third place he tells us, that it is neceſſary the tranſlator ſhould underſtand the ſcience which he treats of, and the languages which he tranſlates from and into, whereas almoſt all of them have been extremely defective in every one of theſe points. The fourth reaſon is, that many things both in Philoſophy and Divinity were ſtill wanting to the Latins, of which he mentions many inſtances. The fifth, that as the ſciences are delivered to the Latins from other languages, all among the Latins who treat of the ſciences have made great uſe of thoſe languages, and have employed a variety of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic words. The ſixth reaſon is, the neceſſity of correcting an infinite number of errors, both in the text of Divinity, as he ſtiles it, and that of Philoſophy, which errors are not only in the letter, but likewiſe in the ſenſe; and becauſe errors are of more conſequence in Divinity than Philoſophy, he proceeds to point out the corruptions of the text of the Holy Scripture, the better to ſhew the neceſſity of the knowledge of the original tongues, in order to correct them. His ſeventh is, that it is neceſſary for the Latins to underſtand the languages, even ſuppoſing the text were pure and uncorrupt, in order to obtain the true ſenſe of the words amidſt the variety of interpretations. His laſt reaſon for this neceſſity of the tongues is, that the grammar of the Latin is derived from the Greek and Hebrew. Our author's fourth part is deſigned to ſhew the uſe of Mathematics in the ſciences, as alſo in the affairs and employments of this world. In the firſt chapter he tells us, that there are four capital ſciences without which the reſt cannot be underſtood, but by the knowledge of which, any perſon may make a progreſs without any difficulty both in divine and human learning; that the key of theſe ſciences is the Mathematics, which holy men diſcovered from the beginning of the world, which was always in uſe among wiſe men above other ſciences; but that the neglect of this for thirty or forty years paſt, had deſtroyed all true learning among the Latins, ſince a perſon who is not converſant in that ſcience can never underſtand the reſt, nor the affairs of this world, as he ſhews in the courſe of his work; and what is ſtill worſe, thoſe who are ignorant of it do not perceive their ignorance, and therefore ſeek no remedy: Whereas on the other hand, the knowledge of the Mathematics prepares the mind for compleat ſkill in all things; ſo that if men make themſelves maſters of this, as the foundation of their ſtudies, and apply it to the other ſciences in a proper manner, they may then be able to attain what follows with the utmoſt facility, and without any error or doubt: But without the aſſiſtance of the Mathematics, neither the preceding nor conſequent parts of learning can be obtained, ſince the ſtudy of it is the only means of opening the way to farther improvement in knowledge. In the ſecond chapter he ſhews from authority, that every one of the ſciences requires the knowledge of the Mathematics: And in the third, he demonſtrates the ſame from reaſon. In the ſecond diſtinction of the fourth part, he ſhews the neceſſity of that ſcience, in order to underſtand the things of this world. In the third and fourth diſtinctions he lays down mathematical principles, for the explication of ſeveral of the phænomena of the univerſe, and examines into the nature of the ſeveral climates of the world, eſpecially of thoſe near the poles and the middle of the earth. In the fifth chapter of the fourth diſtinction, he treats of the cauſe of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea: And in the ſeventh chapter, of the infinity of matter. In the eighth chapter, he enquires whether bodies touch each other in a point: And in the ninth he treats of the figure of the univerſe, which he determines to be ſpherical, and aſſerts, that the earth is likewiſe of the ſame form. In the twelfth chapter he endeavours to ſhew, that

his cauſe, ordered him to be impriſoned (*t*). This is ſaid to have happened in 1278, and we are further told, that to prevent his appealing to Pope Nicholas III., that General of

(*t*) Lud. Wadding. Annal. Fratr. Minor. Tom. ii. p. 44.

that there are no more worlds, nor ſuns, nor moons than one, and that matter is not extended *in infinitum*. In the thirteenth, he treats of the unity of time: And in the fourteenth he ſhews, that motion occaſions heat. In the fifteenth, he ſpeaks of the motion of a balance. After having ſhewn the neceſſity of Mathematics in human affairs and ſciences, he proceeds then to ſhew it likewiſe in thoſe which are divine; and he obſerves, that ſince he had proved that Philoſophy cannot be underſtood without Mathematics, and ſince every one perceived that Divinity cannot be underſtood without Philoſophy; it follows therefore, that a Divine is obliged to acquire the knowledge of the Mathematics. He next ſhews, that all holy men have made uſe of the Mathematics, and alledges ſeven reaſons, to prove the ſtudy fit and neceſſary to a Divine, more eſpecially from the uſe of Aſtronomy and Chronology in the explication of the Scriptures, and in doing this, he enters into ſeveral curious enquiries, as to thoſe ſciences and Muſick: he then anſwers the objections urged againſt Mathematics, and particularly that which is drawn from the unlawfulneſs of judiciary Aſtrology; upon which occaſion he obſerves, that true Aſtrologers do not pretend to an abſolute certainty in their judgments, nor aſſert that human actions are neceſſarily determined by the influence of the ſtars, but always proceed upon the ſuppoſition of human liberty. He expoſes next the errors in the kalendar, points out the cauſes of them, and propoſes moſt judiciouſly the means of reforming them, of which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more largely. The next ſubject he handles is, the uſe of Mathematics in the practice of Phyſic, which he ſhews muſt vary according to the difference of climates, which gives him an opportunity of diſcourſing very largely upon that head. He makes a natural tranſition from thence to the influence of the heavenly bodies, in diſcourſing of which he informs us, that the number of fixed ſtars in his time, was held to be one thouſand and twenty two, and much time he ſpends in ſhewing the poſſibility of the celeſtial influences on terreſtrial bodies, in which he ſhows a prodigious reading. We come now to the fifth part of his *Opus Majus*, which contains his *Treatiſe* of *Perſpective*, which is one of the moſt curious pieces in his whole book; for in the third part of it, he very copiouſly diſcourſes of *reflected* and *refracted* viſion, and from thence explains the nature of a vaſt variety of glaſſes: To this part of his work is added his famous treatiſe *de Multiplicatione Specierum*. The ſixth part of his *Opus Majus* is concerning experimental knowledge, in the firſt chapter of which he ſays, that having thus laid the foundation of learning in Languages, Mathematics, and Perſpective, he ſhall proceed to the ſcience of experiments, ſince nothing can be ſufficiently underſtood without experiments; for he obſerves that there are two methods of obtaining knowledge, one by argument or reaſon, and the other by trial or experiment; an argument determines a queſtion and obliges us to determine it, but it does not give us abſolute certainty or remove all doubt, ſo that the mind cannot acquieſce in the perception of truth, unleſs it diſcover it by way of experiment: many perſons know arguments enough in the ſeveral parts of knowledge, but not having made experiments, they are negligent, and do not avoid and purſue what they ought to do. He obſerves, that this ſcience of experiments has three great prerogatives beyond all other ſciences; the firſt of which is, that it examines the noble concluſions of thoſe ſciences by experience: and this he illuſtrates by a long explication of the phænomenon of the rainbow: the ſecond prerogative of it is, that it diſcovers ſeveral truths within the limits of the other ſciences, which could not be found out by means of thoſe ſciences themſelves. He mentions ſome inſtances, which he tells us he knew by experience to be true. The firſt inſtance is as follows; Mathematics, ſays he, can eaſily produce a ſpherical inſtrument, in which are deſcribed all the parts of the heavens which are neceſſary, according to the longitudes and latitudes, with the proper circles agreeable to Ptolemy's method in his Almageſt: But it is not in the power of the Mathematics to cauſe a body of that form to move naturally with a diurnal motion; whereas a man perfectly ſkilled in Experimental Philoſophy, is able to deviſe various methods towards accompliſhing that motion, being induced to it by many things which follow the motion of the heavenly bodies; as in the firſt place, the three elements, which are moved circularly by the celeſtial influences; then the comets, ſeas, rivers, marrow, the brains of animals, and the matter of diſeaſes: plants likewiſe open and ſhut themſelves according to the ſun's motion. The Philoſopher, therefore, is excited by the conſideration of theſe things, which have ſome reſemblance to what he intends, ſo that he may poſſibly be able at laſt to compleat his deſign. Such an inſtrument as this, he ſays, would be worthy a King's treaſure, and the inſtruments of Aſtronomy and clocks would become uſeleſs. He draws his ſecond inſtance from the uſe of experiments in Phyſic, in reſpect to which he ſays, that a medicine might be found capable of extending human life much beyond its ordinary length. On this ſubject he diſcourſes very copiouſly, ſhewing his great learning and exquiſite judgment, interſperſing therein a multitude of very curious relations, all tending to prove the poſſibility of prolonging life, and retarding the inconveniencies of old age by the help of philoſophic medicines. His third example he draws from Alchemy, which he defines an art, by which the baſer metals may be converted into the purer, ſo that gold may be made from lead, and ſilver from copper. This art he allows is liable to many fraudulent practices, notwithſtanding which he avers, that ſuch an art there is, as is not only capable of converting baſe metals into gold, but alſo of exalting gold itſelf far beyond that degree of purity which it receives from nature, which ſecret, he ſays, is not only of the greateſt uſe to mankind, in furniſhing as much as may be deſired of that precious metal, but alſo of infinitely greater conſequence in prolonging life. For, continues he, that medicine which taketh away all the foulneſſes and corruptions of a baſer metal, ſo as to convert it into the pureſt ſilver and gold, is by wiſe men eſteemed likewiſe capable of wholly purging out the corruptions of the human body; and this, ſays he, is that extraordinary medicine before mentioned (33). *Nam illa medicina quæ tolleret omnes immunditias et corruptiones vilioris metalli, ut fieret argentum et aurum puriſſimum, æſtimatur a ſapientibus poſſe tollere corruptiones corporis humani in tantum, ut vita per multa ſecula prolongaret, et hoc eſt corpus ex elementis temperatum, de quo prius dictum eſt.* The third prerogative of this ſcience of experiments is, as he tells us, proper and eſſential thereto, which, without having regard to other ſciences, by its own power inveſtigates the ſecrets of nature, and this acts doubly, firſt, in beſtowing the knowledge of things, paſt, preſent, and to come; and ſecondly, in admirable operations, far exceeding any thing that can be wrought by what is ſtiled Judiciary Aſtrology. In proof of this he alledges, not only many authorities but many inſtances: he ſpeaks of a kind of bitumen called Malta, capable of burning men even through armour; and hints to us that it was by the uſe of ſomething like gunpowder with which their pots were filled, that Gideon with a handful of men did ſuch dreadful execution in the camp of the Midianites (34). Many other things of a like nature he touches upon; inſinuating to the Pope, that where verſes, ſuperſtitious rites, and charms, are made uſe of, it is not from any belief in the force of thoſe circumſtances, in ſuch as uſe them, but barely to cover and conceal the wonderful effects of natural cauſes from the knowledge of the vulgar. He labours therefore aſſiduouſly, in the cloſe of his work, to perſuade the Pontiff, to whom it is addreſſed, to countenance and encourage this kind of experimental knowledge, by reaſon of the many and great advantages, which may be deduced from thence, for the protection of the Church and Common-wealth, and for the reduction of the enemies of both. In reference to the laſt he maintains, that much greater and more extraordinary things, have been performed by the power of wiſdom than by force of arms, of which he aſſures us, an infinite number of examples

(33) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 472.

(34) Judges vii. 20.

'might

of his order, procured a confirmation of his ſentence from Rome immediately (*u*); but it is not very eaſy to ſay, upon what pretences this condemnation was founded [*E*]. Yet we are told by others, that he was impriſoned by Reymundus Galfredus, who was General of his order, on account of ſome Alchemiſtical treatiſe which he had written; but this man afterwards ſet him at liberty, and became his ſcholar (*x*). However obſcure the nature and circumſtances of his troubles may be, thus much is clear and certain

(*u*) Bal. Script. Brit. p. 342.

(*x*) Hiſtor. Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

might be deduced. 'But I, *continues he*, will mention but one of all theſe, which is that of Alexander the Great, who when he marched out of Greece to ſubdue the whole world, had no more than thirty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe; yet, as Oroſius ſays, in his treatiſe addreſſed to Auguſtin, with this handful of people he attempted this great deſign, in which it is hard to ſay, whether it be more wonderful that he ſucceeded, or that he durſt undertake it. In his firſt engagement with King Darius, he ſlew ſix hundred thouſand Perſians, with the loſs of one hundred and twenty horſe; and nine foot only of his own army. In the ſecond battle, he deſtroyed forty thouſand men, yet loſt of his own army but one hundred and thirty foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, by which the reſt of the affrighted world was eaſily ſubdued. But Oroſius ſays, that it was not leſs by ſkill than valour that the Macedonians conquered. Nor do I wonder at this, ſince Ariſtotle, as we read in his life, attended the King in his wars. And Seneca alſo in his *Natural Queſtions* informs us, that Alexander conquered, having Ariſtotle and Caliſthenes for his inſtructors, who were his maſters in all kind of ſcience. But Ariſtotle was in all reſpects the chief; and it plainly appears from what has been before ſaid, how by the effects of wiſdom Ariſtotle might deliver up the world to his maſter Alexander; and this the Church ought to conſider in her diſputes againſt Infidels and rebels, that the effuſion of Chriſtian blood may be prevented, and more eſpecially upon account of the great dangers to which the Church will be expoſed in the times of Antichriſt, which, with the bleſſing of God, may be eaſily prevented, if Prelates and Princes would promote ſtudy, and the ſearching out the ſecrets of nature and art (35).'

(35) Bacon Opus Majus, p. 476, 477. *Sed nunc offero unum pro omnibus de Alexandro Magno, qui quum de Græcia profectus eſt, ut mundum expugnaret, non habuit peditum niſi triginta duo millia, & equitum quatuor millia & quingentos; tamen, ut dicit Oroſius ad Auguſtinum, in libro de Ormeſta mundi, inferens hæc tam parva manu bellum univerſo terrarum orbi, utrum admirabilius ſit quod vicit aut quod aggredi auſus fuerit, incertum eſt. Primo ergo cum Dario rege congreſſu ſexcenta millia Perſarum proſtravit, ſed in ſuo exercitu centum viginti equites & novem pedites defuere; in ſecunda vero congreſſu devicit, quadraginta millia hominum, & de ſuo exercitu centum triginta pedites et centum quinquaginta equites ceciderunt; per hoc reſiduum mundi territum facilius ſubjecit. Sed Oroſius dicit, non minus arte quam virtute Macedonum ſuperavit. Nec mirum, cum Ariſtoteles fuerit cum eo in his bellis, ut legimus in vita Ariſtotelis. Et etiam Seneca in naturalibus dicit, quod mundum vicit Alexander Ariſtotele & Caliſthene ducibus, quod magiſtri ei fuerunt in omni ſapientia. Sed Ariſtoteles extitit principalis & facile patet per prædicta, quomodo per vias ſapientiæ potuit Ariſtoteles mundum tradere Alexandro; & hoc deberet eccleſia conſiderare contra infideles & rebelles ut parcatur ſanguini Chriſtiano; & maxime propter futura pericula in temporibus Antichriſti, quibus cum Dei gratia facile eſſet obviare, ſi Prelati & Principes ſtudium promoverent, & ſecreta naturæ & artis indagarent.* Such is the concluſion of this famous piece, of which we have given the Engliſh reader, as exact and full an account as was conſiſtent with the nature of our plan. We were the rather inclined to this, becauſe as this great work was originally written, ſo it is like to continue, in the Latin tongue, which makes ſuch an extract as we have given, abſolutely neceſſary for the uſe of ſuch as cannot with facility go through a folio volume in that language. This extract likewiſe fully juſtifies and confirms all that has been delivered in the text, either as to the wonderful abilities, aſſiduous application, or prodigious progreſs made by Friar Bacon in all the ſciences. Whoever conſiders either the matter of his Opus Majus or the manner of it, and reflects at the ſame time on the ſtate of learning in general in the thirteenth century, will need few arguments to convince him, that Roger Bacon was the wonder of his age and country, and in every reſpect as great and good a man, as he is repreſented to have been by ſuch as beſt underſtood his worth. The learned editor of his work, the ingenious and judicious Dr. Jebb, obſerves very truly, that it does not appear from any thing contained in the Opus Majus, that our author Bacon, either meant to defend himſelf from the imputation of magic, or that he was ſo much as apprized that ever he was accuſed thereof to the Pope. But though this appears very clearly, yet I muſt take leave to obſerve, that both in this and in all the other works of our author which are ſtill remaining, there are abundance of paſſages which ſhew his great willingneſs to ſet the world right about Magic, Necromancy, and other unlawful arts, of which to be ſure he thought very juſtly, and as it became a wiſe man to do: for it is manifeſt that he conceived them in many caſes to be mere vanities, and the idle deluſions of weak minds; that in many other, he looked upon them as fraudulent practices, invented and uſed by knaves for the better deceiving of fools; and that in ſome few, he beheld them in the light of ſpecious but innocent pretences for covering that ſcience, which it was not fit to reveal to the vulgar, and thereby keep up their ignorance with their admiration. But as for our author himſelf, it is very evident that he was not in the leaſt infected with any of theſe narrow notions, but would moſt willingly have communicated all that he knew to the whole republic of Letters; and if ever he ſeems either to think or to act in a manner different from this, there is the juſteſt reaſon to conclude that he was forced thereto by the circumſtances he was under, of which we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome inſtances, before we part with his memoirs. This Opus Majus of Bacon, was not only addreſſed or dedicated to Pope Clement IV., but is, in fact, a diſcourſe or epiſtle written entirely to him, and in which all that is delivered is particularly adapted to his uſe, yet without any mixture either of meanneſs or flattery: for our author tells him plainly, that as from the nature of his high office, the welfare or the ſuffering of the Chriſtian world muſt, in a great meaſure depend on him, ſo it was from a juſt ſenſe of this, and from a thorough perſuaſion that he would never be able to inſtruct others well, if he had not firſt right notions of true and uſeful knowledge himſelf, that he therefore thought himſelf bound in duty, eſpecially when required thereto by his Holineſs's letter, to exhibit this ſummary of ſcience to his view, that he might the better perceive the conſequence of giving a right turn to the ſtudies of the riſing generation, and prefer true taſte and ſolid learning to that falſe ſhew of both, which had ſo long and generally prevailed, to the unſpeakable detriment both of Church and State.

[*E*] *It is not eaſy to ſay on what pretences this condemnation was founded.*] We need wonder the leſs at the great uncertainty which attends this matter of fact, if we conſider how extremely difficult a thing it is, to obtain clear and perfect lights into matters of this nature, which happen in our own country, and as it were under our eyes. But the difficulty of the thing will not acquit us from the obligation we are under of giving the beſt account of this tranſaction, that at this diſtance of time can be attained. After the death of his patron Clement IV., Gregory X. aſcended the pontifical throne, and on his death Innocent V. and John XXI. ſucceeded in one year, and to John ſucceeded Nicholas III (36), in the ſecond year of whoſe reign our author's doctrine was condemned. The General of his order was at that time, Hieronymus de Eſculo, an Italian by birth, and

(36) Raina'd. ad A. D. 1269, & 1276.

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certain enough, that they endured for many years, and must have brought him very low, since he was sixty-four years of age when he was first put in prison, and consequently the less able to sustain the hardships he endured, which were without question so much the more grievous, as they deprived him of the opportunity of prosecuting his studies, at least in the way of experiments; for that he was still indulged the use of his books, appears very clearly from the great use he made of them, in the learned works he composed, even under these misfortunes (*y*).

(*y*) See this point explained in note [*F*].

Pope Nicholas III., dying in the year 1280, Simon de Brie, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, was elected Pope, and took the title of Martin IV., who with great trouble and perplexity held that dignity about four years, and was then succeeded by Cardinal Savelli, who took the name of Honorius IV., in the year 1285. His reign also was full of troubles and very short; so that we do not wonder, that in all this time our author could never find an opportunity of applying to the Holy See, for the mitigation or repeal of the sentence pronounced against him (*z*). But when he had been ten years in prison, Jerom de Ascoli, who had condemned his doctrine, was chosen Pope, and assumed the name of Nicholas IV. (*a*) As he was the first of the Franciscan order that had ever arrived at this dignity, was reputed a person of great probity and much learning, our author, notwithstanding what had before happened, resolved to apply to him for his discharge; and in order to pacify his resentment, and at the same time to shew both the innocence and the usefulness of his studies, he addressed to him a very learned and curious treatise, *On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of Old Age* (*b*) [*F*]. It does not appear

(*z*) Rainald Annal. A. D. 1287, § 4.

(*a*) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. 1288, n. 1.

(*b*) See Dr. Jebb's preface to his Opus Majus.

and called in his own country, Jerom de Ascoli, a man of a severe temper, but one who was neither deficient in probity or learning. He is said to have condemned the doctrine of Friar Bacon at Paris, by the advice of the brethren of his order, to have forbidden any of the brethren to study or follow it, and to have ordered its author to be confined in prison, and all this because, as Bale tell us, his books contained some suspected novelties (37). Spondanus sets down the matter in much the same terms (38): 'This year, 'says he, the doctrine of Roger Bacon, an English-'man, was condemned on account of some suspected 'novelties; for he who was in all sorts of learning 'and in every kind of study and science perfectly 'well versed, and subtile to a miraculous degree, 'while employed in the most curious discoveries in 'Mathematics and Philosophy, to which he was 'every way equal, was by the vulgar looked upon 'as a Conjurer and Magician.' *Hoc anno inquit, damnata est doctrina Rogerii Baconis Angli, propter aliquas novitates suspectas, quippe qui in omni doctrinæ facultatis, et scientia genere versatissimus, et ad miraculum subtilis dum Mathematicam et Philosophiam naturalem curiosius, quam par erat inquireret, vulgò, habitus est Præstigiator et Magus.* But another author who treats more particularly, of the transactions of the Franciscans here in England informs us, what the several treatises were, which upon this occasion the General of his order condemned, and he reports them to be his several tracts *de Necromanticis, de Prognosticis ex stellis*, and *de Astronomia Vera* (39). As to the other story mentioned in the text, it is reported by Anthony Wood, who tells us, he found it at the end of a manuscript formerly belonging to the Earl of Dorset, in these words (40). 'Here ends the brief discourse '*(verbum abbreviatum)* the work of Reymundus Gal-'fredus, General of the order of Friars Minors, 'which said discourse he had from Brother Roger 'Bacon, who was of the order of Friars Preachers, 'which is a mistake, for he was also of the order of 'Franciscans, and the said Roger for this very work, at 'the command of the said Reymundus, by the Bre-'thren of the same order was taken and imprisoned; 'but Reymundus released Roger out of prison, who 'taught him this work, and the said Roger was him-'self the disciple of Brother Albert.' Wood likewise tells us, that he met with an entry of the same kind in another Alchemistical treatise, stiled *Breve Breviarum fratris Rogeri Bacon ex dono Dei*, which has been likewise attributed to this Reymundus Galfredus, though it is printed among other Chemical pieces of our author Bacon's in Germany (41). To speak my own opinion freely, I consider this story as an invention of the modern Alchemists, though I can say nothing as to the treatise itself, having never had an opportunity to examine it. This imprisonment of our author, consisted in his being shut up in his apartment in his monastery, in his being deprived of conversation and obliged to very severe abstinence; all which agreed very little with his free and chearful disposition; so that one may truly wonder how, under such oppressions as these, he was able not only to support life, but to maintain such a constancy of mind as enabled him to revise and augment his former performances, to enlarge his Astronomical tables, and to take all the care he could, his labours should be transmitted with some degree of perfection to posterity (42). But the hopes of having justice done him after death, enabled him to bear the miseries of life; and his confidence of future fame, lessened the sense of present calumnies.

(37) Script. Britan p. 342.

(38) Annal. A.D. MCCLXXVIII.

(39) Collect. Anglo-Minor. p. 116.

(40) Histor. et Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

(41) Under the title of 'Rogerii 'Baconis The-'saurus Chemi-'cus. Franckfort '1604, 8vo.' and again in 1620.

(42) See this justified from facts in note [*F*].

[*F*] *On the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age.*] Upon the decease of Pope Honorius IV., the Cardinals then at Rome assembled at his palace, which was near St. Sabina, in order to elect a successor. As this happened in the very heat of summer, which is never a very healthy season at Rome, a kind of malignant fever broke out amongst them, which in a very short space carried off six or seven, and so frighted the rest, that they quitted the place of election, and retired each to his own palace. This Jerom de Ascoli, then Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, was the only person that remained in the palace, where he secured his health by a very ingenious and philosophical contrivance; for perceiving that the distemper was bred by the foulness and stagnation of the air, he very wisely directed fires to be made in all the rooms of the palace, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, by which he caused a new and brisk circulation of that fluid, and so preserved himself in perfect health, when his associates despaired of it (43). When the Cardinals returned in the winter to the Conclave, they unanimously chose the Cardinal of Palestrina, Pope, who, in gratitude to his benefactor Nicholas III., took the name of Nicholas IV. I have mentioned this circumstance attending his election, to shew that he was a person of great abilities, and one who had turned his thoughts to philosophic studies (44). It was, in all probability, the knowledge of this, that induced Roger Bacon to aim at acquiring his favour by writing this treatise. If it be true that our author was more closely confined by the directions of this Pontiff, I should imagine it must have been in the the very beginning of his reign, and that Bacon addressed this book to the Pope, to shew him how falsely he had been represented, and how innocent and useful his studies were. He divided his work into three books, which, as we shall shew hereafter, was the reason, that such as made a catalogue of our author's writings, have represented these as three distinct treatises (45). In the second chapter of his work he discovers the person (though very obscurely) to whom it was addressed, for having laid down these principles, that the infirmities of old age are to be avoided and kept off, first, by a regular course of life, and next, by the use of certain secret and extraordinary medicines; he proceeds thus, 'The doctrine of soberly 'ordering one's life, teaching how to oppose, drive 'away, and restrain, the causes of old age; and this 'it does by appropriating the six causes distinct in 'kind, which are reckoned necessary to fence, pre-'serve,

(43) Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. A. D. 1288.

(44) Fleury, Histoire Ecclesiastique, liv. 88.

(45) See the catalogue of his works from Leland, Pits, and Bale, in note [*X*].

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appear, however, that either his application, or the method he took to ſoften his Holineſs's temper, had any great effect: on the contrary, ſome writers ſay, that he cauſed him to be more cloſely confined (*c*). But however that matter might be, towards the latter end of his reign, Friar Bacon, by the interpoſition of ſome noblemen, obtained his releaſe, and returned to Oxford, where, at the requeſt of his friends, and very probably of thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in obtaining his liberty, he compoſed, old as he was, and after all the hard uſage he had met with, *A Compendium of Theology*, which ſeems to have been his laſt work (*d*) [G]. He ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, and dying in the college of his order, on the eleventh of June 1292 (*e*), as ſome

(*c*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Oxon. p. 138.

(*d*) See this explained in note [G].

(*e*) Hiſt. Johan. Roſſi, p. 92.

'ſerve, and keep the body, which things when they 'are obſerved, and taken in quantity and quality as 'they ought, and as the rules of Phyſicians perſuade, 'do become the true cauſes of health and ſtrength; 'but when they are made uſe of by any man without 'regard to quality and quantity, they cauſe ſickneſs, 'as may be gathered from Galen's regimen with 'Haly's expoſition, where he treats *of the regimen of* 'health. But exactly to find out the true proportion 'of theſe cauſes, and the true degree of that pro'portion, is very hardly, or not at all to be done, 'but that there will be ſome defect or exceſs therein. 'Thus the ſages have preſcribed more to be done, 'than can be well put in practice; for the under'ſtanding is more ſubtle in operation, ſo that the 'true proportioning of theſe cauſes ſeems impoſſible, 'unleſs in bodies of a better nature, ſuch as now are 'rarely found: but medicines obſcurely laid down by 'the Ancients, and as it were concealed, whereof 'Dioſcorides ſpeaks, do make up theſe defects and 'proportions; for who can avoid the air infected 'with putrid vapours, carried about with the force 'of the winds? Who will meaſure out meat and 'drink? Who can weigh, in a ſure ſcale or degree, 'ſleep and watching, motion and reſt, and things 'that vaniſh in a moment, and the accidents of the 'mind, ſo that they ſhall neither exceed nor fall 'ſhort? Therefore it was neceſſary that the Ancients 'ſhould make uſe of medicines, which might in ſome 'meaſure preſerve the body from alteration, and de'fend the health of man, oft-times much hurt and 'afflicted with theſe things and cauſes; leaſt the body, 'utterly eaten up of diſeaſes, ſhould fall to ruin. 'Now for the benefit of *Your Excellency*, I have 'gathered ſome things out of the books of the An'cients, whoſe virtue and uſe may avert thoſe incon'veniencies, keep off this defect and weakneſs; may 'defend the temper of the innate moiſture, may hin'der the increaſe and flux of extraneous moiſture, and 'may bring to paſs (which uſually otherwiſe hap'peneth) that the heat of man be not ſo ſoon de'bilitated. But the uſe of theſe things and medi'cines are of no ſervice, nor any thing avails them 'that neglect the doctrine of the regimen of life; 'for how can it be, that he who either is ignorant 'or negligent of diet, ſhould ever be cured by any 'pains of the Phyſician, or by any virtue in phy'ſic? Wherefore the Phyſicians and wiſe men of 'old time were of opinion, that diet without phy'ſic ſometimes did good, but that phyſic without 'due order of diet never made a man one grain the 'better. Thence it is reckoned more neceſſary, that 'ſuch rather ſhould be treated of which cannot be 'known, unleſs of the wiſe, and thoſe too of a quick 'underſtanding, and ſuch as ſtudy hard and take a 'great deal of pains, than thoſe things which are 'eaſily known, even as a man reads them. As 'for my own part, being hindered partly by the 'charge, partly by impatience, and partly by the 'rumours of the vulgar, I was not willing to make 'experiment of all things, which may eaſily be tried 'by others, but have reſolved to expreſs thoſe things 'in obſcure and difficult terms, which I judge re'quiſite for the conſervation of health, leaſt they 'ſhould fall into the hands of the Infidels. One of 'which lies in the bowels of the earth (46); another 'in the ſea (47); the third creeps upon the earth (48); 'the fourth lives in the air (49); the fifth is likened 'to the medicine which comes out of the mine 'of the noble animal (50); the ſixth cometh out 'of the long lived animal (51); the ſeventh is that 'whoſe Mine is the plant of India (52). I have 'reſolved to mention theſe things obſcurely, imi'tating the precept of the Prince of the Philoſophers 'to Alexander, who ſaid that he is a tranſgreſſor of 'the divine law, who diſcovers the hidden ſecrets of 'nature and the properties of things; becauſe ſome 'men deſire as much as in them lies to overthrow 'the divine law, by thoſe properties that God has 'placed in animals, plants, and ſtones. But ſome 'of theſe things ſtand in need of preparation, others 'of a careful choice: Of preparation, leſt with 'the healthful part poiſon be ſwallowed down; of 'choice, leſt among the beſt thoſe things that are 'worſe be given, and thoſe that are more hurtful 'be taken.' Thus the reader plainly diſcerns, that the obſcurities in this treatiſe of our author, are not ſuch as proceeded from vanity, affectation, reſpect to cuſtom, or any other weakneſs of mind; but from pure concern for his own ſafety, and fear of drawing upon himſelf greater evils than he had yet ſuffered. This treatiſe was firſt printed at Oxford in 1590, and has been ſince tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Richard Browne, under the title of *The Cure of Old Age and Preſervation of Youth. Shewing how to cure and keep off the Accidents of Old Age, and how to preſerve the Youth, Strength, and Beauty of Body, and the Senſes, and all the Faculties of both Body and Mind; by that great Mathematician and Phyſician Roger Bacon, a Franciſcan Friar* (53): He added notes upon every chapter of this work, and explains therein the phraſes by which our author concealed his ſecret medicines. He will have *that which lives in the air* to be *roſemary*, but I have ſeen ſome Latin annotations in which it is ſuppoſed to be *rue*: the reader will judge of theſe interpretations as he thinks fit. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr. Browne likewiſe explains the *fifth* medicine, which is ſaid *to reſemble what comes out of the mine of the noble animal*, and he conceives it to be the youthful heat of a maid, and cites the inſtance of *Abiſhag*, who was given for this purpoſe to King *David*. Others have thought that it was an extract or quinteſſence of *human blood*, and ſome again have fancied that it was ſome kind of *precious ſtone*. For my own part I muſt confeſs, it does not appear to me ſo clearly, as that I dare pronounce what it is, but it ſufficiently appears, that none of theſe interpretations can ſatisfy a rational inquirer, eſpecially one who is well acquainted with our author's exactneſs. It were to be wiſhed that ſome ingenious and ſkilful Phyſician would review this work, and compare it with others of the ſame kind, more eſpecially with that excellent treatiſe written by the Lord Chancellor Bacon (54) upon the ſame ſubject; by which method many diſcoveries might be made, and this moſt important topic ſet in a light capable of being turned to the advantage, whereas hitherto it has ſerved for little more than the amuſement of mankind.

(53) London: Printed for T. Fleſher at the Angel and Crown, and Edward Evets at the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1683. 8vo.

(54) His noble Hiſtory of Life and Death. See alſo note [R].

[G] *A Compendium of Theology, which ſeems to have been his laſt work.*] This work, of which there is ſtill a copy preſerved in the royal library, is divided into two parts; in the firſt of which the author propoſes, by a free inquiry into the nature of true ſcience, to find out the cauſes of errors, and the ſeveral manners in which men have erred in this ſtudy, that truth, and the proper method of purſuing it, might the more evidently appear; in the ſecond, he makes it his buſineſs to eſtabliſh capital truths, and to unfold and expoſe all ſorts of errors and miſtakes (55). But it is at leaſt probable from the titles of various MSS. that our author afterwards added three other treatiſes, or parts, to this work (56) of his, which we ſhould not have mentioned particularly, if it had not afforded us an opportunity of fixing the date of this book, and conſequently in ſome meaſure of our author's life, ſince it is certain that he

(55) Præfat. ad Compend. ſtudii Theolog.

(56) Oudin, de Script. et Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. iii. col. 196.

(46) Gold.
(47) Coral.
(48) The Viper.
(49) Roſemary.
(50) This has not hitherto been explained.
(51) Bone of a Stag's heart.
(52) Lignum Aloes.

ſome ſay, or in 1294 (*f*), as others aſſert, was interred in the church of the Franciſcans (*g*) [*H*]. Theſe are all the circumſtances that with the utmoſt care and diligence we have been able to collect, concerning the life and actions of this great man, whoſe deep ſcience and vaſt penetration enabled him to make ſuch a prodigious progreſs in all uſeful knowledge, that even the wiſeſt and ableſt men of later times, read his works with aſtoniſhment, and readily confeſs, that he was well diſtinguiſhed (however ill they treated him in other reſpects) by the title the Monks gave him of *Doctor Mirabilis* (*h*) [*I*], or, the Wonderful Doctor, which moſt certainly he deſerved, in whatever ſenſe the phraſe is taken.

(*f*) Dr. Jebb gives us this date in his preface.

(*g*) Tho. Rudburne Chron. ſive Hiſt. MS.

(*h*) Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Scrip. p. 366.

But it is not ſufficient to obſerve this in general terms. The fame of the man, the reſpect due to truth, and the regard we owe to the honour of our country, which, in point of literary credit, has nothing greater to boaſt than the glory of producing ſuch a genius, require from us a more exact, authentic, and particular diſplay of his diſcoveries, in order to juſtify what has been already ſaid in his praiſe, and

did not long ſurvive the writing it: for in this book he tells us, that among the forward and raſh profeſſors, whoſe vehemence and impetuoſity contributed greatly to the hindrance of true learning, he knew one Richard of Cornwall, the worſt and fooliſheſt of them all, who was in great credit with the ſilly multitude, though deſpiſed and rejected by the wiſer ſort, at Paris, for the errors which he invented and propagated, when he read there publickly the ſentences before he read at Oxford, which was in the year 1250, from which time, ſays he, to the preſent, many of this man's errors ſtill prevail, though it be now forty years ago and more. *Et optime novi peſſimum & ſtultiſſimum iſtorum, qui vocatus eſt Richardus Cornubienſis, famoſiſſimus apud ſtultam multitudinem, ſed apud ſapientes fuit infamis & improbatus Pariſiis propter errores quos invenerat & promulgaverat, quando ſolemniter legebat ſententias ibidem, prius quam legeret ſententias Oxoniæ ab anno Domini* 1250. *Ab illo* 1250, *igitur tempore remanſit multitudo in hujus magiſtri erroribus uſque nunc, ſc. per quadraginta annos & amplius* (57). It is ſufficiently evident from this paſſage, that our author did not compoſe this work before the year 1291, and as he made ſeveral additions to it, he muſt have lived ſome time longer; but as to the exact time of his death, we ſhall give the reader the beſt account of it we can in the ſucceeding note.

(57) Compend. Theolog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[*H*] *Was interred in the church of the Franciſcans.*] The time of this great man's death is as differently reported as are moſt of the accidents of his life; and we may juſtly attribute thereto, many of the miſtakes that have been made about his hiſtory and writings, and therefore we ſhall labour to clear up this point, as far as at this diſtance of time it is poſſible. The famous Leland tells us, that he died at Oxford, and was buried in the church of the Franciſcans in the year 1248 (58), which is very amazing, ſince he elſewhere tells us, that he both dedicated and ſent his works to Pope Clement IV., who did not arrive at that dignity till the year 1265. It muſt however be allowed, that this miſtake was occaſioned by the ſetting down the time of Robert Bacon's death for that of Roger's, which in all probability the author would have corrected, if he had lived to put the laſt hand to his own work (59). Bale changes the date which Leland has given us, and places his death in 1284 (60), which is alſo a little ſtrange, ſince he had ſeen his work, on the means of avoiding the infirmities of old age, which was writ in 1288 at the ſooneſt. This error is tranſcribed by Pits, as indeed almoſt all Bale's errors are, notwithſtanding he takes particular notice, not only of the book which he addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV., but alſo of Bacon's Compendium of Theology, which he tells us, was contained with other treatiſes of our author's in two volumes, in the library of the Lord Lumley, which book, as we have clearly ſhewn, was written at leaſt eight years after the time, which this author has fixed for his death (61). The learned Dr. Cave ſpeaks expreſsly of his being impriſoned at the command of Pope Nicholas IV (62), and ſays, that he did not know whether he was releaſed or not, and yet he places his death in 1284, which is three years before Pope Nicholas was raiſed to that dignity, in which he is implicitly followed by Oudin, who is otherwiſe a very diligent and careful writer (63). Anthony Wood, from two MSS. which he mentions, fixes his death to the eleventh of June 1292; to which date the learned Dr. Freind, who had taken great pains in the peruſal of our author's works, adheres (64). The excellent editor of his Opus Majus, however, places it in 1294, about which time alſo, he thinks, his Compendium of Theology was written (65).

(58) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 259.

(59) *Ib.* p. 286.

(60) Script. Britan. p. 344.

(61) De illuſt. Britan. Scriptor. p. 369.

(62) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. ii. p. 325.

(63) De Script. et Scriptis Eccleſ. Tom. iii. col. 191.

(64) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 235.

(65) See the cloſe of his preface before the Opus Majus.

[*I*] *By the title they gave him of* Doctor Mirabilis.] It was the cuſtom of thoſe times, to diſtinguiſh the characters of eminent ſcholars by ſuch kind of appellations. Thus St. *Thomas Aquinas* was called *Doctor Angelicus*, or the Angelic Doctor; *Joannes Duns Scotus*, *Doctor Subtilis*, or the Subtile Doctor; *William Ocham*, *Doctor Singularis*, or the Singular Doctor: but none of them were more expreſſive or à propos than this given our author, who appears as wonderful to us at the diſtance of four hundred and fifty years, as to the Monks of his order, who were his contemporaries. Yet it is currently reported, that for ſome time, our author's books were perſecuted with as much malice as his perſon, as Dr. Browne tells us, in his ſhort account of this great man's life; 'Many of Bacon's works, ſays he, and of 'Groſthead's alſo, curiouſly written, and well bound, 'were by ſome ignorant men, that would be account-'ed ſcholars, when they could not underſtand them, 'condemned for books of the Black Art, and ſo 'faſtened with long nails to the boards, they either 'became food for worms or moths, or rotted with 'mould and duſt.' This account was originally taken from John Twine (66). But Dr. Langbain, who had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing Bacon's works, was far from being ſatisfied as to the truth of it, as appears by the following paſſage, in a letter of his to the learned Selden, dated January the 20th, 1653: 'I doubt whether the ſtory be probable, as 'the ſcene is laid by Twine, where Abbot *Voche* 'ſpeaks it, as done before his time, which, if true, 'I think, would not have eſcaped the knowledge of 'Leland; and conſidering he was ſo much an admirer 'of Bacon, and withal ſo highly angry with that 'houſe, for making his acceſs into their library ſo 'difficult, I do not ſee well how he could omit to 'have taken notice of it, &c. Though it be no 'neceſſary conſequence in Logick, to argue *ab autho-'ritate negativè*, yet this authority, all circum-'ſtances conſidered, makes it to me very proba-'ble (67).' It is true, Leland ſays nothing of this particular, but he ſays, that it was as difficult to collect the works of Roger Bacon, as to find the Sibyls leaves. Another argument to prove that his fame and writings long laboured under the calumnies and aſperſions of the Monks, is the character afforded him by Biſhop Bale in the firſt edition of his work, when he was under thoſe prejudices reſulting from education, and had not applied himſelf, as he afterwards did, to the peruſal of our ancient writers. We may add to this, the reports ſpread to his prejudice abroad, which could ariſe from nothing but the bold aſſertions of the Monks, who could not ſuſtain their own characters but at the expence of his, ſince they had perſecuted him ſo cruelly in his life-time, and that wholly on account of his writings. But what ſeems to put this matter out of diſpute, is the condition of ſcience in the next century; for had Roger Bacon's books been regarded or ſtudied, it muſt have been where it is at this day, our greateſt men having gone very little beyond him; whereas, in fact, it ſunk lower than where he found it.

(66) Comment. de rebus Albionicis, lib. ii. p. 130.

(67) The original letter, Dr. Jebb tells us, is in the hands of Edward Burton, Eſq;

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what will be hereafter delivered on the ſame ſubject, from the teſtimonies of others. If by doing this methodically, we can ſet his merits in a clearer and fuller light, or add any thing new on ſo curious and ſo important a ſubject, it will ſufficiently atone for the labour it requires, by adding to the pleaſure of the ingenious and inquiſitive reader. To begin then with the languages, which he thought the foundation of all true learning, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the perual of the beſt authors in ſeveral ſciences, in their originals; he not only underſtood them ſufficiently for that purpoſe, but was alſo a perfect maſter of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and has left poſterity ſuch indubitable marks of his critical ſkill in them, as might have ſecured him a very high character, more eſpecially conſidering the age in which he lived, if he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf in any other branch of literature. But his various knowledge in other reſpects, has made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be (*i*) [*K*]. In all branches of the Mathematicks he was wonderfully well verſed, and there is ſcarcely any part of them, on which he has not written with a ſolidity and clearneſs, which have been deſervedly admired by the greateſt maſters in that kind of ſcience. In reſpect to Mechanicks particularly, the learned Dr. Freind ſays, very juſtly, that a greater genius had not ariſen ſince the days of Archimedes (*k*); the truth of which the reader will readily allow, when he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes [*L*]. He underſtood likewiſe the whole ſcience of Optics, to a ſurprizing degree

(*i*) Thomæ Cai Vindic Antiq. Academ. Oxon. p. 436.

(*k*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 235.

[*K*] *Made his ſkill in the languages leſs taken notice of than it ought to be.*] It is very certain, from the account given us by Bacon himſelf, that grammar was at a very low ebb in his time; and as for the learned languages they were not underſtood, at leaſt to any tolerable degree, by above three or four perſons whom he names. It is really matter of wonder how in ſuch an age he became ſo excellently knowing himſelf; for he was not only acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but with the Chaldee alſo, and was able to write grammars in them all. That part of his Opus Majus which treats of this ſubject is exceedingly curious and entertaining, in as much as it is written with a critical exactneſs (68). He ſhews his Holineſs therein, that all ſciences, human and divine, depend in ſome meaſure upon the languages; and in ſhewing this, he not only uſes the authorities of the Fathers and Doctors of the Chriſtian Church, and of the Philoſophers, but alſo of the Poets, particularly Horace and Statius; and he obſerves very pertinently, that the reading their works ſhould be encouraged, for the ſake of delighting the minds of young people, and engaging them to apply themſelves with diligence to the ſtudy of the languages. He even deſcends to pronunciation and quantity, which ſhews with how great accuracy he had ſtudied this ſubject, and how perfectly he was acquainted with every branch of it. To do him juſtice, the method and ſtyle of his works are as admirable as the matter of them, not that I would be underſtood to mean, he was a claſſical writer, for in that perhaps I might go beyond the truth: but his Latin ſtyle is neat, ſtrong, and remarkably expreſſive; nor was there any writer of his age, perhaps we might carry it farther, that either knew how to range his matter better, or to bring it into a ſhorter compaſs; ſo that in all his treatiſes on ſuch a variety of ſubjects, he ſeems to have written with equal facility and judgment, leaving nothing perplexed or obſcure, either from a want or from a redundancy of words. It is very ſurprizing that ſome learned men have cenſured him, for believing it poſſible to teach the learned languages in a very ſhort compaſs of time; but it muſt be owned, that they were led into theſe miſtakes for want of being well acquainted with his writings; ſince before his Opus Majus was publiſhed, it was impoſſible to conceive any true notion of its contents; and therefore, we need the leſs wonder at the miſtaken judgments that were paſſed upon it, or rather upon the ſeveral treatiſes of which it is compoſed, and which nobody, till that work appeared, conceived to have any relation to each other, much leſs that they formed, as they really do, a complete ſyſtem of learning. But the reader being already acquainted with the plan and diſpoſition of that great work, will have acquired ſuch an idea of it, as muſt enable him to enter perfectly into the truth and juſtice of theſe obſervations; and therefore I will dwell on them no longer.

(68) See his treatiſe *de Utilitate Grammaticæ* in his *Opus Majus*, p. 44.

[*L*] *When he has conſidered the contents of a ſingle page of one of his treatiſes.*] This occurs in the ſmall tract ſo often mentioned, which was one of the firſt publiſhed of our author's works, and intitled *Epiſtola Fratris Rogeri Baconis, de ſecretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de nullitate Magiæ: i. e.* 'An Epiſtle of 'brother Roger Bacon, concerning the ſecret Works 'of Art and Nature, and the non-entity of Magick.' In this very curious treatiſe, our author very clearly ſtates the means of working upon Nature, and heightning the wonders ſhe produces by the power of art; and in the *fourth* chapter of this work, he propoſes to ſpeak of wonderful inſtruments which may be artificially contrived, by which, ſays he, ſuch things may be done without the help of Magick, as indeed Magick is unable and incapable of performing. *For a veſſel may be ſo conſtructed, and oars therein ſo diſpoſed, as to make more way with one man in her, than another veſſel fully manned.* Several authors tell us, that this has been attempted ſince the time of Bacon; and the German author who wrote notes upon this treatiſe of Bacon's, expreſsly affirms, that one Thomas Norton made ſuch a boat, in which, while he ſat reading or writing, he quickened or retarded its motion at pleaſure. He likewiſe ſays, that one Horſington of Suſſex invented a mill which went of itſelf; and ſome other inſtances he gives, of which he was an eye-witneſs at London (69). But as to the invention mentioned by our author, it has been practiſed on the canals in Flanders and Holland with ſome degree of ſucceſs; and a writer who is allowed to be an excellent judge of things of this nature, declares his opinion, that this ſcheme will be one day brought to perfection, and ſuch veſſels come into uſe (70). But let us hear our author again: *It is poſſible*, ſays he, *to make a chariot, which, without any aſſiſtance of animals, ſhall move with that irreſiſtible force, which is aſcribed to thoſe ſcythed chariots in which the ancients fought.* Something of this kind we are told has been attempted in China with ſucceſs; which is the more credible, ſince it is certain that one Thomas Stevens, a celebrated Mathematician of the XVIth century, invented a kind of machine with maſts and ſails, which ran on plain ground at the rate of two leagues an hour, and which was uſed by Maurice Prince of Orange (71). *It is poſſible alſo*, ſays our author, *to make inſtruments for flying, ſo that a man ſitting in the middle thereof and ſteering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to anſwer the end of wings, ſo as to divide and paſs through the air. It is no leſs poſſible to make a machine of a very ſmall ſize, and yet capable of raiſing or ſinking the greateſt weights, which may be of infinite uſe on certain occaſions, for by the help of ſuch an inſtrument, not above three inches high, or leſs, a man may be able to deliver himſelf and his companion out of priſon, and to aſcend or deſcend at pleaſure.* This is a direct proof that our author was acquainted with the perpetual ſkrew. He ſpeaks alſo in the ſame chapter of machines for diving, and of flying bridges that may be thrown at pleaſure for the paſſage of armies over rivers, aſſuring us, that except the inſtrument for flying, he had ſeen and experienced all the reſt, and that he very well knew the author of that invention. We need not wonder that a man, who

(69) See the notes of P. S. on this treatiſe, in Mangetus's *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, Tom. i. p. 625.

(70) See *Deſlandes. Hiſt. critique de la Philoſophie*, Vol. iii. p. 326.

(71) Voſſ. *de Scient. Mathematic.* c. 57.

degree of accuracy and exactneſs; and is very juſtly allowed to have underſtood, both the theory and practice of thoſe diſcoveries, which have beſtowed ſuch high reputation on thoſe of our own and of other nations, who have brought them into common uſe (*l*) [*M*].

(*l*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 122.

underſtood and deſcribed ſuch amazing machines, and who, by frequent experiments, plainly ſhewed, that he was not either a vain or a credulous perſon, ſhould paſs in thoſe days for ſomething more than man, and, in ſpite of all he writ to prove the contrary, for a Magician; and perhaps there are countries even in Europe, where, if a perſon attempted things of this nature, he might yet fall under the like imputation. But what made reflections of this kind on Roger Bacon more inhuman than upon any other man, was his plain and honeſt manner of communicating theſe things, not as wonders and prodigies, the effects of a ſecret and miraculous art, but as the genuine produce of true ſcience, the principles of which he offered to teach and to explain; ſo that he publiſhed theſe diſcoveries, not to aſtoniſh or amuſe mankind, but to encourage and excite them to a vigorous ſearch after true knowledge, by which they might have been convinced, that mathematical ſcience was much ſuperior to Magick.

[*M*] *And of other nations who have brought them into common uſe.*] The deſign of this note is no more than to ſatisfy the reader of the truth of what is advanced in the text; in doing of which we ſhall partly rely on the evidence derived from our author's own writings, and in part, on the authorities of ſuch learned men of our own and of other countries, as have been univerſally allowed proper judges of the ſubject. In reſpect to the ſcience of Perſpective, he took incredible pains, not only in the theory, but the practice, in which he ſpent conſiderable ſums, that he might bring into ſome method a ſcience, which was then underſtood but by very few; and he tells us, that no lectures had been read upon it at Paris, and but twice at Oxford, and that there were but three who had any ſkill in it (72). However, theſe perſons made ſuch prodigious advances in it, that, as Dr. Jebb obſerves, they ſeem to have left nothing for poſterity to add to the perfection of their inſtruments. Bacon has very accurately deſcribed the uſes of reading glaſſes, and ſhewn the way of making them, as appears from the following paſſage from his Opus Majus. *Si vero homo aſpiciat literas & alias res minutas per medium cryſtalli, vel vitri, vel alterius perſpicui, ſuppoſiti literis & ſit portio minor ſpheræ, cujus convexitas ſit verſus oculum & oculus ſit in ære longe melius, videbis literas & apparebunt ei majores, & ideo hoc inſtrumentum eſt utile ſenibus & habentibus oculos debiles. Nam literam quantumcunque parvum poſſunt videre inſufficienti magnitudine* (73). This point is alſo admitted by the very learned Profeſſor, Peter van Muſchenbroeck of Leyden, who attributes to our author the invention of reading-glaſſes (74). Dr. Freind likewiſe remarks, that he deſcribes the *camera obſcura*, and all ſorts of glaſſes which magnify or diminiſh any object, bring it nearer to the eye, or remove it farther off (75). Bacon tells us alſo himſelf, that he had made great numbers of burning-glaſſes, and that there were none ever in uſe among the Latins, till his friend *Peter de Maharn Curia* had applied himſelf to the making of them. He informs us, in another paſſage of his writings, that this Peter had already laboured three years about one glaſs, which was to burn at a certain diſtance, and that he would ſoon complete it through the favour of God; though the Latins knew not how to do that, nor was it ever attempted by them, notwithſtanding, ſays he, we have books concerning the method of forming glaſſes of that kind (76). We may obſerve likewiſe, that Thomas Galileo aſcribes the invention of the optic tube or teleſcope to himſelf (77), and Peter Borellus contends, that the honour of it is due to Zachary Joannides, a citizen of Middleburgh (78); yet it is evident, the invention was known to our author, from a paſſage wherein he tells us, that he was able to form glaſſes in ſuch a manner, with reſpect to our ſight and the objects, that the rays ſhall be refracted and reflected wherever we pleaſe; ſo that we may ſee a thing under what angle we think proper, either near or at a diſtance, and be able to read the ſmalleſt letters at an incredible diſtance, and to count the duſt and ſand, on account of the greatneſs of the angle under which we ſee the objects; and alſo that we ſhall ſcarcely ſee the greateſt bodies near us, on account of the ſmallneſs of the angle under which we ſee them. It is very clear, that he made uſe of his teleſcope in his aſtronomical obſervations, from what he ſays in his Opus Tertium, dedicated to Pope Clement, concerning ſuch things as were neceſſary for compleating thoſe aſtronomical tables which he deſigned: 'But, ſays he, what is much more requiſite than 'theſe things, is to have men who underſtand Per-'ſpective and the inſtruments of it very well, be-'cauſe the inſtruments of aſtronomy are only made 'uſe of by ſight, according to the laws of that 'ſcience (79).' The learned Dr. Plott, for the honour of the city and univerſity of Oxford, conſiders the invention of the teleſcope at large, and declares, that without wreſting of words or begging favourable conſtructions, it is very poſſible to prove, that Friar Bacon was either the inventor or improver of that uſeful inſtrument. How able he is to make good his aſſertion will beſt appear from his own words, ſince, in matters of this nature, it is but fair to let an author ſpeak for himſelf, eſpecially when, as in this caſe, we make uſe at once both of his arguments and his authority (80).

'That this learned Friar underſtood all ſorts of 'glaſſes, and to order and adapt them to ſuch like 'purpoſes (not to cite other places that might eaſily 'be brought), I think I may with truth as well as 'confidence affirm, from the unconſtrained ſenſe of 'his own words in his book of Perſpective (81). *Si 'vero corpora non ſunt plana per quæ viſus videt, ſed 'ſphærica; tunc eſt magna diverſitas, nam vel con-'cavitas corporis eſt verſus oculum, vel convexitas.* 'But, ſays he, if the glaſſes be not plain, (having 'treated of them before) but ſpherical, the caſe is 'much otherwiſe, for either the concavity of the 'glaſs is next the eye, or the convexity, &c. Now 'that he uſed theſe glaſſes in celeſtial obſervations, 'is altogether as evident from the ſame book, where 'he proceeds in theſe words (82). *De viſione fracta 'majora ſunt, nam de facili patet, maxima poſſe ap-'parere minima, & è contra; & longe diſtantia vi-'debantur propinquiſſimè, & e converſo; ſic etiam 'faceremus ſolem & lunam & ſtellas deſcendere ſe-'cundum apparentiam hic inferius, &c.* Greater 'things are performed if the viſion be refracted, for '(by refraction) 'tis eaſily made appear, that the 'greateſt things may be repreſented leſs, and little 'things as the greateſt, and that things afar off may 'be repreſented near. Thus we can make the ſun, 'and moon, and ſtars, to all appearance, to come 'down to us here below, &c.'

'Again, in his epiſtle *ad Pariſienſem* concerning the 'ſecret works of art and nature (83). *Poſſunt enim ſic 'figurari perſpicua, ut longiſſimè poſita, appareant 'propinquiſſima, & e contrario; ita quod ex incredi-'bili diſtantiâ legeremus literas minutiſſimas, & nu-'meraremus res quantumcunque parvas, & ſtellas fa-'ceremus apparere quo vellemus.* Glaſſes may be ſo 'figured, that things the moſt remote may appear 'near, ſo that at an incredible diſtance we may read 'the ſmalleſt character, and number things though 'never ſo ſmall; and laſtly, make ſtars appear as 'near as we pleaſe; and theſe things he ſays, in ano-'ther place, were to the illiterate ſo formidable and 'amazing, *ut animus mortalis ignorans veritatem non 'poſſit aliqualiter ſuſtinere* (84), that no mortal, ig-'norant of the means, could poſſibly bear it; wherein 'this learned Franciſcan did ſo far excell the ancient 'Magicians, that whereas they repreſented the 'moon's approach by their magical charms, he 'brought her lower with greater innocence, and 'with his glaſſes did that in truth, which the an-'cient poets always put in a fable. All which put 'together, it muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed that he 'had ſome ſuch inſtrument, though not ſo trimly 'made, 'tis like, as our teleſcopes are now, in favour 'of which truth much more might be alledged, did 'I not think this ſufficient to evince it to the unpre-'judiced reader.' Such is the judgment of this curious and able man, and ſuch the reaſons on which it is founded, and which we may ſafely add, are ſuch as cannot be refuted.

(79) Opus Tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. Cot. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(80) Natural Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, p. 215.

(81) Perſpectiv. par iii. diſt. 2. cap. 3.

(82) *Ibid.* diſt. ult.

(83) Cap. 5.

(84) Perſpect. P. iii. diſt. 3.

(72) Opus tert. ad Clement. IV. MS. Cott. Tib. C. 5. fol. 6.

(73) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 236.

(74) Elements of Natural Philoſophy, Vol. ii. p. 130.

(75) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p 236.

(76) Compend. Stud. Theol. MS. Reg. P. ii. c. 1. p. 5.

(77) Libel. rogator. ad Remp. Holland.

(78) De vero Teleſcopii Inventore.

In

In Geography alſo he was admirably well ſkilled, as appears from a variety of paſſages in his works, which ſhew that he was far better acquainted with the ſituation, extent, and inhabitants, even of the moſt diſtant countries, than many who made that particular ſcience their ſtudy, and wrote upon it in ſucceeding times. This I ſuppoſe was the reaſon which induced the judicious Hackluyt to tranſcribe a large diſcourſe out of his writings, into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels (*m*) [*N*]. But his ſkill in Aſtronomy was ſtill more amazing, ſince it plainly appears, that he not only pointed out that error which occaſioned the reformation in the calendar (*n*), that has given riſe to the diſtinction between the old ſtile and the new, but alſo offered a much more effectual and perfect reformation, than that which was made in the time of Pope Gregory XIII [*O*]. There are

(*m*) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. iii.

(*n*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxon. p. 138.

[*N*] *A large diſcourſe out of his writings into his noble Collection of Voyages and Travels.*] I mention this circumſtance for the honour of both authors. It was the deſign of Hackluyt in his excellent collections, to inſtruct, to exhort, and to raiſe the emulation of his countrymen, by ſhewing them what was known to, and what had been performed by, their anceſtors, and not to amuſe his reader with ſtrange tales and wonderful relations (85). It was this deſign, that led him to enquire after the beſt writers of our country upon theſe ſubjects; as this brought him acquainted with the works of Bacon, which he ſoon found were extremely fit for his purpoſe. What he has publiſhed, is taken out of that part of our author's Opus Majus, in which he treats expreſsly of Geography, and gives ſo clear and plain, ſo full, and yet ſo ſuccinct, an account of the then known world, as, I believe, is ſcarcely to be found in any other writer, either of the paſt or preſent age (86). What is publiſhed in this collection of voyages, relates to the countries between the Danube and the utmoſt extremities of Tartary (87). A field ſufficiently large for any man's abilities, and in which he has ſhewn his own in an amazing degree: for whoever reads this fragment of his, as it ſtands in this Engliſh collection, will evidently ſee, that as he ſpared no pains to make himſelf abſolutely maſter of all the new diſcoveries which that age afforded; ſo he likewiſe knew how to make a right judgment of thoſe diſcoveries, ſo as to diſpoſe them in the propereſt manner, for the improvement of uſeful knowledge. It likewiſe very plainly appears, that he had a very juſt notion of the country of the Tartars, of the empire of China, and all the adjacent kingdoms, which are ſcarcely any where to be found more clearly, or more properly deſcribed, than in this diſcourſe. We muſt therefore allow it is much for the credit of our author, that as ſoon as true learning revived, his works came again into credit; ſo that all who ſtudied to bring uſeful knowledge into repute, had recourſe to the works of Bacon, and brought them out of the duſt of libraries, where they had been long buried, into day-light, and by a neceſſary conſequence into reputation.

(85) See his ſeveral prefaces and dedications to the different parts of his collections.

(86) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 223—235.

(87) Hackluyt's Voyages, Vol. iii.

[*O*] *A more effectual and perfect reformation than that in the time of Gregory XIII.*] The firſt thing to be obſerved in this note is, that our author ſaw and demonſtrated the errors in the Kalendar, without any aſſiſtance, and purely from the knowledge he had in Aſtronomy. He obſerves, indeed, that the miſtake about the length of the year, was commonly known and objected to the Church; but he ſays nobody durſt attempt to mend it, without the authority of a General Council. To facilitate the amending ſo ſcandalous an error, he offers his aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of his power; and ſpeaking to Pope Clement IV., he thus lays open both the cauſes of this miſtake, and the means by which it might be remedied. 'Julius 'Cæſar, *ſays he*, being well ſkilled in Aſtronomy, 'ſettled, as well as it was poſſible in his time, the 'Kalendar; and, as hiſtory informs us, maintained 'in Egypt, againſt Achorius the Aſtronomer, and 'Eudoxus, his notion of the length of the ſolar 'year, upon which our computation is founded. 'Hence it is, that the Poet Lucan brings him in 'ſpeaking thus:

Non meus Eudoxi vincetur faſtibus annus.
Nor ſhall Eudoxus change my ſettled year.

'But Julius, however, did not diſcover the exact 'length of the year; for he has fixed it in our ka-'lendar at three hundred and ſixty-five days and the 'fourth of a day, which fourth-part is collected once 'in four years, ſo that in the biſſextile year, one day 'more is reckoned in every fourth year than in the 'common years. It is however manifeſt, not only 'by the old and new computation, but is alſo known 'from aſtronomical obſervations, that the ſolar year 'is not of that length but ſomewhat ſhorter; and 'this ſmall difference, wiſe men have computed to 'be the one hundred and thirtieth part of a day. 'So that in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty 'years, there is a ſuperfluous day taken in, which, 'if it were taken away, our calendar would be cor-'rected as to this fault; and therefore, as all 'things in our computation depend upon the quantity 'of the ſolar year, it is neceſſary to recede from 'this poſition, when it thus appears to be a funda-'mental error. From hence there ariſes ſtill a greater 'error, that is, in fixing the equinoxes and ſolſtices; 'and this error not only ariſes from the quantity of 'the year, but has alſo very miſchievous conſe-'quences: for the equinoxes and ſolſtices are there-'by fixed to certain days, as if they really happened 'upon them, and were ſo to happen for ever (88). 'But it is certain from Aſtronomy, which cannot lie, 'that they aſcend in the kalendar, as by the help 'of tables and inſtruments may be unqueſtionably 'proved.' Thus far we have uſed our author's words; but to avoid prolixity, we will content ourſelves now with purſuing his ſenſe only. He obſerves, that this error with reſpect to the equinoxes and ſolſtices was ſo great, as not only to diſguſt the learned, but to fall under the notice of every ploughman: for the Church having originally fixed the vernal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of April, and the autumnal equinox on the eighth of the kalends of October, that is, on the twenty-fifth of March and twenty-fourth of September, they were now riſen, that is, at the time he wrote, the one to the thirteenth of March, and the other to the ſixteenth of September. He collects from theſe obſervations, that the equinoxes aſcend about one day in one hundred and twenty-five years, and he therefore propoſes, that the alteration of the kalendar ſhould be made, not from the time afterwards fixed by the Council of Nice, but according to the places which the equinoxes and ſolſtices held at the time of our Saviour's nativity; and this he thought might very well be known, from an obſervation made by Ptolemy in his Almageſt, who, one hundred and forty years after the birth of Chriſt, found the vernal equinox to have been on the twenty-ſecond of March, and the winter ſolſtice on the twenty-ſecond of December, upon which he founds his computation of their riſing one day in one hundred and twenty-five years. It muſt be owned, that this reaſoning of his is very clear and exact, and not very far from the truth; for according to this method of computing, the vernal equinox ſhould have riſen this year, one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-five, to the eleventh of March, whereas it happened on the ninth. He goes on to ſhew very clearly, what prodigious inconveniencies muſt neceſſarily attend the ſuffering this error to continue; and therefore he concludes, that it was then high time to apply a remedy to theſe palpable miſtakes, which brought ſo much ſhame and ſcandal upon the Church. 'For, 'ſays he, all who are verſed in computations and 'Aſtronomy know theſe miſtakes well; and deride 'the Prelates for their ignorance, in not ſuffering 'them to be corrected; and the Infidel Philoſophers, 'Arabians, Jews, and Greeks, who live amongſt 'Chriſtians in Spain, in the Eaſt, and many other 'parts of the world, abhor the folly that appears in 'ſettling the times, on which the ſolemn feſtivals 'of the Church are celebrated; and this too, when 'Chriſtians are ſkilful enough in Aſtronomy to ſettle 'all theſe points as they ſhould be. Your Reverence 'therefore may command, and there will be found 'perſons every way capable of applying proper re-'medies

(88) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 169, 170.

are alſo remaining, ſome works of his relating to Chronology, which would have been thought worthy of very particular notice, if his ſkill in other ſciences had not made his proficiency in this branch of knowledge the leſs remarkable. But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that he was perfectly well verſed in the hiſtory of the four great empires of the world, which he has treated very accurately and ſuccinctly, in his great work addreſſed to Pope Clement IV (*o*). He was ſo thoroughly acquainted with Chemiſtry, at a time too that it was ſcarcely known in Europe, though it had been long cultivated among the Arabians, that Dr. Freind ſays truly, it is no more than doing juſtice, to aſcribe the honour of introducing it to this our countryman, who, as he likewiſe ſays, ſpeaks in ſome part or other of his works, of almoſt every operation now uſed in Chemiſtry, and deſcribes the method of making tinctures and elixirs (*p*). But we muſt not ſo haſtily paſs over his excellency in this art; ſince there are no leſs than three capital diſcoveries made by him, which deſerve to be particularly conſidered. The firſt is, the invention of gun-powder, which, however confidently aſcribed to others, was unqueſtionably known to him, both in regard to its ingredients and effects (*q*) [*P*]. The ſecond is that which commonly goes under the name of *Alchemy*, or the art of tranſmuting

(*o*) Opus Majus, p. 169, et ſeq.

(*p*) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 234.

(*q*) See the proof of this in the note [*P*].

'medies in theſe reſpects, and not only to theſe, but 'to the defects of the whole Kalendar; for there are 'no leſs than thirteen radical errors, which have al-'moſt an infinite number of branches. If therefore 'this glorious work could be done in the reign of 'your Holineſs, it would be one of the greateſt, beſt, 'and faireſt performances, that ever was attempted 'in the Church of God (89).' Our author afterwards framed a Kalendar for this very purpoſe; a fair and perfect MS. copy of which was once in the hands of Mr. Theyer of Glouceſterſhire. There is alſo another tranſcript of this Kalendar in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (90). Dr. Plot, who had ſeen Mr. Theyer's copy (91), diſcourſes farther on this ſubject thus, 'From which, or ſome other Kalendar of his, 'Paulus Middleburgenſis, Biſhop of Foſſombrone, 'in the dukedom of Urbin, ſtole half of his great 'volume, which he calls his Paulina, concerning the 'true time of keeping Eaſter, and day of the paſſion 'of our Lord Jeſus, directed to Pope Leo X., in order 'to the reformation of the Roman Kalendar and 'Eccleſiaſtical Cycles, written juſt in the ſame order 'and method, generally and particularly, as Roger 'Bacon long before had done to Clement IV.; and 'yet full ſlender mention (ſays Dr. Dee (92), doth 'this Biſhop make of him, though his chief inſtruc-'tor in the beſt part of the matter contained in his 'book: in which deſign, though the plagiary were 'unſucceſsful, his endeavours being fruſtrated for a 'time, yet it was he that ſtirred up Nicholas Co-'pernicus (as the ſame Nicholas honeſtly confeſſes, 'in an epiſtle of his to Paul III.) (93), more accu-'rately to obſerve the motions of the ſun and moon, 'and thence to define the quantities of years and 'months, more truly than they were before in the 'Julian Kalendar; upon whoſe foundations Aloyſius, 'and the reſt of the ſumptuous college of Mathema-'ticians at Rome, having built their reformation, it 'is eaſily deducible, that whatever has been done in 'this matter, from the time of Friar Bacon to that of 'Pope Gregory XIII., muſt, in a great meaſure, be 'aſcribed to him, their whole reformation ſcarcely 'differing from his (94).' In fact, however, as Dr. Plot alſo obſerves, it was not only ſtolen from our author Bacon, but manifeſtly injured by thoſe who had the direction of that reformation, and who might have made it much more effectual, and have carried it back as he adviſed, not to the Nicene Council, but quite to the nativity of our Lord: for then the vernal equinox this year, would have been placed much nearer the true time than it is, and the Kalendar have ſooner become perfect (95). The learned editor therefore of the Opus Majus, Dr. Jebb, had reaſon to ſay of this propoſal of our author's to Pope Clement IV., that it was one of the nobleſt efforts of human induſtry (96). It is, indeed, conſidered in all its circumſtances, one of the moſt ſtupendous inſtances of the force of human underſtanding that has been recorded, and will do honour to our learned countryman's memory as long as the ſun and moon endure (97).

(89) *Ibid.* p. 179, 180.

(90) No. 2458, F. 9. Cod. 5. n. 3.

(91) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 225.

(92) Propoſal to Queen Elizabeth and her Council, concerning the Reformation of the vulgar Kalendar. *MS. in Bibliothec. C. C. C. Oxon. Lit. Z.* fol.

(93) In Præfat. in libros revolutionum.

(94) See Holder's Account of Time, and of the Julian and Gregorian Kalendars.

(95) They fix it as the Nicene Council did, to March 21.

(96) In his Preface to the Opus Majus.

(97) See Petavius's Account of this matter in his *Doctrin. Tempor. lib.* vii. *cap.* 12.

[*P*) *Was unqueſtionably known to him, both in regard to its ingredients and effects.*] It is in the firſt place to be obſerved, that our author died near one hundred years before the invention of gun-powder, according to the ordinary computation; but that he was really acquainted with the ſecret, ſuch as have examined his works have readily confeſſed; and the only queſtion is, whether he has or has not fully revealed this ſecret. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething new upon this head, and which has not hitherto ever been taken notice of; but we will firſt lay down what has been generally advanced on this ſubject. In the ſixth chapter of his famous work *of the Secrets of Nature and Art*, he tells us, 'That 'from ſalt-petre and other ingredients, we are able 'to make a fire that ſhall burn at what diſtance we 'pleaſe.' *In omnem diſtantiam quam volumus, poſſumus artificialiter componere ignem comburentem ex ſale petræ et aliis.* He likewiſe mentions other methods of doing the ſame thing, and then ſpeaking of the effects of theſe ſtrange fires, he ſays, 'That 'ſounds like thunder, and corruſcations may be 'formed in the air, and even with greater horror 'than thoſe which happen naturally; for a little 'matter, properly diſpoſed, about the bigneſs of a 'man's thumb, makes a dreadful noiſe, and occa-'ſions a prodigious corruſcation: And this, ſays he, 'is done ſeveral ways, by which a city or an army 'may be deſtroyed, after the manner of Gideon's ſtra-'tagem, who having broken the pitchers and lamps, 'and the fire iſſuing out with an inexpreſſible noiſe, 'killed an infinite number of the Midianites, with 'only three hundred men.' *Nam ſoni velut tonitrus & corruſcationes poſſunt fieri in aëre, immo majore horrore quam illa quæ fiunt per naturam. Nam modica materia adaptata, ſcilicet ad quantitatem unius pollicis, ſonum facit horribilem & corruſcationem oſtendit vehementem; & hoc fit multis modis quibus civitas aut exercitus deſtruatur, ad modum artificii Gideonis qui lagunculis fractis & lampadibus, igne exſiliente cum fragore inæſtimabili, infinitum Midianitarum deſtruxit exercitum cum trecentis hominibus* (98). This very plainly proves, that he knew the effects that ſuch a compoſition, as what we now call gun-powder, would produce; and if it were of any conſequence to make this point ſtill clearer, it might very eaſily be done from another paſſage in his Opus Majus, wherein he expreſſes himſelf in yet ſtronger terms upon the ſame ſubject. But ſtill a queſtion may be aſked, Was this thundering powder preciſely the ſame with that which we call gun-powder? In anſwer to this, Dr. Plot tells us poſitively, that the *alia* before mentioned in a MS. copy of the ſame treatiſe, in the hands of the learned Dr. G. Langbain, which was ſeen by Dr. John Wallis, was explained to be *ſulphur* and *wood-coal* (99). We are told the ſame thing by the judicious Dr. Freind (100); but who vouches that theſe words were of Bacon's writing? It was no difficult thing, when ſaltpetre and a thundering powder was mentioned, to think of ſulphur and wood-coal; but the point is, did Roger Bacon think of it? If he did, how does this appear? I anſwer, from all the MSS. of this very treatiſe, but never in the place theſe learned gentlemen looked for it; for our author did not then intend to reveal it. But after he had written his treatiſe, of the ſecret Works of Nature and Art, he added two appendixes, which are the tenth and eleventh chapters, in which he farther explains to him correſpondent, ſome paſſages which appeared to him obſcure

(93) De Secretis Operib. Artis & Naturæ, cap. vi.

(99) Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire, p. 236, 237.

(100) In the Appendix to the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory of Phyſic.

transmuting metals, of which he has left many treatises, some published, and some still remaining in MS. which, whatever they may be thought of now, procured him the reputation of an adept, among the greatest masters in that mysterious branch of learning; and in which writings, there are, without doubt, a multitude of curious and useful passages, which, independently of their principal subject, will render them always valuable (*r*) [Q]. The third discovery in Chemistry which deserves the reader's attention, was the tincture of gold for the prolongation of life, of which, as Dr. Freind says, he has given

(*r*) Boerhaave's Chemistry, Vol. i. p. 28, 29.

obscure in the foregoing work; and it is in the last of these chapters, that he divulges this secret; yet not absolutely; but in a cypher, by transposing the letters of two of the words, for thus it is set down: *Sed tamen salis petræ* LURU MOPE CAN UBRE *et sulphuris; et sic facies tonitrum et corruscationem, si scias artificium* (101). So that if the words *carbonum pulvere* were set down in the sixth chapter of Dr. Langbain's MS. they were taken from hence; the author, as I observed before, not intending at that time to mention all the ingredients of this dangerous discovery, for if he had, there would have been no need of his appendix.

(101) R. Baconi Epistola de secretis operibus Artis et Naturæ, cap. xi.

[Q] *Will render them always valuable.*] We have already considered our author in the several lights of a Philologist, a Critic, a Mathematician, a Mechanist, a Natural Philosopher, an Astronomer, and are now come to view him in that of a Chemist. He was, as we have shewn in the text, one of the earliest in Europe, and contemporary with Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon; a man exactly of Bacon's temper; for he quitted his bishopric, that he might pursue the pleasures of Experimental Philosophy in quiet, in a monastery at Cologne (102). Yet our author appears to have had no instructor, but gathered all from his books and his own meditation. However, with this assistance only, he became the greatest Chemist of his own time beyond comparison, and perhaps, without exceeding truth, we might say, of any other. His writings on this subject are highly finished, and they seem to speak the master in every line. His style is neat, elegant, concise, perspicuous, and expressive; so that the reader not only understands whatever he delivers, but is also sensible at the same time, that he perfectly understood what he wrote. The most considerable of his chemical works have been printed; but the MSS. which were at Oxford are now at Leyden, being carried abroad amongst those of Vossius. In these pieces of his he attempts to prove, that imperfect minerals may be ripened into perfect metals. He maintains Geber's principles, that mercury is the common basis of all metals, and sulphur the cement. Upon these principles he shews, that it is by a gradual depuration of the mercurial matter, and the accession of a subtile sulphur, that nature forms gold; and that if while the gold is producing any third matter intervenes, some baser metal arises, according to the nature of the intervening substance. Hence he infers, that it is a thing very practicable by pursuing nature's method, to purify and change all baser metals into gold (103). He is so perfectly clear in all he has written on this subject, and appears to have been so well versed from experience in the facts which he lays down, and the consequences he draws from them, that one would be tempted to imagine, some of those trials were actually made by him, that in latter times have passed for new experiments. The late Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and one of the most curious and inquisitive, as well as knowing and penetrating Princes that have lived in our times, commanded an excellent Chemist to examine into the nature of metals, and more especially of gold, that it might appear, whether the old principles of the Arabs (most clearly defined, and rationally explained by our author) were solid truths, or empty chimeras. This was putting the ancient science of Chemistry to the *experimentum crucis*, and giving posterity an opportunity of learning, by unexceptionable trials, what was to be depended upon in this respect. If our author and his instructors had been, as some have fancied, mere enthusiasts and dreamers, their folly had been now discovered and exploded; but the very contrary of this happened, and the experimental Philosophers, who profess themselves only the disciples of nature, have been obliged to adopt, or at least to admit, the principles of the Chemists. But to come closer to the point, and to compare the doctrine of our Bacon with the conclusions of the French proficient. The former we know laid it down in direct terms, that *the component parts of* gold, *are, a most pure* mercury, *and a subtile* sulphur (104). On the other hand, M. Homberg, in his *Essai du souffre principe*, gives us two experiments, the first with mercury, which upon being exposed to a digesting heat, ceases to be fluid, becomes a powder heavier than mercury, and at length acquires such a fixedness, as to be capable of remaining red-hot for twenty-four hours without loss, though upon applying a naked fire, the greatest part flies off in fume, leaving a piece of hard metal formed of the mercury behind. The other experiment is with regulus of antimony, which, upon being exposed to the Duke of Orleans's great burning-glass to calcine, gained one-eighth part in weight: from the experiments he concludes, that light may be introduced into porous bodies, may there fix and increase both their weight and bulk, and that the light thus retained in mercury, becomes inseparable therefrom in the most vehement fire, and even changes the form of the mercury into a malleable ductile metal, heavier than any other metal, except gold. In another place the same author argues, *that gold consists principally of two kinds of matter, viz.* mercury *or* quicksilver, *and a metallic* sulphur; *the latter, according to him, being no other than light; either of which being taken apart, evaporates with the least heat, but when joined together in a metal, after the manner just mentioned, they lose their volatility, and become so fixed, that the most intense fire of our laboratories cannot separate them* (105). Thus this very knowing and judicious person, who, in consequence of all the trials and experiments he ran through on this subject, was never taught to speak clearer or more assuredly than our author, who lived so many ages before him. But let us next hear a greater and more famous author among the moderns than Homberg; I mean the most excellent and incomparable Boerhaave, whose learning, great as it was, yielded much to his veracity, and whose diligence was only equalled by his candour. This admirable man, who had not only the courage to seek truth wherever she might be met with, but likewise to own where he met with her, let it be in what place it would, discourses thus, both on the subject and of our author (106). 'By all that I have hitherto delivered, 'it appears, that Chemistry is of great use and 'extent through all, or at least the chief of, the mechanical arts, so that they who cultivate them might 'truly be called artificers, and make incredible improvements in their several provinces, if at the same 'time they were skilled in Chemistry: consequently 'there are many and weighty reasons to induce men 'to superadd Chemistry to all the other sciences employed in the consideration or changing of bodies; 'and, lastly, carefully to observe, and faithfully write 'down such effects as arise therefrom, to be afterwards reduced into order and made public, that by 'a number of contributions thus brought from all 'quarters, the arts may at length be brought to perfection. What was in my power I have endeavoured 'to perform in this undertaking, wherein, though I 'make no great advances, I am of some use, as I 'have set an example of labour before you, which 'with the advantage of genius, may lead you on 'to make much greater discoveries. I come now to 'add a few, but candid and ingenuous, considerations on the great use of Chemistry in Alchemy. 'To speak my mind freely, I have not met any 'writers on Natural Philosophy, who treat of the 'nature of bodies, so profoundly, and explained the 'manner of changing them so clearly, as those called 'Alchemists. To be convinced of this, read carefully their genuine writings; for instance, the piece 'of Raymond Lully, which he intitles *Experiments*, 'you will find him, with the utmost clearness and 'simplicity,

(102) Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, tom. i. p. 123.

(103) Speculum Alchemiæ, cap. iv.

(104) His own words are, 'Aurum quidem est 'corpus perfectum, ex argento 'puro, fixo, claro, rubeo, et 'sulphure mundo, fixo, rubeo, 'non adurente 'generatum et 'nullum habet 'defectum.' *Speculum Alchemiæ, cap.* ii.

(105) Memoirs de l'Academie, 1707, p. 50—60.

(106) Boerhaave's Chemistry, Vol. i. p. 200.

given broad hints in his writings (*s*); and which it is very probable he would have laid open more fully, if his diſcourſes upon theſe, and other important ſubjects, had been received with the candour they deſerved. As it is, he has ſaid enough to ſhew that he was no pretender to this art, but underſtood as much of it (in this reſpect at leaſt) as any who have lived ſince his time (*t*) [*R*]. That he was far from being unſkilled in the art of phyſic, we might rationally conclude, from his extenſive knowledge in thoſe ſciences,

(*s*) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 245.

(*t*) See before in note [*Q*].

ſimplicity, relating experiments, which explain the nature and actions of animals, vegetables, and foſſils: after this, you will hardly be able to name any author, wherein phyſical things are treated of to ſo much advantage. The bodies which Chemiſtry reſolves before our eyes, afford demonſtrations which call for our aſſent, infinitely more cogently than any words could do; by theſe we do what we ſay, and what we teach we perform; inſomuch, that theſe writers ſeem to have attempted to build that body of Philoſophy wiſhed for by the great Lord Bacon, viz. a Philoſophy, which ſhould lay down ſuch powers of bodies, as the bodies themſelves, when preſent, really exhibit effects to warrant, and conſequently, ſhould aſſign ſuch cauſes of things, as being given, will readily produce the things themſelves, ſo that when it pleaſed, it could do what it taught.' He then enters on a moſt judicious abridgment of the principles, practice, and promiſes of the Alchemiſts, the laſt of which he cenſures, as in ſome meaſure abſurd and extravagant. He adds, however, after all, this modeſt, candid, and moſt ſenſible concluſion (107). 'But enough is ſaid on this head. We are always to remember, that the limits of nature are by no means to be defined by us: things are taken for impoſſible, which are only unknown by the ignorant. The ancient writers ſpoke ſomething of a perpetual fire, which was of a ſolid nature, and endured even under water; but it was exploded as an idle chimera, though the ſame has ſince been actually diſcovered by Kraff, and prepared by Kunkel, deſcribed by Boyle, farther explained by Nieuwentyt, and more amply ſtill by Hoffman. Roger Bacon's artificial thunder and lightning were long laughed at as empty fictions, but have been diſcovered by Schwartz to be too true; and many of the other things related in the chapter of Natural Magic, will appear much more incredible to thoſe unacquainted with experiments, than that lead ſhould loſe its natural form and be converted into gold. Credulity is hurtful, and ſo is incredulity: the buſineſs therefore of a wiſe man is to try all things, hold faſt what is approved, never limit the power of God, nor aſſign bounds to nature.' Such are the ſentiments of the learned and unprejudiced Boerhaave on this ſubject, and as to our author, whoſe reputation as a Chemiſt has been always higheſt among thoſe, by whom the practice of this art was beſt underſtood, becauſe they found from their own experience, the correctneſs, cloſeneſs, and veracity of all his numerous writings.

(107) *Ibid.* p. 204.

[*R*] *As any who have lived ſince his time.*] In this note I intend to examine what our author's notions were, in regard to the medicinal virtues of gold, of which, as the learned Phyſician quoted in the text, ſays, he gave broad hints of a *tincture*, which muſt have been a ſort of *aurum potabile*, or *golden elixir*. There is no doubt to be made, that our author had a very high opinion of *gold* as a medicine. It is the firſt in his liſt of ſecret or concealed medicines, which he recommends to Pope Nicholas IV.; and the phraſe he uſes to expreſs it is, *the medicine found in the bowels of the earth*. He largely explains its virtues, and ſhews particularly how great they are in the cure of head-achs, palſies, and other diſorders which ſpring from the brain. He ſays, That Ariſtotle thought the life of man could not be preſerved by any preparation from gold, becauſe gold itſelf is periſhable, or at leaſt the medicines drawn from it: but our author adviſes the Pope not to believe this; for, ſays he, This medicine will do admirable things when it is well prepared, and thoroughly drawn out. That he might alſo ſhew what he meant by this drawing out, he tells his Holineſs, that perhaps the liquor was of that kind; i. e. *a tincture of gold*, which an old huſbandman in the kingdom of Sicily found, as he was ploughing, in a gold veſſel. The man, it ſeems, was hot and faint, and taking this yellowiſh water, which the veſſel contained, for a kind of dew, he greedily ſwallowed it, which ſo entirely changed his habit of body and complexion, that of an old man of ſixty he became like one of thirty, his judgment, memory, and underſtanding, becoming much better than they were before; ſo that of a labouring peaſant he became a courtier, and was advanced to be a gentleman of the chamber to William King of Sicily, in whoſe ſervice (and that of his ſucceſſor's I ſuppoſe) he lived fourſcore years. This fact ſeems to have been very well known, for our author mentions it thrice: Firſt, in his book *of the Secrets of Art and Nature* (108), again in his *Opus Majus* (109), and, laſtly, in this book *of the Cure of Old Age* (110); and it is from all three relations that I have collected the ſeveral circumſtances before mentioned. But I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that our author not only hints at the tincture of gold; but alſo at *another tincture* much beyond it in operation, which is the famous medicine taken notice of in a former note, and of which I propoſe to ſay ſomething here, becauſe I think it is not impoſſible to give a better account of it, than has been hitherto done. But firſt it will be requiſite to give the author's deſcription. 'Wiſe men, ſays he, have cautiouſly made mention of a certain medicine, which reſembles that going out of the mine of the noble animal. They affirm, that in it there is a force and virtue, which reſtores and increaſes the natural heat: as to its diſpoſition, they ſay it is like youth itſelf, and contains an equal and temperate complexion; and the ſigns of a temperate compexion in men are, when their colour is made up of white and red, when the hair is yellow inclining to redneſs and curling. According to Pliny, when the fleſh is moderate both in quality and quantity, when a man's dreams are delightful, his countenance chearful and pleaſant, and when his appetite of eating and drinking is moderate. This medicine indeed is like to ſuch a complexion, for it is of a temperate heat, its fume is temperate and ſweet, and grateful to the ſmell. When it departs from this temperature, it departs ſo far from its virtue and goodneſs. This medicine therefore doth temperately heat, becauſe it is temperately hot; it therefore heals becauſe it is whole, when it is ſick, it makes a man ſick, when it is diſtempered, it breeds diſtempers, and changeth the body to its own diſpoſition, becauſe of the ſimilitude it hath with the body; for the infirmity of a brute animal rarely paſſeth into a man, but into another animal of the ſame kind; but the infirmity of a man paſſeth into man, and ſo doth health becauſe of likeneſs. Know (moſt gracious Prince) that in this there is a great ſecret; for Galen ſaith, that whatever is diſſolved from any thing, it muſt of neceſſity be aſſimilated to that thing, as is manifeſt in diſeaſes paſſing from one to another; ſuch as weakneſs of the eyes and peſtilential diſeaſes. This thing hath an admirable property; for it doth not only render human bodies harmleſs from corruption, but it defends alſo the bodies of plants from putrefaction; this thing is ſeldom found, and although ſometimes it be found, yet it cannot commodiouſly be had of all men; and inſtead of it, the wiſe do uſe that medicine which is in the bowels of the earth complete and prepared, and that which ſwims in the ſea, and that which is in the ſquare ſtone of the noble animal, ſo that every part may be free from the infection of another: but if that ſtone cannot be acquired, let other elements ſeparated, divided, and purified, be made uſe of; now when this thing is like to youth, that is of temperate complexion, it hath good operations, if its temperature be better, it produceth better effects, ſometimes it is even in the higheſt degree of its perfection, and then it operates beſt, and then there is that property whereof we have ſpoken before. This differs from other medicines and nutriments, which heat and moiſten

(108) De ſecretis operibus artis et naturæ, cap. vii.
(109) Page 469.
(110) In the twelfth chapter.

ſciences, which have the neareſt relation thereto: but beſides this, we have a particular and manifeſt proof of his perfect acquaintance with the moſt material and uſeful branches of Phyſic, in his Treatiſe of Old Age, which, as Dr. Freind, whoſe authority on that ſubject cannot well be diſputed, obſerves, is very far from being ill written (*u*); and Dr. Brown, who publiſhed it in Engliſh, eſteemed it one of the beſt performances that ever was written (*w*). In this work he has collected whatever he had met with upon the ſubject, either in Greek or Arabian writers, and has added a great many remarks of his own. The whole, conſidering the time in which it was written, is in reality a very extraordinary performance, in point both of learning and judgment, and will appear the more curious and the more valuable, the oftener it is read, and the more it is conſidered [*S*]. In Logic and Metaphyſics he was excellently well verſed, as appears by thoſe

(*u*) Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 244.

(*w*) See Dr. Brown's Preface to the Cure of Old Age.

' moiſten after a certain temperate manner, and are ' good for old men; for other meditines principally ' heat and moiſten the body, and ſecondarily they ' ſtrengthen the native heat; but this doth princi- ' pally ſtrengthen the native heat, and after that re- ' freſhes the body by moiſtening and heating it: for ' it reduces this heat in old men, who have it but ' weakly and deficient, to a certain ſtronger and more ' vehement power: if a plaiſter be made hereof, ' and applied to the ſtomach, it will help very much; ' for it will refreſh the ſtomach itſelf and excite an ' appetite. It will very much recreate an old man, ' and change him to a kind of youth, and will make ' complexions, by what means ſoever depraved or ' corrupted, better. Many wiſe men have ſpoken ' but little of this thing; they have indeed laid down ' another thing like it, as Galen in his fifth book of ' ſimple Medicines, and Johannes Damaſcenus in his ' Aphoriſms. But it is to be obſerved, that Venus doth ' weaken and diminiſh the power and virtue of this ' thing; and it is very likely that the ſon of the ' Prince, in his ſecond Canon of the Operations of ' Simple Medicines, ſpoke of this thing, where he ' ſaith, that there is a certain medicine concealed by ' wiſe men, leſt the incontinent ſhould offend their ' creator; there is ſuch a heat in this thing, as is in ' young men of a ſound complexion; and if I durſt ' declare the properties of this heat, this moſt hidden ' ſecret ſhould preſently be revealed; for this heat ' doth help the palſical, it reſtores and preſerves the ' waſted ſtrength of the native heat, cauſeth it to flou- ' riſh in all the members, and gently revives the aged.' It is from this deſcription that Dr. Brown (111), as we before obſerved, concludes, that the medicine here recommended, was a healthy young woman of a proper complexion. But whoever will conſider the whole of this account attentively, and will compare it with what our author ſays upon the ſame ſubject in his Opus Majus (112), in which he ſpeaks much more clearly than in this treatiſe, will (or I am much miſtaken) ſee good grounds to believe, that this medicine is no other than the *great ſecret*, the *grand elixir* of the Chemiſts, far beyond the *tincture of gold* in its effects, though where *this* cannot be had, *that* may be uſed (according to our author) for the ſame purpoſe, but with leſs ſucceſs.

(111) In his Annotations on the twelfth chapter of the Cure of Old Age.

(112) Page 466—472.

[*S*] *The oftener it is read, and the more it is conſidered.*] There never was an author who took more pains to finiſh and perfect his diſcourſes than Friar Bacon, who was continually reviewing, retouching, and augmenting his pieces; that as he grew older and wiſer, theſe children of his brain might partake of their parent's fortune. The ſubject of this book appears plainly to have thrice exerciſed its author's application; for it makes the *ſeventh* chapter of his celebrated treatiſe *of the Secret Works of Art and Nature*. He reviſed it again, and inſerted ſo much of it as he thought proper in his Opus Majus (113); yet in both theſe works he delivers himſelf only in general terms: but in this laſt treatiſe, which was written for the uſe of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, he deſcends to practice, and gives thoſe receipts in direct and expreſs terms, which he had only hinted at before. If the reader inclines to ſee the ſubject of all theſe three treatiſes in a narrow compaſs, and to take a view of the author's theory, as to the extent of human life, he may find it in the following extract from his firſt work; which contains a ſhort view of his whole ſyſtem (114). ' The poſſibility of prolong- ' ing life, ſays he, is confirmed by this: That a man ' is naturally immortal, that is, able not to die, and ' even after he had ſinned, he could live near a thouſand ' years: afterwards, by little and little, the length ' of his life was abbreviated; therefore, it muſt needs ' be, that this abbreviation is accidental. Therefore, ' it might be either wholly repaired, or at leaſt in ' part. But if we would but make inquiry into the ' accidental cauſe of this corruption, we ſhould find ' it neither was from Heaven, nor from ought but ' want of a regimen of health. For in as much as ' the fathers are corrupt, they beget children of a ' corrupt complexion and compoſition, and their chil- ' dren from the ſame cauſe are corrupt themſelves, ' and ſo corruption is derived from father to ſon, ' till abbreviation of life prevails by ſucceſſion. Yet ' for all this it does not follow, that it ſhall always ' be cut ſhorter and ſhorter, becauſe a term is ſet ' in human kind, that men ſhould at the moſt of their ' years arrive at fourſcore, but more is their pain ' and ſorrow. Now the remedy againſt every man's ' proper corruption is, if every man from his youth ' would exerciſe a complete regimen, which conſiſts ' in theſe things; meat and drink, ſleep and watch- ' ing, motion and reſt, evacuation and retention, air, ' the paſſions of the mind: for if a man would ob- ' ſerve this regimen from his nativity, he might live ' as long as his nature aſſumed from his parents would ' permit, and might be led to the utmoſt term of ' nature, lapſed from original righteouſneſs, which ' term nevertheleſs he could not paſs; becauſe this ' regimen does not avail in the leaſt againſt the old ' corruption of our parents. But it being in a manner ' impoſſible, that a man ſhould be ſo governed in the ' mediocrity of theſe things, as the regimen of health ' requires, it muſt of neceſſity be, that abbreviation ' of life do come from this cauſe, and not only from ' the corruption of our parents. Now the art of ' Phyſic determines this regimen ſufficiently. But ' neither rich, nor poor, neither wiſe men, nor fools, ' nor Phyſicians themſelves, how ſkilful ſoever, are ' able to perfect this regimen, either in themſelves ' or others, as is clear to every man. But nature is ' not deficient in neceſſaries, nor is art complete; ' yea it is able to reſiſt and break through all acci- ' dental paſſions, ſo as they may be deſtroyed, either ' altogether or in part: and in the beginning when ' men's age began to decline, the remedy had been ' eaſy; but now after more than five thouſand years, ' it is difficult to appoint a remedy. Nevertheleſs, ' wiſe men, being moved with the aforeſaid con- ' ſiderations, have endeavoured to think of ſome ' ways, not only againſt the defect of every man's ' proper regimen, but againſt the corruption of our ' parents. Not that a man can be reduced to the ' life of Adam or Arteſius, becauſe of prevailing cor- ' ruption; but that life might be prolonged a cen- ' tury of years or more beyond the common age of ' men now living, in that the paſſions of old age ' might be retarded, and if they could not altogether ' be hindered, they might be mitigated; that life ' might uſefully be prolonged, yet always on this ſide ' the utmoſt term of nature; for the utmoſt term of ' nature is that which was placed in the firſt men ' after ſin, and there is another term from the cor- ' ruption of every one's own parents. It is no man's ' fortune to paſs beyond both theſe terms; but one may ' well the term of his proper corruption. Nor yet ' do I believe, that any man, how wiſe ſoever, can ' attain the firſt term, though there be the ſame poſ- ' ſibility and aptitude of human nature to that term, ' which was in the firſt men: nor is it a wonder, ' ſince this aptitude extends itſelf to immortality as ' it

(113) Baconi Opus Majus, p. 466, & ſeq.

(114) De Secretis Operibus Artis & Naturæ, cap. vii.

thoſe parts of his works, in which he has treated of theſe ſubjects: neither was he unſkilled in Philology and the politer parts of learning, as might be demonſtrated from his writings, if we had not touched upon ſo many ſubjects already (*). In Ethics, or Moral Philoſophy, he was a very great maſter; and as he was a man of good ſenſe and unblemiſhed probity, ſo he has laid down the nobleſt and moſt generous principles for the conduct of human life, in the treatiſe he has left us upon that ſubject (y) [T]. But as his profeſſion and courſe of life required a particular application to Theology, ſo it plainly appears, that he made all his other ſtudies ſubſervient thereto, and directed both his actions and his writings to the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. He had the higheſt deference for the Holy Scriptures, and thought that in them were contained the principles of true ſcience, and of all uſeful knowledge. He therefore preſſed the ſtudy of them in their original languages, and an aſſiduous application to the ſeveral branches of learning, which he thought neceſſary for the thorough underſtanding of them (z). To ſay the truth, the impreſſing this ſtrongly on the minds of men, who made religion peculiarly their profeſſion, is the great endeavour of all his works; as the applying this properly was the buſineſs of his laſt treatiſe, which he left as a kind of Teſtament to thoſe of his order, and is a very excellent work in its kind [U].

(*) See the note [K].

(y) This Treatiſe was by the author annexed to his Opus Majus.

(z) Opus Majus, p. 29, 30.

As to the vulgar imputation on his character, of his leaning to Magic, it was utterly unfounded; and the ridiculous ſtory of his making a brazen head, which ſpoke and anſwered queſtions, is a calumny indirectly fathered upon him, having been origi-

' it was before ſin, and will be after the reſurrection. ' But if you ſay, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Plato, ' nor Hippocrates, nor Galen, arrived at ſuch pro- ' longation; I anſwer you, nor at many mean truths, ' which were after known to other ſtudents; and ' therefore they might be ignorant of theſe great ' things, although they made their aſſay: but they ' buſied themſelves too much in other things, and ' they were quickly brought to old age, while they ' ſpent their lives in worſe and common things, be- ' fore they perceived the ways to the greateſt of ſe- ' crets. For we know that Ariſtotle ſaith in his ' Predicaments, that the quadrature of the circle is ' poſſible, but not then known, and he confeſſes, ' that all men were ignorant of it even to his time: ' but we know that in theſe our days this truth is ' known, and therefore, well might Ariſtotle be ig- ' norant of far deeper ſecrets of nature. Now alſo ' wiſe men are ignorant of many things, which in ' time to come every common ſtudent ſhall know; ' therefore this objection is every way vain.' Theſe were the thoughts of our author when he firſt turned his inquiries upon this ſubject, and it is upon theſe principles that he reaſons in his third book. It is remarkable that he profeſſes in all his treatiſes, that he had never made any experiments upon himſelf, whence one might be tempted to conclude, that though he did not ſuffer his misfortunes ſo to break his ſpirits, as to hinder him from purſuing his ſtudies; yet was he ſo little pleaſed with life, that he would not take any meaſures to prolong it; notwithſtanding the ſentiments he was in as to that point. For though it might be ſurmiſed, that Bacon might amuſe others with grave diſcourſes accommodated to their humours, though not at all to his own belief; yet whoever reads his works, will evidently perceive that ſuch notions muſt be utterly groundleſs; ſince there is not only the ſtrongeſt character of veracity in all he writes, but the whole is ſo ſyſtematical, that one part ſuſtains another in ſuch a manner, that it is almoſt impoſſible to form any doubts, or to fall into any miſtakes about his opinions, when his Opus Majus has been once thoroughly peruſed and attentively conſidered; becauſe it is a kind of key to all the reſt.

[T] *In the treatiſe he has left us upon this ſubject.*] The ſentiments of our author on morality, are very ſingular, both in this treatiſe, and in other parts of his works; for he conſidered Moral Philoſophy as the end and perfection of all human knowledge. He therefore conſidered all ſpeculative ſcience, as uſeful or uſeleſs in proportion as it contributed to the advantage of mankind. He declares, That, in his judgment, the Moral Philoſophy of Chriſtians is the ſame with their Divinity; and that though it is by far more perfect than the Philoſophy of the Pagans, yet it reſts upon and takes in their principles; ſo that he makes Natural Religion the ground-work, and Revealed, the ſtructure, ſuppoſing each neceſſary to the other; and therefore, not to be ſeparated or divided. He conſtantly manifeſts ſo much clearneſs and good ſenſe, in treating every ſubject, and this, notwithſtanding the difficulties under which he laboured, and his differing almoſt upon every topick from the notions then in vogue, that inſtead of wondering, there was ſo ſtrong a clamour againſt him, we ought rather to wonder that he was able to ſupport himſelf at all againſt the tide of popular prejudice, which is always ſtrongeſt in the moſt ignorant ages. To ſay the truth, Bacon was the fartheſt from being a popular writer, perhaps of any man that ever wrote; and this I take to be one reaſon, why his writings have hitherto been admired only by *the few*, and I very much queſtion, whether any age will ariſe ſo learned and ſo juſt, as to afford them a general reception.

[U] *And is a very excellent work in its kind.*] Beſides the MS. in the Royal Library, there are ſeveral others ſtill remaining, ſome more, and ſome leſs perfect. Mr. Theyer, of Glouceſterſhire, had ſeveral parts of this work (115); and perhaps there are ſome copies of it yet undiſcovered, which, however, might be brought to light, if any man of equal learning and induſtry with the excellent editor of his Opus Majus, would undertake the publication of it, which could not but prove extremely agreeable to the learned world, ſince it contains a multitude of things, that one would ſcarcely expect to find in a performance under this title. For it was the cuſtom of our author, never to confine his thoughts too ſtrictly unto any particular ſubject; but, on the contrary, believing, as he did, that all ſciences had a relation amongſt themſelves, and were of uſe to each other, and all of them to Theology; it was very natural for him to illuſtrate this, in a work calculated to ſhew how the ſtudy of Divinity might be beſt promoted. It might alſo let us into many particulars, relating to the Eccleſiaſtical and Literary Hiſtory of thoſe times, which could not but be very curious and inſtructive. We may add to all this, that it would undoubtedly have very good effects, in elucidating and explaining the other works of our author, which are already made public, and which are in many places not a little obſcure. We may ſay the ſame thing, with regard to other treatiſes of our author yet remaining, but never hitherto printed; all of which, if carefully conſidered and compared, might be of very great uſe; the rather becauſe there are ſome things hinted at in ſeveral parts of Bacon's works, which if we could derive lights ſufficient from his hitherto unpubliſhed works, perfectly to underſtand, might be of as great benefit to mankind, as any of thoſe diſcoveries, which, though now common, have given great credit to this author, ſince it appeared from his works, that they were originally due to him, or at leaſt, that they were long before in his poſſeſſion. It would be no very difficult matter to give inſtances of theſe things, but that we have already exceeded our ordinary bounds, and are therefore forced to confine ourſelves more ſtrictly, that theſe memoirs may not exceed the juſt rules of proportion.

(115) As appears by the catalogue of his MSS.

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nally imputed to his patron Robert Groſthead, Biſhop of Lincoln (*a*) [*W*]. The pains therefore that have been taken to vindicate him in this reſpect, by the learned Gabriel Naudé (*b*), and other writers, however charitably deſigned, were not very neceſſary; and that he had too high an opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, and ſome other arts of that nature, was not ſo properly an error of his as of the age in which he lived: and conſidering how few errors, among the many which infected that age, appear in his writings, it may be eaſily forgiven (*c*). As his whole life was ſpent in labour and ſtudy, and he was continually employed, either in writing for the information of the world, or in reading and making experiments, that might enable him to write with greater accuracy; ſo we need not wonder his works were extremely numerous, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that on the one hand his ſtudies took in the whole circle of the ſciences, and that on the other, the numerous treatiſes aſcribed to him, are, often in fact, but ſo many chapters, ſections, or diviſions; and ſometimes we have the ſame pieces under two or three different names: ſo that it is not at all ſtrange before theſe points were well examined, that the accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed [*X*]. But notwithſtanding this ſeeming perplexity and confuſion, it is not a very difficult thing, from

(*a*) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 122. 137.

(*b*) Apologie pour les grandes Hommes ſoupconnor de Magie, p. 350.

(*c*) See further in the note [*Q*].

[*W*] *Originally imputed to his patron, Robert Groſthead, Biſhop of Lincoln.*] One may very eaſily imagine, how when the common people are at a loſs to account for any thing, they ſhould call in, more eſpecially in the darkeſt and moſt ignorant ages, the aſſiſtance of the Devil. To them this is as eaſy and as neceſſary, as the machinery of the poets, or of the playhouſe, and anſwers the end as effectually: but what is moſt extraordinary, and which really deſerves wonder, is, that men of good ſenſe, and no way deſpicable in their underſtandings, ſhould adopt theſe ſilly tales, and publiſh them to the world as truths. Yet this happened to many others beſides our author, and thoſe too of the worthieſt perſons of the ages in which they lived. As for inſtance, William of Malmſbury (116) tells us very gravely, of Pope Sylveſter II., who flouriſhed in the XIth century, that he made ſuch a head under certain conſtellations, which would ſpeak when ſpoken to, and oraculouſly anſwer ſuch queſtions as were propoſed to it. But it ſeems theſe anſwers were confined to ſingle words. For the ſame writer tells us, that being aſked by his maſter, Whether he ſhould ever become Pope? it anſwered *Yes*; and when he inquired, Whether he ſhould die before he ſung Maſs in Jeruſalem? it anſwered *No*. Which, however, proved a lie, for the Pope died at Rome: but to keep up the credit of this ſtory it was pretended, that he died on that Sunday, which in the Roman Ritual is intitled, *Statio ad Jeruſalem*, immediately after he had ſung Maſs. After this fooliſh ſtory had got into the world, without any other foundation than the Pope's being a great Mathematician, there never aroſe in any country a perſon of extraordinary abilities, eſpecially in thoſe ſciences that were leaſt cultivated, but preſently he was reported to have made a *brazen head*. Hence Robert Groſthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, is reported by an ancient writer of his life in verſe, to have made ſuch a brazen head when he was Maſter of Arts at Oxford, which being broken by ſome accident, the relics thereof are ſaid by him to have been kept in a vault under Lincoln College (117). Something of the ſame kind is thrown out by John Gower the poet (118). And indeed the ſtory was ſo univerſally ſpread, and ſo firmly believed among the vulgar, that becauſe Roger Bacon was his diſciple, they could not help ſuppoſing, that he muſt be as learned in theſe ſecret arts as his maſter, and therefore they beſtowed a *brazen head* upon him too, in conjunction with Friar Bungy. But the deſign of making this head was ſo extraordinary, and the end it met with ſo odd, that it deſerves to be remembered. For theſe two learned Friars were no leſs than ſeven years employed in framing it, and the matter about which they were to inquire, was, Whether it might not be poſſible to build a wall of braſs round this iſland? But as they had a great many things upon their hands, it ſeems they forgot the time at which their head was to ſpeak, and ſo loſt the opportunity of hearing the anſwer diſtinctly, and thus their labour being vain, and the head in a manner uſeleſs, it was demoliſhed (119). But of all the great men who are fooliſhly ſaid to have dealt in brazen heads, Albertus Magnus was the moſt extraordinary; for he is ſaid to have made not barely a head, but a man, who not only anſwered queſtions very readily and truly when demanded, but was alſo ſo flippant with his *brazen tongue*, that Thomas Aquinas, a reſerved and contemplative perſon, and pupil at that time to Albertus Magnus, knocked the idol to pieces to ſtop its talking (120). Theſe great men lived at the ſame time with our author, and it is not impoſſible that he might have heard ſomething of this nature; for in a work of his which has been often mentioned, he deplores the attributing every thing that was great and remarkable to the power of Art Magic, which hindered the propagation, as it alſo did the reputation, of true ſcience, depriving men thereby of that reward, which could alone encourage them to take the pains neceſſary to ſucceed in the purſuit of uſeful knowledge. The moſt learned Selden (121), in a diſcourſe of his, wherein, with vaſt reading and judgment, he has examined the riſe and progreſs of theſe notions, declares poſitively, that this ſtory of Friar Bacon's brazen head was equally fooliſh and groundleſs, and never gained belief, but with the meaneſt and loweſt of the people. Yet there want not ſome writers who have had more credit than they deſerve, that have really doubted whether our author was not a Magician (122); and perhaps in this reſpect his character would not have been much aſſiſted, if the famous John Dee had publiſhed as well as promiſed his defence of him (123). To ſay the truth, there cannot be a greater injury offered to the memory of ſo wiſe a man, and ſo univerſal a ſcholar, as to treat ſuch a calumny as this with any degree of gravity, becauſe, in fact, there cannot be any thing more abſurd, or more ridiculous.

(116) De Geſtis Regum Angliæ, lib. ii. c. x.

(117) Richardus Bardenienſis de vita Roberti Groſthed Ep. Lincoln. cap. xx. ap. Wharton. Anglia Sacra, Vol. ii. p. 333.

(118) In Confeſſione Amantis.

(119) Major. Symbolor. Aureæ Menſæ, lib. x. p. 453.

(120) Delrio Diſquiſit. Magic. lib. i. cap. 4.

(121) De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 2.

(122) Wier. de Præſtig. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(123) In Epiſtol. dedicat. lib. propædeumat. Aphoriſticor. de Naturæ viribus.

[*X*] *The accounts we have of his writings appeared very perplexed and confuſed.*] This was the natural conſequence of the bad uſage our author met with while living, and the great declenſion of learning after his death. Leland complains, that either through negligence, or other caſualties, the writings of Bacon were ſo diſperſed, that it would be eaſier to collect the leaves of the Sibyl, than the very names of the treatiſes he wrote. He ſets down, however, the titles of thirty, of which he had ſeen about a third part (124). The induſtrious Bale, by that time he finiſhed his uſeful collection, had met with and digeſted the titles of upwards of fourſcore pieces attributed to our author, of which he had ſeen near one half (125). Pits ſpeaks with amazement of the multitude of books written by our author, and increaſes the number of their titles to near one hundred (126). The learned Dr. Jebb has digeſted all theſe titles under the proper heads of the ſciences to which they belong; ſo that the whole of what was either written by, or attributed to, our author, appears to the eye of the reader at one view, as in the following table he will perceive.

(124) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 258, 259.

(125) Script. Britan. p. 342.

(126) De Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 367.

In GRAMMAR.

Summa Grammaticalis, lib. i.	Oratio Grammatica. BAL. PITS.
De Conſtructione Partium, &c. lib. i.	Ad Completam. BAL. PITS.
Grammatica Græca, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
Grammatica Hebræa, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Utilitate Linguarum, lib. i.	Multæ preclaræ radices. LEL. BAL. PITS.

from the lights we now have, to give a very fair and diſtinct account of our author's works, the far greater part of which are ſtill in being; and it were to be wiſhed, that they were

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS, &c.

De Geometria, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Laudibus Artis Mathematicæ, lib. i. Poſt hanc Scientiam. BAL. PITS.
De quinta Parte Mathematices, lib. i. BAL.
Parabolæ de Quadratura. lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Centris Gravium, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Planis, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Materia Prima, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Ponderibus, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Poteſtate mirabili Artis & Naturæ, lib. i. Quem eundem. PITS.
De Vigore Artis & Naturæ, lib. i. Veſtræ Petitioni. BAL.
De occultis Operibus Naturæ, lib. i. Superius quidem, PITS.
De Operibus non occultis. LEL.
Communia naturalis Philoſophiæ, lib. iv. Poſtquam tradidi. LEL. BAL. PITS.
In Philoſophiam naturalem, lib. viii. PITS.
De Multiplicatione Specierum, lib. i. Primum capitulum. BAL. PITS.
Leges Multiplicationum, lib. i. Expletis quatuor partibus. BAL. PITS.
De Speciebus, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Ars experimentalis, lib. i. Poſitis fundamentis. BAL. PITS.
De ſeptem Experimentis, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Rerum mirabilibus, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Fluxu & Refluxu Maris, lib. i. Deſcriptis his figuris. BAL. PITS.
De Fluxu Maris Britannici, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Venti novem Diſtrictiones, lib. i. BAL. PITS.

OPTICS.

De Viſu & Speculis, lib. i. De Speculorum miraculis. BAL. PITS.
De Speculi Uſtoriis, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Forma reſultante in Speculo, lib. i. Quæritur de forma. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Speculi Facultate, lib. i. PITS.
De Perſpectivis & Multiplicationibus Specierum Tractatus. PITS.
Perſpectiva quædam ſingularis, lib. i. Hic aliqua dicenda ſunt. BAL. PITS.
Perſpectiva diſtincta, lib. iii. Propoſitis radicibus. BAL. PITS.
Perſpectiva continua, lib. i. Cupiens te. LEL. BAL. PITS
De Radiis Solaribus, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Coloribus per Artem fiendis, lib. i. BAL. PITS.

GEOGRAPHY.

Coſmographia, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Situ Orbis, lib. i. PITS.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Situ Palæſtinæ, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Locis Sacris, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
Deſcriptiones Locorum Mundi, lib. i. Ad hoc autem. BAL. PITS.

ASTRONOMY.

De Cælo & Mundo, lib. ii. Prima igitur veritas. BAL. PITS. LEL.
De Utilitate Aſtronomiæ, lib. i. Poſt locorum. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Introductio in Aſtrologiam, lib. i. Fuſius quidem dictum. BAL. PITS.
De Locis Stellarum, lib. i. Quoniam infinitum. BAL. PITS. LEL.
De Aſpectibus Lunæ, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Prognoſtica ex Siderum Curſu, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Judiciis Aſtrologiæ, lib. i. PITS.

CHRONOLOGY.

Computus Naturalium, lib. i. Omnia tempus habent. BAL. PITS.

CHEMISTRY.

De Arte Chemiæ, lib. i. PITS.
Breviarium Alchemiæ, lib. i. PITS.
Speculum Alchemiæ, lib. i. Multifariam multiſque. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Documenta Alchemiæ, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Alchemiſtarum Artibus, lib. i. PITS.
De Secretis, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Rebus Metallicis, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Sculpturis Lapidum, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Philoſophorum Lapide, lib. i. Veſtræ Petitioni. BAL. PITS.

MAGIC.

Contra Necromaticos, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Necromanticis Imaginibus, lib. i. PITS.
De Geomantia, lib. i. PITS.
De Excantationibus, lib. i. PITS.
Practicæ Magiæ, lib. i. PITS.

LOGIC, METAPHYSICS, & ETHICS.

De Logica, lib. i. Introductio eſt brevis. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Metaphyſica, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Intellectu & intelligibili, lib. ii. BAL. PITS.
De Paſſionibus Animæ, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
De Univerſalibus, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
In Poſteriora Ariſtotelis, lib. ii. Dictum eſt de Syllogiſmo. BAL. PITS.
In Avicennam de Anima, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Philoſophia Morali, lib. i. Manifeſtavi in præcedentibus. BAL. PITS.

PHYSIC.

De Erroribus Medicorum, lib. i. Vulgus Medicorum. BAL. PITS.
De Retardatione Senectutis, lib. i. DomineMundi. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Univerſali Regimine Senum, lib. i. Summa Regiminis. BAL. PITS.
De Conſervatione Senſuum, lib. i. Cogito & cogitavi. BAL. PITS.
De Prolongatione Vitæ, lib. i. BAL. PITS.
Antidotarium Vitæ humanæ, lib. i. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Major, lib. i. Sicut ab Antiquis. BAL. PITS.
Rogerina Minor, lib. i. Humana Natura. BAL. PITS.
De Somno & Vigilia, lib. ii. BAL. PITS.

THEOLOGY.

Sermonum ſeu Concionum, lib. i. PITS.
Commentarii in Libros Sententiarum, lib. iv. LEL. BAL. PITS.
Super Pſalterium. LEL.
De Victoria Chriſti contra Antichriſtum. Ne ſum Propheta. LEL.
Compendium Studii Theologici, lib. v. Quoniam autem. BAL. PITS.
De Copiæ vel Inopiæ Cauſis. LEL. BAL. PITS.

were alſo made public. It will likewiſe appear from this account, how great ſervice has been done to the learned world, by ſuch as have made it their buſineſs to collect and preſerve ancient MSS., and to bring together the ſcattered memorials of thoſe learned men who have flouriſhed in paſt times, and who, until this care was taken, have been repreſented in very falſe lights to poſterity. It will alſo appear, that this excellent perſon was very far from being a haſty, incorrect, or deſultory writer; but that, on the contrary, all his works have a juſt reference to one great and general ſyſtem, which he has executed in all its parts to a much greater degree of perfection, than hitherto even the learned have imagined [*Y*]. So that on the whole we may very ſafely affirm, that the hiſtory, character, and reputation of Roger Bacon, are in a great meaſure reſtored; ſo that we may

PHILOLOGY and MISCELLANY.

Ad Clementem IV. *Pont. Rom.* lib. i.	Sanctiſſimo Patri. LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Impedimentis Sapientiæ, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
De Valore Muſices, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Gradibus intentionalibus, lib. i.	Omnis forma. PITS.
De Gradibus medicinalibus, lib. i.	LEL. BAL.
De Regionibus Mundi, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Cauſis Ignorantiæ humanæ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Utilitate Scientiarum, lib. ii.	BAL. PITS.
In Opera Virgilii, lib. plures.	BAL. PITS.
De Arte Memorativa, lib. i.	LEL. BAL. PITS.
Ad Epiſtolam Bonaventuræ, lib. i.	BAL. PITS.
De Vita Edmundi Archiep. Cantuar.	LEL.

[*Y*] *Than even the learned imagined.*] When we find on one hand, ſome modern authors complaining that almoſt all the works of our old writers are either deſtroyed out of malice; or, through careleſſneſs, have the monuments of their learning buried in oblivion; and on the other, ſee ſuch a multitude of books aſcribed to our old authors by Leland, Bale, and Pits, we can hardly tell what to believe, or how to doubt the truth of either of theſe aſſertions. Yet this inſtance of Roger Bacon may ſerve to ſhew us, that ſuch general expreſſions ought not to have too much weight; but that it becomes us to inquire as carefully as we can after theſe precious monuments of antiquity, notwithſtanding ſome who have gone before us in the ſearch, aſſure us it is to little or no purpoſe. At firſt ſight, it muſt appear an endleſs, and, at the ſame time, a fruitleſs labour, for us to endeavour to pick up all the little treatiſes written by Roger Bacon. Yet, for all this, it may be: the thing is not altogether as difficult as it ſeems: for, as the learned Dr. Jebb very juſtly obſerves, the number of our author's works may be much reduced, if we conſider, that the copies of his writings being diſperſed into ſeveral places, it fell out that the ſame tracts had different titles given them; and, which has added ſtill more to the confuſion, the titles of the ſeveral chapters of his works have been taken for the titles of ſo many treatiſes. Now to extricate ourſelves as well as may be out of theſe difficulties, let us conſider what our author himſelf tells us concerning his writings. He aſſerts in his Opus Majus, that before he ſet about that work, he had publiſhed only a few pieces, and we know that he wrote this book in the year 1267. The buſineſs then is to find out firſt of all theſe *Capitula quædam*, as he calls them, and then we are ſure we have his firſt writings. But this we ſhall find no very difficult matter, ſince it plainly appears, that the pieces addreſſed to William of Paris, were written before the Opus Majus, and were publiſhed altogether in 1542, under the title of *Epiſtola Fratris Rogerii Baconis de ſecretis Operibus Artis et Naturæ, et de Nullitate Magiæ* (127); *i. e.* 'The Epiſtle of Brother Roger Bacon of the ſecret Works of Art and Nature, and of the Non-Entity of Magic.' At the end of this treatiſe we have *explicuit epiſtola Baconis, &c. ad Gulielmum Pariſienſem conſcripta.* It is divided into eleven chapters, of which the two laſt (as we before obſerved) are appendixes or poſtſcripts. The other nine chapters, from their titles, appear to be what have paſſed for his treatiſes, *de Poteſtate mirabili Artis et Naturæ*; *i. e.* 'of the wonderful power of Art 'and Nature:' *de Vigore Artis et Naturæ*; *i. e.* 'of 'the Force of Art and Nature:' *de Operibus occultis Naturæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Secret Works of Nature:' *de 'Operibus non occultis*; *i. e.* 'of the Works not ſe-'cret:' *de Rerum mirabilibus*; *i. e.* 'of Wonders:' *contra Necromanticos*; *i. e.* 'againſt Necromancers;' *de Necromanticis Imaginibus*; *i. e.* 'of Necromantic 'Images:' *de Geomantia*; *i. e.* 'of Geomancy, or Di-'vination by Points:' *de Excantationibus*; *i. e.* 'of 'Charms:' *de Practicis Magiæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Prac-'tices of Magic:' and, *de Prolongatione Vitæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Prolongation of Life;' which is a different thing from that addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV. on the ſame ſubject. As to the two laſt chapters, they are dated, but ſo confuſedly, that inſtead of affording any light, they have hitherto ſerved only to increaſe the obſcurity. For example, the tenth chapter begins in the ſix hundred and ſecond year of the Arabians; but it ſeems the manuſcript was ſo obſcure, that it might be read the ſix hundred eighty-eighth year of the Arabians. John Dee (128) takes the firſt date, and from thence infers, that our author wrote to Clement the Third, inſtead of Clement IV., becauſe the year 602 of the Hegira, anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1205, which is nine years before our author was born: the other date of 688 might poſſibly be true, ſince it anſwers to the year 1289, which is three years before our author's death. But though this be poſſible, yet it is far enough from being probable, and therefore we will next conſider the date of the eleventh chapter, or ſecond poſtſcript. This is A. H. 630, which anſwers the year of our Lord 1232, and to the eighteenth year of our author's life; whence I am perſuaded that both dates are wrong, nor do I know how it is poſſible to correct them. We may with certainty enough conclude, that theſe ſeveral little pieces were written before the year 1267, and that the two laſt chapters were penned ſome years after the reſt, and poſſibly A. H. 648 and 650. His next work was his Opus Majus, divided into ſix parts, and which had three tracts of his annexed. The ſeveral parts being ſeparately tranſcribed, with a proper and diſtinct title to each, increaſed the ſuppoſed number of our author's works, by at leaſt ſo many tracts. But let us explain this more particularly; and having ſo experienced a guide, as Dr. Jebb, to direct us, let us try if we cannot point out the particular treatiſes which are involved in that great work. In the two firſt books are contained the treatiſes which have hitherto gone under the titles of *de Impedimentis Sapientiæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Impedi-'ments to Wiſdom:' *de Cauſis Ignorantiæ humanæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Cauſes of Human Ignorance:' and, *de Utilitate Scientiarum*; *i. e.* 'of the Uſefulneſs of the 'Sciences.' The third book, is what was formerly called his book *de Utilitate Linguarum*; *i. e.* 'of the 'Uſe of Languages.' In the fourth book of the Opus Majus, are his tracts *de Centris Gravium*; *i. e.* 'of the Centres of heavy Bodies:' *de Ponderibus*; *i. e.* 'of Weights:' *de Valore Muſices*; *i. e.* 'of Muſic:' *de Judiciis Aſtrologiæ*; *i. e.* 'of the Judgments of 'Aſtrology:' *de Coſmographia*; *i. e.* 'of Coſmogra-'phy:' *de Situ Orbis*; *i. e.* 'of the Situation of the 'World:' *de Regionibus Mundi*; *i. e.* 'of the Regions 'of the World:' *de Situ Paleſtinæ*; *i. e.* 'of the 'Situation of Paleſtine:' *de Locis Sacris*; *i. e.* 'of 'the holy Places:' and, *Deſcriptiones Locorum Mundi*; *i. e.* 'Deſcription of the World.' To this fourth book is annexed his tract *de Prognoſticis ex Stellis*, in which is comprehended, *de Utilitate Aſtronomiæ*; *i. e.* 'of 'the

(127) *Pariſ.* 1542, 4*to.* *Baſil.* 1593, 8*vo.* *Hamburgh*, 1608. 1618, 8*vo.* It is alſo involved in the fifth volume of the *Theatrum Chemicum*, and in the firſt of the *Bibliotheca Chemica Curioſa*, of *Mangetus*.

(128) See his notes on the eleventh chapter, which are printed not only in the edition he publiſhed, but in the two Collections beforementioned.

may truly judge of them all, and determine from the light of evidence, of the uſage he has received from all parties. We may now juſtly applaud thoſe learned prelates of Canterbury and Lincoln, and all the great men who were the patrons of his junior years, the encouragers of his riper ſtudies, and the protectors of his injured innocence. We can plainly diſcern how harſhly, cruelly, and unjuſtly he was perſecuted, by the ignorant and malicious Monks of his order, who envied that learning which they ought to have imitated, and hated that reputation which it became them to admire. We know now with certainty to what Popes he addreſſed his writings, what thoſe writings were, and why they were addreſſed to them. We can form a juſt notion of the reaſon why he was honoured to ſo extraordinary a degree, by the moſt learned and the moſt worthy men of the age in which he flouriſhed, and how his writings have been in ſome ſort the ſtandard of a true taſte for ſcience; that is to ſay, ſought for and admired when it prevailed, neglected and miſrepreſented whenever it was clouded or obſcured. We are now ſenſible of the folly of thoſe prejudices, the falſhood of thoſe calumnies, and the cauſes of thoſe miſtakes, which have been ſpread concerning our author and his writings. Laſtly, we are enabled to diſcern, from the fulleſt and moſt authentic evidence, the juſtice and ſincerity of thoſe praiſes, which in the higheſt degree have been beſtowed upon him, by the ableſt writers and beſt judges of true and uſeful knowledge, in our own and in foreign countries [Z]. It is true, that a great deal of time and pains have been

' the Uſefulneſs of Aſtronomy;' *Prognoſtica ex Siderum Curſu*; *i. e.* ' Prognoſtics from the Courſe of the ' Stars;' and perhaps alſo his tract, *de Aſpectibus Lunæ*; *i. e.* ' of the Aſpects of the Moon.' His fifth part includes the various treatiſes of Perſpective aſcribed to him in the foregoing catalogue, viz. *Perſpectiva quædam ſingularis*, *Perſpectiva diſtincta*, and *Perſpectiva continua*. To the end of this book is added, his large treatiſe *de Specierum Multiplicatione*. In the ſixth book we find contained his tracts *de Arte experimentali*; *i. e.* ' of the experimental Art;' *de Radiis ſolaribus*; *i. e.* ' of the ſolar Rays;' and, *de Coloribus per artem fiendis*; *i. e.* ' of the Colours that ' may be produced by Art.' Beſides his Opus Majus, our author wrote two other pieces, and addreſſed them to the ſame patron, that is to ſay, Pope Clement IV. one of which he ſtiled his *Opus Minus*, and the other *Opus Tertium*, of which there are ſtill copies amongſt the MSS. in the Cotton library; but that of the Opus Minus is imperfect. It is not to be doubted, that in theſe works, abundance of the tracts which have been aſcribed to our author are involved; the rather, becauſe it is certain, that after the death of Pope Clement, Bacon reviſed and augmented theſe pieces, in order to render his ſyſtem more compleat, and of greater uſe to poſterity. There is in the Royal Library a treatiſe of our author's, which bears the title of *Liber Naturalium Rogeri Bacon*, which is the ſame that in the common catalogues of his works, is ſtiled *Communia Naturalis Philoſophiæ*; *i. e.* ' the Heads of ' Natural Philoſophy;' which, on a cloſer inſpection, appears to be the third part of the *Opus Minus*. On the whole, there is reaſon to believe, that in this treatiſe are comprehended the tracts following, *de Summa Grammaticali*, *de Conſtructione Partium*, *de Logica*, *de Laudibus Artis Mathematicæ*, *Communis Naturalis Philoſophiæ*, *de Intellectu et Intelligibili*, and *de Univerſalibus*. His treatiſe of Chronology, which in the MS. in the King's Library (129), is entitled *Computus Rogeri Baconis*, called by Balæus and Pitſeus *Computus Naturalium*. He divided it into three parts. At the end are ſubjoined a calendar and ſome aſtronomical tables, which, though they have not his name to them, are moſt probably of his own compoſition; ſince he tells us himſelf, that he had undertaken to draw up ſuch a ſet of tables, and ſome of them relate to the year 1269, which very well agrees with the age of Bacon (130). As to the chemical writings of our author, that are extant in MS. or in print, they are theſe; *Tractatus duo de Chemia*, i. e. ' Two Treatiſes ' of Chemiſtry.' *Speculum Alchemiæ*, ' Mirror of ' Alchemy.' *Theſaurum Chymicum*, i. e. ' Chemical ' Treaſure (131).' *Specula Mathematica*, i. e. ' Mathematical Mirrors.' *Medulla Alchemiæ*, in 8*vo*, ann. 1608, i. e. ' Marrow of Alchemy.' *De Arte Chemia Scripta*, i. e. ' Writings upon the Art of Chemiſtry.' *Breviarium de dono Dei*, ' Breviary of ' God's Gifts.' *Verbum abbreviatum de Leone viridi*, i. e. ' A ſhort Word of the Green Lyon.' *Secretum ſecretorum Naturæ de laude Lapidis Philoſophorum*, i. e. ' Secret of Nature's Secrets in praiſe of the Philoſopher's Stone.' *Tractatus trium Verborum*, i. e. ' Treatiſe of three Words.' *Epiſtola de Modo miſcendi*, i. e. ' Epiſtle on the Manner of mixing.' *Epiſtola ſecretiſſima de Ponderibus*, i. e. ' A ſecret Epiſtle of Weights.' *Speculum ſecretorum*, ' Mirror of ' Secrets.' It is not eaſy to aſſign the dates of theſe ſeveral pieces, but moſt probably they were written and ſent abroad before the time of his impriſonment; and they ſeem to have had a much greater currency than his other writings, ſince we find them frequently quoted by the ſucceeding ſages in that ſchool, ſuch as Norton, Ripley, &c. About the year 1288, he addreſſed to Pope Nicholas IV., his book *De retardandis ſenectutis accidentibus*, which being divided into three parts, each of theſe has been taken for a ſeparate treatiſe, and ſo the whole divided into *De retardatione ſenectutis*, i. e. ' Of the retarding Old Age.' *De univerſali regimine ſenum*, i. e. ' Of the Regimen for Men in Years;' and *De conſervatione Senſuum*, i. e. ' Of the ' Preſervation of the Senſes.' His laſt work, as we have already ſhewn, was his *Compendium Theologiæ*, i. e. ' Compendium of Divinity,' of which there are ſeveral MSS. yet in being, ſome more and ſome leſs perfect. Thus it plainly appears, that though it may be true, that ſome of our author's works are loſt, or at leaſt ſo hid, as that the public has no knowledge of them; yet that the far greater part of Bacon's works ſtill remain, and if they were publiſhed with the ſame care that has been taken about his Opus Majus, it would undoubtedly be an acceptable ſervice rendered to the commonwealth of learning, and contribute not a little, to the bringing ſuch pieces of our author to light, as are ſtill buried in obſcurity. We muſt likewiſe obſerve, in order to complete the deſign of this note, that ſeveral of the pieces mentioned in the foregoing catalogue, are falſly aſcribed to our author, and ought really to be accounted the works of other men. Such as the Treatiſe *Of the Flux and Reflux of the* Britiſh *Sea*, which belongs to *William Burley* (132). The diſcourſe on the *Uſefulneſs of Aſtronomy*, which is attributed to *William Botoner* (133). The treatiſe *of the Magnet or Loadſtone*, ſaid to have been written by *Peter Peregrinus* (134): The *Rogerina Major & Minus*, which as Dr. Freind juſtly obſerves, are not at all like to be his, but belong rather to *Roger* of *Parma* (135): The treatiſe *on the Pſalms*, and *the Life of* St. Edmund *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, we have already aſſerted to be the works of *Robert Bacon* (136). On the whole therefore it will appear, that we are already in a much better condition in this reſpect, than Leland thought was poſſible; and that we know much more of the life, character, and writings, of this famous man, than Bale or Pits, or any of the writers who tranſcribe from them; which is not ſaid with any deſign of diſcrediting their labours, but with a view to encourage others to ſurpaſs ours, and give ſtill a clearer account of this admirable perſon and his diſcoveries, to which we ſhall eſteem ourſelves happy, if we have any way contributed by the pains we have beſtowed.

[Z] *In our own and in foreign countries.*] It is a very juſt reflection made by Dr. Freind, on the writers of our Engliſh hiſtory, who are ſo copious in

(129) As we are informed by Dr. Jebb in his preface to the Opus Majus.

(130) Perhaps there are copies of the MS. in Mr. Theyer's Collection.

(131) I find this title ſet down by Dr. Shaw as of Bacon's Treatiſe, but I apprehend it is the Editor's title, for I find *Theſaurus Chemicus*. Francofurti. 8*vo*, 1603.1620. in which moſt of theſe treatiſes are contained.

(132) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Vol. ii. p. 326.

(133) *Id. ibid.*

(134) This was the judgment of the famous Thomas Allen, as Wood tells us, Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 140.

(135) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 294.

(136) See the former article of BACON (Robert).

been employed, as indeed they were moſt neceſſary, to bring theſe ſeveral points, with the authorities requiſite to ſupport them, to the view of the public: but, when the deſign

in their praiſes of much more inconſiderable perſons, and yet ſilent as to Roger Bacon, 'that ſurely ſome 'relation of ſo extraordinary a genius, would have 'as well deſerved to have had a place in their wri-'tings, as the detail of a blazing ſtar or a bloody 'ſhower, which they never fail to regiſter at large. 'And it might perhaps have been of as much uſe 'and pleaſure to the reader, as a long recital of 'the riſe and fall of a great miniſter, or the wars 'and victories of our Kings (137).' It is indeed doubtful, whether he would have been remembered at all in the times neareſt his own, if it had not been for the rumours ſpread amongſt the vulgar of his being a great Magician, and the honours paid him by the Alchemiſts at home and abroad, by whom he is always mentioned with great eſteem, and as one of the Patriarchs in their ſcience. Thus Thomas Norton, in his famous book on this ſubject, places him before Raymond Lully, and frequently cites his very words (138). He is alſo mentioned with great applauſe by George Ripley (139), which evidently ſhews, that his chemical works were univerſally known, among ſuch as addicted themſelves to that ſtudy. It is not at all ſtrange therefore, that when John Leland, with moſt laudable zeal, undertook to reſcue ſome part of the literary hiſtory of his country from oblivion; he found it ſo difficult to obtain any tolerable account of our author's life and writings; as to which, however, he made very diligent ſearch, and found enough to warrant his declaring our author, a man moſt diligent in acquiring every kind of learning, and juſtly meriting the title, of the miracle of the age in which he lived. Nay, ſo great an opinion had he of Bacon's learning, more eſpecially in the Mathematics, that he wiſhes for an hundred mouths and an hundred tongues to proclaim his praiſes, and moſt paſſionately deplores the various accidents, by which he was deprived of the pleaſure of peruſing all his works (140). Biſhop Bale, though carried away at firſt by the ſtream of common opinion, yet afterwards did him ample juſtice, and fairly acknowledges, that he was both an excellent Mathematician, and a moſt learned Philoſopher (141). John Pits gives him a very high character, and celebrates him as one perfectly ſkilled in Poetry, Rhetoric, and every part of polite learning, all the liberal arts, in the ſeveral branches of Mathematics, Phyſics, and Philoſophy, eminent in Divinity and Law, well read in Greek and Hebrew learning, and thoroughly verſed in all the monuments of venerable antiquity. So that, ſays he, there was nothing wanting to render him the moſt knowing perſon of his age, and in every various kind of knowledge, moſt excellent. He vindicates him from all the injurious calumnies that had been thrown upon him, and very juſtly pronounces them the effects of that envy, to which the ignorant are provoked againſt ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their extraordinary learning (142). After this, we find him mentioned with the greateſt honour, by the moſt learned and moſt judicious writers; and it began to be accounted a merit to publiſh his writings, and to defend his character. The famous Dr. John Dee (143) undertook the former, and promiſed the latter, and perhaps performed it too, though his work was never publiſhed. The learned Selden often mentions our author, with reverence and applauſe (144). The judicious Sir Thomas Brown ſpeaks of him with great reſpect, and takes particular notice of the ſtory of the brazen-head, which he tells us, ſaid no more than *Time is*. He will have it that this tale is too literally received, as being but a myſtical fable concerning the Philoſopher's great work, wherein he eminently laboured, implying no more by the copper-head, than the veſſel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it ſpake, than the opportunity to be watched of the birth of the myſtical child, or Philoſophical King; which critical opportunity having ſlipped, he miſſed the intended treaſure; which, ſays Sir Thomas, had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England; that is, the moſt powerful defence and ſtrongeſt fortification, which gold could have effected (145). But our author's memory has been indebted to none more than the induſtrious Anthony Wood, who, with incredible pains and diligence, firſt drew together the moſt remarkable paſſages of Friar Bacon's hiſtory, from his own, and from the writings of original authors near his time (146). We have already ſhewn what the learned Dr. Plot has ſaid in his defence, in his excellent Natural Hiſtory of Oxfordſhire: but it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in another work of his, he takes notice of Friar Bacon's curious remarks, on the efficacy of unction and painting for preſerving the body, and thereby prolonging life (147); as alſo, of his having obſerved the motion of *aſteriæ* or *ſtar ſtones* in vinegar, four hundred years before he wrote (148). Our author is likewiſe celebrated for his diſcoveries by the famous Joſeph Glanvil, who wrote in defence of the Royal Society (149). The great Mr. Boyle ſpeaks of him as the father of the Chemiſts, and the author of that notion, that metals are compoſed of mercury and ſulphur, which however he does not abſolutely approve (150). The famous Dr. Cave ſays of him very truly, that being immerſed in philoſophic ſtudies, he wholly gave himſelf up to the ſearch of hidden things, ſo that penetrating into the ſecret receſſes of nature, he was able to aſſign the cauſes of things, and ſo to exert the effects of his wiſdom in practice, as, by the performance of extraordinary deeds, to create in the vulgar an apprehenſion of his being a Magician (151). We have often quoted Dr. Freind in his praiſe, ſo that we ſhall at preſent borrow only a few words from him, and theſe ſuch as ſhew him to have been a very impartial judge. 'We find, ſays he, enough in him 'to let us ſee, that the purſuit after the Philoſopher's 'ſtone began early; and Lully, who owns himſelf 'his diſciple (which probably might be when both 'were at Paris) carried theſe viſionary notions to an 'extravagant height. However, there is a great 'deal of new and ſolid learning upon this ſubject of 'Chemiſtry in the works of Bacon; if we ſtrip it of 'that jargon of language, which was ſo faſhionable 'in thoſe times. We may be the leſs ſurprized to 'find ſuch diſcoveries in him, who was indeed the 'miracle of the age he lived in (152).' After this excellent perſon, I ſhall not mention any more of our own countrymen, but content myſelf with ſhewing, in how great eſteem our learned author has been with ſuch foreigners, as were ſo happy to meet with, and ſo well verſed in the ſciences, as to be able to judge of his writings: for as to ſuch as have written general introductions to literature, or ſhort characters of great men, whoſe works they never ſaw, and on whom therefore they paſs raſh cenſures, capable only of miſleading raw and weak minds, they are not worth regarding (153). The celebrated Picus de Mirandula, who was himſelf ſuch a prodigy of learning, that, ſolely on this account, he was traduced for a Magician, from a ſuppoſition that it was impoſſible for him to have acquired ſo large a ſtock of ſcience, without more than human aſſiſtance, ſpeaks himſelf with reverence and admiration of Roger Bacon (154). One of the moſt emin[illegible] members of the republic of learning in Holland, Gerard Joannes Voſſius, has beſtowed many and high commendations upon our author, whoſe works he had read and ſtudied. I will mention only what he ſays of him in one place. 'In the year 1270 'flouriſhed in every kind of learning among the Eng-'liſh, Roger Bacon, a Monk of the Franciſcan order, 'and an Oxford Divine, a man of ſuch vaſt learning, 'that England, nay the whole world beſide, had not 'in this reſpect his equal, or his ſecond; yet either 'through the envy, or the ignorance, of the age in 'which he lived, he was ſtigmatized as a Magician '(155).' That moſt ingenious Daniſh Philoſopher Olaus Borrichius ſhewed himſelf a zealous admirer of Bacon's learning and merit, with which he was well acquainted, and aſſerts him to have diſcovered all the kinds of glaſſes now in uſe, to have known gun-powder, and to have made many other important diſcoveries, which entitle him, as he obſerves, to immortal reputation (156). In another book of his, he declares, that he had a moſt extenſive and ſurprizing capacity, in penetrating whatever ſubject he ſtudied

(137) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 248.

(138) Ordinal. cap. v.

(139) See his *Compound of Alchymie*, in Aſhmole's *Theſaurum Chemicum Britannicum*, p. 131.

(140) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 257, 258.

(141) De Script. Britan. p. 342.

(142) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 366, 367.

(143) See the article of DEE (JOHN).

(144) De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. c. 2.

(145) Vulgar Errors, Book vii. chap. xvi.

(146) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. 120—140.

(147) Natural Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, ch. ii.

(148) *Id. ibid.* ch. v.

(149) See his PLUS ULTRA; or, The Progreſs and Advancement of Knowledge ſince the Days of Ariſtotle, ch. v.

(150) Boyle's Works, Vol. i. p. 323.

(151) Hiſt. Lit. Vol. ii. p. 325.

(152) Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. ii. p. 234, 235.

(153) Gottlieb. Stollii, Introd. in Hiſtor. Literar. p. 474. 656.

(154) De Prænotione, lib. vii. c. 7.

(155) De natura Artium, lib. iii. c. 70. § 8.

(156) De Ortu & Progreſſ. Chem. p. 122.

ſign of this work is conſidered, the merit of the man duly weighed, together with the glory which reſults to this nation from having produced, and that too in one of the darkeſt and moſt unlettered ages, the brighteſt and moſt univerſal genius that perhaps the world ever ſaw, it is hoped that this time and pains, both with regard to the reader and the writer, will be eſteemed properly employed.

ſtudied. He recommends him as one of the moſt candid, as well as moſt able of the Chemiſts, and one from whom many of the reſt borrowed (157). There are few of the French writers who have given us greater marks of their general learning, than Gabriel Naudé, who expreſsly undertook the defence of our author, and who appears to have been very well acquainted with ſuch of his writings, as in his time were made public (158). The famous Morhoff mentions him often, and always with the greateſt marks of approbation and eſteem, and often with the higheſt praiſes; neither does he make any doubt of the diſcoveries aſcribed to him by Wood, and other Engliſh writers (159). To him I may ſubjoin the learned and impartial Caſimir Oudin, who, with infinite labour and diligence, has collected the beſt accounts that are any where to be met with, of the pieces written by Bacon, and the places where his manuſcripts are preſerved (160). The moſt judicious and indefatigable Fabricius commends him highly in the ſhort account he has given us of his life and writings. I cannot help taking notice of the amazing induſtry of this excellent perſon, whoſe labours are, and ever will be extremely uſeful to the lovers of learning; for though his account of Roger Bacon very little exceeds two pages, yet it plainly proves, that he had neglected nothing in his power, to gain a competent knowledge of this author and his works, and the deſire he expreſſes of ſeeing Dr. Jebb's edition of his Opus Majus, an account of which he had met with in a French Journal, is a ſingular inſtance of his veracity and willingneſs to let his readers know, how far his materials extended and where they fell ſhort (161). The moſt ingenious author of the Hiſtory of Hermetic Philoſophy Abbé Langlet du Freſnoy, has given a very conciſe and accurate account of Roger Bacon as a Chemiſt, and done him all the juſtice that could be deſired (162). Another French writer of diſtinguiſhed abilities ſpeaks of him with ſuch an air of admiration, and ſo warmly aſſerts his right to thoſe diſcoveries which have made other men famous, as ſhews, that he preferred truth to all things, and was reſolved to eſpouſe merit, in what age or country ſoever he found it (163). I ſhall conclude this catalogue of authorities in ſupport of Bacon's character, which however long it may appear, comes very far ſhort of what might have been collected, with that of the famous Boerhaave, who, in his account of Chemical writers, tells us, that Roger Bacon, an Engliſh Monk, who flouriſhed in the thirteenth century, excelled in Alchemy, Chemiſtry, Natural Magic, Mechanics, Metaphyſics, Phyſics, and Mathematics, and that ſuch of his works, as have been handed down to us, are generally written in a clear, eaſy ſtile, without circumlocutions (164). Thus it appears that the reputation of this extraordinary perſon, has not riſen from any ſuperſtitious regard to antiquity, or the prejudices of a few great men in his favour, but is truly founded on merit, and has been cheriſhed and maintained, from a principle of juſtice, by the ableſt men, and the moſt competent judges in all ages, and of all countries, from the times neareſt his own, down to thoſe in which we live. C.

(157) Conſpectus Scriptorum Chemicorum celebriorum, ſect. xix.

(158) Apologie pour les grands Hommes ſupçonnez de Magie, chap. xvii.

(159) Polyhiſtor. I. 2. 6. 67. II. 2. 12. 6. III. 4. 1. 9. 17.

(160) De Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. iii. col. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(161) Bibliotheca Latina mediæ & infimæ ætatis, p. 431—433.

(162) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, Vol. i. p. 109.

(163) Hiſtoire Critique de la Philoſophie, Vol. iii. p. 325.

(164) Boerhaave's Chemiſtry, Vol. i. p. 28.

[From the whole of the preceding moſt excellent article, we perceive that the depth and extent of Roger Bacon's talents and diſcoveries were indeed wonderful: nor ought we to eſteem him the leſs a prodigy, that he could not get above all the prejudices of the age in which he lived. Neither ſhould we be ſurprized that he aſcribed more to ſcience, with regard to Medicine, Mechanics, Chymiſtry, and other things, than it could poſſibly perform. This, in conjunction with the unavoidable credulity of the times, was natural to a man of ſuch elevated views; and eſpecially, at a period when the boundaries of knowledge could not be aſcertained. To be able to fix the exact limits of ſcience, muſt be the laſt reſult of progreſſive experience and improvement. In that age, when Roger Bacon ſaw that ſo much could be done by it, he was ready to imagine that it was almoſt capable of performing every thing. And this notion, though it might lead him into error in particular inſtances, was, upon the whole, a very uſeful principle. Great additions have been made to knowledge by the operation of this principle. In attempting impracticabilities, valuable acquiſitions have been obtained. Lord Bacon has an obſervation to our purpoſe, too beautiful to be omitted. 'Surely 'to Alchemy this right is due, that it may be com-'pared to the huſbandman whereof Æſop makes 'the fable; that, when he died, told his ſons, that 'he had left unto them gold buried under ground 'in his vineyard; and they digged over all the 'ground, and gold they found none; but by reaſon 'of their ſtirring and digging the mould about the 'roots of their vines, they had a great vintage the 'year following: ſo aſſuredly the ſearch and ſtir to 'make gold hath brought to light a great number 'of good and fruitful inventions and experiments, 'as well for the diſcloſing of nature, as for the uſe 'of man's life (165).' Perhaps, it hath been the fault of more modern times, to preſcribe too narrow boundaries to ſcience, and not to have given ſufficient encouragement to a noble boldneſs of mind, in the inveſtigation of nature. However, this fault, if it may be ſaid to have exiſted, no longer ſeems likely to prevail. For, ſince the diſcoveries in Electricity, and, above all, ſince the curious and extraordinary experiments of Dr. Prieſtley, with regard to the different kinds and properties of air, there is an ardour for philoſophical reſearches diffuſed throughout Europe, which promiſes a new Era in the hiſtory of the progreſs of Natural Knowledge.

(165) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 15. Folio edition of 1753.

It is probable that Roger Bacon's ſkill in the Greek and Hebrew languages may, conſidering the general ignorance of the times, appear not a little ſurpriſing to ſome of our readers. But this is more eaſily to be accounted for than his other attainments. Polite and Claſſical Literature had not been ſo univerſally neglected as is ſometimes imagined. During the two centuries which ſucceeded the Norman Conqueſt, a variety of perſons had, in our own country, directed their ſtudies this way; of whom the ingenious and learned Mr. T. Warton hath given an account, at the concluſion of the ſecond Diſſertation prefixed to his hiſtory of Poetry. Among the reſt, Robert Groſthead, Biſhop of Lincoln, Roger Bacon's great friend and patron, was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his profound knowledge in the learned languages, and for his zeal in promoting the ſtudy of them. It is not ſtrange, therefore, that Roger Bacon, with ſuch an example before him, ſhould excel in the ſame ſpecies of learning. As philological literature was ardently cultivated, in the period we are ſpeaking of, by a number of individuals, both in our own nation and in other parts of Europe, it may be enquired whence it came to paſs that it ſhould, in fact, make ſo ſmall a progreſs. This may be accounted for from ſeveral cauſes. What liberal knowledge there was in thoſe times lay entirely with ſome churchmen, who were not ſufficiently numerous and powerful to diſpel the general ignorance and ſuperſtition of the clerical order, and the almoſt univerſal barbarity of the laity. Nor were their own minds duly enlightened in matters of the moſt eſſential importance to the right exerciſe of the underſtanding. The ardent application to the ſtudy of the Civil and Canonical Laws (though the diſcovery of the imperial code had contributed to civilize Europe) was no ſmall impediment to the propagation of polite letters. And moſt of all, the barbarous and barren ſubtilties of ſcholaſtic divinity, which came into the higheſt reputation, involved true reaſon, juſt taſte, and ſound religion in one common ruin (166).] K.

(166) See Warton, as before referred to.

BACON (Sir NICHOLAS) Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He deſcended from an ancient and honourable family in Suffolk [*A*]. His father was Robert Bacon of Drinkſton in that county, Eſq; and the name of his mother was Iſabel, the daughter of John Gage of Pakenham in the ſaid county, Eſq. (*a*) Our Nicholas was their ſecond ſon, and born ſome time in the year 1510, at Chiſlehurſt in Kent (*b*). After having received the firſt rudiments of learning, either in the houſe of his father, or at ſome little ſchool in the neighbourhood; he was ſent when very young to Corpus Chriſti (vulgarly) Bennet college in Cambridge (*c*), where having improved himſelf in all branches of uſeful knowledge, for which he made a very grateful return [*B*], he travelled into France, and made ſome ſtay at Paris, in order to give the laſt poliſh to his education (*d*). On his return he ſettled in Gray's-Inn, and applied himſelf with ſuch aſſiduity to the ſtudy of the Law, that he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that learned profeſſion; ſo that on the diſſolution of the monaſtery of St. Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, he had a grant from King Henry VIII., in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, of the manors of Redgrave, Boteſdale, and Gillingham, with the park of Redgrave, and ſix acres of land in Wortham, as alſo the tythes of Redgrave to hold *in capite* by Knight's ſervice (*e*), which ſhews that he ſtood high at that time in the favour of his Prince, who was one that never gave or preferred but where great abilities invited. In the thirty-eighth of the ſame King, he was promoted to the office of Attorney in the court of Wards, which was a place both of honour and profit. In this office he was continued by King Edward VI., his patent being renewed in the firſt year of that Prince (*f*), and in 1552, which was the laſt year of his reign, Mr. Bacon was elected Treaſurer of Gray's-Inn (*g*). His great moderation and conſummate prudence, preſerved him through the dangerous reign of Queen Mary. In the very dawn of that of Elizabeth he was knighted, and the Great Seal of England being taken from Nicholas Heath Archbiſhop of York, was delivered to Sir Nicholas Bacon, on the twenty-ſecond of December 1558, with the title of Lord Keeper (*h*). He was alſo of the Privy-Council to her Majeſty, who had much regard to his advice. The Parliament met on the twenty-third of January, but was prorogued on account of the Queen's indiſpoſition to the twenty-fifth, when the Lord Keeper opened the ſeſſion with a moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech [*C*]. Some

(*a*) See the Pedigree of the family of Bacon MS. belonging formerly to Peter le Neve, Eſq;

(*b*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. i. p. 2.

(*c*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 46.

(*d*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

(*e*) Chiting's Tenures of Suffolk, MS. p. 154.

(*f*) Pat. 1 Ed. VI. p. 3. m. 36.

(*g*) Dugdale, Orig. Juridic. p. 298.

(*h*) Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 21.

[*A*] *An ancient and honourable family in Suffolk.*] The learned Camden tells us, that Auverton, in the county of Suffolk, was the ſeat of the ancient family of Bacon, who held the manor of Thornage and that of Brome, by conducting all the footmen of Suffolk and Norfolk to the wars in Wales (1), and indeed there is a fair pedigree of this family extant, which deduces them from Grimbaldus, who came over hither at the Norman conqueſt, and had lands given him near Holt in Norfolk, where he founded the pariſh church of Letheringſet, of which he made his ſecond ſon Parſon. From him Robert Bacon, the father of our Nicholas, was lineally deſcended. In ſupport of this account many quotations might be made from our moſt ancient writers, and particularly from Weever's Monuments, wherein there is mention made of many of the family of Bacon in Suffolk (2).

(1) Camden Britan. p. 352. edit. 1594.

(2) Pedigree for the family of Bacon, MS. Funeral Monuments, p. 813. 863.

[*B*] *A very grateful return.*] In regard to the univerſity in general, he ſhewed his kindneſs, by making a preſent to the public library of 103 Greek and Latin books, when ſuch preſents were much wanted, and not a little encouraged by his example (3). To the college he was a great benefactor, by beſtowing two hundred pounds towards erecting a new chapel, and by engaging other friends to contribute to the ſame purpoſe. He ſettled, likewiſe, upon the college, an annuity of 20l. for the maintenance of ſix ſcholars, who are to be choſen out of the grammar ſchool at Redgrave, near Boteſdale, in Suffolk. This ſchool was founded by himſelf, and he allotted 30l. *per ann.* for the ſupport of it; he founded, alſo, Curſitor's or Bacon's Inn in Chancery Lane, thus did he ſhew himſelf a true lover and encourager of learning, which never ennobled any family more conſpicuouſly than his own. For the furtherance of religion, he appointed two annual ſermons in St. Paul's cathedral, allotting four marks *per ann.* for the payment of the preachers, and the cleaning of his tomb (4).

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. iii. P. 345.

(4) Maſters's Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge, p. 203. 208. 224.

[*C*] *A moſt eloquent and ſolid ſpeech.*] [This ſpeech was a long one; notwithſtanding which we ſhall inſert it at large, becauſe it relates to a very important period, and diſplays in a ſtrong light the real abilities of Sir Nicholas Bacon. It ſhews him to have poſſeſſed a manly and vigorous eloquence, which, indeed, was greatly ſuperior to what had hitherto appeared in the Lord Chancellors or Lord Keepers of this kingdom.

'My Lords and Maſters all,

'THE Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, our natural and moſt gracious Sovereign Lady, having, as you know, ſummoned hither her High Court of Parliament, hath commanded me to open and declare the chief cauſes and conſiderations that moved her Highneſs thereunto. And here, my Lords, I wiſh (not without great cauſe) there were in me ability to do it in ſuch order and ſort as is beſeeming for her Majeſty's honour, and the underſtanding of this preſence, and as the great weightineſs and worthineſs of the matter doth require it to be done. The remembrance whereof, and the number of my imperfections to the well-performing of it, doth indeed (plainly to ſpeak) breed in me ſuch fear and dread, that as from a man abaſhed and well nigh aſtoniſhed, you are to hear all that I ſhall ſay therein. True it is, that ſome comfort and encouragement I take, through the hope I have conceived, by that I have ſeen and heard of your gentle ſufferance by others, whereof I look upon equal cauſe equally with others to be partaker; and the rather, for that I am ſure good-will ſhall not want in me to do my uttermoſt; and alſo, becauſe I mean to occupy as ſmall a time as the greatneſs of ſuch a cauſe will ſuffer; thinking that to be the meeteſt medicine to cure your tedious hearing, and mine imperfect and diſordered ſpeaking, ſummarily to ſay, the immediate cauſe of this ſummons and aſſembly, be conſultation, advice, and contentation: for although divers things that are to be done here in Parliament, might, by means, be reformed without Parliament, yet the Queen's Majeſty ſeeking, in her conſultation of importance, contentation by aſſent, and ſurety by advice; and therein repoſing herſelf not a little in your fidelities, wiſdoms, and diſcretions, meaneth not at this time to make any reſolutions in any matter of weight, before it ſhall be by you ſufficiently and fully debated, examined, and conſidered. Now the matters and cauſes whereupon you are to conſult, are chiefly and principally three points. Of thoſe the *firſt* is, of well making of laws, for the according

Some of the Queen's Counſellors thought it neceſſary that the attainder of the Queen's mother ſhould be taken off; but the Lord Keeper was of another mind. He thought the crown purged all defects, and in compliance with his advice, two bills were brought into

'according and uniting of theſe people of the realm 'into an uniform order of religion, to the honour 'and glory of God, the eſtabliſhing of the church, 'and tranquillity of the realm. The *ſecond*, for the 'reforming and removing of all enormities and miſ-'chiefs that might hurt or hinder the civil orders 'and policies of this realm. The *third*, and *laſt*, is, 'adviſedly and deeply to weigh and conſider the 'eſtate and condition of this realm, and the loſſes 'and decays that have happened of late to the impe-'perial crown thereof; and therefore to adviſe the 'beſt remedies to ſupply and relieve the ſame. For 'the *firſt*; the Queen's Majeſty, having God before 'her eyes, and being neither unmindful of precepts 'and divine counſels, meaneth and intendeth, in 'this conference, firſt and chiefly there ſhould be 'ſought the advancement of God's honour and glory, 'as the ſure and infallible foundation whereupon 'the policies of every good commonwealth are to 'be erected and knit; and as the ſtraight line 'whereby it is wholly to be directed and governed; 'and as the chief pillar and buttreſs wherewith it is 'continually to be ſuſtained and maintained. And 'like as the well and perfect doing of this cannot 'but make good ſucceſs in all the reſt, ſo the remiſs 'and looſe dealing in this cannot but make the reſt 'full of imperfections and doubtfulneſs; which muſt 'needs bring with them continual change and alte-'ration; things much to be eſchewed in all good 'governances, and moſt of all in matters of faith 'and religion; which of their natures be, and ought 'to be, moſt ſtable.

'Wherefore her Highneſs willeth, and moſt earneſt-'ly requireth, you all, firſt and principally, for the 'duty you bear unto God, whoſe cauſe this is; and 'then for the ſervice you owe to her Majeſty, and 'your country, whoſe weal it concerneth, univer-'ſally; and for the love you ought to bear to your-'ſelves, whom it toucheth one by one particularly; 'that, in this conſultation, you, with all humble-'neſs, ſingleneſs, and pureneſs of mind, confirm 'yourſelves together, uſing your whole endeavour 'and diligence, by laws and ordinance, to eſtabliſh 'that which, by your learning and wiſdom, ſhall be 'thought moſt meet for the well performing of this 'godly purpoſe: and this without reſpect of honour, 'rule or ſovereignty, profit, pleaſure or eaſe, or of 'any thing that might touch any perſon in eſtima-'tion or opinion of wit, learning, or knowledge; 'and without all regard of other manner of affec-'tion. And therewith, that you will alſo in this 'your aſſembly and conference clearly forbear, and, 'as a great enemy to good Council, fly from all 'manner of contentions, reaſonings, and diſputa-'tions, and all ſophiſtical, captious, and frivolous 'arguments and quiddities, meeter for oſtentation 'of wit, than conſultation of weighty matters; come-'lier for ſcholars than Counſellors; more beſeeming 'for ſchools, than for Parliament-Houſes; beſides, 'that commonly they be great cauſes of much ex-'pence of time, and breed few good reſolutions. 'And like as in Council, all contention ſhould be 'eſchewed, even ſo, by Council, proviſion ſhould 'be made, that no contentions, contumelious nor 'opprobrious words, as heretic, ſchiſmatic, papiſt, 'and ſuch like names, being nurſes of ſuch ſeditious 'factions and ſects, be uſed; but may be baniſhed 'out of men's mouths, as the cauſers, continuers, 'and encreaſers of diſpleaſure, hate, and malice; 'and as utter enemies to all concord and unity, the 'very marks that you are now come to ſhoot at.

'Again, as in proceedings herein, great and wary 'conſideration is to be had, that nothing be adviſed 'or done, which any way, in continuance of time, 'were likely to breed or nouriſh any kind of idolatry 'or ſuperſtition: ſo, on the other ſide, heed is to be 'taken that, by no licentious or looſe handling 'any manner of occaſion be given, whereby any 'contempt, or irreverent behaviour towards God 'and godly things, or any ſpice of irreligion might 'creep in, or be conceived: the examples of fearful 'puniſhments that have followed theſe four extre-'mities; I mean, idolatry, ſuperſtition, contempt, 'and irreligion, in all ages and times, are more in 'number than I can declare, and better known than 'I can make recital to you of. And yet are they 'not ſo many, or better known than by the con-'tinual budding benefits and bleſſings of God to 'thoſe that have forſaken thoſe extremities, and 'embraced their contraries. And for your better 'encouraging to run this right and ſtraight courſe, 'although that which is ſaid ought to ſuffice thereto, 'I think I may affirm, that the good King *Hezekiah* 'had no greater deſire to amend what was amiſs in 'his time, nor the noble Queen *Heſter* a better 'heart to overthrow the mighty enemies to God's 'elect, than our Sovereign Lady and Miſtreſs hath 'to do that may be juſt and acceptable in God's 'ſight. Thus forced to this by our duties to God, 'feared thereto by his puniſhments, provoked by his 'benefits, drawn by your love to your country and 'yourſelves, encouraged by ſo princely a patroneſs, 'let us, in God's name, go about this work, endea-'vouring ourſelves with all diligence (as I have be-'fore ſaid) to make ſuch laws as may tend to the 'honour and glory of God, to the eſtabliſhment 'of his church, and to the tranquillity of the 'realm.

'For the *ſecond*; there is to be conſidered what 'things, by private men deviſed, be practiſed and 'put in uſe in this realm contrary or hurtful to the 'commonwealth of the ſame, for which no laws be 'yet provided; and whether the laws, before this 'time made, be ſufficient to redreſs the enormities 'they were meant to remove; and whether any 'laws made but for a time, be meet to be continued 'for ever, or for a ſeaſon. Beſides, whether any 'laws be too ſevere or too ſharp, or too ſoft and too 'gentle: to be ſhort; you are to conſider all other 'imperfections of laws made, and all wants of laws 'to be made, and thereupon to provide the meeteſt 'remedies; reſpecting the nature and quality of 'the diſorder and offence, the inclination and diſ-'poſition of the people, and of the manner of the 'time.

'For the *third* and *laſt* (a marvellous matter); I 'cannot ſee how a good true *Engliſhman* can enter 'into the conſideration of it, but it muſt breed in 'his breaſt two contrary effects; comfort, I mean, 'and diſcomfort, joy and ſadneſs: for, on the one 'part, how can a man, calling to his remembrance 'that God of his divine power and ordinance, hath 'brought the imperial crown of this realm to a 'Princeſs, that ſo nobly, diligently, willingly, and 'carefully doth, by the advice of all the eſtates of 'the realm, ſeek all the ways and means that may 'be, to reform all diſorders and things that be 'amiſs; to continue and make firm that that is 'good; to detect and diſcourage thoſe that be diſ-'honeſt and evil; to execute juſtice in all points to 'all perſons, and at all times, without rigour and 'extremity; and to uſe clemency without indulgence 'and fond pity.

'A Princeſs, I ſay, that is not, nor ever meaneth 'to be, ſo wedded to her own will and fantaſie, 'that, for the ſatisfaction thereof, ſhe would do any 'thing that was likely to bring any ſervitude or 'bondage to her people; or give any juſt occaſion 'to them of any inward grudge whereby any tumult 'or ſtirs might ariſe, as hath done of late days, 'things moſt pernicious and peſtilent to the com-'monwealth; a Princeſs, that never meaneth or in-'tendeth, for any private affection, to advance the 'cauſe or quarrel with any foreign Prince, or Poten-'tate, to the deſtruction of her ſubjects, to the loſs 'of any of her dominions, or to the impoveriſhing 'of her realm; a Princeſs, to whom nothing, what 'nothing? no, no worldly thing under the ſun is ſo 'dear, as the hearty love and good-will of her nobles 'and ſubjects; and to whom nothing is ſo odible, as 'that they might cauſe or by any means procure the 'contrary.

'How can (I ſay) a man remember this wonderful 'benefit, but of neceſſity he muſt needs heartily

'rejoice,

into Parliament, and paſſed into laws, one for recognizing the Queen's title, the other for reſtoring her in blood as heir to her mother (*i*). The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the ſettlement of religion, in which no man had a greater ſhare than the Keeper, though

(*i*) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. in the Appendix, where the laſt of theſe Acts may be found.

'rejoice, and give God thanks for the ſame? but, 'my Lords, the handling of the princely virtues 'of this noble Princeſs, the cauſe of our rejoicing, 'of purpoſe I pretermit, partly, becauſe I ever ſup-'poſed it not altogether meet for this preſence; but, 'chiefly, for that it requireth a perfect and excellent 'orator, in whom both art and nature concurs, and 'not to me, a man in whom both fail. Marry, I 'wiſh in my heart, an apt perſon might oft have 'meet preſence, and juſt occaſion, to handle this 'matter as the weightineſs of the cauſe requireth: 'but, as the cauſes of our rejoicing for ſuch reſpects 'be (thanks be to God) both many and great; ſo 'for the cauſes of our ſadneſs and diſcomfort, they 'be neither few nor little.

'But here upon great cauſe, as a man perplexed 'and amazed, I ſtay, not knowing what is beſt to 'be done; very loth I am to utter that which is 'much unpleaſant for me to ſpeak, and as uncom-'fortable for you to hear: but, becauſe ſores and 'wounds be hardly cured, except they be well open-'ed and ſearched, therefore, conſtrained of neceſſity, 'I ſee I muſt trouble you with theſe ſad matters. 'What man, that either loveth his ſovereign, his 'country, or himſelf; that thinketh of, and weigh-'eth the great decays and loſſes of honour, ſtrength, 'and treaſure; yea, and the peril that hath hap-'pened to this imperial crown of late time, but muſt 'inwardly and earneſtly bewail the ſame? could 'there have happened to this imperial crown a 'greater loſs in honour, ſtrength, and treaſure, than 'to loſe that place, I mean *Calais*, which was, in 'the beginning ſo nobly won, and hath ſo long 'time, ſo honourably and politickly, in all ages and 'times, and againſt all attempts, both foreign and 'near, both of forces and treaſons, been defended 'and kept? did not the keeping of this breed fear 'to our greateſt enemies, and made our faint friends 'the more aſſured, and lother to break? yea, hath 'not the winning and keeping of this bred through-'out *Europe* an honourable opinion and report of our '*Engliſh* nation?

'Again, what one thing ſo much preſerved and 'guarded our merchants, their traffic and inter-'courſe, or hath been ſo great a help for the well 'uttering of our chief commodities; or what, ſo 'much as this, hath kept a great part of our ſea-'coaſts from ſpoiling and robbing? to be ſhort, the 'loſs of this is much greater than I am able to utter, 'and as yet, as I ſuppoſe, is able to be underſtood 'by any: and yet, my Lords, if this were the whole 'loſs, then might men have ſome hope in time to 'come to recover that, that in time hath been thus 'ſuddenly and ſtrangely loſt: but when a man look-'eth further, and conſidereth the marvellous decays 'and waſtes of the revenues of the crown; the in-'eſtimable conſumption of the treaſure, levied both 'of the crown and of the ſubject; the exceeding 'loſs of munition and artillery; the great loſs of 'divers valiant Gentlemen of very good ſervice; the 'incredible ſums of monies owing at this preſent, 'and in honour due to be paid, and the biting 'intereſt that is to be anſwered for the forbearance 'of this debt; therewith remembering the ſtrength 'and mightineſs of the enemy, and his confederates, 'and how ready he is upon every occaſion, upon 'every ſide, and in every time, to annoy you; and 'how the time moſt meet for that purpoſe draweth 'on at hand. Again, if a man conſider the huge 'and moſt wonderful charge, newly grown to the 'crown, more than ever hath heretofore been wont, 'and now of neceſſity to be continued; as firſt, the 'maintenance of garriſons in certain places on the 'ſea-coaſts, as *Portſmouth*, with new munition and 'artillery, beſides the new increaſed charge for the 'continual maintenance of the *Engliſh* navy to be 'ever in readineſs againſt all evil happs; the ſtrongeſt 'wall and defence that can be againſt the enemies 'of this iſland; and further alſo, the new augmen-'tation or charge, for the maintenance of a garriſon 'at *Berwick*, and the frontiers northward. Indeed, 'I muſt confeſs that in thoſe matters mine under-'ſtanding is but ſmall, and mine experience and 'time to learn leſs; but, in my opinion, this doth 'exceed the ancient yearly revenue of the crown. 'Beſides, that double ſo much is of neceſſity to be 'preſently ſpent, about the fortifying of theſe places 'in buildings. When, I ſay, a man remembereth 'and conſidereth thoſe things, it maketh him ſo far 'from hope of recovery of that that is loſt, without 'ſome aid or contribution of the ſubject, that he will 'judge all to be little enough to make and prepare 'good defence for that that is left.

'Here perchance a queſtion would be aſked (and 'yet I do marvel to hear a queſtion made of ſo plain 'a matter), what ſhould be the cauſe of this? if it 'were aſked, thus I mean to anſwer; that I think 'no man ſo blind but ſeeth it, no man ſo deaf but 'heareth it, nor no man ſo ignorant but underſtand-'eth it. Marry, withal, I think there is no man ſo 'hard-hearted in thinking of it, but for the reſtoring 'of it would adventure lands, limbs, yea the life. 'But now to the remedies, wherein only this I have 'to ſay, that as the well looking to the whole 'univerſally is the only ſure preſervation of every 'one particularly, ſo ſeemeth it of all congruence 'and reaſon meet, that every one particularly, by 'all ways and means, readily and gladly, according 'to his power, ſhall concur and join to relieve and 'aſſiſt the whole univerſally. Neither can I ſee, 'things ſtanding as they do, how any that loveth 'his country, or hath wit to foreſee his own ſurety, 'can be withdrawn from this. Is there any, think 'you, ſo mad, that, having a range of houſes in 'peril of fire, would not gladly pluck down part, to 'have the reſt preſerved and ſaved? doth not the 'wiſe merchant, in every adventure of danger, give 'part to have the reſt aſſured? theſe cauſes well 'compared, ſmall difference ſhall be found. And 'for this, (a ſtrange matter and ſcarce credible) 'with how deaf an ear, and how hardly the Queen's 'Majeſty may endure to hear of any device that may 'be burthenous to her ſubjects, I partly do under-'ſtand, and divers others partly perceive. Is not the 'cauſe marvellous and pitiful, that the neceſſity and 'need of this ragged and torn ſtate by miſgovern-'ance, ſhould, by force, ſo bridle and reſtrain the 'noble nature of ſuch a Princeſs, that ſhe is not 'able to ſhew ſuch liberality and bountifulneſs to 'her ſervants and ſubjects, as her heart and inclina-'tion diſpoſeth her Highneſs unto? what a grief 'and torment this is to a noble mind! what a grief? 'ſurely ſuch a grief, as, but to a noble mind who 'feels, it cannot be underſtood. But for the more 'plain declaration of her Highneſs's diſpoſition in 'this matter, her Highneſs hath commanded me to 'ſay unto you, even from my own mouth, that 'were it not for the preſervation of yourſelves, and 'the ſurety of the ſtate, her Highneſs would ſooner 'have adventured her life (which our Lord long 'preſerve), than ſhe would have adventured to trouble 'her loving ſubjects with any offenſive matter, or 'that ſhould be burthenous or diſpleaſant unto them; 'and for the further notifying of her Highneſs's 'mind herein, ſhe hath commanded me to ſay unto 'you, that albeit you yourſelves ſee that this is no 'matter of will, no matter of diſpleaſure, no private 'cauſe of her own, which, in times paſt, have been 'ſufficient for Princes pretences (the more pity!) 'but a matter for the univerſal weal of this realm, 'the defence of our country, the preſervation of 'every man, his wife and family particularly; yet 'her Majeſty's will and pleaſure is, that nothing 'ſhall be demanded or required of her loving ſub-'jects, but that which they, of their own free wills 'and liberalities, be well contented, readily and 'gladly, frankly and freely, to offer; ſo great is the 'truſt that ſhe repoſeth in them, and the love and 'affection that her highneſs beareth towards them, 'nothing at all doubting, but that they will ſo 'lovingly, carefully, and prudently, conſider and 'weigh this great and weighty matter, that ſuch pro-'viſion out of hand be taken therein, as her High-'neſs ſhall be preſerved in all honour and royal dig-'nity,

though he acted with such prudence as never to incur the hatred of any party. On this account he was made choice of, together with the Archbishop of York, to be Moderator in a dispute between eight Protestant Divines, and eight Popish Bishops; and the latter behaving very unfairly in the opinion of both the Moderators, and desiring, to avoid a fair disputation, to go away, the Lord Keeper put that question to each of them, and when all except one insisted on going, his Lordship dismissed them with this memorandum, *For that ye would not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us*; and accordingly for this contempt, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower, and the rest were bound to appear before the Council, and not to quit the cities of London and Westminster without leave (*k*). The whole business of the session, than which there was none of greater importance throughout that reign, was chiefly managed by his Lordship, who pursued therein his wise maxim, *Let us stay a little, that we may have done the sooner* (*l*), and thereby brought all to a good conclusion, ending the session as he began it, with a most excellent speech [*D*]. Thenceforward the Lord-Keeper stood as high in the favour of the Queen as any of her ministers, and he took care to fortify his friendship, by maintaining a cordial interest with other great men, particularly with those eminent persons (*m*), who had married into the same family with himself, *viz.* Cecil, Hobby, Rowlet, and Killigrew. By their assistance he maintained his credit at Court, though he sometimes differed in opinion from the mighty favourite Leicester, who yet once bad fair for his ruin. There was, it seems, great intrigues at that time carried on in relation to the succession. Some great men, and particularly the Earl of Leicester, pretended to favour the title of the Queen of Scots, whereas others were more inclined to the House of Suffolk. The Queen sometimes affected a neutrality, but at others, she shewed a tenderness for the title of the Scottish Queen. In 1564, when these disputes were at the height, one Mr. John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, thought fit to write a treatise, or rather to publish it, for it seems to have been written before, in favour of the Suffolk line, and directly, and in plain terms, against the title of the Queen of Scots. This book was complained of by the Bishop of Ross, who was Ambassador from the Queen of Scots, and his cause being warmly supported by the Earl of Leicester, Hales was committed to prison, and so severe an enquiry made after all who had any notice of, or had expressed any favour for, this piece, that at last the Lord-Keeper came to be suspected, which drew upon him the Queen's displeasure to such a degree, that he was forbidden the Court, removed from his seat at Council, and prohibited from meddling with any affairs but those of the Chancery: nay, Camden carries it so far as to say he was confined. Certain it is, that the Queen was much estranged from him, and he in the utmost danger of total ruin (*n*) [*E*]. At last, however, Cecil

(*k*) Holinshed, Stowe, Speed, Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 88. 94, 95, 96. Fuller's Church History, B. ix. p. 56.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. p. 309.

(*n*) Strype's Annal's, Vol. i. p. 453, 454, 455, 456. Camden. Annal. p. 109, 110.

'nity, and you, and the rest of her loving subjects, 'in common, quiet and surety.

'Now to make an end: The Queen's Majesty's 'pleasure is, that you, her well-beloved and trusty 'knights of her shires, and burgesses, according to 'your laudable custom, shall repair to your common 'house, and there deliberately and advisedly elect, 'or rather, amongst so many already elect persons, 'select one, both grave and discreet, who, after he 'be by you presented, and that presentation by her 'Highness admitted, shall then occupy the office and 'room of your common mouth and speaker; and of 'your day of presentation the Queen's Majesty will 'give you notice (5).'

(5) Parliamentary History, Vol. iii. p. 365—374. second edition.

[*D*] *A most excellent speech.*] On the subject of religion he spoke thus: 'That as to the observation 'of the uniform order in religion, they of the Parliament in their several places, should endeavour, 'to the best of their powers, to further and set forth 'the same; which by great and deliberate advice in 'that Parliament, had been established: that watch 'should be had of the withdrawers and hinderers 'thereof, especially of those that subtilly, and by 'indirect means, sought to procure the contrary. 'Among these he comprehended, as well those that 'were too swift, as those that were too slow; those 'that went before the Law or behind the Law, as 'those that would not follow. For good government 'could not be where obedience failed, and both these 'alike broke the rule of obedience. That these were 'they, that in all likelihood would be the beginners 'and maintainers of factions and sects, the very 'mothers and nurses of all seditions and tumults. 'Of these therefore great heed should be taken; and 'upon their being found, sharp and severe corrections 'should be imposed, according to the order of Law; 'and that in the beginning, without respect of persons, 'as upon the greatest adversaries that could be to 'unity and concord, without which no common-'wealth, he said, could long endure.' After this speech, which was made on the fifth of May, 1559, the Parliament was dissolved (6).

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 63.

[*E*] *In the utmost danger of total ruin.*] This is the most curious, as well as most difficult point to settle, that occurs in the memoirs of this great man, and yet few of our historians have given any clear account of this matter. I will therefore endeavour to set it in the best light that may be, so that the reader may at least comprehend, how a matter of no great importance at first sight, came to affect so great a man so deeply. Among other projects formed by Queen Elizabeth, to make herself easy in relation to the Queen of Scots, one was contrived in the beginning of 1564, for marrying that Princess to Lord Robert Dudley, created for that purpose Earl of Leicester, and the great argument used to persuade the Queen of Scots to this marriage, was a solemn assurance, that, upon its taking place, Queen Elizabeth would declare her presumptive heir to the crown. This project alarmed all the great men, who were of a party opposite to that of the Earl of Leicester; and this induced them to wish that something might be written, to shew that this new project was impracticable, by reason of the title of the House of Suffolk to the crown. This occasioned some countenance to be given to a treatise written the year before, on the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with Lady Catherine Gray, under the title of *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England*, which the author laboured to prove, must belong to the issue of this marriage (7). The Earl of Leicester highly resented this, for which various reasons have been assigned, the most obvious of which is its crossing his intended match. A late writer has guessed, that he might think it necessary to declare against the House of Suffolk, because of his near relation to it, which might otherwise have brought him into suspicion with Queen Elizabeth (8). For my own part, I think a better reason than any of these may be given, and that is, his hopes of ruining his adversaries, by fixing this book upon them, which he

(7) Camden An. p. 109, 110. Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 453. & seq. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. i. col. 176.

(8) Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, by Mr. Robert Keith, p. 353.

Cecil with much difficulty reſtored him to the Queen's good opinion, who in all probability liked him not the leſs in the ſucceeding part of her reign, for this diſtaſte he had ſhewn towards the title of the Queen of Scots (*o*), as appears by her ſetting him at the head of that commiſſion, granted in the year 1568 (*p*), for hearing the difference between that unfortunate Princeſs, and her rebellious ſubjects; and in 1571 (*q*), we find him again acting in the like capacity, though very little was done before the Commiſſioners at either time, and very likely this was what Queen Elizabeth chiefly deſired, and the covering her inclination with a decent appearance of juſtice, was perhaps not a little owing to the addreſs of the Lord-Keeper. Thenceforward he continued not only in, but at the head of her Majeſty's Councils, and had a great hand in preventing, by his moderation, ſome warm advices that afterwards took effect. The ſhare, however, that he had in the buſineſs of the Duke of Norfolk, his known diſlike to the title of the Queen of Scots, and his great care for promoting the Proteſtant religion, created him many bitter enemies among the Papiſts both at home and abroad, who though they were able to do him no great hurt, yet by ſeveral bitter libels gave him no ſmall pain (*r*) [*F*]. As a ſtateſman he was remarkable for a clear head, and deep counſels, and while it was thought of ſome other great men that they ſeemed wiſer than they were, yet the common voice of the nation agreed in this, that Sir Nicholas Bacon was wiſer than he ſeemed. His great ſkill lay in balancing factions, and it is thought he taught the Queen that ſecret, the more neceſſary to her becauſe the laſt of her family, and conſequently without many of thoſe ſupports incident to Princes (*s*). In the Chancery he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very moderate uſe of power, and ſhewing great reſpect to the Common Law. At his own requeſt, an act of Parliament was made, to ſettle and eſtabliſh the power of a Lord-Keeper (*t*) [*G*]; though he might probably have taken away

(*o*) See Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. in the Appendix, p. 109; where there is a long Memorial of Sir Nicholas Bacon's, dated Nov. 20, 1577.

(*p*) Camden. Annal. p. 170.
(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 225, 226.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 178. Camden. Annal. p. 274.

(*s*) See Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 25. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 470, 471.

(*t*) Lives of the Chancellors, p. 86, 87.

he knew muſt be as odious to the Queen his miſtreſs, as to the Queen of Scots. In the month of April 1564, Hales was committed to the Fleet, and the farther enquiry into the matter was committed to Sir William Cecil Secretary of State. He, in a letter to Sir Thomas Smith, written at this very time, expreſſes a great concern at his being obliged to meddle in ſo knotty a buſineſs: however, he profeſſes that he would act in it uprightly, and move neither to the right-hand nor to the left. Upon his report, one Mr. Nudigate was likewiſe committed, and upon farther ſearching into the buſineſs, Lord John Gray of Pyrgo was reſtrained. Theſe proceedings occaſioned ſuch general diſcontent, that the Queen thought proper to prorogue the Parliament, and in the month of November, Hales was committed to the Tower, and the Lord-Keeper diſgraced, upon which Secretary Cecil in one of his letters ſays, *The affairs of the nation ſuffered much, as well as the Lord-Keeper's life, being in danger through heavineſs of mind* (9); and this appears the more probable, ſince Lord Gray beforementioned died through apprehenſion of what might befal him. The matter ſuſpected was, that the Lord-Keeper had ſome hand in writing the book. Anthony Wood tells us, that Cecil had as much hand in it as Bacon, but that it was agreed he ſhould lay the whole weight upon the former, that he might preſerve his intereſt with the Queen entire, and ſo be the more capable of bringing the Keeper again into favour, which however he was not able to do, till the beginning of the next year: nor had it been done at all, if Sir Anthony Browne, who in the reign of Queen Mary was Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, would have accepted the ſeals. But he a wiſe man, and of a religion different from that of the ſtate, wiſely and ſteadily refuſed them, though ſtrongly importuned by the Earl of Leiceſter, who, by this gentleman's prudence, found all his fine-ſpun ſchemes defeated (10).

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. i. p. 456.

(10) Wood's Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *Gave him no ſmall pain.*] About the year 1570, ſome Popiſh fugitives in Scotland, not content with having printed there ſeveral ſeditious books, ſent one of them, entitled *A Detection of certain Practices, &c.* with the following letter, addreſſed to their loving friends, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Sir Thomas Ruſſel, the Queen's Lieutenants in the county of Worceſter. 'After our hearty commendations; 'foreſeeing, by mature advice and conſideration, 'the preſent perils and imminent dangers whereinto 'the realm is like to fall, and that even at hand, if 'wiſdom prevent not the ſame; and having a natural 'care, and faithful affection towards our country, as 'beſeemeth all true Engliſhmen, we have thought 'good, as well to prevent the peril, as alſo to take 'care for the continual, proſperous, and peaceable government of this State, to ſignify unto you, what 'we, as well by credible report of ſtrangers, as alſo 'by the univerſal ſpeech of our countrymen at home, 'underſtand to be the cauſes of theſe ſo ſudden dangers 'like to enſue. The commonalty of this realm are 'thoroughly perſuaded, that the Lord-Keeper, Maſter Secretary, Mr. Mildmay, and Mr. Sadler, 'ſhould ſo miſgovern the State, and abuſe our Sovereign; that all, or the moſt part, of theſe dangers 'ſhould ariſe from them, as procurers of the ſame; 'and that by them, and the Paganical pretended 'Biſhops, now uſurping in this realm, we ſhould be 'thus ſtill drawn and continued in a religion of their 'deviſing, much worſe than Turkerie, *&c.* (11).' From the cloſe of this letter it appears, that letters of the ſame ſort had been diſpatched to every county in England, with a view, no doubt, to ſtir up a general rebellion, under pretence, that the Queen was guided by evil Counſellors. In the beginning of the year 1572, there was a libel publiſhed in France, deeply charging the Lord-Keeper, and the Lord-High Treaſurer Burleigh, as traytors to the State of England, which book was written with ſuch bitterneſs, that it gave theſe great men much diſquiet. The Treaſurer hereupon wrote to the Engliſh Ambaſſador. 'That 'he had a great mind to know who the author was, 'and deſired him to make his enquiry, adding that 'if by means of the printer it might be found out, 'he would beſtow a reward upon the diſcovery. But 'that if it could not, then he wiſhed that ſome 'means might be uſed, as of himſelf, to the Queen-mother, that the print might be deſtroyed, for 'that otherwiſe they ſhould think themſelves, conſidering the places they held in this eſtate, not well 'conſidered by that eſtate. He added, that this licentiouſneſs to inveigh againſt men by name in printed 'books, who did not themſelves uſe by books to 'provoke any, was in all good eſtates intolerable. 'And then he added, by way of proteſtation of the 'integrity and faithfulneſs of both their ſervices, 'God, ſaid he, *ſend this eſtate no worſe meaning 'ſervants in all reſpects than we two have been, who 'indeed have not ſpared labour nor care to ſerve our 'Queen and country, and if we had not, we might 'truly avow, neither our Queen nor country had enjoyed 'that common repoſe that it hath done* (12).' Mr. Camden, in his annals, tells us, the title of this book was, *A Treatiſe of Treaſon*, and that the Queen was ſo moved therewith, as to publiſh a proclamation to juſtify her Miniſters, and directing that all theſe books ſhould forthwith be brought in and burnt, under ſevere penalties (13).

(11) Cotton. Lib. Titus, B. ii.

(12) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 178, 179.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 274.

[*G*] *The power of a Lord-Keeper.*] We have before obſerved, that he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, the twenty-ſecond day of December, 1 Eliz. (14). But it ſeems, after he had been ſome months in his office, he

(14) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 167.

away all need of this, by procuring the title of Lord Chancellor: but according to his motto, which was *Mediocra firma*, he was content to be ſafe, and did not deſire to be great. In that court, and in the Star Chamber, he made uſe, on proper occaſions, of ſet ſpeeches, in which he was happier than moſt men, pleaſing the people by their ſound, and charming the wiſeſt men of that age with their ſenſe, whence he attained the reputation of uniting two oppoſite characters, *viz* of a witty and a weighty ſpeaker (*u*). His great parts and great preferment were far from raiſing him in his own opinion, as appears from the modeſt anſwer he gave Queen Elizabeth, when ſhe told him his houſe at Redgrave was too little for him: *Not ſo, Madam*, returned he, *but your Majeſty has made me too great for my houſe.* Yet to ſhew his reſpect for her Majeſty's judgment, he afterwards added wings to his houſe (*w*). His modeſty in this reſpect was ſo much the greater, ſince he had a great paſſion for building, and withal a very fine taſte, as appeared by his houſe and gardens at Gorhambury near St. Albans, a deſcription of which the reader will find in the notes [*H*]. Towards the latter end of his life he became very corpulent, which made Queen Elizabeth ſay merrily, that *Sir Nicholas's ſoul lodged well.* To himſelf however his bulk was very cumberſome; inſomuch, that after walking from Weſtminſter-Hall to the Star-Chamber, which was but a very little way, he was uſually ſo much out of breath, that the Lawyers forbore ſpeaking at the bar till he recovered himſelf, and gave them notice of it by knocking with his ſtaff (*x*). After having held the Great-Seal more than twenty years, this able Stateſman and faithful Counſellor was

(*u*) Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 43.

(*w*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. i. p. 3.

(*x*) Chauncy's Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

he began to doubt to what degree his authority extended, which ſeems to have been owing to the general terms uſed upon the delivery of the Great-Seal, of which we have various inſtances in Rymer's Fœdera (15). Upon this, he firſt applied himſelf to the Queen, from whom he procured a patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, the fourteenth of April, in the firſt year of her reign, whereby ſhe declares him to have as full powers as if he were Chancellor of England, and ratifies all that he had already done (16). This however did not fully ſatisfy him, but four years afterwards he procured an act of Parliament (17), which declares, 'That the Common Law always 'was, that the Keeper of the Great Seal always had, 'as of right belonging to his office, the ſame autho- 'rity, juriſdiction, execution of laws, and all other 'cuſtoms, as the Lord Chancellor of England lawfully 'uſed.' What the true reaſon was that made his Lordſhip ſo uneaſy, is not perhaps known to poſterity. But Sir Henry Spelman (18) has obſerved, that for the benefit of that wiſe counſellor Sir Nicholas Bacon, the authority of the Keeper of the Great Seal, was by this law declared to be in all reſpects the ſame with that of the Chancellor.

(15) Tom. IV. p. 523. Tom. V. p. 62. Ibid. p. 194.

(16) Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 3. m. 30. dorio.

(17) 5 Eliz. c. xviii.

(18) Gloſſ. Verbo Cancellarius.

[*H*] *Find in the notes.*] This manor was part of the antient revenue of the church of St. Albans, near which it lies. On the diſſolution of the monaſtery, it was granted to Ralph Rowlet, Eſq; afterwards knighted, and by him conveyed to Sir Nicholas Bacon (19), who, charmed with the pleaſant ſituation, built here a neat and elegant houſe, adorned with fine gardens, which in thoſe days made it very famous. Over the entrance into the hall ſtood theſe lines (20):

(19) Chauncy's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(20) Hiſtory of Engliſh Improvements in Architecture, Gardening, &c. MS.

Hæc cum perfecit Nicholaus tecta Baconus
Elizabeth regni luſtra fuere duo.
Factus eques magni Cuſtos fuit ipſe Sigilli:
Gloria ſit ſoli tota tributa Deo.
Mediocria firma.

This houſe Nicholas Bacon finiſhed
When Elizabeth had ten years ruled,
Who made him Knight and Keeper of her Seal:
To God alone all glory ever be.
Firm is the middle ſtate.

Over a gate leading into the orchard, which had a garden on one ſide and a wilderneſs on the other, under the ſtatue of Orpheus, ſtood theſe verſes:

Horrida nuper eram aſpectu latebræque ferarum,
Ruricolis tantum numinibuſque locus.
Edomitor fauſtò huc dum forte ſupervenit Orpheus
Ulterius qui me non ſinit eſſe rudem;
Convocat, avulſis virgulta virentia truncis
Et ſedem quæ vel Diis placuiſſe poteſt.
Sicque mei cultor, ſic eſt mihi cultus et Orpheus:
Floreat O noſter cultus amorque diu.

Of yore how frightful did this place appear,
Here howl'd wild beaſts, and ſatyrs frolick'd here,
When luckily for me this Orpheus came,
Whoſe heav'nly art has ſmooth'd my rugged frame,
For wither'd ſtocks, gave theſe fair ſpreading trees,
And rais'd a ſhade that deities might pleaſe.
Labours like his my Orpheus here employ,
O may we both each other long enjoy.

In the orchard was a little banquetting-houſe, adorned with great curioſity, having the liberal arts beautifully depicted on its walls, over them the pictures of ſuch learned men as had excelled in each, and under them, verſes expreſſive of the benefits derived from the ſtudy of them. The verſes, and the names of thoſe whoſe pictures were there placed, follow:

GRAMMAR.

Lex ſum ſermonis linguarum regula certa,
Qui me non didicit cætera nulla petat.
O'er ſpeech I rule, all tongues my laws reſtrain,
Who knows not me ſeeks other arts in vain.
DONATUS, LILLY, SERVIUS, and PRISCIAN.

ARITHMETIC.

Ingenium exacuo, numerorum arcana recludo,
Qui numeros didicit quid didiciſſe nequit.
The wit to ſharpen, I my ſecrets hide,
Theſe once explor'd, you'll ſoon know all beſide.
STIFELIUS, BUDÆUS, PYTHAGORAS.

LOGIC.

Divido multiplices, res explanoque latentes
Vera exquiro, falſa arguo, cuncta probo.
I ſep'rate things perplex'd, all clouds remove,
Truth I ſearch out, ſhew error, all things prove.
ARISTOTLE, RODOLPH, PORPHYRY, SETON.

MUSIC.

Mitigo mœrores, et acerbas lenio curas,
Geſtiat ut placidis mens hilarata ſonis.
Sorrow I ſooth, relieve the troubled mind,
And by ſweet ſounds exhilarate mankind.
ARION, TERPANDER, ORPHEUS.

RHETORIC.

Me duce ſplendeſcit, gratis prudentia verbis
Jamque ornata nitet quæ fuit ante rudis.
By me the force of wiſdom is diſplay'd,
And ſenſe ſhines moſt when in my robes array'd.
CICERO, ISOCRATES, DEMOSTHENES, QUINTILIAN.

GEOMETRY.

Corpora deſcribo rerum et quo ſingula pacto
Apte ſunt formis appropriata ſuis.
What bodies are and all their forms I ſhew,
The bounds of each, and their proportions too.
ARCHIMIDES, EUCLID, STRABO, APOLLONIUS.

ASTROLOGY.

Aſtrorum luſtrans curſus vireſque potentes,
Elicio miris fata futura modis.
I mark the motions of the ſtarry train,
And what thoſe motions mean, I too explain.
REGIOMONTANUS, HALY, COPERNICUS, PTOLOMY.

The manor, together with this fine ſeat, belongs now to the Lord Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland.

[*I*] *In*

was ſuddenly removed from this life, as a certain writer informs us, by the following accident. 'He was under the hands of his barber, and the weather being ſultry, had 'ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, 'he preſently fell aſleep, in the current of freſh air that was blowing in upon him, and 'awaked after ſome time diſtempered all over. Why, ſaid he to the ſervant, did you 'ſuffer me to ſleep thus expoſed? The fellow replied, That he durſt not preſume to 'diſturb him. Then ſaid the Lord-Keeper, By your civility I loſe my life; and ſo 'removed into his bed-chamber, where he died a few days after (*y*).' I have tranſcribed this ſtory exactly, though I think there is ſome reaſon to doubt the circumſtances of it; for all our writers agree, that Sir Nicholas Bacon paid his laſt debt to nature, on the twentieth of February 1579 (*z*), and one would imagine, that the weather could not then be very ſultry. If it had, that muſt have been very unuſual, and the hiſtorians of thoſe times would not have failed to take notice of it. It cannot however be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a fact as this is abſolutely unſupported by authority, though the original writer, whoever he was, muſt probably have been miſtaken, and have applied to Sir Nicholas Bacon, what was true of ſome other great perſon in thoſe times. However that matter may be, moſt certain it is, that the Lord-Keeper Bacon, after a long, happy, and honourable life, died, equally lamented by the Queen and her ſubjects, as I have ſaid, on the twentieth of February 1579, and, on the ninth of March following, was buried with great ſolemnity, under a ſumptuous monument erected by himſelf in St. Paul's church (*a*) [*I*]. Camden's character of

(*y*) Mallet's Life of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, p. 8.

(*z*) Strype's Annals, p. 547. Stowe, p. 685. Holinſhed. Vol. ii. p. 1286.

(*a*) Camd. Ann. p. 333. Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 547. Stowe's Annals, p. 685.

[*I*] *In St. Paul's church.*] The inſcription on this monument, penned by the famous George Buchanan, is ſingular and very worthy of notice (21), and therefore though it has been often printed, yet becauſe it is generally ſpeaking ſtrangely mangled, it may not be amiſs to give a correct copy of it here.

(21) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's, p. 71.

Hic Nicolaum nè Baconum conditum.
Exiſtima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni ſecundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis Aſylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem ſors, ſed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, Pietas, unica et Prudentia,
Neu morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
Vitam ſecundam cælites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia eſt.
Hac poſitum in ara eſt corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata ſempiternæ Memoriæ.

The ſenſe in Engliſh, thus:

Here repoſes Nicholas Bacon,
The ſame who was ſo long
The ſecond pillar of the Britiſh ſtate,
Scourge of the wicked, to the good a refuge;
Whom no blind fate exalted
To this high honour; but equity and truth,
Learning, piety, and exalted prudence:
Think not that death has ſnatched him,
Who in one ſhort life, merited two without end:
His ſoul among the happy leads a ſecond,
His fame, which fills the world, is to him a third life.
Here inſhrined lies the body, his ſoul once inhabited,
Under a monument ſacred to his deathleſs memory. C.

[Beſides the ſpeeches of Sir Nicholas Bacon already mentioned, ſeveral others were made by him at the opening and concluſion of the different ſeſſions of parliament, and upon the preſentation of ſpeakers of the Houſe of Commons; for which we ſhall refer ſuch of our readers as are deſirous of ſeeing farther ſpecimens of his abilities in this reſpect, to the work cited in the margin (22).

(22) Parliamentary Hiſtory. Vol iv. p. 2—7. p. 49—51. p. 57—59. p. 82, 83. p. 87—94. p. 156—164. p. 166—176. p. 218—226.

The objection which is made to Mr. Mallet's account, from Archbiſhop Teniſon, of the cauſe of the Lord Keeper's death, is not ſufficient to invalidate the truth of that account. About mid-day in the month of February, the ſun might be very warm; and yet the incident might not be deemed ſo extraordinary as to be recorded by hiſtorians. It ſhould be obſerved, that there were not in thoſe days either news-papers or ſuch other periodical publications as, in our time, preſerve the memory of the minuteſt events. We well remember, that, ſome years ſince, there were two remarkably hot days, earlier in February than is mentioned with regard to Sir Nicholas Bacon. But, though this circumſtance is undoubtedly taken notice of in the magazines and meteorological journals of the year, we ſhould ſcarcely, if we had been writing a general hiſtory of England, have thought of introducing it into ſuch a work.

Holland, in his Heroologia Anglica, p. 61. from the information of his own mother, who had lived in the Lord Keeper's family, gives a teſtimony to his piety as follows: *Et quod fuerit non ſolum ſapiens, eruditus, et gravis, ſed etiam perquam religioſus; tam hujus eminentis muneris in republica exercitio, quam pia et præſtans diſciplina domeſtica, evicit. Cui aſſertioni meæ indulgentiſſima mea et ornatiſſima mater, etiamnum ſuperſtes* (1620), *teſtimoniam perlubet; quæ ante quadraginta annos, ejus chariſſimæ uxori Annæ, clariſſimæ illæ doctiſſimæque heroinæ, operam navavit et famulata eſt, idque ante mariti obitum* (23).

(23) Communicated by a learned Correſpondent.

We ſhall here add the character of Sir Nicholas Bacon, which was drawn by his own ſon, the great Lord Verulam. He was 'a plain man, direct, and 'conſtant, without all fineſſe and doubleneſs; and 'one that was of a mind that a man in his private 'proceedings and eſtate, and in the proceedings of 'ſtate, ſhould reſt upon the ſoundneſs and ſtrength 'of his own courſes, and not upon practice to circumvent others, according to the ſentence of Solomon, *Vir prudens advertit ad greſſus ſuos; ſtultus autem divertit ad dolos:* inſomuch that the biſhop 'of Roſs, a ſubtle and obſerving man, ſaid of him, 'that he could faſten no words upon him, and that 'it was impoſſible to come within him, becauſe he 'offered no play: and the Queen mother of France, 'a very politic princeſs, ſaid of him, that he 'ſhould have been of the council of Spain, becauſe 'he deſpiſed the occurrents, and reſted upon the 'firſt plot (24).'

(24) Towers's Britiſh Biography. Vol. iii. p. 67.

We muſt not omit the project which he formed, in Henry the Eighth's reign, for a ſeminary of miniſters of ſtate, to be founded out of the revenues of diſſolved monaſteries. At that time, ſeveral ſchemes were ſuggeſted for noble foundations, and the King ſeemed very earneſt for carrying them into execution; but he had ſo outrun himſelf in his bounty, that it was not poſſible to bring them to any effect. Among the reſt of theſe deſigns, his majeſty intended to found a houſe for the ſtudy of the civil law, and the purity of the Latin and French tongues. He ordered, therefore, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and two others, Thomas Denton, and Robert Cary, to make a full project of the nature, and orders, of ſuch a houſe. This they accordingly did, and brought it to the king in writing. The intention of it was, that there ſhould be frequent pleadings, and other exerciſes in the Latin and French languages; and that when the ſtudents had attained to ſome degree of ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent out with our ambaſſadors, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; by which means the inſtitution would become a nurſery for public miniſters. Others of the ſtudents were to be employed in writing the hiſtory of the national tranſactions both at home and abroad; including, particularly, embaſſies, treaties, arraignments, and ſtate trials. But before they were to be permitted to write on theſe ſubjects, they were to take an oath, before the Lord Chancellor, that they would do it truly, without reſpect of perſons, and without any corrupt views. This noble deſign miſcarried. But if it 'had been well laid and regulated, it is eaſy to 'gather,

of him is juſt and plain, *Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, ſingulari prudentia, ſummâ eloquentia, tenaci memoria, & ſacris Conciliis alterum Columen* (*b*); i. e. A man of a groſs body but moſt quick wit, ſingular prudence, ſupreme eloquence, happy memory, and for judgment the other pillar of the State. His felicity was not greater in his fortune than in his family. His firſt wife was Jane, daughter of William Fernley, of Weſt Creting in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons and three daughters. The ſons were, 1. Sir Nicholas. 2. Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey in Norfolk, Eſq; who married two wives, 1. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Greſham of London, Knt. by whom he had three daughters his coheirs; 1. Anne, who being married to Sir Roger Townſhend of Rainham in Norfolk, anceſtor to the preſent Lord Viſcount Townſhend, brought the Stiffkey eſtate into that family; 2. Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Knyvet of Aſhwelthorp in Norfolk; and 3. Winifred, to Sir Robert Gawdy, of Claxton in Norfolk, Knt. Sir Nathaniel's ſecond wife was Dorothy, daughter of Sir George Hopton of Suffolk, Knt. by whom he had no iſſue. 3. Edward Bacon, of Shrubland-Hall in Suffolk, Eſq; in right of his wife Helen, daughter and heir of Thomas Littel of the ſame place, Eſq; and of Bray, in the county of Berks, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to Sir Robert Litton, of Knebworth in the county of Hertford, Knt. from whom is lineally deſcended Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland-Hall, Eſq; and from younger ſons of the ſaid Edward, are the Bacons of Ipſwich in Suffolk, and Earlham in Norfolk, deſcended. The daughters were, 1. Anne, married to Sir Henry Wodehouſe, of Waxham in the county of Norfolk, Knt. 2. Jane married 1. to Sir Francis Windham, Knt. one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas; 2. to Sir Robert Mansfield, Knt. And 3. Elizabeth, married 1. to Sir Robert D'Oyly of Chiſlehampton in Oxfordſhire, Knt. 2. to Sir Henry Nevil Knt. and 3. to Sir William Periam, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. After her deceaſe, he married Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy-Hall in the county of Eſſex, Knt. by whom he had two ſons, Anthony and Francis (*c*), of whom an account will be given in the following articles.

C.

(*b*) Annal. p. 333.

(*c*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. i. p. 49 5.

' gather, ſays Biſhop Burnet, what great and public ' advantages might have flowed from it.' The ſame author obſerves, that it ſhews the greatneſs of his mind who deſigned it; ' that is, of Sir Nicholas Ba- ' con, who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt miniſters ' that ever this nation bred (25).'

(25) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 269. Maſters, ubi ſupra, p. 220, 221.

Though the epitaph for the Lord Keeper, aſcribed to Buchanan, hath been much commended, it does not appear to contain any remarkable beauty. Camden, in his remains, p. 390, ſays, that the excellent poet Buchanan is *thought* to have made it. Henry Holland aſcribes it to Sir Nicholas Bacon himſelf. *Hoc epitaphium ille dum vixit adornavit et concinnavit.* But it is not likely that a man of the Lord Keeper's character, in which we find no traces of vanity, ſhould thus be the reciter of his own praiſes. The epitaph is publiſhed in Buchanan's works, and, if it was written after Sir Nicholas's death, it is probably one of the laſt of that poet's good performances. Indeed, his poetical fire ſeems in it to be much exhauſted (26).

(26) From Hints communicated by the Correſpondent above mentioned.

Biſhop Tanner hath enrolled Sir Nicholas Bacon among the writers of this country. His reaſons are, the following pieces, preſerved in different manuſcript collections. ' An Oration to the Queen, exhorting ' her to marriage.' ' A Speech to the Lord Mayor ' of London.' ' A Speech to the Serjeant called to a ' Judge.' ' An Oration touching the Queen's Mar- ' riage, and Succeſſion to the Crown.' ' His Speech ' to the Queen, when ſhe made him Lord Keeper.' ' His Speech in the Star Chamber, 1568.' ' His ' Speech to Sir Thomas Gargrave, elected Speaker ' for the Commons Houſe of Parliament.' ' His ' ſpeech at the Council Table, concerning Aid re- ' quired by the Scots, to expel the French out of ' Scotland.' ' His Speech concerning an Interview ' between Queen Elizabeth and the Scottiſh Queen, ' 1572.' His Speech to the Lords and Commons in ' Parliament, in the beginning.' ' His Speech to ' Mr. Bell when he was called to be Judge.' All theſe are in the Norwich Manuſcripts of More, 228; and are, we ſuppoſe, at preſent, in the public library of Cambridge. ' Several Speeches of Lord ' Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, from 1558 to 1571 in- ' cluſive,' in Mr. Ralph Thoreſby's collection. ' A ' Diſcourſe upon certain Points touching the Inheri- ' tance of the Crown, conceived by Sir Anthony ' Brown, and anſwered by Sir Nicholas Bacon.' This is in Smith's manuſcripts, 57. ' Three Letters to Dr. ' Parker;' in Corpus Chriſti College, Cambridge; mentioned by Strype, in his life of the Archbiſhop. One of theſe, entitled, ' A Letter of Mr. Nicholas ' Bacon, Counſellor at Law, to Parker, Dean of Stoke ' College; in Anſwer to certain Caſes put to him re- ' lating to the ſaid College,' Mr. Strype has publiſhed at length. Holinſhed, at the end of his 2d volume, p. 1589, hath ranked Sir Nicholas Bacon in the catalogue of thoſe who have written ſomething concerning the hiſtory of England (27). Mr. Maſters refers to a comment of Sir Nicholas's on the twelve minor prophets, dedicated to his ſon Anthony. And Mr. Strype hath printed an excellent letter of advice, which was written by the Lord Keeper, a little before his death, to the Queen, on the ſituation of her affairs. Many of his apothegms are among thoſe of Lord Verulam (28).

(27) Tanner's Bibliotheca, p. 62. Strype's Life of Matthew Parker, p. 36, 38. Append. do. N° 2. p. 4.

Before Mr. Walpole had obliged the world with his anecdotes of painting in England, it was, we believe, very little known that Nathaniel, the ſecond ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, by his firſt lady, was an eminent proficient in that polite art. ' There was ' one gentleman, ſays Mr. Walpole, in this reign ' (Queen Elizabeth's) who really attained the perfec- ' tion of a maſter, Sir Nathaniel Bacon.—— He tra- ' velled into Italy, and ſtudied painting there; but ' his manner and colouring approaches nearer to the ' ſtyle of the Flemiſh ſchool. Peacham on Limning, ' p. 126, ſays, " But none, in my opinion, deſerv- " eth more reſpect and admiration, for his ſkill and " practice in painting, than Maſter Nathaniel Bacon " of Broome in Suffolk (younger ſon to the moſt " honourable and bountiful-minded Sir Nicholas " Bacon), not inferior, in my judgment, to our ſkill- " fulleſt maſters." At Culford, where he lived, ' are preſerved ſome of his works; and at Gorham- ' bury, his father's ſeat, is a large picture in oil by ' him, of a cook maid with dead fowls, admirably ' painted, with great nature, neatneſs, and luſtre of ' colouring. In the ſame houſe is a whole length of ' him by himſelf, drawing on a paper: his ſword ' and pallet hung up, and a half length of his mother ' by him. At Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, were two ' more pieces by the ſame hand, which afterwards ' paſſed into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Rowland Holt; ' the one, Ceres with fruit and flowers; the other, ' Hercules and the Hydra. In Tradeſcant's muſeum ' was a ſmall landſcape, painted and given to him ' by Sir Nathaniel Bacon (29).' In the chancel of Culford, in Suffolk, are a monument and buſt of him, with his pallet and pencils. Another monument was erected to his memory at Stiffkey in Norfolk, the inſcription upon which is publiſhed by Mr. Maſters. The ſame writer informs us, that Sir Nathaniel was famed for painting plants, and well ſkilled in their virtues (30).]

K.

(28) Maſters, ubi ſupra, p. 220, 224. Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 475, 476. Append. Book 2. N° vii. p. 109.

(29) Anecdotes of painting in England, Vol. i. p. 177.

(30) Ibid. Maſters, ubi ſupra. Appendix, N° 61. p. 85.

BACON (FRANCIS) Viſcount St. Albans, and High-Chancellor of England in the reign of King James I., the glory and ornament, as he has been juſtly ſtiled, of his age and nation. His parents were, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, with whoſe character the reader is already acquainted; his mother, Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, Tutor to King Edward VI., a lady equally diſtinguiſhed by her piety, prudence, and learning (*a*). She was the ſecond wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and this Francis her ſecond ſon, was born at York-Houſe in the Strand, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1560-1 (*b*). His infancy being paſt, his noble genius, cultivated and encouraged by his excellent parents, gave early proofs of its ſurprizing ſtrength and pregnancy; inſomuch that we may juſtly ſay, his fame commenced with his childhood, as it accompanied him to his grave: for ſo remarkably conſpicuous were his parts, even in his tender years, that perſons of great worth and high dignity delighted in converſing with him while a boy; and Queen Elizabeth herſelf, whoſe peculiar felicity it was to make a right judgment of merit, was ſo charmed with the ſolidity of his ſenſe, and the gravity of his behaviour, that ſhe would often call him *her young Lord-Keeper* (*c*); a happy preſage, which, in the ſucceeding reign, was fully accompliſhed. When he had acquired the neceſſary rudiments of learning to qualify him for academical ſtudies, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where, on the tenth of June 1573, he was entered of Trinity-college, under Dr. John Whitgift, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being then in the thirteenth year of his age (*d*). The quickneſs of his natural parts, aſſiſted by an uncommon diligence and application, under the direction of as able and careful a Tutor, as any that learned age afforded, enabled our young ſcholar to make a moſt ſurprizing progreſs in his ſtudies; ſo that before he was full ſixteen, he had not only run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, as they were then taught, but began to perceive thoſe imperfections in the reigning Philoſophy, which he afterwards ſo effectually expoſed, and thereby not only overturned that tyranny which prevented the progreſs of true knowledge, but laid the foundation of that free and uſeful Philoſophy, which has ſince opened a way to ſo many great and glorious diſcoveries (*e*): a thing highly worthy of notice, and which would certainly be eſteemed incredible, if it were not ſupported by as clear evidence, as the nature of the fact requires [*A*]. His father, the Lord-Keeper, diſcovering in his ſon ſuch a ripeneſs of judgment and diſcretion, as ſeemed to warrant taking an extraordinary ſtep in his education, reſolved to ſend him, young as he was, to France, that he might improve himſelf in the knowledge of the world, under a Miniſter as capable and as honeſt as that age produced, Sir Amias Powlet, then the Queen's Ambaſſador at Paris. His behaviour while in the houſe of that famous ſtateſman was ſo well conducted, that he gained the eſteem and confidence of Sir Amias to ſuch a degree, as to be intruſted with a commiſſion of importance to the Queen, which required both ſecreſy and diſpatch. To execute this he came over hither, and performed it with ſuch applauſe, as gained both himſelf and the Ambaſſador credit (*f*). He afterwards returned to Paris, from

(*a*) See the character of this Lady in note [*A*] in the article BACON (ANTHONY).

(*b*) Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 1.

(*c*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 829.

(*d*) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. i. p. 11.

(*e*) Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

(*f*) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 375.

[*A*] *As clear evidence as the nature of the fact requires.*] We are indebted to Dr. Rawley, who was our author's Chaplain, for this and many other circumſtances relating to the earlier years of his life. He tells us, for inſtance, that Queen Elizabeth was charmed at an anſwer given her by Bacon, when a perfect child. Her Majeſty it ſeems had aſked him how old he was, to which he anſwered, *that he was two years younger than her Majeſty's happy reign* (1). There was certainly a great deal of wit in this ſprightly and well-turned compliment, from whence one may eaſily be induced to believe, that by the help of his education, and the example of his parents, who were as well bred and learned a couple as any in their time, Mr. Bacon might have acquired very extraordinary lights even before he went to the Univerſity. But the point which in this note we are to make good, was not at all of this nature; ſince, whatever he heard of Ariſtotle before he went to College, muſt have been ſuch things as would have ſerved rather to impreſs on him an awe of his authority, than a diſtruſt of his knowledge. Yet we are aſſured by Dr. Rawley, that he received this particular from Lord Bacon's own mouth; who likewiſe told him, *that his exceptions againſt that great Philoſopher were not founded upon the worthleſſneſs of the author, to whom he would ever aſcribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulneſs of the way; being a Philoſophy (as his Lordſhip uſed to ſay) only for diſputations and contentions, but barren in the production of works for the benefit of the life of man, in which mind he continued to his dying day* (2). Dr. Teniſon likewiſe, in his introduction to the *Baconiana* tells us, that when our author began his ſtudies, Ariſtotle was in effect the Pope in Philoſophy. The lectures both in his private college and in the public ſchools, were generally expoſitions upon Ariſtotle's text, and every opinion written by him as his own, was eſteemed as authentic, as if it had been given under the ſeal of the fiſher. It was therefore a very ſingular felicity in a young gentleman, to ſee farther into nature than the celebrated Philoſopher, at whoſe feet he was placed; and it was as happy as it was extraordinary, that he took diſtaſte betimes at the vulgar ſchemes of Natural Philoſophy. 'Uſe and cuſtom in that 'way, continues Dr. Teniſon, might have reconciled 'it to him, as it had done to others of great learn-'ing. For a Philoſopher is like a vine, of which 'they ſay, it muſt be ſet of a plant and not of a 'tree. But though there was bred in Mr. Bacon ſo early 'a diſlike of the Phyſiology of Ariſtotle, yet he did 'not deſpiſe him with that pride and haughtineſs 'with which youth is wont to be puffed up. He had 'a juſt eſteem of that great maſter of learning, a 'greater than that which Ariſtotle expreſſed himſelf, 'towards the Philoſophers that went before him; for 'he endeavoured (ſome ſay) to ſtifle all their labours, 'deſigning to himſelf an univerſal monarchy over 'opinions, as his patron Alexander did over men. 'Our hero owned what was excellent in him, but in 'his enquiries into nature, he proceeded not upon 'his principles. He began the work anew, and laid 'the foundation of philoſophic theory in numerous 'experiments (3).' Thus we ſee that, upon the whole, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt the truth of this matter of fact, how extraordinary ſoever it may appear in its nature; and we ſhall very ſoon have occaſion to ſupport the evidence already given, by another proof as convincing as either of thoſe which we have alledged already: for truths appear clearer the more cloſely they are examined, whereas errors, however ſpecious, cannot endure ſuch teſts.

(1) Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 3.

(3) Baconiana, edit. Lond. 1679. p. 10, 11.

whence he made ſome excurſions into the French provinces, that he might be the better acquainted with the country; reſiding for ſome time at Poictiers, and making ſuch obſervations upon men and things, as opportunities would allow, of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings [*B*]. He applied himſelf during his ſtay there, not only to ſuch ſtudies as were agreeable to his inclination, but to thoſe likewiſe, for his improvement in which, his father might probably be ſuppoſed to have ſent him thither, as appears from a very ingenious and elegant performance of his, containing A ſuccinct View of the State of Europe at that time, which, as the worthy writer of his life, with great penetration, has obſerved, appears plainly to have been written when our author was but nineteen (*g*). In this ſhort treatiſe there appears, not only much of the ſpirit and judgment, but of the method alſo, which he purſued in his ſucceeding writings; which is a point particularly worthy of notice, becauſe it corroborates and ſupports what has been before related, of his early proficiency, and ſurprizing progreſs in learning, and is indeed not only worthy in all reſpects of ſo great a genius, but deſerves likewiſe to be eſpecially pointed out, for the imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances [*C*]. But while he was thus improving his talents abroad, his fortune received a very untoward check at home, by the ſudden and unexpected death of his father, the Lord-Keeper, who having provided amply for his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond venter, had laid by a conſiderable ſum of money for the ſettlement of the younger ſon; but dying before he could find a proper purchaſe, Mr. Francis Bacon had no more than the fifth part of this money for his whole fortune, which proving but a narrow proviſion, he found himſelf obliged to return to England, and to think of ſome profeſſion that might ſuſtain his fortune (*b*). He was not long in making this choice, in which perhaps the advice of his relations, the perſuaſion of friends, and the fame of his father, had to the full as great a ſhare as his own inclinations. However that might be, he, on his return home, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Common Law, and for that purpoſe entered himſelf of the honourable ſociety of Gray's-Inn, where his ſuperior talents rendered him the ornament of the houſe,

(g) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Work's; London, 1740, in four Volumes in Folio.

(b) Stephen's Introduction to his Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters.

[*B*] *Of which we have a remarkable inſtance in his writings.*] The moſt curious as well as the moſt authentic paſſages of the lives of learned men, are uſually drawn from their own works, and therefore they ought to be read with the utmoſt attention for this purpoſe. The paſſage I am to cite on this occaſion, has not, for any thing that I know, been taken notice of by any who have laboured to oblige the world with memoirs of this learned perſon; and I the rather cite it, becauſe it ſhews how early he began thoſe enquiries into human nature, which were finiſhed only with his life. Speaking of the differences between youth and old age, and having enumerated many of them, he proceeds thus: When I was a young man at Poictiers in France, I familiarly converſed with a young gentleman of that country, who was extremely ingenious, but ſomewhat talkative; he afterwards became a perſon of great eminence. This gentleman uſed to inveigh againſt the manners of old people, and would ſay, that if one could ſee their minds as well as their bodies, their minds would appear as deformed as their bodies; and indulging his own humour, he pretended, that the defects of old men's minds, in ſome meaſure correſponded to the defects of their bodies. Thus dryneſs of the ſkin, he ſaid, was anſwered by impudence; hardneſs of the viſcera, by relentleſſneſs; blear-eyes, by envy; and an evil eye, their down look, and incurvation of the body, by atheiſm, as no longer, ſays he, looking up to heaven; the trembling and ſhaking of the limbs, by unſteadineſs and inconſtancy; the bending of their fingers, as to lay hold of ſomething, by rapacity and avarice; the weakneſs of their knees, by fearfulneſs; their wrinkles, by indirect dealings and cunning, &c. (4).

(4) Hiſtoria Vitæ & Mortis, Vol. iii. p. 180.

[*C*] *The imitation of other young gentlemen in like circumſtances.*] The principal deſign in travelling is, or ought to be, the ſhaking off ſuch prejudices as are contracted in a manner unavoidably in the courſe of common education, and the acquiring of ſuch lights, by experience and enquiry, as can be obtained no other way. It was to facilitate theſe, that Mr. Bacon compoſed, as far as we can judge from the piece itſelf, this treatiſe, intitled, *Of the State of* EUROPE (*), in which he ſets down the names of all the Princes then reigning, their characters, families, intereſts, dominions, forces, revenues, and principal tranſactions of their reigns; together with ſome notices of their miniſters, favourites, and the principal perſons in their dominions; which without doubt our author drew forth into this form, that he might with the greater eaſe underſtand what he heard or read concerning them, as alſo to help his own converſation on any of theſe ſubjects, and thereby prevent his falling into any of thoſe errors, which are but too common with young travellers, and which frequently lay them open to ſuch corrections, as muſt naturally put them out of countenance. It is a very ingenious obſervation of Mr. Mallet, who has written our author's life with great ſpirit and vivacity, that this tract muſt have been written about the year 1580, becauſe he tells us therein, that Henry III. of France was then thirty years old; and as that Prince began his reign in 1574, when he was twenty-four years of age; this is certainly a very clear proof of the fact, and that our author compoſed this work by that time he was nineteen (5). I cannot however help believing, that it was not compoſed all at once, but rather, that our author began it in his travels, and afterwards reviſed and finiſhed it when he was ſettled at Gray's-Inn. I am confirmed in this by obſerving ſome other dates, mentioned in this ſhort tract, which do not fall in exactly with that year; as for inſtance, ſpeaking of Pope Gregory XIII, he ſays, he was then ſeventy years old, but as that Pontiff died in 1585, at the age of eighty-three (6), it is plain that he muſt have written this particular paſſage in 1582. Again, ſpeaking of Philip II. King of Spain, he ſays he was about ſixty years of age: but this King Philip was born in 1527, and conſequently, was not ſixty till the year 1587 (7); and if we examine his other dates with the ſame care, we ſhall find that they refer to different years, which plainly proves that my conjecture is probable at leaſt, if not certain. But what is extremely remarkable in this ſmall treatiſe, is the care and accuracy with which he has ſet down moſt of the little Princes in Germany, with the ſtate of their dominions. In ſhort, the whole of this piece argues the author's great diligence and exactneſs, and at the ſame time demonſtrates, how early he had found the advantages of committing whatever he thought worthy of notice to writing, and reducing it into a proper method. To ſay the truth, this was a thing very cuſtomary in thoſe days, with ſuch as applied themſelves to the ſtudy of public affairs, with a view to make themſelves uſeful to the ſtate; of which many inſtances might be given, if we had not already exceeded the bounds of a note, and ſpent rather too much time upon a performance, chiefly remarkable, for being in all probability the firſt that fell from the pen of this eminent writer, and which, in all likelihood, was never intended by its author for the eye of the public; though from the great eſteem attracted by many excellent works, it was juſtly held a benefit conferred upon poſterity to deliver from obſcurity, whatever was aſſuredly the product of ſo vaſt a genius.

(*) See this treatiſe in the appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, edit. 1740, p. 35.

(5) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 3.

(6) Hiſtoire des Papes, Vol. v. p. 44.

(7) Vie de Philipe II. par Gregor. Leti, Vol. i. p. 3.

as the gentleneſs and affability of his deportment procured him the affection of all its members. The place itſelf was ſo agreeable to Mr. Bacon, that he erected there a very elegant ſtructure, which many years after was known by the name of the *Lord* Bacon's *Lodgings*, which he inhabited occaſionally through the greateſt part of his life, and thereby teſtified, how pleaſantly he had paſſed his time in that ſeat of learning, while he had no higher title than that of a member of Gray's-Inn (*i*). He ſpent his time during the firſt years of his reſidence in that place, in very hard ſtudy, not confining himſelf entirely to the Law, which however he made ſufficiently his care, but indulging his extenſive genius in the free contemplation of the whole circle of ſcience. This appears clearly from hence, that he framed, as he tells us himſelf, not long after his being ſettled here, the plan of that great philoſophical work, which will not only render his name immortal, but do honour to his age and country, ſo long as learning ſhall continue to flouriſh (*k*). As to this tract of his, in which, as an ingenious writer obſerves, he traced the out-lines of that magnificent ſtructure, which after thirty years labour he finiſhed; it ſeems (at leaſt to me) doubtful, whether it be entirely loſt, or whether we have it ſtill as its author left it, imperfect and unfiniſhed [*D*]. But though he did not entirely confine

(*i*) Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4.

(*k*) See his Letter to Father Fulgentio.

[*D*] *Or whether we have it ſtill, as its author left it, imperfect and unfiniſhed.*] In order to clear up this point, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew upon what grounds it is believed that our author wrote ſuch a work ſo early; next, what the title of that piece really was; and laſtly, what reaſons there are to conceive it is not wholly loſt, as has hitherto been the common opinion. As to the firſt, the author himſelf, in a letter to Father Fulgentio, a very learned Italian (8), who deſired to have an account of the works he had already written, and of thoſe he had ſtill thoughts of making public, having firſt mentioned the ſeveral parts of his great body of Philoſophy, which had already ſeen the light, he goes on thus: 'Attamen in prodromis (iis dico 'tantum, quæ ad univerſalia naturæ fere pertingunt) 'non levia jacta erunt hujus rei fundamenta. Cona-'mur (ut vides) tenues grandia: in eo tamen ſpem 'ponentes, quod videntur iſta a Dei providentia & 'immenſa bonitate profecta. Primo, propter ardorem '& conſtantiam mentis noſtræ, quæ in hoc inſtituto 'non conſenuit, nec tanto temporis ſpatio refrixit. 'Equidem memini me quadraginta abhinc annis ju-'venile opuſculum circa has res confeciſſe, quod 'magna prorſus fiducia et magnifico titulo, *temporis 'partum maximum* inſcripſi. Secundo quod propter 'utilitatem infinitam Dei opt. max. auctoramento 'gaudere videatur (9).' That is, *Nevertheleſs, in theſe introductory pieces (thoſe I mean which related chiefly to generals) the foundation of this matter was not haſtily laid. We ſtruggled (as you ſee) to effect great things by a ſmall force, putting our firm confidence in God, that through his providence and great goodneſs, we ſhould accompliſh them. Firſt, becauſe of the ardour and conſtancy of our mind, which grew not languid after making a beginning, or cooled at all in ſo long a ſpace. For well I remember that forty years ago, I compoſed a juvenile work about theſe things, which with great confidence I graced with the ſwelling title of the* Greateſt Birth of Time. *Secondly, becauſe for its infinite utility, the moſt wiſe God ſeemed to encourage my progreſs.* It is very clear from hence, that our author wrote a book, containing the rudiments of his Philoſophy, when he was very young, for if we ſhould even allow this letter, which is without date, to have been written in the laſt year of his life, yet this will carry the treatiſe ſo far back as to the year 1586, when our author was in the twenty-ſixth year of his age, and before he had attained to any preferment; and it is poſſible that it might have been written ſome time before. As to the title of this book, the Reader has it in the letter; but then there is ſome doubt, whether this title were the true one, or rather as I think, whether it was the only one. It may not be amiſs to hear, what a very learned editor of ſome of our author's works has ſaid upon this ſubject, in which, ſpeaking of the works of Lord Bacon that are miſſing, he ſays (10), 'Loſt 'likewiſe is a book, which he wrote in his youth: 'he called it (Temporis Partus Maximus) the Greateſt 'Birth of Time, or rather, Temporis Partus Maſ-'culus, the Maſculine Birth of Time, for ſo Gruter 'found it called in ſome of the papers of Sir William 'Boſwel. This was a kind of embryo of the Inſtau-'ration, and if it had been preſerved, it might have 'delighted and profited philoſophical readers, who 'could then have ſeen the generation of that great 'work, as it were, from the firſt egg of it.' In like manner, the ingenious Mr. Mallet (11), ſpeaking of this treatiſe, is pleaſed to deliver himſelf thus: 'Though 'the piece itſelf is loſt, it appears to have been the 'firſt out-lines of that amazing deſign, which he af-'terwards filled up and finiſhed, in his grand Inſtau-'ration of the Sciences. As there is not a more a-'muſing, perhaps a more uſeful ſpeculation, than 'that of tracing the hiſtory of the human mind, 'if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, in its progreſſion from 'truth to truth, and from diſcovery to diſcovery; 'the intelligent reader would, doubtleſs, have been 'pleaſed, to ſee in the tract I have been ſpeaking of, 'by what ſteps and gradations, a ſpirit like Bacon's 'advanced in new and univerſal theory.' But perhaps, after all this, the treatiſe ſo much deplored may not be loſt: for it is certain, that the tract mentioned by Gruter, under the title of *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, or *the Maſculine Birth of Time*; is in ſome meaſure preſerved by him, in the Latin works which he publiſhed of Lord Bacon, and we find it again in the lateſt Engliſh edition of his works, in the language and ſtate in which its noble author left it (12). But here ſeems to lie the difficulty: ſome writers who have reviewed the ſcattered works and fragments of Lord Bacon have, with great labour and induſtry, endeavoured to bring in this treatiſe, otherwiſe ſtiled *Of the Interpretation of Nature*, as a part of that great body of Philoſophy which he had framed; whereas our author himſelf, ſpeaking of this treatiſe, tells us, as the reader may ſee above, that it was not a part or portion of his great ſtructure of Philoſophy, but the firſt ſketch or rough draught of the whole. Now I conceive, that whoever looks into theſe fragments of the book on the Interpretation of Nature, as they ſtand in the works of our author, and ſhall afterwards compare them with the beginning of his Inſtauration, will not need many arguments to perſuade him, that this conjecture is founded in truth, and that there is as much reaſon to conceive that the great work juſt mentioned, roſe out of the *Temporis Partus Maſculus*, as that the *Novum Organon*, ſprung from another of the fragments which accompanies this, and is commonly called his *Cogitata & Viſa*. If the reader would be told what is the iſſue, what the advantage of this laboured inquiry, he will ſurely be ſatisfied with this anſwer; that by drawing theſe fragments of the Interpretation of Nature into a good light, it appears, that what the honeſt and candid Teniſon thought ſo fine a ſight, the generation of Lord Bacon's Philoſophy from the egg is ſtill in our power; and what the ingenious and inſtructive Mr. Mallet moſt truly obſerves, the ability of reviewing and tracing the author's ſteps from one diſcovery in ſcience to another, is yet in a great meaſure with us; which, to ſuch as rightly apprehend Lord Bacon's worth, and have a juſt conception of the value of his writings, will appear ſomewhat of conſiderable conſequence. I am ſatisfied, that in matters of this nature there is no abſolute certainty, and that in the depths of Lord Bacon's knowledge, a man of ordinary talents may be very eaſily loſt; but I own at the ſame time, the thing ſtruck me ſo ſtrongly, that

(8) The conſtant companion of Father Paul at Venice, and the ſame who wrote his life.

(9) *Epiſt. ad* Fulgentium, in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 404.

(10) Dr. Teniſon, in his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 22.

(11) Life of Lord Bacon, p. 4, 5.

(12) In the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 17, where it is intitled, *VALERIUS TERMINUS of the Interpretation of Nature, with the Annotations of HERMES STELLA.*

confine his thoughts to his profeſſion, yet his quick parts and ſurprizing penetration enabled him to make as rapid a progreſs in that, as in other kinds of learning; and the rather, becauſe he was extremely methodical, and wonderfully diligent in his ſtudy, taking all imaginable pains to make himſelf thoroughly maſter of the principles of the Law, and to extend his knowledge gradually through all the branches of that laborious, but moſt uſeful and noble profeſſion, as is very evident, from his ſolid and learned writings. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs in his practice, which was very conſiderable; and after diſcharging the office of Reader at Gray's-Inn, which he did in 1588, when in the twenty-eighth year of his age, he was become ſo conſiderable, that the Queen, who never over-valued any man's abilities, thought fit to call him to her ſervice, in a way which did him very great honour, by appointing him her Counſel learned in the Law Extraordinary; by which, though ſhe contributed abundantly to his reputation, yet ſhe added but very little to his fortune, as indeed in this reſpect he was never much indebted to her Majeſty, how much ſoever he might be in all others (*l*).

(*l*) Stephens's Introduction, p. xi.

We are henceforth to conſider him in a new character, I mean that of a ſtateſman and candidate for Court favour, as well as a Lawyer; and it will require ſome pains, and much caution, ſo to ſpeak of him in this light, as to avoid injuring either his character or the truth. He ſeemed to come into the world with as great advantages, and with as high pretenſions to preferment as any man of his time: for, beſides being the ſon of a Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, and one of the ableſt ſtateſmen of the age, he was nephew to William Lord Burleigh, who married his mother's ſiſter, and firſt couſin to Sir Robert Cecil, his ſon, who was Principal Secretary of State; ſo that one would have thought Mr. Bacon's abilities, ſupported by ſuch powerful mediators, might eaſily have made their way at Court (*m*). But it was his misfortune to have too much merit, and too extenſive intereſt. The former rendered him ſuſpicious to his Court patrons, and the latter engaging both parties in his favour, produced him much credit, but contributed more than any thing to ſpoil his fortune. The Court and Miniſtry of Queen Elizabeth was through her whole reign divided into two parties, at the head of one of which were the two Cecils, and at the head of the other, firſt the Earl of Leiceſter, and afterwards his ſon-in-law the Earl of Eſſex (*n*). If Mr. Bacon, who, as we have already ſhewn, was nearly allied to their family, had ſteadily adhered to the Cecils, he might very probably have riſen by their intereſt: but he made a very early friendſhip with Robert Earl of Eſſex, who was at the head of the other faction, and attached likewiſe his elder brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, to that nobleman's ſervice, and that in ſo ſtrict a manner, as could not fail to give great jealouſy to the Cecils (*o*). All theſe are indiſputable matters of fact; and therefore ſuch as are acquainted with the intrigues of a court, will not be very much ſurprized at the fate of Mr. Bacon, of whoſe parts and application, while both parties made their advantage, yet neither made his fortune. Sir Robert Cecil is repreſented, and perhaps juſtly, as the perſon who threw thoſe obſtacles in Mr. Bacon's way, that throughout this whole reign he was never able to ſurmount: for he who had all the arts and addreſs of a Court, failed not to ſuggeſt, that Mr. Bacon was a ſpeculative man, and conſequently the leſs fit for buſineſs, one who had his head full of philoſophical notions, and therefore more likely to perplex than to promote public affairs, if permitted to have any ſhare in their direction (*p*). However, that they might not ſeem to neglect ſo near a relation, or to ſlight a perſon of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, the Cecils procured for him the reverſion of a very conſiderable place, *viz.* the Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which nevertheleſs he did not enjoy till the next reign (*q*) [*E*]. As for his other patron, Robert Earl of Eſſex, as he was a nobleman juſtly celebrated for his great qualities and eminent virtues, ſo

(*m*) See the article of CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(*n*) See Camden, Strype, Dugdale, and the reſt of the writers of her reign.

(*o*) Lord Bacon's Apology, in the third Vol. of his Works, p. 429.

(*p*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9, 10. See alſo Lord Bacon's Letters in the fourth Vol. of his Works.

(*q*) See Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

that I could not help putting it down, yet with all imaginable ſubmiſſion to the reader, to whoſe ſervice, as I dedicate my labours, I hope (ſhould it be found ſo) he will the more eaſily pardon my miſtake. There are, however, a few circumſtances more, to which I muſt deſire the reader's attention, and then he will have a juſt notion of Mr. Bacon's frame of mind. While at Gray's-Inn, he was eagerly engaged in the ſtudy and purſuit of his new Philoſophy, the whole ſcheme of which he had already formed. It was to this he applied his thoughts, and this was the great object of his ambition. If he deſired or laboured for preferment in civil life, it was but with a view to gain thereby the means of improving and accompliſhing his ſyſtem; for he made even the moſt ſhining tranſactions of his life, but ſubſervient thereto. In a word, the introducing this new method of attaining wiſdom was his ruling paſſion, and his great ſpring of action through life. It quickened him in the purſuit of employments, it conſoled him when he met diſappointments in that purſuit; it filled up (moſt agreeably) his few leiſure moments when in the zenith of his grandeur; it ſoftened his fall, by propoſing a new road to fame and eſteem, in which he was in no danger of being either impoſed on by one ſet of men, or ſacrificed to the intereſts of another. Thus, this was always, and in all conjunctures, his leading object, of which he never loſt ſight; and as we have already had a train of evidence ſufficient to convince us, that he conceived ſomething of this kind when he was but ſixteen, and brought it into ſome form by that time he was twenty-ſix; ſo the remainder of this article will ſhow, how warmly he proſecuted this point till death overtook him on the road, when his mind was wholly occupied with theſe ſpeculations.

[*E*] *The regiſter of the court of Star-Chamber, which, however, he did not enjoy till the next reign.*] When our author firſt applied himſelf to public affairs, he ſtudied to recommend himſelf ſolely to the good graces of the Lord High-Treaſurer Burleigh, from whom, as his uncle, he expected, and had reaſon to expect, the faireſt quarter in the world. We learn this from his own writings; for there are many of his letters to that nobleman ſtill extant, in which he declares no leſs, and expreſſes a very warm and paſſionate deſire, to dedicate himſelf entirely to the Queen's ſervice, through the interpoſition, and ſolely by the recommendation of that great Miniſter

ſo he approved himſelf to Mr. Bacon, a warm, ſteady, and indefatigable friend. This appeared clearly, upon Mr. Bacon's preſſing very earneſtly to be made Queen's Solicitor, in the year 1594, in which he made uſe of all his friends, and exerted his own endeavours to the utmoſt. It was now that he diſcovered, how little reaſon he had to truſt to, or depend upon, the Cecils, and had very little cauſe to be well pleaſed with the conduct of the then Lord-Keeper (*r*); but as for the Earl of Eſſex, he not only afforded him all the aſſiſtance, both by perſonal application, and by engaging his friends to intereſt themſelves on the behalf of Mr. Bacon, that was in his power, but had ſo generous a concern for his want of ſucceſs in that application, which he believed to be owing to his own appearing in this gentleman's cauſe, that he moſt kindly and freely made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune (*s*) [*F*]. This was ſo rare, ſo extraordinary an inſtance of this nobleman's ſincere friendſhip, and tender regard for Mr. Bacon, and, at the ſame time, ſo noble a teſtimony of his ſpotleſs honour and boundleſs generoſity, that one would have thought it muſt for ever have attached Mr. Bacon to that Earl's fortunes. But it happened otherwiſe: that great favourite fell into deep misfortunes, which prove ſo frequently the fate of all Court favourites, that it ought not to be eſteemed a wonder: yet, that Mr. Bacon ſhould be apparently, and in the eye of the world, an inſtrument of his misfortunes, that in the exerciſe of his profeſſion he ſhould

(*r*) See the Letters of Lord Bacon on this ſubject, in the fourth Vol. of his Works, from p. 516.

(*s*) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 431.

ſter (14). It was by the means of that Lord he obtained the reverſion of this office, as he acknowledges in the ſame letters, with this additional circumſtance, that his Lordſhip obtained it for him, notwithſtanding a vehement oppoſition. What this place was and the value of it. Dr. Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's Chaplain, and one who lived with him in the ſtricteſt intimacy, tells us plainly, and with circumſtances worthy notice (15). 'His birth and other capacities, ſays he, qualified him above others of his profeſſion 'to have ordinary acceſſes at Court, and to come frequently into the Queen's eye, who would often grace 'him with private and free communication, not 'only about matters of his profeſſion or buſineſs in 'Law, but alſo about the arduous affairs of ſtate, 'from whom ſhe received from time to time a great 'ſatisfaction. Nevertheleſs, though ſhe cheared him 'much with the bounty of her countenance, yet ſhe 'never cheared him with the bounty of her hand, 'having never conferred upon him any ordinary place, 'or means of honour, or profit, ſave only one dry 'reverſion of the *Regiſter's-Office* in the *Star-Chamber*, 'worth about 1600*l. per ann.* for which he waited 'in expectation, either fully, or near twenty years; 'of which his Lordſhip would ſay, in Queen Elizabeth's time, *That it was like another man's ground 'buttalling upon his houſe, which might mend his 'proſpect, but it did not fill his barn.*' His having the reverſion of this place, I take to be the reaſon, why ſeveral writers ſtyle him one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council (16); for that he had no other employment than this under that reign, is very clear from the foregoing paſſage in Dr. Rawley's Memoirs, and from his own letters (17). It was in gratitude for his obtaining for him this reverſion, that in the year 1592, our author compoſed a large treatiſe, which he called *Certain Obſervations upon a Libel entitled, A Declaration of the true Cauſes of the great Troubles*; in which he very warmly vindicates the Lord Treaſurer particularly, and his own father, and the reſt of Queen Elizabeth's Miniſters occaſionally, and this I take to have been the firſt political production of his pen (18); and, by the way, it may not be amiſs to remark, that theſe ſort of miniſterial pamphlets were much in faſhion in thoſe days, and proved the great ſupport of that Queen's adminiſtration: for her Miniſters, being wiſe and able men, and acting upon juſt and honeſt principles, were not afraid of explaining and juſtifying their conduct, by which they were ſure to ſatisfy the ſenſible part of the nation, and ſecure to themſelves the rational ſupport of a well founded popularity during their lives, and a juſt reſpect for their memories after their deceaſe; which are bleſſings that can never be enjoyed by wicked or weak miniſters, ſuch as act either upon bad principles, or upon no principles at all.

(14) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 512.

(15) Dr. Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 5.

(16) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 438.

(17) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 573.

(18) In the Reſuſcitatio publiſhed by Dr. Rawley, p. 81. And in the fourth Vol. of Bacon's Works.

[*F*] *Made him amends for his diſappointment out of his own fortune.*] We learn this ſingular particular from the beſt authority poſſible; viz. that of our author himſelf, who, in his apology (19), addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, gives us the ſtory at large in theſe words: 'I muſt and will ever acknowledge 'my Lord's love, truſt, and favour towards me, and 'laſt of all his liberality, having enfeoffed me of 'land, which I ſold for eighteen hundred pounds to 'Maſter Reynold Nicholas, which I think was more 'worth, and that at ſuch a time, and with ſo kind 'and noble circumſtances, as the manner was as much 'as the matter, which though it be but an idle 'digreſſion, yet becauſe I am not willing to be ſhort 'in commemoration of his benefits, I will preſume to 'trouble your Lordſhip with relating to you the 'manner of it. After the Queen had denied me the 'Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordſhip had 'been a long and earneſt ſuitor on my behalf, it 'pleaſed him to come to me from Richmond to 'Twicknam-park, and brake with me, and ſaid, Mr. 'Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for 'you, and hath placed another; I know you are the 'leaſt part of your own matter, but you fare ill, becauſe you have choſen me for your mean and dependance; yet you have ſpent your time and 'thoughts in my matters; I die (theſe were his 'words), if I do not ſomewhat toward your fortune, 'you ſhall not deny to accept a piece of land, which 'I will beſtow upon you. My anſwer, I remember, 'was, that for my fortune, it was no great matter, 'but that his Lordſhip's offer, made me call to mind 'what was wont to be ſaid when I was in France of 'the Duke of Guiſe, that he was the greateſt uſurer 'in France, becauſe he had turned all his eſtate into 'obligations; meaning, that he had left nothing, 'but only had bound numbers of perſons to him. 'Now, my Lord, ſaid I, I would not have you imitate his courſe, nor turn your eſtate thus by great 'gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad 'debtors. He bad me take no care for that and 'preſſed it: whereupon I ſaid, my Lord, I ſee I 'muſt be your homager, and hold land of your gift, 'but do you know the manner of doing homage in 'Law? Always it is with the ſaving of his faith to 'the King, and his other Lords; and therefore, my 'Lord, ſaid I, I can be no more your's than I was, 'and it muſt be with the ancient ſavings, and if I 'grow to be a rich man, you will give me leave to 'give it back again to ſome of your unrewarded 'followers.' There is an odd ſtory reported by a perſon who was once in Lord Bacon's ſervice, which attributes this gift to another cauſe, which I muſt confeſs, is not very probable; but however, as the man tells it with extraordinary confidence, it ought not to be paſſed over. He ſays, that our author, then his maſter, preſented to the Earl of Eſſex a ſecret curioſity of nature, whereby to know the ſeaſon of every hour of the year by a philoſophical glaſs (with a ſmall proportion of water) in a chamber; with which that Earl was ſo pleaſed, that he beſtowed upon him Twitnam-park, and its garden of paradiſe, as a place for his ſtudies (20). It was ſuch a ſtory as a ſervant might pick up and repeat; but, as Dr. Teniſon (21) juſtly obſerves, could have no farther foundation in fact, than what is contained in the beforementioned account by our author himſelf on ſuch an occaſion to ſuch a perſon, and attended with ſuch circumſtances, as leaves no room to ſurmiſe, he would either conceal or depart from truth, which at the time he wrote could have done him no good.

(19) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 430, 431.

(20) Baſhell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philoſophical Theory in mineral p ofecutions, Lond. 1659. 4to. In the Poſtſcript after Lord Bacon's Atlantis, p. 1.

(21) In his Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 18.

appear againſt him as a Lawyer, that he ſhould plead for the Crown when that nobleman was tried for his life, and that after he had ſuffered a ſhameful death, Mr. Bacon ſhould endeavour to perpetuate this ſhame, by drawing that declaration of the treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex, which was calculated to juſtify the Government, in a meaſure very diſagreeable to the bulk of the people, and to ward off the public hate, from thoſe who had ruined the Earl of Eſſex, and had never done Mr. Bacon any good; this indeed is ſtrange, but at the ſame time it is true, ſo true, that our author found himſelf obliged to write an apology for his conduct, which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was the faſt friend of the unhappy Earl of Eſſex, and his own (*t*) [*G*]. But this apology, though admirably well penned, and which ſeems to be as much diſtinguiſhed by the ſincerity of the writer's heart, as enlivened by the beauties of his eloquence, amounts to no more than this, that he had given the Earl good advice, which he did not follow; that upon this a coldneſs enſued, which kept them at a greater diſtance than formerly; that however he continued to give his advice to the Earl, and laboured all he could to ſerve him with the Queen; that in reſpect to his laſt unfortunate act, which was in truth no better than an act of madneſs, he had no knowledge or notice whatever; that he did no more than by duty he was bound to do for the ſervice of the Queen, in the way of his profeſſion; and that the declaration was put upon him altered, after he had drawn it, both by the Miniſters and the Queen herſelf: and it had not the wiſhed for effect, of entirely wiping off the imputation of ingratitude, but left him under ſuch a ſtain, as injured his reputation, in the common opinion of mankind, as long as he lived (*u*) [*H*]. The ingenious author of his life has treated this matter very freely and fairly, and has ſhewn that he was not led away by that fond ſpirit of par-

(*t*) See the Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 429.

(*u*) Oſborne's Memoirs, P. 459.

[*G*] *Which he addreſſed to the Earl of Devonſhire, who was faſt friend to the unhappy Earl of Eſſex and himſelf.*] This diſcourſe of our author's, in vindication of his conduct towards the Earl of Eſſex, was written many years after the death of that nobleman, and is certainly a very curious and very elegant performance. The chief topics inſiſted on therein are briefly ſummed up in the text. But whereas our author poſitively declares in his addreſs at the beginning of that work, that he did not write it for the ſatisfaction of the many, but of the few; it from thence moſt clearly appears, that with all his learning and all his art, he did not think it poſſible to ſatisfy common minds on that topic, and therefore affected to deſpiſe them. But undoubtedly, he was too good a judge of truth and of the nature of mankind to be really of this opinion; ſince at the bottom it will be found that the meaſures and obligations of gratitude, muſt depend upon the ſentiments of mankind in general, or have no foundations at all. The ground-work of his defence is this, that he indeed had obligations to the Earl of Eſſex as his friend and patron, which we have already ſeen he had in the higheſt degree, but then he likewiſe owed duty and obedience to the Queen, which he thought, and very juſtly too, ought not to be ſacrificed to his private obligations to the Earl of Eſſex. But this is ſo far from untying, that it does not touch the knot, which he ought to have reſolved, and which was plainly this; whether, after the Earl of Eſſex had been ſo active in his favour, he ſhould have been ſo buſy as he was in the proceedings that brought him to the block: that he was not bound to rebel with the Earl becauſe he was his friend, which yet the Earl of Southampton did, no man in his wits would deny; but that he ſhould be ſo ready to do againſt the man that he had profeſſed ſuch friendſhip for, and that had been ſo good a friend to him, what any other man might have done as well, is what even the wit of this able author could not account for. I could mention a late inſtance of a great man in the like circumſtances with the Lord Bacon, who, when called upon by the higheſt authority to proſecute his benefactor, modeſtly declined it, though he might have pleaded the ſame excuſe, and even a better than our author had to alledge; which proved no bar to his preferment, and which, when his name ſhall come to adorn a work like this, will redound to his immortal honour, as at the time it happened, it procured him univerſal applauſe; which ſhews the truth of what I advanced, that the obligations of gratitude are determined by common opinion.

[*H*] *Injured his reputation in the common opinion of mankind as long as he lived.*] There is extant a letter of our author's to Queen Elizabeth, written ſome little time after this unlucky affair, when it ſeems he thought fit to abſent himſelf from court, on account of the uneaſy ſituation in which he found himſelf there; and yet it appears, his privacy did not give him that quiet and content he looked for in it, as we may gather from the following concluſion of this letter to her Majeſty (22): 'But in this mind I 'find ſuch ſolitude and want of comfort, which I 'judge to be becauſe I take duty too exactly, and 'not according to the dregs of this age, wherein the 'old anthem might never be more truly ſung: *Totus 'mundus in maligno poſitus eſt.* My life hath been 'threatened, and my name libelled, which I count an 'honour. But theſe are the practices of thoſe whoſe 'deſpairs are dangerous, but yet not ſo dangerous as 'their hopes, or elſe the devices of ſome that would put 'out all your Majeſty's lights, and fall on reckoning 'how many years you have reigned, which I beſeech 'our bleſſed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may 'never live to ſee any eclipſe of your glory, inter'ruption of ſafety, or indiſpoſition of your perſon, 'which I commend to the Divine Majeſty who keeps 'you and fortifies you.' This plainly ſhews into how great danger, as well as obloquy, he was fallen by taking this courſe, to which, from this letter, and whatever elſe he has written about it, he would perſuade us he was moved by duty and reverence for the Queen his miſtreſs; but perhaps, there might be alſo a mixture of fear, which I do not by any means hint as an imputation on his memory, but on the contrary ſuggeſt it by way of excuſe. If we may credit a writer who lived near, not to ſay in thoſe times (23), the Queen and her miniſtry, drove the proſecution upon Eſſex's treaſon, which might as well have been ſtyled madneſs, with unaccountable fury, and exerciſed ſuch rigour againſt all offenders, nay, and all ſuſpected of having a will to give offence, as is ſcarcely credible to us in better times. Thus, for inſtance, he talks of Sir Henry Lee loſing both life and fortune, for wiſhing well to the three Lords in the Tower, and of another meaner perſon who was hanged in Smithfield, for only writing to his father in the country, an account of their apprehenſion and commitment. In a ſeaſon like this, our author, who had been both a favourite and of the privy-council to the Earl of Eſſex, might very well doubt his ſafety, and make it his choice, rather to perform the functions of his office, yet with tenderneſs and decency (as it is owned he did) than expoſe himſelf either to the Queen's anger, or to the reſentment of thoſe miniſters who had her confidence at that time, and whoſe power in the ſucceeding reign not only continued, but increaſed; which I take to be the reaſon that this affair was never more truly ſtated by men of knowledge and capacity, but left to the pens of ſuch, as for want of more authentic vouchers had recourſe to traditional memoirs, enlarged and pieced out by their own fancies, by which means, this is become one of the moſt perplexed paſſages in our hiſtory.

(22) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 511.

(23) Oſborn's Traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, ſect. 24.

tiality,

tiality, which too often betrays the writers of great men's lives, into an approbation of their weakneſſes, as well as a zeal and admiration for their virtues (*w*) [*I*].

(*w*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

But it is now time to return, not only to the thread of our memoirs, but to the courſe of our author's ſtudies, which were always the principal buſineſs of his life, and which we interrupted a little, that we might proſecute the ſtory of his tranſactions as a courtier, without breaking the thread. His enemies repreſented him as a man, who, by applying too much of his time in purſuit of other branches of knowledge, could not but neglect that of his profeſſion; which, however, at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices are worn off, and nothing hinders men from perceiving or owning truth, is confeſſed by the beſt judges to have been a rank calumny. This judgment of theirs is founded on his writings upon the Law, moſt of which were written, though not publiſhed under this reign. About the year 1596, he finiſhed his *Maxims of the Law* (*x*) [*K*], which, though he had been ſo hardly dealt with the year before in his ſuit for the Solicitor-ſhip,

(*x*) Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 18.

[*I*] *Approbation and defence of their weakneſſes, as well as zeal and admiration of their virtues.*] The author cited in the text, ſpeaking of this tranſaction, ſays (24), 'The untimely fate of this noble-'man, who died on a ſcaffold in the prime and vigour 'of his years, excited univerſal pity, and was mur-'mured againſt by all conditions of people. Their 'reflexions on the prevailing party at Court, even on 'the Queen herſelf, were ſo bold and injurious, that 'the Adminiſtration thought it neceſſary to vindicate 'their conduct in a public appeal to the people. 'This taſk was aſſigned to Bacon, even then in high 'eſteem for his excellencies as a writer. Some ſay it 'was by his enemies inſidiouſly impoſed on him, to 'divert the national reſentment from themſelves upon 'a particular perſon, who was known to have lived 'in friendſhip with Eſſex, and whom they intended 'to ruin in the public eſteem. If ſuch was their in-'tention, they ſucceeded but too well in it. Never 'man incurred more univerſal or more laſting cenſure 'than Bacon by this writing. He was every where 'traduced as one who endeavoured to murder the 'good name of his benefactor, after the Miniſtry had 'deſtroyed his perſon. His life was even threatened; 'and he went in daily hazard of aſſaſſination. This 'obliged him to publiſh, in his own defence, the 'apology we find among his writings. It is long 'and elaborate; but not perhaps in every part ſatis-'factory. Let us believe him on his own teſtimony, 'that he had never done that nobleman any ill 'offices with the Queen; though ſhe herſelf had, it 'ſeems, inſinuated the contrary; that, on the other 'hand, he had always, during the time of their in-'timacy, given him advice no leſs uſeful than ſin-'cere; that he had wiſhed, nay endeavoured, the 'Earl's preſervation, even at laſt, purely from af-'fection to him, without any regard to his own in-'tereſt in that endeavour: let all this be allowed; 'ſome blemiſh will ſtill remain on his character. 'Eſſex deſerved the fate he underwent, but he had 'paid his debt to juſtice, and the common-wealth 'had now nothing to fear from any of his party. 'The declaration abovementioned could therefore be 'intended only to ſtill the preſent clamours of the 'multitude; and though the matter of it might be 'true, Bacon was not the man who ſhould have pub-'liſhed thoſe truths. He had been long and highly 'indebted to the Earl's friendſhip, almoſt beyond 'the example even of that age. In another man 'this proceeding might not have been blameable: 'in him it cannot be excuſed. Sir Henry Yelver-'ton, in the next reign, ventured on the diſpleaſure 'both of the King and his minion, rather than do 'the miniſtry of his office, by pleading againſt the 'Earl of Somerſet who had made him Solicitor-'General. Had Bacon refuſed that invidious part, 'there were others among the herd of aſpiring and 'officious lawyers ready enough to have performed 'it; and his very enemies muſt have thought more 'advantageouſly of him, for declining a taſk in 'itſelf of no eſſential importance to the State, and 'in him unjuſt to friendſhip, obligation, gratitude, 'the moſt ſacred regards among men.'

(24) Life of Lord Bacon prefixed to his Works.

[*K*] *About the year* 1596 *he finiſhed his Maxims of the Law.*] As theſe are now publiſhed they make only the firſt part of what are ſtiled, *The Elements of the* COMMON LAW *of* ENGLAND (25); but I think there can be no ſort of doubt, that the author himſelf intended a ſeparate work. His own title was, *A Collection of ſome principal Rules and Maxims of the* COMMON LAW, *with their Latitude and Extent.* To this work of his, which however was intended but as a ſpecimen of a much larger, ſince it contains but twenty-five rules out of three hundred which he had collected, he prefixed a dedication and a preface, in both which he largely explains the intention and utility of his performance. The former is addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, and is written in a very high ſtrain of compliment, yet mixt with many ſerious and important truths. He obſerves, that thoſe were times in which if ſcience increaſed, conſcience decayed, and laws, though multiplied in number, were ſlackened in vigour and execution; ſo that ſuits in law, the major part of which, he ſays, are always unjuſt, daily multiplied and increaſed; and, which was ſtill worſe, indirect courſes and practices to abuſe Law and Juſtice, were often attempted and put in uſe: from whence, he adds, much greater enormities would have been bred, but for the royal policy of the Queen, the foreſight at her Council-table and Star-Chamber, and the integrity of her Judges, by whom they were repreſſed and reſtrained: for he farther notes, that for the preventing frauds in agreements, abuſes in the Law, and the bad behaviour of its miniſters and inſtruments, there had been more ſtatutes made in her Majeſty's reign, and thoſe too of deeper reach, than in any of her predeceſſors. He then proceeds to the reaſons which induced him to offer this work, in repreſenting which, we will make uſe of his own words (26). 'But I am an unworthy 'witneſs to your Majeſty, of an higher intention 'and project, both by that which was publiſhed by 'your Chancellor in full Parliament from your royal 'mouth, in the five and thirtieth year of your 'happy reign, and much more by that which I 'have been ſince vouchſafed to underſtand from 'your Majeſty, imparting a purpoſe for theſe many 'years infuſed into your Majeſty's breaſt, to enter 'into a general amendment of the ſtate of your laws, 'and reduce them to more brevity and certainty; 'that the great hollowneſs and unſafety in aſſurances 'of lands and goods, may be ſtrengthened, and 'ſwerving penalties that lie upon many ſubjects re-'moved, the execution of many profitable laws re-'vived, the Judge better directed in his ſentence, the 'Counſellor better warranted in his counſel, the 'ſtudent eaſed in his reading, the contentious ſuitor 'that ſeeketh but vexation diſarmed, and the honeſt 'ſuitor that ſeeketh but to obtain his right relieved: 'which purpoſe and intention, as it did ſtrike me 'with great admiration when I heard it, ſo it might 'be acknowledged to be one of the moſt choſen 'works, and of the higheſt merit and beneficence 'towards the ſubject, that ever entered into the mind 'of any King, greater than we can imagine. Be-'cauſe the imperfections and dangers of the Laws, 'are covered under the clemency and excellent tem-'per of your Majeſty's government.' In his preface he very fully ſhews, the nature and the conſequence of his deſign; and explains, with great accuracy, the benefit and advantage ariſing from the uſe of maxims or general rules in the Law, and their being univerſally known and underſtood. As for the ſecond treatiſe, which, together with this, goes to the making up of what is called his Elements of the Common Law, it was by himſelf ſtyled, *The Uſe of the Law for Preſervation of our Perſons, Goods, and good Names, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Land.*

(26) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 14.

(25) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 12. Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 23.

ſhip, he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; and yet, for reaſons we are unacquainted with, he did not think proper to print it, which was a great misfortune to the public, ſince, by coming abroad after his deceaſe, it has conſiderably ſuffered. The next year he publiſhed a work of quite another kind, that is to ſay, the firſt part of his *Eſſays or Counſels, Civil and Moral* (y) [L]; an admirable work, in which our author inſtructs men in the moſt uſeful principles of wiſdom and prudence, and teaches how to acquire what are eſteemed the greateſt bleſſings, and how to avoid the evils which are moſt dreaded in the conduct of human life. His penetration, exactneſs, and perfect ſkill in all the offices of civil life, appeared to great advantage in this performance; which, as our author himſelf was ſenſible, proved of great ſervice to his character, and promoted the high eſteem that was already conceived of his parts and learning. About the cloſe of the ſucceeding year, 1598, he compoſed, on a particular occaſion, his *Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office* (z) [M], which, however, was not publiſhed till many years after his deceaſe. In this learned work he has fully ſhewn, how great a maſter he was, not in our Law only, but in our Hiſtory and Antiquities; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid, there never fell any thing from his pen, which more clearly and fully demonſtrated his abilities in his profeſſion. It is not written in that dry, dark, and unentertaining way, which ſo much diſcourages young readers in the peruſal of books of this kind; but, on the contrary, the ſtile is pleaſant and agreeable, though plain and ſuitable to the ſubject; and facts, authorities, obſervations, remarks, and reflections, are ſo judiciouſly interwoven, that whoever reads it with a competent knowledge of the ſubject, muſt acknowledge him an able lawyer, and an elegant writer. It is needleſs to mention ſome ſmaller inſtances of his abilities in the Law, which nevertheleſs were received by the learned ſociety of which he was a member, with all poſſible marks of veneration and eſteem, and which they have preſerved with that reverence due to ſo worthy a perſon, and ſo eminent an ornament of their houſe (a). As a farther argument of their reſpect, they choſe him Double Reader

(y) *Ib.* Vol. iii. p. 401.

(z) *Ibid.*

(a) See Arguments, &c. in the fourth Volume of his Works.

Land (27). An excellent work it is; and not only completely fitted for the improvement of ſuch as ſtudy the Law, but alſo the book in the world beſt calculated, to give every man of good ſenſe and unbiaſſed judgment, both a general idea, and a good opinion of the Law, which is repreſented therein in that light, which is at once the faireſt, fulleſt, and moſt agreeable; that is, not as a contrivance to limit the freedom, and abridge the natural liberty of mankind, but as an inſtitution, principally intending the benefit and advantage of men, as rational beings, and members of ſociety, by protecting them in their perſons, fame, and eſtates; and therefore I eſteem it one of the beſt and moſt uſeful pieces that our author ever compoſed.

(27) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 56.

[L] *The firſt part of his* Eſſays or Counſels Civil and Moral.] The reaſon why Mr. Bacon publiſhed theſe eſſays at this time, is aſſigned in his dedication of them to his brother Mr. Anthony Bacon, which was, that many of them had ſtolen abroad in writing, and were very likely to come into the world in print, with more imperfections than the author thought it juſt to take upon himſelf (28). About ſixteen years afterwards, he had thoughts of publiſhing a new edition of them, which he intended to dedicate to Prince Henry, and in his dedication he inſerted a very clear and candid account of the book (29). 'To write 'juſt treatiſes, ſays he, requires leiſure in the writer, 'and leiſure in the reader, and therefore are not ſo fit 'neither in your Highneſs's princely affairs, nor in 'regard of my continual ſervice, which is the cauſe 'that hath made me chuſe to write certain brief notes, 'ſet down rather ſignificantly than curiouſly, which 'I have called Eſſays. The word is late, but the 'thing is ancient; for Seneca's Epiſtles to Lucilius, 'if you mark them well, are but eſſays, that is, diſperſed meditations, though conveyed in the form of 'epiſtles. Theſe labours of mine, I know, cannot 'be worthy of your Highneſs, for what can be 'worthy of you! But my hope is, they may be as 'grains of ſalt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with ſatiety. And although 'they handle thoſe things, wherein both men's lives 'and their perſons are moſt converſant, yet what 'I have attained I know not, but I have endeavoured 'to make them not vulgar; but of a nature whereof 'a man ſhall find much in experience and little in 'books, ſo as they are neither repetitions nor fancies.' Sir Francis Bacon deſigned to have prefixed this epiſtle to his Eſſays, printed in the year 1612, but was prevented by the Prince's death. Yet it was ſo well liked by Mr. Matthew, that he inſerted it in his dedication to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, before his tranſlation of thoſe Eſſays printed in 1618 (30). This ſecond edition, when publiſhed, the author addreſſed to Sir John Conſtable, his brother-in-law. He afterwards ſent them abroad again reviſed and enlarged in Latin and in Engliſh, dedicating them in both languages to the Duke of Buckingham, in which dedication he tells his Grace, that he thought it agreeable to his affection and obligations to prefix his name before them, becauſe he conceived they might laſt as long as books laſt (31). There are other places in our author's writings in which theſe Eſſays are mentioned, and in which he expreſſes a particular ſenſe of their uſefulneſs to mankind, and redounding as much or more to his honour, than thoſe large and extenſive works, which had coſt him much greater pains and labour, in which he certainly was not miſtaken, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in its proper place.

(28) See his Dedication to his brother in his Works, Vol. iii. p. 290.

(29) See this Dedication in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 586.

(30) See Stephen's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 2.

(31) Bacon's Works, Vol. iii. p. 300.

[M] *He compoſed, on a particular occaſion, the Hiſtory of the Alienation-Office.*] This curious and highly finiſhed tract, which has been but lately publiſhed from a MS. in the Inner-Temple Library (32), is one of the moſt laboured pieces penned by our moſt learned author, containing his reſolutions of a very perplexed queſtion, Whether it was moſt for the Queen's benefit, that the profits ariſing from this office for Alienations, ſhould be let out to farm or not? In handling this he has ſhewn ſuch diverſity of learning, and ſo clear a conception of all the different points of Law, Hiſtory, Antiquities, and Policy, as is really amazing. For I think it may be truly ſaid, that there is not any treatiſe of the ſame compaſs extant in our language, which manifeſts ſo comprehenſive a genius, and ſo accurate a knowledge, both with reſpect to theory and practice as this, and therefore it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, that it lay ſo long hid from the world. But what appears to me moſt ſurpriſing is, that it ſhews our author to have had as true notions, and as good a turn for œconomy as any man ever had, which before the publication of this treatiſe, was thought the only kind of knowledge in which he was deficient. But it ſeems it was one thing as a Lawyer, Stateſman, and candidate for Court favour, to enter into a detail of the Queen's revenues, to conſider the various methods in which they might be managed, together with the advantages and diſadvantages attending each method; and quite another, to enter with like ſpirit and diligence into his own affairs, which if he had done, he might have paſſed his days more happily, and have left his fame without blemiſh.

(32) Appendix to the third Vol. of his Works, p. 549.

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in the year 1600, and in the fortieth of Mr. Bacon's age, which office he diſcharged with remarkable ſufficiency, as appears by his learned reading on the Statute of Uſes, being one of the firſt who argued Chudleigh's caſe, largely reported by Lord Coke (*b*); which reading, as it well deſerves, has been printed in his works, and in the collection of his Law Tracts, where it remains an everlaſting monument of his abilities in his profeſſion (*c*). He diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe, during the latter part of the Queen's reign, in the Houſe of Commons, where he ſpoke often, and yet with ſuch weight and wiſdom, that his ſentiments were generally approved by that auguſt aſſembly, and himſelf ſo much eſteemed therein, that though he uſually ſpoke on the ſide of the Court, yet he was ever looked upon as a friend to the people, and therefore as popular a member as any, though ſometimes, as appears from his letters, it created great jealouſy in the Miniſters, who took it ill, that any thing they thought proper to introduce into that Houſe, ſhould be oppoſed by ſuch as were in the Queen's ſervice (*d*). However, this did not hinder him from perſevering in the ſame courſe to the end of that reign, in which, though he received but ſlender marks of honour, and ſcarcely any of profit, which yet his family, his merit, and his circumſtances, not to mention his near relation to the Miniſters, and his perſonal favour with the Queen, ſeemed to require; yet this was ſo far from warping him either in duty or affection, that, ſo long as the Queen lived, he ſerved her both with zeal and fidelity, and after her deceaſe, compoſed a memorial of the happineſs of her reign, which did equal honour to her adminiſtration, and to the capacity of its author, being eſteemed a moſt exquiſite performance in its kind, and as ſuch made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou, in his invaluable Hiſtory (*e*) [*N*].

(*b*) Coke's Reports, Book i. fol. 123.

(*c*) Bacon's Law Tracts, p. 299.

(*d*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer on his oppoſing a Subſidy, in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 5.

(*e*) Hiſtor. ſui Temporis, lib. cxxvi.

After the deceaſe of his miſtreſs, Mr. Bacon applied very early to her ſucceſſor King James VI., who, by a quiet and peaceable acceſſion, became King James I. of England. He had many reaſons to hope, that this tender of his ſervices would be well received by that Prince, as he was known to be learned himſelf, and a great encourager of learning; as he was well acquainted with the general characters and reputation of all perſons of note in England, and as he had a ſingular eſteem for, on account of the ſignal ſervices rendered him by our author's brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon (*f*). So that taking all theſe circumſtances together, there was nothing forward or haſty, much leſs mean or indecent, in the firſt applications of our author to that Prince. He ſeems in this, as in the former reign, to have fixed his hopes of advancement upon the proſecution of a plan of his own framing, which conſiſted in procuring a fair report of him to the King, by men of different parties and different nations; and it is remarkable, on this occaſion, that he offered his ſervice to the Earl of Northumberland, and at the ſame time ſought the friendſhip of the Earl of Southampton, who was ſo near deſtruction in the unfortunate affair of the Earl of Eſſex (*g*). But if he depended upon the Engliſh, he did not totally neglect the Scotch, with ſome of whom he had formerly had an acquaintance, which he now renewed, and thereby wrought himſelf into great credit with that nation (*h*). He likewiſe offered his pen, and drew up the form of a proclamation, which, though it was not uſed, had nevertheleſs a good effect, and was taken for an inſtance of his duty and

(*f*) See the King's own Teſtimony, Rymer's Fœd. Vol. xv. p. 597.

(*g*) See his Letters to both Lords, Vol. iv. p. 555, 561.

(*h*) See his Letters to Dr. Morriſon, Mr. Murray, &c.

[*N*] *Made uſe of by the learned M. de Thou in his invaluable hiſtory.*] It was one, and that not the leaſt remarkable, point of the felicity of Queen Elizabeth, that not only thoſe who owed their being, or at leaſt their greatneſs to her bounty, but even ſuch as experienced little or nothing of her favour, were equally deſirous of ſupporting her fame and tranſmitting it to poſterity. As for this piece written by our author, it ſeems to have been originally compoſed in the life-time of that Queen (33), and after her deceaſe thrown into another form, reviſed, corrected, and tranſlated into Latin (34). It was tranſmitted by the requeſt of the author to M. de Thou, who freely owns, that he made uſe of it in his hiſtory (35). As for our author, he was not only pleaſed with ſhewing this mark of eſteem and honour for his deceaſed miſtreſs, but conſidering that the piece he had written was not publiſhed in his life-time, he particularly directed, that it ſhould be printed after his deceaſe, which, though at a conſiderable diſtance of time, was performed (36). There is not, perhaps, in all the works of Lord Bacon, any treatiſe which does more honour to his memory than this, in which he ſhews himſelf not only a great maſter of learning and language, one capable of expreſſing great things in an equal and elevated ſtyle, but an admirable politician alſo; one capable of penetrating even into the depths of the councils of thoſe times, which perhaps were as deep and as intricate, as any this country ever ſaw, or perhaps that have guided the concerns of any country whatever. Yet if this performance does honour to the ſolid wiſdom and prodigious abilities of our author, it does much more with reſpect to the great Princeſs celebrated therein, and is, beyond all doubt, the nobleſt of the many monuments erected to her memory. The great point laboured in this panegyric is to ſhew, that as, on the one hand, the wiſe councils, prudent meaſures, and great undertakings of this high-ſpirited Queen, merited the greateſt ſucceſs; ſo they were conducted in ſuch a manner as to be, generally ſpeaking, crowned with that ſucceſs which they deſerved: herein he places, and indeed very juſtly places, the felicity of Queen Elizabeth. But there is ſtill another light in which this piece may be conſidered with equal reputation to the author who wrote, and to the monarch who is the ſubject of this excellent diſcourſe: the light I mean is that of a political hiſtory, or rather ſpeculum of the politics of this reign. And I think one may truly aſſert, that it was the peculiar felicity of this Queen, to have the actions of her reign recorded by ſo able and ſo candid a hiſtorian, as the learned and judicious Camden (37); and the councils and ſprings of thoſe actions, repreſented to poſterity by the pen of ſo capable a writer as Bacon; who in this treatiſe has given us an admirable ſupplement to the hiſtories of thoſe times, and has therein taken notice of many things that would otherwiſe have eſcaped the knowledge of ſucceeding ages, and ſet all the facts of which he takes notice in ſuch lights, as they could have ſcarcely been repreſented by any other writer than himſelf. This tribute therefore to the memory of his Sovereign, deſerved, in every reſpect, the regard paid to it both at home and abroad, as well as the particular concern which our author expreſſed that it might be printed after his deceaſe, as an everlaſting teſtimony of his reverence for the memory of his incomparable Sovereign.

(33) To judge of this, the reader muſt conſult our author's diſcourſe, intitled, *Of the Praiſe of his Sovereign*, publiſhed in Stephens's Letters, &c. p. 245.

(34) Vol. ii. p. 389.

(35) Hiſtor. ſui temporis, lib. cxxvi. See alſo Bacon's Letter to Sir George Carew, in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 575.

(36) Dr. Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon.

(37) Gulielm. Camdeni Annal. Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, &c.

good affection (*i*). On the twenty-third of July 1603, he was introduced to the King at Whitehall, when he received the honour of knighthood, as a mark of his Majeſty's gracious acceptance of paſt ſervices, and of the tender he had made of the continuance of them for the future (*k*). This might have been thought a greater favour, if the new King had been more careful of his honours; but moſt of our hiſtorians have remarked, that King James was as profuſe in this particular, as Queen Elizabeth was ſparing. But however it ought to be conſidered, that many circumſtances concurred to make this difference in their conduct. It was neceſſary at the opening of a new reign, and even cuſtomary, ſo that Queen Elizabeth herſelf had then uſed it: but this was not only a new reign, but the coming in alſo of a new family, and, which was ſtill more, a family from another country, which made ſuch numerous acts of royal favour more expedient. We may add to this another reaſon, which was the quiet and peaceable acceſſion of King James, ariſing from the readineſs of all ranks of people, to own and acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and as he could not, without ingratitude, avoid beſtowing ſome honours on ſo ſingular an occaſion; ſo in policy he could not beſtow ſuch marks of diſtinction on one ſet of people, or in one part of the kingdom, without taking notice of the loyalty and affection ſhewn in other places, and by other perſons. There was yet another cauſe of the beneficence of this Monarch in this particular, which was his deſire to unite the whole nation in their affections to himſelf, and to one another, inſtead of governing, as his predeceſſor had done, by factions, which, though no error in her, becauſe founded in neceſſity, would have been a great error in him, when that neceſſity was taken away (*l*). In his firſt applications to the King, Sir Francis Bacon appeared as a Courtier and ſervant of the Crown, but it was not long before he had occaſion to approach his Majeſty in quite a different capacity. The country people found themſelves greatly oppreſſed in the laſt reign by Purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. Queen Elizabeth had been informed of it by accident, and, it is ſaid, had given way to an act of extraordinary ſeverity to repreſs it: but ſtill there had been nothing done towards a thorough reformation, which obliged the Houſe of Commons, in the firſt Parliament of King James, to think of ſome method for effectually redreſſing this evil. The way they took, was by a ſolemn repreſentation of this grievance and its conſequences; and the perſon they made choice of to ſet forth the ſenſe of the Houſe on this ſubject, was Sir Francis Bacon, which ſhews his credit in Parliament at that juncture. He performed it in ſuch a manner, as both ſatisfied the Houſe, whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and pleaſed the King (*m*) [O]. His Majeſty, from his firſt entrance, had continued him in his ſervice, in the ſame manner in which he had ſerved the late Queen; but when his affairs were better ſettled, he thought fit to ſhew

(*i*) See that Draught recommended by him to the Earl of Northumberland, Vol. iv. P. 560.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 438.

(*l*) See Stephen's Hiſtorical Introduction, p. 4.

(*m*) See his Letter to the King, Vol. iv. P. 573.

[O] *Both ſatisfied the Houſe, whoſe ſervant he was in this particular, and pleaſed the King.*] It appears evidently enough by a letter ſtill extant, from Sir Francis Bacon to his Majeſty, that he managed the buſineſs of this complaint with great addreſs, in which I conceive, the chief point was the procuring himſelf to be choſen to this difficult taſk: difficult indeed, it might well be called, ſince, on the one hand, it required much delicacy to preſs a complaint of this kind, to a Prince of King James's temper, ſo as not to wound his authority by the manner of doing it; and next, there required no leſs art, ſo to repreſent the grievance as to come up to what the people expected from their repreſentatives, and the Houſe from their member. He did both very happily, for by magnifying the King's power, wiſdom, and natural clemency, at the beginning, and premiſing, likewiſe, that the Houſe had no intent to injure the royal prerogative, but barely to provide againſt the abuſe of it; he thereby obtained the means, under colour of vindicating his Majeſty's perſon and government, from the imputations brought upon both, by theſe illegal and unjuſtifiable actions, to deliver the very utmoſt, of what even the warmeſt patriots of thoſe times, could deſire ſhould be ſpoken in the royal preſence. The reader will fully apprehend this, from the manner of his ſtating the complaint (38): 'The abuſes of purveyors, *ſays he*, naturally divide 'themſelves into three ſorts; the firſt they take in 'kind, that they ought not to take; the ſecond they 'take in quantity, a far greater proportion than 'cometh to your Majeſty's uſe; the third, they take 'in an unlawful manner, in a manner, (I ſay) directly, 'and expreſsly, prohibited by diverſe laws. To the 'firſt of theſe I am a little to alter their name, for 'inſtead of Takers, they become Taxers; inſtead of 'taking proviſion for your Majeſty's ſervice, they tax 'your people *ad redimendam vexationem*; impoſing 'upon them, and extorting from them diverſe ſums 'of money, ſometimes in groſs, ſometimes in the 'nature of ſtipends annually paid, *ne noceant*, to be 'freed and eaſed of their oppreſſion. Again they 'take trees, which by law they cannot do, timber 'trees, which are the beauty, countenance, and ſhelter 'of men's houſes, that men have long ſpared from 'their own purſe and profit, that men eſteem (for 'their uſe and delight) above ten times the value, 'that are a loſs which men cannot repair or recover; 'theſe do they take to the defacing and ſpoiling of 'your ſubjects manſions and dwellings, except they 'be compounded with to their own appetites. And 'if a gentleman be too hard for them while he is 'at home, they will watch their time when there is 'but a Bailiff or ſervant remaining, and put the 'axe to the root of the tree, ere ever the maſter 'can ſtop it. Again, they uſe a ſtrange and moſt 'unjuſt exaction, in cauſing the ſubjects to pay 'poundage of their own debts due from your Ma'jeſty unto them; ſo as a poor man, when he has 'had his hay, or his wood, or his poultry, (which 'perchance, he was full loth to part with, and had 'for the proviſion of his own family, and not to 'put to ſale) taken from him, and that not at a 'juſt price, but under the value, and cometh to re'ceive his money, he ſhall have after the rate of 'twelve pence in the pound abated for poundage, 'of his due payment upon ſo hard conditions: Nay 'farther, they are grown to that extremity, (as is 'affirmed, though it be ſcarce credible, ſave that in 'ſuch perſons all things are credible) that they will 'take double poundage, once when the debenture 'is made; and again the ſecond time, when the 'money is paid, &c.' As to the particular facts which had been laid before the Houſe in order to juſtify this charge, Sir Francis Bacon cauſed them to be digeſted into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible, and deſired they might be read to his Majeſty, as accordingly they were after he had finiſhed his ſpeech.

(38) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 23.

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him higher marks of favour than he had received from her late Majeſty; and accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1604, conſtituted him by patent, one of his Counſel learned in the Law, with a fee of forty pounds a year, which is ſaid to have been the first act of royal power of that nature (*n*). He granted him the ſame day, by another patent under the Great Seal, a penſion of ſixty pounds a year, for ſpecial ſervices received from his brother Anthony Bacon and himſelf, which I the rather take notice of, becauſe it has not hitherto been mentioned by any of the authors who have undertaken to write his life (*o*). He was from this time a ſpecial ſervant to the Crown, and ſeemed to be in a fair road to preferment; but, however, he found himſelf ſtill croſſed by the jealouſy and envious diſlike of two great men, who were afraid of his parts, and apprehended that the courſe of his fortune might thwart the views of their ambition. The firſt of theſe, was his near relation and old antagoniſt, Sir Robert Cecil, now created Earl of Saliſbury, and in as great credit with King James, as ever his father, the wiſe Lord Burleigh, had been with Queen Elizabeth: the other was Sir Edward Coke, diſtinguiſhed by his great knowledge of the Law, and the King's Attorney-General, a man who affected to ſlight our author's knowledge in his profeſſion, who envied his general reputation, and feared his abilities as a ſtateſman. But though no man ſaw clearer than Sir Francis Bacon, into matters of this nature, and though he perceived very early, how little ſervice the one, and how much diſſervice the other of theſe great men meant him; yet he behaved towards both in the manner that became him; towards the Earl of Saliſbury, who was now become Lord-Treaſurer and Prime-Miniſter, with ſubmiſſion and reſpect, and yet with frequent admonitions, as to what he had reaſon to believe he might expect, from the nearneſs of their relation, and his Lordſhip's fair promiſes. Towards the other, he uſed more freedom and leſs ceremony, as appears clearly from a letter of his, in which he expoſtulates with Mr. Attorney very roundly, on the uſage he had met with (*p*). But in the midſt of theſe difficulties and diſappointments, he not only proſecuted his own plan for preferment with the utmoſt ſteadineſs, but alſo that of his ſtudies; ſo that in the year 1605, he publiſhed the firſt ſpecimen of his great work, in his book *of the Advancement of learning* (*q*) [*P*], a performance moſt excellent in itſelf, and conſidered by itſelf,

(*n*) Rymer, Vol. xv. p. 596.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 597.

(*p*) See his Letter to Mr. Attorney Coke, Vol. iv. p. 570.

(*q*) Stephens's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, p. 14.

[*P*] *In his book of the Advancement of Learning.*] This admirable and elegant performance was intitled, 'The two Books of Francis Bacon of the Proficience 'and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human; 'to the King (39). We have a large and excellent account of this work given us by the learned Dr. Teniſon (40), who ſpeaking of the great Inſtauration of the Sciences, which our author divided into ſix parts, proceeds thus. The firſt part propoſed, was the partition of the ſciences, and this the author perfected in that golden treatiſe of the Advancement of Learning, addreſſed to King James; a labour, which he termed a comfort to his other labours (41). This he firſt wrote in two books in the Engliſh tongue, in which his pen excelled; and of this firſt edition, that is to be meant, which with ſome truth and more modeſty, he wrote to the Earl of Saliſbury, telling him (42), *That in his book he was contented to awake better ſpirits, being himſelf like a bell-ringer, who is firſt up to call others to church.* Afterwards he enlarged thoſe two diſcourſes, which contained, eſpecially the aforeſaid Partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books; and knowing that this work was deſired beyond the ſeas, and being alſo aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change in a few years were out of uſe, he cauſed that part of it which he had written in Engliſh, to be tranſlated into the Latin tongue by Mr. Herbert, and ſome others, who were eſteemed maſters in the Roman eloquence. Notwithſtanding which, he ſo ſuited the ſtile to his conceptions, by a ſtrict caſtigation of the whole work, that it may deſervedly ſeem his own. The tranſlation of this work (that is, of much of the two books written by him in Engliſh) he firſt commended to Dr. Playfer, a Profeſſor of Divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge, uſing, among others, theſe words to him (43). 'The privateneſs of the 'language conſidered, wherein the book is written, 'excluding ſo many readers, as on the other ſide, 'the obſcurity of the argument in many parts of it, 'excludeth many others; I muſt account it a ſecond 'birth of that work, if it might be tranſlated into 'Latin, without manifeſt loſs of the ſenſe and matter: For this purpoſe, I could not repreſent to myſelf 'any man, into whoſe hands I do more earneſtly deſire the work ſhould fall than yourſelf; for by that 'I have heard and read, I know no man a greater 'maſter in commanding words to ſerve matter.' The Doctor was willing to ſerve ſo excellent a perſon and ſo worthy a deſign, and within a while ſent him a ſpecimen of a Latin tranſlation. But men generally come ſhort of themſelves, when they ſtrive to outdo themſelves. They put a force upon their natural genius, and by a ſtraining of it crack and diſable it; and ſo it ſeems it happened to that worthy and elegant man upon this great occaſion. He would be over accurate, and he ſent a ſpecimen of ſuch ſuperfine Latinity, that the Lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour farther in that work, in the penning of which, he deſired not ſo much neat and polite, as clear, maſculine, and apt expreſſion. The whole of this book was rendered into Engliſh by Dr. Gilbert Wats of Oxford, and the tranſlation has been well received by many. But ſome there were who wiſhed, that a tranſlation had been ſet forth, in which the genius and ſpirit of the Lord Bacon had more appeared; and I have ſeen a letter written by a certain gentleman to Dr. Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate verſion by his own hand: *It is our humble ſuit to you, and we do earneſtly ſolicit you, to give yourſelf the trouble to correct the too much defective tranſlation of* de Augmentis Scientiarum, *which Dr. Wats hath ſet forth. It is a thouſand pities ſo worthy a piece ſhould loſe its grace and credit by an ill expoſitor; ſince thoſe perſons who read that tranſlation, taking it for genuine, and upon that preſumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of the benefit, which (if you would pleaſe to undertake the buſineſs) they would receive. This tendeth to the diſhonour of that noble Lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.* This work hath been alſo tranſlated into French, upon the motion of the Marquis Fiat, but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly miſtaken, and ſome things (eſpecially ſuch as relate to Religion) wilfully perverted; inſomuch that in one place, he makes his Lordſhip to magnify the Legend, a book ſurely of little credit with him, when he thus began one of his eſſays (44): *I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this univerſal frame is without a mind.* The faireſt and moſt correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio, printed at London, anno 1623: And whoſoever would underſtand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him conſult that accurate edition (45): For in ſome other editions which I have peruſed, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the myſtery conſiſteth, is not obſerved; but the Roman and Italic ſhapes of them are confounded.

(39) London: Printed for Henry Tomes, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, 4to. 1605, again 1629, and in 1633. In the new edition of Bacon's Works, 1740, Vol. ii. p. 413.

(40) In his Account of all Lord Bacon's Works, annexed to his *Baconiana*, p. 24.

(41) See his Letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, Vol. iv. p. 364.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 565.

(43) *Ibid.* p. 567.

(44) Eſſay on Atheiſm, Vol. iii. p. 323.

(45) De Augment. Scientiar. lib. vi. c. 1.

itſelf, and not as a part of that great ſyſtem to which it belonged, and into which it was afterwards incorporated by its author. He likewiſe continued his diligence in Parliament, where he did the King and his Miniſters great ſervice, which ought to have been ſo much the more regarded, becauſe ſcarcely any other man could have rendered them ſuch ſervice (*r*). One thing there was above the reſt, about which the King was extremely ſolicitous, and yet only in part ſucceſsful, which was the promoting an union between his ſubjects in the two kingdoms, and becoming thereby fully and perfectly, as well as ſtrictly and literally, King of *Great Britain.* In Parliament, Sir Francis Bacon laboured this point with great diligence, and to his great reputation, though it went on ſlowly, and never came to any concluſion: But in Weſtminſter-Hall, his eloquence was more prevailing, and the Judges did for the King there, almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere (*s*) [Q]. In other things of the like nature, he proceeded with the like diligence; and this giving him not only great countenance at Court, but gaining him alſo the general eſteem of the world, his friends adviſed him to take this opportunity of marrying, that ſo he might eſtabliſh his family; which motion he readily embraced, and ſoon after took to wife, Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, Eſq; Alderman of London, a lady who brought him an ample fortune, but by whom he never had any children (*t*). A little after this marriage, there happened a promotion in the Law, which induced him to renew his application for the Solicitorſhip, which was then likely to become vacant, by the promotion beforementioned, in which, with ſome difficulty, he prevailed, and upon Sir John Doderidge's being advanced from that poſt to be the King's Serjeant, he was, in the year 1607, appointed Solicitor, with the conſent at leaſt, if not by the recommendation, of his couſin, the Earl of Saliſbury, and then he appeared more frequently in Weſtminſter-Hall, grew into more extenſive practice as a Lawyer, and had a ſhare in almoſt all great cauſes; which were the reaſons he aſſigned, for being ſo preſſing in his applications for that employment, though one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, he was influenced in ſome degree by motives of a ſuperior nature, as conſidering this, but as a ſtep to higher preferment (*u*). He aſſured the King, before he obtained this employment, that it would give him ſuch an increaſe of capacity, though not of zeal, to ſerve his Majeſty, that what he had done in times paſt ſhould ſeem as nothing, in compariſon of the ſervices he would render for the future. In this reſpect, Sir Francis Bacon kept his word; for in that ſeſſion of Parliament, held in the year in which he was made Solicitor, he ran through great variety of buſineſs, and that of a nature which demanded a man, not only of great abilities but of great art, and yet of general repu-

(*r*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 4.

(*s*) See this fact explained in note [Q].

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 438.

(*u*) See his Letters to the King and his Miniſters, with Mr. Stephens's excellent notes, in his Collection, p. 28—34.

founded. To this book we may reduce the firſt four chapters of that imperfect treatiſe, publiſhed in Latin by *Iſaac Gruter*, and called, *The Deſcription of the Intellectual Globe*; they being but a rude draught of the partition of the ſciences, ſo accurately and methodically diſpoſed in the book of the Advancement of Learning. To this alſo we may reduce the treatiſe called *Thema Cæli*, publiſhed likewiſe in Latin by *Gruter*; and it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter and the third book of it, as being a diſcourſe tending to an improvement of the ſyſtem of the Heavens, which is treated of in that place, the houſes of which (had God granted him life) he would have underſtood, as well almoſt as he did his own. For the ſame reaſon, we may reduce to the ſame place of the Advancement, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters, of the *Deſcriptio Globi Intellectualis* above remembered.

[Q] *Did for the King there almoſt as much as he ſought elſewhere.*] There was no one point which King James preſſed ſo eagerly as this, which he thought would do him honour in his own country, and procure him credit in this. The laſt attempt made in the Houſe of Commons, was to procure a law for a general naturalization of all the inhabitants of Scotland, which met, as might be very readily expected, a very warm oppoſition. It is very eaſy to conceive, that though there might be many reaſons for the King's deſiring the thing, and ſome very good ones why the Engliſh nation, ſhould, out of regard to their own intereſts, have yielded to it; yet there were many cauſes, why the people in general ſhould be then extremely averſe to it; and indeed, it does ſufficiently appear that their prejudices were very ſtrong againſt it. In this ſituation things were, when Sir Francis Bacon was prevailed upon to ſpeak in favour of this point in the Houſe of Commons; and one cannot help wondering, that he ſhould do this with great warmth, without loſing his character for popularity (46): But upon peruſing of his ſpeech it will appear, that he had ſtudied this ſubject ſo well, and underſtood it ſo perfectly, that though he might not be able to conquer the prejudices of ſome, or to convince the judgments of all, yet he ſhewed evidently, that he was far enough from having taken up his own opinion upon truſt, or undertaking to manage this affair upon no better ground than that of making his court to his maſter. His diſcourſe was ſo eloquent, and withal ſo weighty, the arguments he offered ſo ſtrong in themſelves, and ſo well ſupported by examples drawn from hiſtory, that though they might be over-ruled, they could not eaſily be anſwered; and as in moſt other things ſo in this, what he has delivered upon the ſubject, is as full and as ſatisfactory as the learning of thoſe could, or the experience of ſucceeding times is ever likely to furniſh. In as much as that I may venture to aſſert, the inhabitants of Scotland never had ſo good an advocate, and never can have a better. Yet after all, the diſpute upon this head was of no great conſequence, as Sir Francis Bacon well obſerved; for it was only whether the fathers ſhould be put into as good a condition as their children: for it was held for Law then by the ableſt men of the profeſſion, and decided afterwards in a great cauſe argued by Sir Francis Bacon, when King's Solicitor, that the *Poſt Nati*, or ſuch as were born in Scotland after the King's acceſſion to the throne of England were naturalized; ſo that the point then under the conſideration of the Houſe, was whether the *Ante Nati* ſhould be naturalized by law or not (47). The reader, from what has been ſaid on this head in the text and in this note, will eaſily comprehend the merit of Sir Francis Bacon's ſervices in this affair, which is all that we intended: For if a hiſtory were to be written of the endeavours uſed in this reign, to procure an union between the two nations, it would take up much more room than we have to ſpare, and would beſides, lead us too far from our preſent ſubject; and therefore we have included, in as few words as poſſible, thoſe points in which this gentleman was principally concerned; and if the reader is inclined to obtain a farther view of this matter in all its branches, he may conſult the hiſtories of thoſe times, and the letters and works of our author, which will afford him tolerable ſatisfaction (48).

(46) See Arthur Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, in the Complete Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. ii. p. 673.

(47) See this Speech of Sir Francis Bacon in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 235.

(48) See his Preparation towards the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland, Vol. iv. p. 84. His Brief Diſcourſe of the Union of the kingdoms, to the King, Vol. iv. p. 210. His Conſiderations touching the Union, *ibid.* p. 217. His Argument in the Caſe of the *Poſt Nati*, *ibid.* p. 185.

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tation; for he was employed from the Houſe of Commons to the King, to repreſent to him the grievances under which the nation laboured: and though the paper relating to them was couched in pretty ſtrong terms, which could not but be diſagreeable to his maſter's temper, yet Sir Francis, by a ſoft and ſmooth ſpeech, ſo abated their harſhneſs, as to perform this difficult commiſſion with univerſal applauſe (*w*). He was likewiſe employed by the Houſe at a conference with the Lords, to perſuade them to join in an application to the Crown, for the taking away the ancient tenures, and allowing a certain and competent revenue in lieu of them; and in his ſpeech on this occaſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſet that affair in ſo clear a light, as excited that ſpirit, which at length procured the diſſolution of the Court of Wards, which has been juſtly eſteemed a point of the higheſt conſequence to the liberties of this kingdom (*x*). He likewiſe ſatisfied the Houſe, at a time when they were much out of temper, at the manner in which the King's meſſages were conveyed to them; and towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, when the ſupply ſtuck in the Houſe, he procured a paſſage for it, by a very ſhort and well-timed ſpeech, which effectually ſhewed of how great conſequence it was to the King, to have ſo able and ſo popular a ſpeaker at his devotion (*y*). One would have imagined, that in the midſt of ſo many arduous affairs of State, joined to the cares of his employment, and the buſineſs of his profeſſion, Sir Francis Bacon ſhould have had but little leiſure for his philoſophic ſtudies; and yet we find, that about this time, he had in ſome meaſure digeſted the plan of the ſecond part of his great work, which he tranſmitted to his friends, who were the ableſt and the beſt judges in the kingdom, in order to have their free ſentiments upon the ſubject: for as Sir Francis laboured only to arrive at truth, and not to acquire a mighty reputation, ſo he was rather deſirous of hearing the objections that might be made againſt his new ſyſtem, than to ſeek the praiſes of ſuch, as were more willing to beſtow applauſe, than to enquire into his title to it (*z*) [*R*]. It was

(*w*) See this Speech in Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 260.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 261.

(*y*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 832.

(*z*) See the Letters here referred to in Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 176.

[*R*] *More willing to beſtow applauſe, than to inquire into his title to it.*] This piece of our author's was intituled, *Cogitata & Viſa*, and contained the ground-work or plan of his *Novum Organum*, ſo eſſential a part of his Inſtauration, that it ſometimes bears that title. He was ſenſible of the difficulties that would attend his great deſign of building up the whole Palace of Wiſdom anew; and that he might be the better able to overcome thoſe difficulties, he was deſirous of ſeeing what they were, before he undertook his large work, of which this piece was no more than the out-lines. We may form a true notion of what he ſought by conſidering the letter, which he wrote to the learned Biſhop Andrews, when he ſent him the diſcourſe of which we are ſpeaking (49). 'Now your Lordſhip hath been ſo 'long in the Church and the Palace diſputing be-'tween Kings and Popes, methinks you ſhould take 'pleaſure to look into the field, and refreſh your 'mind with ſome matter of Philoſophy, though the 'ſcience be now through age waxed a child again, 'and left to boys and young men; and becauſe you 'were wont to make me believe you took a liking to 'my writings, I ſend you ſome of this vacation's 'fruits, and thus much more of my mind and pur-'poſe. I haſten not to publiſh: periſhing I would 'prevent, and I am forced to reſpect, as well my 'times as the matter; for with me it is thus, and I 'think with all men in my caſe. If I bind myſelf to an 'argument it loadeth my mind, but if I rid my mind 'of the preſent cogitation, it is rather a recreation: 'this hath put me into theſe Miſcellanies, which I 'purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if God give me leave to write 'a juſt and perfect volume of Philoſophy, which I 'go on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your Lord-'ſhip too much, leaſt it may glut you: now let me 'tell you what my deſire is; if your Lordſhip be ſo 'good now, as when you were the good Dean of 'Weſtminſter, my requeſt to you is, that not by 'pricks but by notes, you will make known unto me 'whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you, either not current in 'the ſtile, or harſh to credit and opinion, or incon-'venient for the perſon of the writer. For no man 'can be judge and party; and when our minds 'judge by reflection of ourſelves, they are more ſub-'ject to error; and though for the matter itſelf, my 'judgment be in ſome things fixed, and not acceſſible 'by any man's judgment, that goeth not my way; 'yet even in thoſe things, the admonition of a friend 'may make me expreſs myſelf diverſly.' He likewiſe recommended with the ſame view, the peruſal of the *Cogitata & Viſa* to Sir Thomas Bodley, who wrote him a very full anſwer, which, together with the piece itſelf, is printed amongſt the Latin works of our author (50). There is alſo in the laſt Collection of Mr. Stephens, a ſmall diſcourſe in Engliſh, under the Latin title of *Filum Labyrinthi; ſive Formula Inquiſitionis, ad Filios. Pars prima.* This we ſee plainly was the original of the *Cogitata & Viſa*, and the firſt draught of our author's firſt plan. Of this very ſhort treatiſe, the three firſt paragraphs (which may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the whole) run thus (51). 'FRANCIS BACON 'thought in this manner: the knowledge whereof the 'world is now poſſeſſed, eſpecially that of nature, ex-'tendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works. The 'Phyſician pronounces many diſeaſes incurable, and 'faileth oft in the reſt: The Alchemiſts wax old and 'die in hopes: The Magicians perform nothing that 'is permanent and profitable: The Mechanics take 'ſmall lights from Natural Philoſophy, and do but 'ſpin out their own little threads: Chance ſometimes 'diſcovereth inventions, but that worketh not in 'years but ages; ſo he ſaw well, that the inventions 'known are very imperfect, and that new are not 'like to be brought to light but in great length of 'time, and that thoſe are come not to light by Phi-'loſophy. He thought alſo this ſtate of knowledge 'was the worſe, becauſe men ſtrive (againſt them-'ſelves) to ſave the credit of ignorance, and ſo ſa-'tisfy themſelves in this poverty: For the Phyſician, 'beſides the cauteles of practice, hath this general 'cautele of art, that he diſcharges the weakneſs of 'his art upon ſuppoſed impoſſibilities, neither can his 'art be condemned, when itſelf judgeth. That Phi-'loſophy alſo, out of which the knowledge of Phy-'ſic which now is in uſe is hewed, receiveth certain 'poſitions and opinions, which (if they be well 'weighed) induce this perſuaſion that no great works 'are to be expected from art and the hand of man; 'as in particular, that opinion that the heat of the 'ſun and fire differ in kind, and that other in com-'poſition is the work of man, and mixture is the 'work of nature and the like, all tending to the 'circumſcription of man's power, and to artificial 'deſpair; killing in men not only the comfort of 'imagination, but the induſtry of trial; only upon 'vain glory, to have their art thought perfect, and 'that all is impoſſible that is not already found. The 'Alchemiſt diſcharges his art upon his own errors, 'either ſuppoſing a miſunderſtanding of the words 'of his authors, which maketh him liſten after au-'ricular traditions, or elſe a failing in the true pro-'portions and ſcruples of practice, which maketh 'him renew infinitely his trials, and finding alſo 'that he lighteth upon ſome mean experiments and 'concluſions by the way, feedeth upon them and 'magnifieth them to the moſt, and ſupplieth the 'reſt in hopes. The Magician, when he findeth 'ſome-

(49) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 576.

(50) Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 266.

(51) Stephens' Collections, p. 452.

was by this means, which very few great writers have taken, that Sir Francis obtained thoſe lights, which enabled him to finiſh thoſe parts of the Inſtauration to ſo high a degree of perfection. He likewiſe in a great meaſure avoided, by taking this method, thoſe ill-natured cenſures, and critical examinations, to which works of this nature are uſually expoſed, and to which his own ſyſtem was ſo much the more liable, as it went entirely upon new principles, and could therefore only be ſupported by its own worth, and ſtand on no other foundation than its own ſolidity (*a*). But that he might relieve himſelf a little from the ſeverity of theſe ſtudies, and as it were amuſe himſelf with erecting a magnificent pavilion, while his great palace of Philoſophy was building; he compoſed and ſent abroad in 1610, his celebrated treatiſe *Of the Wiſdom of the Antients*, in which he ſhewed that none had ſtudied them more cloſely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning (*b*) [*S*]. There have

(*a*) Dr. Tenniſon's Introduction, p. 29.

(*b*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 21.

'ſomething (as he conceiveth above nature) effected, 'thinketh when a breach is once made in nature, 'that it is all one to perform great things and ſmall, 'not ſeeing that they are but ſubjects of a certain 'kind, wherein Magic and ſuperſtition hath played 'in all times. The mechanical perſon, if he can refine 'an invention, or put two or three obſervations or 'practices together in one, or couple things better 'with their uſe, or make the work in leſs or greater 'volume, taketh himſelf for an inventor. So he ſaw 'well, that men either perſuade themſelves of new 'inventions as of impoſſibilities, or elſe think they 'are already extant but in ſecret and in few hands, 'or that they account of thoſe little induſtries and 'additions, as of inventions, all which turneth to 'the averting of their minds from any juſt and con-'ſtant labour, to invent further in any quantity. He 'thought alſo, that when men did ſet before them-'ſelves the variety and perfection of works produced 'by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire 'the proviſions of man, than to apprehend his wants, 'not conſidering that the original inventions and 'concluſions of nature, which are the life of all 'that variety, are not many nor deeply fetched; and 'that the reſt is but the ſubtile and ruled motion of the 'inſtrument and hand, and that the ſhop therein, is 'not unlike the library, which in ſuch number of 'books, containeth (for the far greater part) nothing 'but iterations, varied ſometimes in form, but not 'new in ſubſtance; ſo he ſaw plainly that opinion of 'ſtore was a cauſe of want, and that both works and 'doctrines appear many, and are few.' We may from hence conceive, the manner in which this piece was written, and how well it was ſuited to ſerve the author's purpoſe, of ſo far manifeſting his own deſign, as to obtain a tolerable account of the ſtrongeſt and beſt founded objections which could be brought againſt it, ſo as that in his larger work, he might either correct his own faults, or ſhew ſuch as were inclined to criticize his performance, theirs.

[*S*] *Had pierced deeper into their meaning.*] In the firſt part of his Inſtauration our author had obſerved, that there was a great deficiency in explaining the allegorical poetry of the Antients, and more particularly in laying open the Philoſophy of antient fables; and as he was deſirous of affording inſtances of the poſſibility of ſupplying all the deficiencies he pointed out, he compoſed this work, to anſwer the end of ſupplying the deficiency before mentioned (52). In his introduction to this book, he gives a large and very clear account of the reaſons which induced him to believe, that notwithſtanding the ſeeming abſurdities in the fabulous hiſtory of the Antients; there was however, ſomething at the bottom which deſerved to be examined into and enquired after. Theſe obſervations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus: But the argument of moſt weight with me is this, that many of theſe fables by no means appear to have been invented by the perſons, who relate and divulge them, whether Homer, Heſiod, or others; for if I were aſſured they firſt flowed from thoſe latter times, and authors that tranſmit them to us, I ſhould never expect any thing ſingularly great or noble from ſuch an origin. But whoever attentively conſiders the thing, will find that theſe fables are delivered down and related by thoſe writers, not as matters then firſt invented and propoſed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages. Beſides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the ſame ages, it is eaſily perceived, that the relators drew from the common ſtock of antient tradition, and varied but in point of embelliſhment, which is their own, and this principally raiſes my eſteem of theſe fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the Poets, but as ſacred relics, gentle whiſpers, and the breath of better times, that from the traditions of more antient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one ſhall, notwithſtanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or impoſed upon the antient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undiſturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects, (though we cannot help accounting it ſomewhat dull and phlegmatic) and if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument. Men have propoſed to anſwer two different and contrary ends by the uſe of parable, for parables ſerve as well to inſtruct and illuſtrate, as to wrap up and envelope; ſo that though for the preſent we drop the concealed uſe, and ſuppoſe the antient fables to be vague undeterminate things, formed for amuſement, ſtill the other uſe muſt remain and can never be given up; and every man of any learning muſt readily allow, that this method of inſtructing is grave, ſober, and exceedingly uſeful, and ſometimes neceſſary in the ſciences, as it opens an eaſy and familiar paſſage to the human underſtanding in all new diſcoveries, that are abſtruſe, and are out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence in the firſt ages, when ſuch inventions and concluſions of the human reaſon, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, ſimilies, compariſons, and alluſions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilſt the minds of men continued rude and unpractiſed in matters of ſubtilty or ſpeculation, or even impatient, or in a manner uncapable of receiving ſuch things, as did not directly fall under and ſtrike the ſenſes: for as hieroglyphics were in uſe before writings, ſo were parables in uſe before arguments; and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human underſtanding, and conquer prejudice without raiſing conteſts, animoſities, oppoſition, or diſturbance, he muſt ſtill go in the ſame path, and have recourſe to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and alluſion. To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by deſign made this uſe of trope and figure; happy, if whilſt they had other views, they afforded matter and occaſion to ſuch noble contemplations. Let either be the caſe, our pains perhaps will not be miſemployed, whether we illuſtrate antiquity, or the things themſelves: the like indeed has been attempted by others; but, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, their great and voluminous labours have almoſt deſtroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing, whilſt being unſkilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the ſenſe of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth. For myſelf therefore, I expect to appear new in theſe common things, becauſe leaving untouched ſuch as are ſufficiently plain and open, I ſhall drive only at thoſe that are either deep or rich (53). In this admirable work our author has laid open with great ſagacity and penetration, the ſecret meaning of the phyſical, moral, and political fables of antiquity, in doing which, he very wiſely and prudently took occaſion to throw out many obſervations of his own, for which he could not have found otherways ſo

(52) See the ſecond part of the author's Advancement of Learning, Vol. ii. P. 497.

(53) De Sapientia Veterum in Præfat. Vol. ii. p. 349, 350.

have been very few books publiſhed, either in this or in any other nation, which either deſerved or met with more general applauſe than this, and ſcarcely any that are likely to retain it longer; for in this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a ſingular proof of his capacity to pleaſe all parties in literature, as in his political conduct, he ſtood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this diſcourſe, which ſeems expreſsly calculated to juſtify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their oppoſites were no leſs pleaſed with a piece, from which they thought they could demonſtrate, that the ſagacity of a modern genius, had found out much better meanings for the Antients, than ever were meant by them (*c*). At this time, Sir Francis Bacon was in ſuch high credit with his maſter, as well as in ſuch high eſteem with all ranks and degrees of people, that as, on the one hand, he was able to attain, with little or no aſſiſtance from the Miniſters, whatever he thought expedient to aſk of the King; ſo, on the other, there was no danger that any ſuit he obtained, ſhould beget either popular diſlike, or diſtaſte thoſe of his profeſſion. Yet it does not appear, that Sir Francis made any great advantages of this favourable ſituation, excepting that in the year 1611, he procured the office of Judge of the Marſhal's Court (*d*), jointly with Sir Thomas Vavaſor, then Knight Marſhal, by which he preſided, though for a very ſhort time, in the court newly erected, under the title of the Palace Court for the verge of the King's houſe, in which ſtation he has left us a moſt learned and methodical charge, given to the jury there upon a commiſſion of oyer and terminer (*e*). One may eaſily diſcern from hence, that he had not either a very aſpiring, or a very covetous diſpoſition, but was content to wait the proper ſeaſons and favourable opportunities of riſing, which are brought forth by time. It muſt however be owned, that his private fortune was never in a better condition, or his domeſtic affairs in a happier ſituation, than at preſent. He was poſſeſſed, and had been ſo for ſome years, of a good eſtate in Hertfordſhire, and of his father's pleaſant ſeat of Gorhambury, which came to him by the death of his brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon. He was in great practice at the bar, the King's Solicitor, and, beſides the new place laſt mentioned, was juſt come into the poſſeſſion of that office, which had been granted him twenty years before, of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber, which was of great value; ſo that at this time he could not enjoy leſs than five thouſand pounds a year, including the fortune brought him by his wife, of which, though there are good reaſons to believe that he took little to himſelf, yet it muſt have prevented a very conſiderable expence in his family, which would have been otherwiſe neceſſary. Beſides, as his employments were not of a nature to require much ſplendor or magnificence, ſo, notwithſtanding the generoſity of his temper, which it muſt be confeſſed leaned a little towards profuſeneſs, yet he muſt have been at this juncture in very eaſy circumſtances, which to a man who never affected riches, muſt have been a very comfortable condition, eſpecially when joined to the high reputation and unenvied credit which at this time he enjoyed (*f*). He had now the King's ear ſo entirely, that he obtained a promiſe of ſucceeding Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney General, in caſe either of his death or removal. In the beginning of the year 1612, that worthy man had a very ſevere fit of illneſs, which induced Sir Francis Bacon to put the King in mind of his promiſe; and it ſeems by another letter of his, that he was now on very good terms with the Earl of Saliſbury, Lord-Treaſurer, who ſupported his pretenſions (*g*). However the Attorney recovered, and he did not ſucceed him in that employment till the year following, when Sir Henry Hobart was made Chief juſtice of the Common-Pleas, upon the removal of Sir Edward Coke from that office, who was made Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench. Sir Francis Bacon took poſſeſſion of his new office, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 1613 (*h*), in which he made as great a figure as any of his predeceſſors, and had ſome particular honours done him, which few or none of them had received: as for inſtance, he was allowed to take his ſeat in Parliament, though it was adjudged, that by reaſon of his office he had no right to it, as being an attendant on the Houſe of Lords. But this favour was granted him, purely out of reſpect to his perſon, and the ſervices he had formerly rendered his country in that Houſe (*i*). In the court of Star-Chamber again, a ſolemn decree having been made againſt the faſhionable, though fatal practice of duelling, his ſpeech, which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith [*T*]. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt

(*c*) Dr. Shaw's Preface to his excellent Abridgment of Bacon's Works.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 438.

(*e*) See this Charge in Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 288.

(*f*) See his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 574.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 586.

(*h*) Pat. 11 Jacob. p. 5.

(*i*) Petyt's *Placit. Parliament.* p. 134.

ſo fit and favourable an opportunity. He publiſhed this treatiſe in Latin, in which language he ſeems to have written it, and dedicated it to his couſin, the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, and the univerſity of Cambridge. This work has been very often reprinted ſince, and, except his Eſſays, is of all his writings the moſt generally known and eſteemed. Sir Arthur Gorges rendered the whole into Engliſh, which is uſually added to the author's eſſays; and it is to this book the great poet as well as traveller, Mr. George Sandys (54) doth, in his learned notes on his verſion of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, acknowledge himſelf to be much indebted, ſtiling my Lord St. Albans, the crown of all modern authors.

(54) See his tranſlation of Ovid, p. 257.

[*T*] *His ſpeech which gave occaſion to it, was, contrary to cuſtom, printed therewith.*] This barbarous and bloody cuſtom, like moſt of our other bad cuſtoms, was derived to us from France, where, notwithſtanding the edicts of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., it occaſioned the ſhedding of rivers of blood, till the great Cardinal de Richelieu, though cruel and revengeful himſelf, put ſome ſtop to it, by the execution of Lord Bouteville, a man of high quality, and of as great intereſt as any in France, which though ſevere, was univerſally allowed one of the beſt acts of his adminiſtration. It is eaſy to perceive from the writings of Wilſon, Oſborne, and other authors of thoſe times, to what height it was riſen in England, and what lamentable

ſtrongeſt marks of the high eſteem he was then in that can be deſired; and indeed Sir Francis Bacon had now overcome all difficulties, and ſtood ſecurely on his own intereſt with the King, the Earl of Saliſbury being dead, and for any thing that appears, Sir Francis

mentable effects it produced. For when once it grew into practice amongſt perſons of diſtinction, thoſe of an inferior degree, forgetting that it was altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of God and man, affected it as a point of good breeding; ſo that it grew every day more and more frequent, notwithſtanding the melancholy conſequences with which it was attended, and the ſeverity with which ſome had been proſecuted, who by this means had been drawn in to commit capital offences. But ſtill the root of the evil was left: ſuch perſons, though they died with ſhame, had the pity and compaſſion of the people, and, though murderers, were regarded as men of honour (55). This ſerved to keep up the practice to the ſcandal of Law, Religion, and Government, which were ſet at defiance by this lawleſs and bloody courſe of calling men to account for trifles, and taking that ſatisfaction by the ſword, which the laws of nature and the land would never have granted. Sir Francis Bacon being made the King's Attorney, uſed all his efforts to put a ſtop to this practice here, and his charge with regard to duels, upon an information in the Star-Chamber againſt *Prieſt* and *Wright*, was ſo highly approved by the Lords of the Council, who were then in the Star-Chamber, that they ordered it, as is ſaid in the text, to be printed and publiſhed with the decree of the Court itſelf (56). 'In this charge he ſpeaks of 'the nature and greatneſs of the miſchiefs of duels, 'the cauſes and remedies of it, the juſtice of the 'Law of England, which ſome, he ſays, ſtick not 'to think defective in this matter; of the capacity 'of the Court in the Star-Chamber, where certainly 'the remedy of that miſchief was to be found;' and of his own *purpoſe* and *reſolution*, wherein he humbly deſires the aſſiſtance of that Court. With regard to the miſchief itſelf, he obſerves, that when revenge is once extorted out of the magiſtrate's hand, contrary to God's ordinance; and every man ſhall bear the ſword, not to defend but to aſſail, and private men begin once to preſume to give law to themſelves, and to right their own wrongs, no man can foreſee the dangers and inconveniences which may ariſe and multiply by that means. Other offences yield and conſent to the law, that it is good, not daring to make defence, or to juſtify themſelves; but this offence expreſsly gives law an affront, as if there were two laws, one a kind of gown law, and the other a law of reputation as they term it: So that *Paul's* and *Weſtminſter*, the pulpit and courts of juſtice, muſt give place to the Law (as King James expreſſes it in his proclamation) of ordinary tables, and ſuch reverend aſſemblies. The year books and ſtatute books, muſt give place to ſome French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of duels, which if they be in the right, *tranſeamus ad illa*, let us receive them, and not keep the people in conflict and diſtraction between two laws. He conſiders then the loſs which the nation ſuffers by the deſtruction of thoſe perſons by private, inſignificant quarrels, whoſe blood, if it was adventured in the ſervice of the King and realm, would be able to make the fortune of a day, and to change the fortune of a kingdom. With reſpect to the cauſe of it; the firſt motive undoubtedly is a falſe and erroneous imagination of honour and credit, upon which account, King James in his proclamation, calls them *bewitching duels*, 'for if one 'judge of it truly, ſays the Attorney, it is no better 'than a ſorcery that inchanted the ſpirits of young 'men, that bear great minds with a falſe ſhew, '*ſpecies falſa*, and a kind of ſatanical illuſion, and 'apparition of honour againſt Religion, againſt Law, 'againſt moral virtue, and againſt the precedents and 'examples of the beſt times, and the valianteſt nations.' Beſides this, men have almoſt loſt the true notion, and underſtanding of fortitude and honour. 'For fortitude diſtinguiſheth the grounds of quarrels 'whether they be juſt, and not only ſo, but whether 'they be worthy, and ſetteth a better price upon men's 'lives than to beſtow them idly; nay it is a weakneſs 'and diſeſteem of a man's ſelf, to put a man's life upon 'ſuch lieger performances: a man's life is not to be 'trifled away; it is to be offered up and ſacrificed to 'honourable ſervices, public merits, good cauſes, 'and noble adventures: It is in expence of blood as 'it is in expence of money: it is no liberality to make 'a profuſion of money upon every profane occaſion, no more is it fortitude to make effuſion of 'blood, except the cauſe be of worth.' The remedies which he propoſes for the reſtraint of this evil are, Firſt, that there appear and be declared a conſtant and ſettled reſolution in the State to aboliſh it: Secondly, care muſt be taken that it be no longer countenanced, or the humour of it indulged: Thirdly, ſays he, 'I muſt 'acknowledge that I learned out of the King's laſt 'proclamation, the moſt prudent and beſt applied remedy for this offence (if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty 'to uſe it) that the wit of man can deviſe. This 'offence is grounded upon a falſe conceit of honour, 'and therefore it ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame 'kind, *in eo quis rectiſſime plectitur, in quo peccat*; 'the fountain of honour is the King and his aſpect, 'and the acceſs to his perſon continueth honour in 'life, and to be baniſhed from his preſence, is one 'of the greateſt eclipſes of honour that can be. If 'his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed, that when this court 'ſhall cenſure any of theſe offences in perſons of eminent quality, to add this out of his own power and 'diſcipline, that theſe perſons ſhall be baniſhed and 'excluded from his court for certain years, and the 'courts of his Queen and Prince; I think there is 'no man, that hath any good blood in him, will 'commit an act, that ſhall caſt him into that darkneſs, that he may not behold his Sovereign's face:' Laſtly, that this court ſhould puniſh all the middle acts and proceedings which tend to the duel, and ſo to hew and vex the root in the branches, which no doubt will kill the root, and yet prevent the extremity of the Law. The Attorney obſerves then, that the Law of England is excepted to, though ignorantly, in two points; the one, that it ſhould make no difference between an inſidious and foul murder, and the killing a man upon fair terms, as it is called: The other, that the Law has not provided ſufficient puniſhment and reparations for contumely of words, as the lie, and the like. But theſe are no better than childiſh novelties againſt the divine law, and all laws in effect; and againſt the example of all the braveſt and moſt virtuous nations in the world; for in the law of God there is never to be found, any difference made in homicide, voluntary and involuntary, which we term miſadventure: As for example in civil ſtates, 'All memory, ſays he, doth conſent that Greece 'and Rome were the moſt valiant and generous nations 'of the world, and that which is more to be noted, 'they were free ſtates, and not under a monarchy, 'whereby a man would think it a great deal the 'more reaſon, that particular perſons ſhould have 'righted themſelves; and yet they had not this practice 'of duels, nor any thing that bear ſhew thereof, and 'ſure they would have had it if there had been any 'virtue in it: nay, as he ſaith *(fas eſt & ab hoſte 'doceri)*, it is memorable, that is reported by a 'Counſellor, Ambaſſador of the Emperor's, touching 'the cenſure of the Turks of theſe duels. There 'was a combat of this kind, performed by two perſons of quality of the Turks, wherein one of them 'was ſlain, the other party was convented before the 'Council of Baſhaws, the manner of the reprehenſion 'was in theſe words: "How durſt you undertake to "fight one with the other? Are there not Chriſtians "enough to kill? Did you not know, that whether of "you ſhould be ſlain, the loſs would be the Grand "Seignior's?" So as we may ſee, that the moſt warlike nations, whether generous or barbarous, have 'ever deſpiſed this, wherein now men glory.' As for the ſecond defect pretended in our Law, that it hath *provided no remedy for lies or fillips*; it may receive the ſame anſwer. It would have been thought a madneſs amongſt the ancient lawgivers to have ſet a puniſhment upon the lie given, which, in effect, is but a word of denial, a negative of another's ſaying. Any lawgiver, if he had been aſked the queſtion, would have made

(55) See Arthur Wilſon's Life, written by himſelf, in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*.

(56) See this Charge of our author in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 297.

Francis had no dependance on the Earl of Somerſet, who was the reigning favourite, but kept at a diſtance from him when he was in his greateſt power; and conſequently had nothing to anſwer for, with reſpect either to his perſonal or political failings (*k*). It is, however, manifeſt, that after the death of the Earl of Saliſbury, there grew many diſorders in the government, which verified the character Sir Francis Bacon gave of that great Miniſter to the King his Maſter, viz. *That though it was not likely the King's affairs ſhould ever have gone much better under his management, yet he was ſuch a Miniſter, as would have hindered them from growing worſe* (*l*); which, as things ſtood, would have been of very great ſervice; as appeared by what happened in the year following, when the King having called a Parliament in hopes of obtaining a ſupply, ſome forward people in the Houſe of Commons, to ingratiate themſelves with the Court, made a tender to the King of their intereſt, with a kind of promiſe, that in caſe they were obliged, his Majeſty's affairs in Parliament ſhould go to his wiſh (*m*). Theſe people, from this bold, and as it afterwards appeared, ill-grounded preſumption of their own abilities and intereſts, were ſtiled undertakers; yet ſo far were they from being able to carry matters, as they pretended, in the Houſe of Commons, that this fooliſh and unjuſtifiable ſcheme of theirs having taken air, one of the firſt things the Houſe fell upon, was an inquiry after theſe Undertakers (*n*). To pacify the heats occaſioned by this ſtrange project, the Attorney-General made a long and very fine ſpeech, which is ſtill preſerved. It had not however the deſired effect; for the Houſe was ſo much out of humour at this, and ſome other miſtakes in the adminiſtration, that the King, ſeeing no hopes of obtaining any thing from them, diſſolved the Parliament in a heat, and ſoon afterwards committed ſeveral Members, who had ſpoken freely of his meaſures in the Houſe of Commons. This, inſtead of allaying, increaſed the ferment in the nation (*o*), and that to ſuch a degree, that the King ſeeing little hopes of better ſucceſs in another, than he had found in the former Parliament, declined calling one: but being extremely diſtreſſed for money, he was glad to receive it in any manner, and by any means; and upon this, ſeveral of the nobility and clergy in and about London, made at leaſt a ſeeming voluntary preſent to his Majeſty, which the Council taking notice of, and being willing to encourage ſuch an example, and make it more diffuſive, they wrote letters to the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace of the counties, and Magiſtrates of ſeveral corporations, informing them of what had been done above, and how acceptable and ſeaſonable the bounty of his ſubjects would be to the King and his occaſions; but without any clauſes of compulſion, or requiring, or returning of the names of ſuch as ſhould refuſe (*p*). Among others, one was directed to the Mayor of Marlborough, in Wiltſhire, where Mr. Oliver St. John, a Gentleman of an ancient family, was then reſiding; who being conſulted thereupon, he wrote a letter to the Mayor upon the eleventh of October, 1614, repreſenting to him, that this benevolence was againſt the laws, reaſon, and religion; inſinuating, that the King, by promoting the ſame, had violated his coronation oath, and that by ſuch means as theſe, King Richard II., had given an opportunity to Henry IV., to deprive him of his crown, deſiring, if he thought fit, to communicate his ſentiments to the Juſtices who were to meet about the benevolence (*q*). For this action, Mr. St. John was proſecuted in the Star-Chamber, and upon the fifteenth of April, 1615, the cauſe was brought to a hearing, as appears by Sir Francis Bacon's letter of that date (*r*). In this Court, which was compoſed of a great many Lords of the Council, the Chief-Juſtices and Chief-Barons, ſome of them thought that this offence was of a higher nature than a contempt; but they all agreed, that this benevolence, as it was circumſtanced, was not reſtrained by any of the acts of parliament, which prohibits that ſort of taxation, and that the defendant ſhould be fined five thouſand pounds, impriſoned during the King's pleaſure, and make ſubmiſſion in writing, which he accordingly did (*s*). While this cauſe was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, in right of his office, was employed in the proſecution of two other offenders for high-treaſon, and they were both caſes in ſome ſort ſingular, and in which he had a great deal of trouble. The firſt was that of Peacham, a Clergyman, who had inſerted ſeveral trea-

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 607.

(*l*) Amongſt Apophthegms of himſelf and others, in his Works, Vol. iii. p. 295.

(*m*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(*n*) Memorables in the reign of James I. p. 119.

(*o*) Saunderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 407.

(*p*) Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 696.

(*q*) See this Letter of Mr. St. John's in the CABALA, edit. 1691, p. 333.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 603.

(*s*) Memorables in the reign of King James I. p. 231.

made Solon's anſwer, That he had not made any puniſhment for it, becauſe he never imagined the world would have been ſo fantaſtical as to take it ſo highly. The Civilians diſpute, whether an action of injury lie for it, and rather reſolve the contrary; ſo every touch or light blow of the perſon is not in itſelf conſiderable, except that they have got upon them the ſtamp of a diſgrace, which makes theſe light things paſs for great matter. 'The law of England, and all laws, hold 'theſe degrees of injury to the perſon, ſlander, bat-'tery, maim, and death; and if there be extraordi-'nary circumſtances of deſpite and contumely, as in 'caſe of libels, and baſtinadoes, and the like, this 'Court taketh them in hand, and puniſheth them ex-'emplarily: but for this apprehenſion of a diſgrace, 'that a fillip to the perſon ſhould be a mortal wound 'to the reputation, it were good that men did 'hearken to the ſaying of *Conſalvo*, the great and 'famous commander, that was wont to ſay, that a 'Gentleman's honour ſhould be, *de tela craſſiore*, of 'a good ſtrong warp or web, that every little thing 'ſhould not catch it, whereas now it ſeems they are 'but cobweb, lawn, or ſuch like ſtuff, which cer-'tainly is weakneſs, and not true greatneſs of mind; 'but like a ſick man's body, that is ſo tender that 'it feels every thing.' We find likewiſe, that in December, in the year 1616, he proſecuted one Mr. Markham, for diſperſing letters of challenge to the Lord Darcy. He mentions this in a letter to the Lord Viſcount Villiers, publiſhed in the works of our author; who, in reference to this crime, ſhewed himſelf no reſpecter of perſons, but proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch as, forgetting their duty to God and the government by which they were protected, ran into offences of this kind, merely to gain or to ſupport their reputation, with ſuch as were the worſt judges of what deſerved praiſe or diſpraiſe.

ſonable paſſages in a ſermon never preached, and which, as ſome ſaid, was never intended to be preached. However, the papers being found in his ſtudy, it was reſolved that he ſhould be proſecuted; and the King being, it ſeems, doubtful of the event, was reſolved to go upon as ſure grounds as he could, and therefore directed Sir Francis Bacon, to procure the opinion of Sir Edward Coke and the reſt of the Judges beforehand, which was accordingly done. But the Chief-Juſtice Coke was not prevailed upon to give his without much difficulty, declaring it to be a thing unuſual, and which he was very much afraid might be attended by very ill conſequences. The point was at laſt carried notwithſtanding, and Peacham was afterwards tried and found guilty, but not executed (*t*); which, however it may leſſen the ſeverity, does not in the leaſt excuſe the injuſtice of the proceeding, ſince ſeveral of the Judges were of opinion, that his crime was not high-treaſon. The other caſe was that of Mr. Owen, of Godſtowe in Oxfordſhire, who returning out of Spain, did not only affirm, but enforce with reaſons, a doctrine, which it is probable Suarez and ſome other Jeſuits had diſſeminated, in that country; That if the King were excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, it was lawful for any perſon to kill him. This being a poſition in direct terms contrary to the late Oath of Allegiance, and of dangerous conſequence if believed and propagated, it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould be made an example; and accordingly in Eaſter term, 1615, he was proſecuted and convicted in the King's-Bench; my Lord Coke, and the other Judges of that Court, declaring, That it was high-treaſon within the ſtatute of 25 Edward III (*u*). The ſpeech of Sir Francis Bacon at the arraignment of this Owen, is preſerved in his works (*w*) [*U*], and there are alſo a great many paſſages in his letters, relating to both theſe proſecutions.

(*t*) Crook's Reports, p. 125.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 601.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 321.

We are now to ſhift the ſcene a little, and to take notice of a new favourite, who began to engroſs King James's good graces, to whom Sir Francis Bacon was both a friend and counſellor. This was Mr. George Villiers, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of Buckingham. His riſe at Court was very ſwift and ſurprizing, to which the advice of his friend Bacon contributed not a little; and yet it muſt be allowed that this advice was ſuch, as is not uſually given in Courts, but of a ſtrain equally free and friendly, calculated to make the perſon to whom it was addreſſed, both good and great, and ſo equally honourable for the giver and the receiver (*x*) [*W*]. But while this gentleman was riſing, his predeceſſor Somerſet was falling, in which Sir Francis Bacon alſo had a ſhare, and a large one too, of which

(*x*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 845.

[*U*] *Is preſerved in his Works.*] The caſe of this Owen was very remarkable, and the true reaſon of his being proſecuted, ſeems to have been, in order to awe the more violent ſort of Papiſts. This man had aſſerted, that if the King was excommunicated, it was lawful to kill him, which aſſertion the Attorney maintained to be high-treaſon, in which he was ſupported by the Lord Coke, who was even more forward in this buſineſs than the Attorney himſelf, and inclined to carry the thing higher, as may appear from the following paſſage in a letter, written by Sir Francis Bacon to the King upon this ſubject (53). 'The Judges deſired 'us to leave the examinations and papers with them 'for ſome little time to conſider (which is a thing 'they uſe), but I conceive there will be no manner of 'queſtion made of it. My Lord Chief Juſtice, to 'ſhew forwardneſs (as I interpret it), ſhewed us paſ-'ſages of Suarez, and others, thereby to prove, that 'though your Majeſty ſtood not by particular ſen-'tence, yet by the general bulls of *Cœna Domini*, 'and others, you were upon the matter excommu-'nicate, and therefore, that the treaſon was as *de* '*præſenti*. But I that foreſee, that if that courſe 'ſhould be held, when it cometh to a public day, 'to diſſeminate to the vulgar an opinion that your 'Majeſty's caſe is all one, as if you were *de facto*, 'particularly and expreſsly, excommunicate, it would 'but increaſe the danger of your perſon with thoſe 'that were deſperate Papiſts; and that it is needleſs, 'commended my Lord's diligence, but with all put 'it by, and fell upon the other courſe (which is the 'true way), that is, that whoſoever ſhall affirm *in diem*, 'or *ſub conditione*, that your Majeſty may be deſtroyed, 'is a traitor *de præſenti*, for that he maketh you but 'tenant for life, at the will of another: and I put the 'Duke of Buckingham's caſe, who ſaid, that if the 'King cauſed him to be arreſted of treaſon, he would 'ſtab him; and the caſe of the impoſtreſs, Elizabeth 'Barton, that ſaid, if King Henry VIII. took not his 'wife again, Katherine Dowager, he ſhould be no 'longer King, and the like.' When this man came to be indicted for high-treaſon, at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, Sir Francis Bacon ſupported the charge againſt him by that ſpeech which is menioned in the text, of which the latter part is loſt, or at leaſt, has not hitherto been printed; and it is remarkable, that it is that very part of the ſpeech in which he maintained, that though the priſoner did not affirm ſimply, that it is lawful to kill the King, but conditionally only, that if the King be excommunicated, that it is lawful to kill him; yet this was treaſon. It was for this reaſon, that I cited in this note the foregoing paſſage from his letter to the King, becauſe it fully ſupplies the ſenſe and argument, though not the form of the ſpeech, and ſhews in what manner he made that out, which, for any thing I know, has not been obſerved before. At the beginning of this ſpeech there is ſomething very remarkable: this Mr. Owen, it ſeems, was but an obſcure man, and therefore the Attorney-General thought it requiſite, to take off the imputation of ſeverity in this reſpect, by ſhewing the true reaſon for this proceeding againſt him. His words are theſe (54): 'I have now ſerved 'his Majeſty, Solicitor and Attorney, eight years, 'and better; yet this is the firſt time that ever I gave 'in evidence againſt a traitor at this bar, or any 'other. There hath not wanted matter in that party 'of the ſubjects, whence this kind of offence floweth, 'to irritate the King. He hath been irritated by the 'powder treaſon, which might have turned judg-'ment into fury; he hath been irritated by wicked 'and monſtrous libels; irritated by a general inſo-'lency and preſumption of the Papiſts throughout the 'land; and yet I ſee his Majeſty keepeth Cæſar's 'rule, *Nil malo, quam eos eſſe ſimiles ſui, & me mei*; 'he leaveth them to be like themſelves, and he re-'maineth like himſelf, and ſtriveth to overcome evil 'with goodneſs. A ſtrange thing! bloody opinions, 'bloody doctrines, bloody examples, and yet the 'government ſtill unſtained with blood. As for this 'Owen that is brought in queſtion, though his per-'ſon be, in his condition, contemptible; yet we ſee 'by miſerable examples, that thoſe wretches which 'are but the ſcum of the earth, have been able to ſtir 'earthquakes by murdering of Princes; and if it 'were in caſe of contagion (as this is a contagion 'of the heart and ſoul), a raſcal may bring a plague 'into the city, as well as a great man: ſo it is 'not the perſon but the matter, that is to be con-'ſidered.'

(53) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 602.

(54) *Ibid.* p. 322.

[*W*] *And ſo equally honourable for the giver and receiver.*] It was immediately after this new favourite came to be diſtinguiſhed, that Sir Francis Bacon entered into a ſtrict and cloſe friendſhip with him, which

which however we ſhall ſpeak as briefly as poſſible, as having occaſion to treat this matter much more at large, in other articles (*y*). The occaſion of this extraordinary event, was the unexpected diſcovery, of the deep concern that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet had, in the barbarous fact of poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury, the firſt occaſion of which diſcovery, as I find it no where clearly mentioned but in one of the ſpeeches of Sir Francis Bacon, I ſhall take notice of here. Sir Thomas Overbury was poiſoned in the beginning of the year 1613, chiefly by the means of one Weſton, formerly an Apothecary's man, who had been put about him for this purpoſe. This Weſton was afterwards promoted by Sir Gervaiſe Elways, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was alſo privy to the murder; and this gentleman having in other reſpects a good character, being ſtrongly recommended to a certain nobleman by a friend of his, the ſhare he had in the ill uſage of Sir Thomas Overbury was objected, and this having led the Lieutenant to proteſt, that he had perſuaded Weſton from the deſign he had of poiſoning Sir Thomas, and had engaged him to let it fall; this again afforded ſuch light, that by purſuing it ſteadily the whole matter was found out (*z*). There never was an affair of this kind which made more noiſe in England than this, and the King ſhewed a very earneſt deſire of bringing all who were concerned in it to juſtice; ſo that the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet were immediately committed, and the reſt of the offenders proſecuted with all imaginable ſeverity. It does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon meddled at all with this affair at the beginning; for Richard Weſton, who was tried on the nineteenth of October, 1616, had the charge againſt him opened by the Queen's Attorney-General (*a*). This man at firſt refuſed to plead, and by that means endeavoured to obſtruct the courſe of juſtice; but the famous Lord Coke directing all the evidence there was againſt him to be publiſhed in open Court, he retracted his plea, and putting himſelf upon his trial, was found guilty, and received ſentence of death, which was afterwards executed (*b*). But the Earl of Somerſet, though a fallen Miniſter, had ſo many friends, that notwithſtanding this clear proceeding, they endeavoured, by miſrepreſenting what had paſſed at Weſton's trial, and by interrogating him at the gallows, to make the whole paſs for nothing better than an artificial contrivance to ruin that Nobleman. This attempt of theirs brought Sir Francis Bacon into the buſineſs; for, as Attorney-General, he was commanded by the King to proſecute the

(*y*) See COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(*z*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 350.

(*a*) Sir Lawrence Hyde was at that time the Queen's Attorney, and had a large ſhare in all proſecutions.

(*b*) Annals of King James and King Charles I., p. 13.

which laſted with little, or no interruption, ſo long as they lived. Mr. Villiers came well recommended to the King; for he was introduced by the Queen, perſuaded by Archbiſhop Abbot, and other perſons of the firſt quality (55). When he had received the honour of Knighthood, and was made one of the bed-chamber, our author compiled, at his requeſt, ſuch a ſcheme of advice for his conduct, as perhaps was never before penned, and will hardly ever be amended (56). It is very large, and may be uſed very ſucceſsfully, in the education of young men of quality, as it contains every thing neceſſary to be known or attended to, by a perſon in great favour, and admitted to great offices in the ſtate. It was firſt printed in 4to, in the year 1661, and again in the Cabala (57), and very correctly in our author's works (58). I ſhall ſelect a paragraph or two at the beginning, to juſtify what is ſaid in the text, and to prove that this piece was written, not in the ſtile of a flatterer, but of a friend. 'You know,' ſays our author to Sir G. Villiers, 'I am no courtier, nor verſed in ſtate affairs: 'my life, hitherto, hath rather been contemplative 'than active; I have rather ſtudied books than men. 'I can but gueſs at the moſt, at thoſe things in which 'you deſired to be adviſed; nevertheleſs, to ſhew my 'obedience, though with the hazard of my diſcretion, 'I ſhall yield unto you. Sir, in the firſt place, I 'ſhall be bold to put you in mind of the preſent condition you are in: you are not only a courtier, but 'a bed-chamber man, and ſo in the eye and ear of 'your maſter, but you are alſo a favourite, the favourite 'of the time, and ſo are in his boſom alſo, the world 'hath ſo voted you, and hath ſo eſteemed you; for 'Kings and great Princes, even the wiſeſt of them, 'have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes, in all ages, for they have their affections as 'well as other men. Of theſe they make ſeveral uſes, 'ſometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts 'with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby; 'ſometimes to eaſe their cares by imparting them, 'and ſometimes to interpoſe them between themſelves 'and the envy or malice of their people: for Kings 'cannot err; that muſt be diſcharged on the ſhoulders 'of their Miniſters, and they who are neareſt to them 'muſt be content to bear the greateſt load. Remember then what your true condition is: the King himſelf is above the reach of his people, but cannot be 'above their cenſures; and you are his ſhadow, if 'either he commit an error, and is loth to avow it, 'but excuſeth it upon his miniſters, of which you 'are firſt in the eye, or you commit the fault, or 'have willingly permitted, and muſt ſuffer for it, 'and ſo perhaps you may be offered a ſacrifice to 'appeaſe the multitude. But truly, Sir, I do not believe or ſuſpect you are choſen to this eminency, 'out of the laſt of thoſe conſiderations: for you 'ſerve ſuch a maſter, who by his wiſdom and goodneſs, is as free from the malice or envy of his 'ſubjects, as I think I may truly ſay, ever any King 'was, who has ſat upon his throne before him; but 'I am confident his Majeſty has caſt his eyes upon 'you, as finding you to be ſuch as you ſhould be, or 'hoping to make you to be ſuch as he would have 'you to be: for this without flattery I may ſay, your 'outſide promiſeth as much as can be expected from 'a gentleman; but be it in the one reſpect or other, 'it belongeth to you to take care of yourſelf, and to 'know well what the name of a favourite ſignifies. 'If you be choſen upon the former reſpects, you have 'reaſon to take care of your actions and deportment, 'out of your gratitude for the King's ſake; but if 'out of the latter, you ought to take the greater 'care for your own ſake. You are as a new riſen 'ſtar, and the eyes of all men are upon you; let 'not your own negligence make you fall like a meteor.' There is certainly great ſpirit and freedom in this Introduction, and it cannot be denied that the ſame ſpirit and freedom alſo runs through the whole piece. There might be lightneſs and indiſcretion in the King's choice of ſo young a favourite: but certainly, there was nothing ſtrange, nothing that could give offence in the endeavours of Sir Francis Bacon, to make him become his place, to enable him, of a young courtier, to become a good ſtateſman; and to turn the King's condeſcenſion to his own liking, to the benefit of his people. I have dwelt the longer upon this, becauſe the application of Sir Francis Bacon to this *riſing ſtar*, has been made one of the principal objections againſt our author's conduct; whereas, whoever ſhall conſider, what need Sir Francis Bacon had of the intereſt of Sir George Villiers; and, on the other hand, how neceſſary to Sir George Villiers, the councils were of Sir Francis Bacon, will eaſily diſcern that this was, in its beginning at leaſt, a very equal friendſhip, and that the King's Attorney-General, did not run himſelf into a haſty and an indecent dependance, upon a boy juſt come into favour at Court.

(55) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 457.

(56) As this piece was originally calculated to make a young man, who was already great, a Politician; ſo it may well be uſed, to render a man verſed in politics, who would that way aſpire to greatneſs.

(57) In the edition of 1691, p. 37.

(58) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. i. p. 564.

perſons, who had been moſt buſy in this baſe undertaking, in the Star-Chamber. Accordingly he there brought a charge againſt Mr. Lumſden, a courtier and a gentleman of good family in Scotland, Sir John Holles, afterwards Earl of Clare, and Sir John Wentworth, upon which occaſion he made a moſt excellent ſpeech, which is not only preſerved among his other works, but was alſo inſerted by Mr. Wilſon in his Hiſtory. In conſequence of this proſecution, all the parties were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that court (*c*) [*X*]. It was his wiſe and prudent conduct in this proſecution, that engaged his maſter King James, to entruſt him chiefly in the management of the trials of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, as appears by his own letters to the King upon this ſubject, in which it is evident, that this affair was now become, in ſome meaſure, a matter of State; and the King, who from the beginning had taken a great deal of pains, as his manner was, to magnify his zeal for, and ſkill in, doing juſtice, continued now to intereſt himſelf therein to ſuch a degree, as drew very heavy imputations upon his character, and ought to be a warning to Princes, to leave matters of this nature to the free courſe of the laws, without any interpoſition whatever (*d*). After many examinations, and much unneceſſary ſtir about it, Frances, Counteſs of Somerſet was brought to her trial, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1616, and there pleaded guilty, upon which occaſion Sir Francis Bacon made a ſpeech, in which the beforementioned circumſtance, relating to the diſcovery of this whole affair was contained (*e*). The next day the Earl of Somerſet was brought to his trial, and Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-General, opened the matter very fully, and with much perſpicuity, and though the Earl defended himſelf with great art and ſkill, yet he was found guilty (*f*). It is true, that neither the Counteſs who confeſſed her guilt, nor the Nobleman who was convicted upon evidence, ſuffered, though all who had been their inſtruments in this black and barbarous affair did: but the mercy extended to the former, was in regard to her family, the moſt noble in the kingdom, and the

(*c*) State Trials, Vol. I. P. 333. Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 324. Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 700.

(*d*) See Sir Francis Bacon's own Letters, in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 616—626.

(*e*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 348. Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 330.

(*f*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 351. Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 334. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 419.

[*X*] *Were moſt ſeverely puniſhed in that Court.*] The deſign of this proſecution, was to vindicate the juſtice of the nation, and to prevent the obſtructing of its courſe, which might have been the conſequence, if the methods taken by theſe gentlemen, and indeed by many others, ſuch as Mr. Sackvil, Sir Thomas Vavaſor, and the famous Sir Henry Vane, out of their too great affection for the Earl of Somerſet, had prevailed, and eſtabliſhed a notion, that Weſton died innocently, or at leaſt, that he had not accuſed the Earl. Sir Francis Bacon, in the opening of his charge (59), expoſed very fully the great danger of poiſoning, and why it was formerly accounted high-treaſon; becauſe, ſays he, it is an offence that evidently tends to the ſubverſion and diſſolution of human ſociety, which he aſſigns as one reaſon, why the King had taken ſo much pains in this matter. He next obſerves, that Sir Thomas Overbury, at the time he was poiſoned, was a priſoner of ſtate in the Tower, and conſequently, more immediately under the King's protection. He adds to theſe a third, that by the means of theſe three gentlemen, the honour of the King was deeply injured, by the aſperſions thrown upon his juſtice, for which no remedy could be had but here in the Star-Chamber. Having thus introduced the cauſe, he proceeded to the particular offences of the ſeveral perſons at the bar. As to Mr. Lumſden, he ſays, that in the time between Weſton's ſtanding mute, and his trial; he drew up a falſe and libellous relation, containing as many untruths as lines, and delivered it to Mr. Henry Gibb of the King's bed-chamber, that he might put it into his Majeſty's hands, with intent to ſlander the Chief Juſtice, of whom Sir Francis gives a great encomium upon this occaſion. As to Sir John Wentworth, he charges, that at the gallows he aſked Weſton, *Whether he poiſoned* Overbury *or no?* And with his giving this reaſon for his queſtion, that he deſired to know it, that he might pray with him. For Sir John Holles, he does not charge him with aſking any queſtions, but for acting as a kind of Confeſſor, by deſiring Weſton *to diſcharge his conſcience, and to ſatisfy the world*; to which he giving no anſwer, Sir John turned about his horſe and ſaid, *He was ſorry for ſuch a concluſion.* He farther charges him with another offence, prior in point of time, which was, that on the day the verdict was given againſt Weſton, he ſaid, *If he were of the jury, he would doubt what to do.* After having gone through theſe particulars, Sir Francis thus ſummed up his charge (60). 'Of the offence of theſe two 'gentlemen in general, your Lordſhip muſt give me 'leave to ſay, that it is an offence greater or more 'dangerous than is conceived. I know well, that as we 'have no Spaniſh Inquiſitions, nor juſtice in a corner; 'ſo we have no gagging of men's mouths at their 'deaths, but that they may ſpeak freely at the laſt 'hour; but then it muſt come from the free motion 'of the party, not by temptation of queſtions. The 'queſtions that are to be aſked, ought to tend to 'farther revealing of their own or others guiltineſs. 'But to uſe a queſtion in the nature of a falſe interrogatory, to falſify that which is *re judicata*, is 'intolerable; for that were to erect a court or commiſſion of review at Tyburn, againſt the King's 'Bench at Weſtminſter: and beſides, it is a thing 'vain and idle, for if they anſwer according to the 'judgment paſt, it adds no credit, or if it be contrary, 'it derogateth nothing, but yet it ſubjecteth the 'majeſty of juſtice, to popular and vulgar talk and 'opinion. My Lords, theſe are great and dangerous 'offences; for if we do not maintain juſtice, juſtice will not maintain us.' All this was juſt and decent, what aroſe from the nature of the cauſe, and what was fit for a man in his office to ſay upon ſuch an occaſion. Sir John Holles in his anſwer ſaid, 'That Mr. Attorney had ſo well applied his charge 'againſt him, that though he carried the ſeal of a good 'conſcience, he would almoſt make him believe that 'he was guilty; but he hoped that their Lordſhips 'would take the bird by the body, and not by the 'feathers.' But the Chief Juſtice Coke dealt with them a little more rudely (61), telling Mr. Lumſden, that he was the Earl of Somerſet's pimp, and that he could prove him to be ſo under the Earl's own hand: as for Sir John Holles, he ſaid his crime was very great; for that he had queſtioned the truth of a fact after a verdict, which was of ſo ſacred a nature, that the law could not allow a man to do it, though ever ſo much concerned in intereſt: and becauſe in his defence Sir John had made uſe of this expreſſion, *that if any thing were determined againſt him, he did humbly ſubmit himſelf thereto:* the Chief Juſtice ſaid, He thought, that by *determining*, he meant the Court were to give their cenſures againſt him by conſpiracy: 'For my own part, continued he, I talked with none 'other, nor I think did any of us, one ſpeak with 'the other before we came together here. Peradventure he thinks, as ſome have thought, that all 'the carriage of this buſineſs is but a conſpiracy 'againſt the Earl of Somerſet (62).' Upon the whole, the Court gave the following ſentence, viz. Mr. Lumſden, was fined two thouſand merks, impriſoned in the Tower for a whole year, and after, until he ſhould at the King's-Bench bar, ſubmit himſelf and confeſs his fault, and alſo produce his authors. Sir John Holles was fined one thouſand pounds, impriſoned in the Tower for the ſpace of a year. Sir John Wentworth fined one thouſand merks, impriſoned in the Tower for a year, and both were to make ſubmiſſion at the King's-Bench bar (63).

(59) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 333.

(60) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 329.

(61) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 337.

(62) *Ibid.* p. 338.

(63) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

interceſſion of the Peers in her behalf; and the latter flowed from the King's tenderneſs towards a man, who had been once ſo high in his favour, and who is generally allowed to have been much leſs guilty than his wife. However, the ſparing of them has been always accounted one of the greateſt ſtains on King James's adminiſtration, and is a proof, that ill-timed mercy in a Prince, is often an act of ſeverity to himſelf, and was more eſpecially ſo in this caſe, becauſe the King had taken ſo much pains to make the juſtice of that ſentence appear, which afterwards he declined to execute (*g*). It muſt, notwithſtanding, be allowed, that there is no kind of reaſon to believe, Sir Francis Bacon had any hand at all in procuring the Earl of Somerſet's pardon, to whom, as he had no obligations, ſo he conducted himſelf towards him in this matter, with a laudable indifference, ſhewing a warm, but decent, diligence in the diſcharge of his duty, as Attorney-General, without any prejudice againſt either of the priſoners; ſo that in an affair which proved fatal to the Chief-Juſtice, he conducted himſelf with ſuch wiſdom and caution, as to deſerve the approbation of the King his maſter, and the general applauſe of the whole nation (*b*).

(*g*) See MONSON (Sir THOMAS).

(*b*) See an Explanation of this in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

He was now truſted and employed by the King, not only in the buſineſs of his profeſſion, but in ſo many affairs of another nature, and of ſuperior conſequence to the ſtate, that he judged it would be for his own honour, and at the ſame time advantageous to the King's ſervice, that he ſhould be ſworn of the Privy-Council, which, though unuſual for a man in his ſtation, was, by the interpoſition of his friend, Sir George Villiers, brought about, and he accordingly took his place at the Board, on the ninth of June, 1616, at Greenwich, where the Court then was (*i*). His credit at this time was ſo great with the King, that his Majeſty depended chiefly upon his integrity and abilities, in the regulation of an affair that very nearly concerned himſelf, and was of the higheſt conſequence to the nation. There had grown a very high difference between the two Courts of Chancery and King's-Bench, as to the point of Juriſdiction, which ſeems to have ariſen in a great meaſure from the warmth and haughtineſs of Sir Edward Coke, then Lord Chief Juſtice, who, inſtead of endeavouring to bring matters to a fair hearing and amicable concluſion, did all he could to drive things to extremities, and to get the better of the Court of Chancery, by ſetting on foot ſome violent proſecutions at law. This, as might reaſonably be expected, occaſioned a very great noiſe, which was not a little heightened by a very unfortunate circumſtance, *viz.* that the Chancellor was very dangerouſly ill, when the Chief Juſtice fell upon him in this manner (*k*). The King proceeded in this affair with great coolneſs and caution, and referred it to the examination of thoſe, who he thought were moſt able and moſt willing to give him a right information, of which Sir Francis Bacon was one; and as far as at this day we can diſcern, his opinion went the fartheſt, towards ſettling the point [*Y*]. The concluſion of the matter was, that the King in perſon pronounced a kind of judgment in the Star-Chamber, in favour of the Lord

(*i*) Camden's Annals of King James, July 9, 1616. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 38.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 609.

[*Y*] *His opinion went the fartheſt in ſettling that point.*] It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of the firſt riſe of this controverſy, which then occaſioned ſo much clamour, and has been more than once revived ſince. It was in few words this: one Mr. Courteney ſuing in Chancery to be relieved, againſt a judgment obtained at the Common-Law; an indictment for a *Præmunire*, grounded upon the ſtatute 27 *Edw.* III. *cap.* 1. was preferred againſt him and his agents, in the King's-Bench, at the end of Hillary term, 1615-6. Though the jury refuſed to find the bill, yet thereupon ſprung that contended queſtion, *Whether by virtue of the ſaid ſtatute, and that of the fourth year of* Henry IV., *cap.* 3. *the Chancery, after judgments given in the Courts of Law, was prohibited from giving relief upon matters ariſing in equity, which the judges at law could not determine or relieve* (64)? This affair, as has been obſerved in the text, making a great noiſe in the world, the King, as ſupreme Judge of the juriſdictions of his Courts, uſed the utmoſt care to inform himſelf therein, and referred the ſame to Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Attorney and Solicitor; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at Law, and Mr. Walter, the Prince's Attorney, all eminent men in their profeſſion; who, upon a ſerious conſideration of the ſtatutes, and the occaſion of making them, and of the precedents ſince that time, did, in April 1616, preſent the King with their opinions and reaſons, why they conceived theſe ſtatutes did not extend to the Court of Chancery; conſonant to which reſolution, his Majeſty, upon farther advice, gave judgment in July following, and ordered the caſe, the certificate, and the tranſactions thereupon, to be enrolled in the ſame court (65). All the time this great buſineſs was depending, Sir Francis Bacon, beſides the pains he took in his office, and as a Commiſſioner in right thereof, wrote from time to time to the King upon this ſubject, and at laſt, when the affair drew near to a concluſion, drew up a memorial for the King's conduct in this matter, as alſo in another of no leſs importance, with which, as we ſhall have an occaſion to mention it in another place (66), we have not meddled here. This memorial, as the King followed it cloſely, ſo far as it concerns the preſent caſe, we ſhall inſert here (67).

(64) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, 4to. 1702, p. 33.

(65) Chancery Reports, Vol. i. at the end, by way of Appendix.

(66) See the affair of Commendams, in the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD).

(67) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 632.

'That about the end of Hillary term laſt, there 'came to his Majeſty's ears, only by common voice 'and report, not without great rumour and wonder, 'that there was ſomewhat done in the King's-Bench 'the laſt day of that term, whereby his Chancery 'ſhould be pulled down and be brought in queſtion 'for *Præmunire*, being the moſt heinous offence after 'treaſon, and felony, and miſpriſion of treaſon, and 'that the time ſhould be, when the Chancellor lay 'at the point of death.

'That his Majeſty was ſo far from hearing of this 'by any complaint from his Chancellor (who then had 'given over worldly thoughts), that he wrote letters 'of comfort to him upon this accident, before he heard 'from him; and for his Attorney, his Majeſty challenged him for not advertiſing him of that, of which 'it was proper for his Majeſty to be informed from 'him.

'That his Majeſty being ſenſible of this ſo great 'novelty and perturbation in his Courts of Juſtice, 'nevertheleſs uſed this method and moderation, that 'before he would examine this great affront and diſgrace offered to his Chancery and Chancellor, he 'would firſt inform himſelf whether the Chancery or 'Chancellor were in fault, and whether the former 'precedents of Chancery did warrant the proceedings, 'there, after judgment paſſed at Common Law (which 'was the thing in queſtion), and thereupon his Majeſty called his learned Counſel to him, and commanded them to examine the precedents of Chancery, and to certify what they found, which they 'did;

Lord Chancellor Egerton, with ſome pretty ſharp remarks on the conduct of his antagoniſt, who ſoon after loſt his maſter's eſteem, though he lived to recover and loſe it again (*l*). Sir George Villiers was all this time riſing in his Sovereign's favour by very ſwift degrees, in which perhaps he was not a little aſſiſted by the good advice that was given him by his friend Sir Francis Bacon, who certainly took a great deal of pains to ſerve him, and therefore had the greateſt right to expect, that in return he ſhould render him all the good offices that were in his power; in which, as from their letters it very clearly appears, he was not at all backward, but, on the contrary, promoted his intereſt with great warmth and ſincerity, agreeably to the character which is given of him by the Earl of Clarendon, than whom there are few who have ſhewn themſelves better judges of men (*m*). But however it does not appear, that Sir Francis Bacon relied entirely upon his aſſiſtance; but that, on the contrary, he addreſſed himſelf with much plainneſs and freedom to the King, repreſenting very fairly and ſtrongly, though with modeſty and decency, the nature and length of his ſervices, and the ſeveral reaſons he had to expect, that the King, in caſe of a vacancy, ſhould think of him for the cuſtody of the Seals, as a matter equally honourable for himſelf, and advantageous to his Majeſty's ſervice. It is not eaſy to conceive, how applications for favour can be conducted with dignity, or how a man can ſet forth his merits and ſervices, explaining at the ſame time his own fitneſs for any particular employment, and marking the inaptitude of others, without a mixture of meanneſs on the one hand, and of envy and injuſtice on the other. But the more difficult ſuch a taſk appears, the more his excellency muſt ſhine, who was able to diſcharge it, and to diſcharge it with honour to himſelf, without wrong to others, and with duty and benefit to the King his maſter. Yet this, as the reader will plainly ſee, Sir Francis Bacon did, at a time when the death of the then Lord Chancellor was daily expected, and, conſequently, when he might aſpire to that high dignity, without any breach of the friendſhip with which he had been honoured by that worthy perſon. It is true, the libellers of thoſe times, or, which is the ſame thing in milder words, the writers of ſecret hiſtory, report matters otherwiſe (*n*); but for the honour of his memory, his letter written upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in its true light (*o*) [*Z*]. But the Lord Chancellor recovering, his application did not at that time take effect; and therefore he betook himſelf to the duties of his

(*l*) Camden's Annals of King James, June 20, 1616. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 431. Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 33.

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion; Oxford, 1732, fol. p. 4.

(*n*) Court and Character of King James, by Sir A. W. p. 127.

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 607.

' did; and by their certificate it appeareth, that the ' precedents of that kind were many and preciſe in ' the point, and conſtant and in good times, and ' allowed many times by the Judges themſelves.

' That after this, his Majeſty received from the ' Lord Chancellor a caſe, whereby the queſtion was ' clearly ſet down, and contained within the proper ' bounds of the preſent doubt; being, whether upon ' apparent matter of equity, which the Judges by ' the law, by their place, and oath, cannot meddle ' with or relieve, if a judgment be once paſt at Common Law, the ſubject ſhall periſh, or the Chancery ' ſhall relieve him, and whether there be any ſtatute of ' Præmunire or other, to reſtrain this power in the ' Chancellor? Which caſe, upon the requeſt of the ' Lord Chancellor, his Majeſty likewiſe referred to ' his learned Counſel (and the Prince's Attorney, Mr. ' Walter, was joined with them), who, upon great advice, and view of the original records themſelves, ' certified, the Chancery was not reſtrained by any ' ſtatute in that caſe.

' That his Majeſty again required his learned Counſel to call up the Clerks of the King's-Bench to ' them, and to receive from them any precedents of ' indictments in the King's Bench againſt the Chancery, for proceeding in the like caſe; who produced ' only two precedents, being but indictments offered, ' or found, upon which there was no other proceeding; and the Clerks ſaid, they had uſed diligence ' and could find no more.

' That his Majeſty, after he had received this ' ſatisfaction, that there was ground for that the ' Chancery had done, and that the Chancery was not ' in fault, he thought then it was time to queſtion ' this miſdemeanour and contempt, in ſcandalizing ' and diſhonouring his juſtice in that High Court of ' Chancery, in ſo odious a manner, and commanded ' his Attorney-General, with the advice of the reſt of ' his learned Counſel, to proſecute the offenders in ' the Star-Chamber, which is done, and ſome of them ' are fled, and others ſtand out and will not anſwer.

' That there reſteth only one part more towards his ' Majeſty's complete information in this cauſe, which ' is, to examine that which was done in open Court ' the ſaid laſt day of Hillary term; and whether the ' Judges of the King's-Bench did commit any exceſs ' of authority, or did animate the offenders otherwiſe ' than according to their duty and place; which in-

' quiry, becauſe it concerneth the Judges of a Court ' (to keep order and decorum), his Majeſty thinketh ' not ſo convenient to uſe his learned Counſel therein, ' but will commit the ſame to ſome of the council ' table, and ſome of his learned Counſel to attend ' them.

' This declared, or what elſe his Majeſty in his own ' high wiſdom ſhall think good, it will be fit time to ' have the certificate of the learned Counſel openly ' read.'

[*Z*] *His letter writ upon that occaſion yet remains, to ſet the thing in its true light.*] The ſcope of this letter is fully ſhewn in the text, and ſo much thereof as is neceſſary to give the reader a true notion of Sir Francis Bacon's conduct in this particular, follows (68): ' I hope I may be acquitted of preſumption if I think of it, both becauſe my father had ' the place, which is ſome civil inducement to my ' deſire (and I pray God your Majeſty may have ' twenty no worſe years in your greatneſs, than Queen ' Elizabeth had in her model after my father's placing), and chiefly becauſe the Chancellor's place ' after it went to the Law, was ever conferred upon ' ſome of the learned Counſel, and never upon a ' Judge; for Audley was raiſed from a King's Serjeant, my father from Attorney of the Wards, ' Bromley from Solicitor, Puckering from Queen's ' Serjeant, Egerton from Maſter of the Rolls, having ' newly left the Attorney's place. Now I beſeech ' your Majeſty, let me put you the preſent caſe truly. ' If you take my Lord Coke this will follow, firſt, ' your Majeſty ſhall put an over-ruling nature into an ' over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; ' next, you ſhall blunt his induſtry in matter of ' finances, which ſeemeth to aim at another place; ' and, laſtly, popular men are no ſure mounters for ' your Majeſty's ſaddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you ſhall have a Judge at the upper end of ' your Council Board, and another at the lower end, ' whereby your Majeſty will find your prerogative ' pent; for though there ſhould be emulation between ' them, yet as Legiſts, they will agree in magnifying ' that wherein they are beſt. He is no ſtateſman, ' but an œconomiſt wholly for himſelf, ſo as your Majeſty (more than an outward form) will find little ' help in him for the buſineſs. If you take my Lord ' Canterbury, I will ſay no more; but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both ' juriſ-

(68) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 607.

his office, and to ſuch other employments as were impoſed upon him by the King his maſter. Various indeed they were, and thereby ſpeak the vaſt extent of his abilities in civil life: for beſides ſettling the juriſdiction of Courts, and the nature of the King's prerogative, which were things ſome way incident to his office and profeſſion (*p*): we find him frequently conſulted in affairs of ſtate and of the revenue, more particularly in a great diſpute between the Merchant-Adventurers, or, as we find them commonly called, the *Old Company*, and another company of merchants, with one Alderman Cockaine at their head, who by promiſing great things to the King, and greater to the nation, had procured to themſelves powers, which they were not able to manage ſo advantageouſly, as either they expected, or was expected from them (*q*). We find him likewiſe deeply engaged in Iriſh affairs (*r*), and acting in both, not as a buſy and forward man, fond of thruſting himſelf into every thing, but as an active and diligent ſervant to his Prince, who thought nothing a burthen, nothing a hardſhip, which it was in his power to perform for the benefit of the ſtate, or as an inſtance of his gratitude to ſo good and kind a maſter. He likewiſe ſhewed himſelf exceedingly careful and ſolicitous, in whatever related to the preferments, honours, or fortunes of Sir George Villiers, to whom he profeſſed an early friendſhip, and for whom however, if we may judge from his letters, he did nothing officiouſly, but rendered him ſuch ſervices only, as fell properly in the way of the Attorney-General: ſuch as the preparing his warrants for patents, and for the grants of land, in which, if beſides the bare duties of his function, he gave him ſome marks of particular friendſhip; it ought rather to be attributed to his affection for his perſon, and his regard for one who had ſhewed great willingneſs to ſerve him, than to a ſervile ſpirit and mean adulation of power, ſince he had never ſhewn any thing of that ſort with reſpect to Somerſet, who had enjoyed a much greater meaſure of power, than Sir George Villiers had hitherto done (*s*). The laſt act of Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-General, was of the ſame nature with the firſt, by which I mean, his proſecuting Mr. Markham in the Star-Chamber, for ſending a challenge to Lord Darcy, wherein he gained great reputation (*t*). So that in the courſe of upwards of three years, in which he held the poſt of Attorney General, which, as an able writer has obſerved, proves often a rock on which the greateſt lawyers ſplit; he behaved himſelf with ſuch prudence and moderation, and went through ſo many difficult and perplexed affairs, with ſuch evenneſs and integrity, that, for any thing appears, his conduct was never called in queſtion, nor has malice itſelf dared to utter of him the leaſt reproach (*u*). When this is conſidered, we need the leſs wonder at his ſo confidently expecting the high employment to which he was raiſed. It was a very natural elevation from the poſt he was then in; the good old Lord Chancellor deſired to have him for his ſucceſſor, and indeed there was no man of the profeſſion ſo fit for it at that time as himſelf. The manner in which it was done was every way great and gracious; for the Lord Viſcount Brackley, then Lord Chancellor, being worn out with age and infirmities, on the third of March, 1616-17, at a viſit which the King paid him, reſigned the Seals into his Majeſty's hands, whoſe tenderneſs at parting with ſo ancient and faithful a ſervant, made him ſhed tears (*w*).

Upon the ſeventh of the ſame month, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir Francis Bacon, then in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, with the title of Lord-Keeper, giving him at the ſame time theſe three cautions; firſt, That he ſhould not ſeal any thing but after mature deliberation. Secondly, That he ſhould give righteous judgments between parties. And, laſtly, That he ſhould not extend the royal prerogative too far. Theſe wiſe and grave admonitions were highly worthy of a good Prince; and happy had it been for the new Lord-Keeper, if they had been as conſtantly remembered, as they were graciouſly given and ſubmiſſively received (*x*). He went afterwards to viſit the late Lord Chancellor, as well to acquit himſelf of the debt of perſonal gratitude, which he owed to that worthy perſon, as to acquaint him with his maſter's gracious intentions, which were to give him the title of an Earl, with a penſion

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 609, 611.

(*q*) See Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 39.

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 646, 647.

(*s*) See the Annals of King James.

(*t*) Hobart's Reports, p. 120.

(*u*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 19, in a note.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, March 3, 1617.

(*x*) Sanderſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 437. Camden's Annals, March 7, 1617. Wilſon's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 705.

'juriſdictions, ſpiritual and temporal, in that height, 'is fit but for a King. For myſelf I can only preſent 'your Majeſty with *gloria in obſequio*, yet I dare 'promiſe, that if I ſit in that place, your buſineſs 'ſhall not make ſuch ſhort turns upon you as it 'doth; but when a direction is once given, it ſhall 'be purſued and performed; and your Majeſty ſhall 'only be troubled with the true care of a King, 'which is, to think what you would have done in 'chief, and not how for the paſſages. I do preſume 'alſo, in reſpect of my father's memory, and that 'I have been always gracious in the Lower Houſe; 'I have intereſt in the gentry of England, and ſhall 'be able to do ſome good effect in rectifying that 'body of Parliament-men which is *cardo rerum*; for 'let me tell your Majeſty, that that part of the 'Chancellor's place, which is to judge in equity be-'tween party and party, that ſame *regnum judiciale*, '(which ſince my father's time is but too much 'enlarged), concerneth your Majeſty leaſt, more than 'the acquitting of your conſcience for juſtice: but 'it is the other parts of a moderator amongſt your 'Counſel, of an overſeer over your Judges, of a 'planter of fit juſtices and governors in the country, 'that importeth your affairs, and theſe times moſt. 'I will add alſo, that I hope by my care the inventive 'part of your council will be ſtrengthened, who now 'commonly do exerciſe rather their judgments than 'their inventions, and the inventive part cometh 'from projectors and private men, which cannot be 'ſo well, in which kind my Lord of Saliſbury had 'a good method, if his end had been upright. To 'conclude; if I were the man I would be, I ſhould 'hope, that as your Majeſty hath of late won hearts 'by depreſſing, you ſhould in this loſe no hearts by 'advancing, for I ſee your people can better ſkill of '*concretum* than *abſtractum*, and that the waves of 'their affections flow rather after perſons than things, 'ſo that acts of this nature (if this were one) do more 'good than twenty bills of grace.'

for

for life, which though he did not ſurvive long enough to receive, yet they were made good to his ſon, who was created Earl of Bridgewater, by the firſt patent to which the new Lord-Keeper affixed the ſeal (*y*). Within eight days after Sir Francis Bacon was raiſed to this high honour, the King ſet out for Scotland, notwithſtanding his favourite, lately created Earl of Bucks, had oppoſed that journey as far as he durſt. By this means the Lord-Keeper was placed at the head of the Council, and intruſted with the management of public affairs in the King's abſence, which, if it proved an acceſſion of honour, proved alſo a ſource of much envy and malice. He was ſucceeded as Attorney-General, by Sir Henry Yelverton, who was replaced as Solicitor-General, by Sir Thomas Coventry. How much ſoever Sir Francis Bacon might gain in dignity by this promotion, it ſeems very doubtful whether he gained any thing in point of profit, ſince he quitted three very gainful offices, Firſt, that of Attorney-General, which, as he told the King himſelf, was worth to him ſix thouſand pounds a year (*z*); next, that of Chancellor to the Prince, which he likewiſe mentions in one of his letters (*a*); and, laſtly, his poſt of Regiſter of the Court of Star-Chamber. What the profits were of his new office is uncertain, but the fees granted him by patent were not large, being no more than five hundred forty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings a year, as Lord Keeper, three hundred pounds a year for his attendance in the Star-Chamber, threeſcore pounds a year for wine, and ſixteen pounds a year for wax (*b*). On the ſeventh of May following, which was the firſt day of the term, he went to Weſtminſter in great ſtate, and there took poſſeſſion of his high office, being attended by many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction. Upon this occaſion he did, what, whether it was uſual or not, was certainly very decent and becoming, that is to ſay, he made a long and large ſpeech, of the nature and duty of his office, of what might be expected from him in it, and of the manner in which he meant to diſcharge it. In the opening of this ſpeech he took notice of the cautions given him by the King, which, however, he enlarged, and ſo made them the groundwork of his copious oration, which has been always eſteemed one of the fineſt in our language; and, which perhaps is no leſs for his honour, has been moſt eſteemed by thoſe, who from their learning in the profeſſion underſtood it beſt (*c*). In this ſpeech he laid down rules for his own conduct, for the conduct of the ſuitors to the Court, and the gentlemen at the bar. At this diſtance of time we cannot ſay what effect it had; but in all probability it muſt have raiſed his reputation very high, and himſelf tells us, that it reflected no ſmall honour on the King (*d*). He very ſoon experienced the truth of that ſolid obſervation, That the higheſt ſeats are the moſt expoſed: for within a little time after the King's ſetting out for Scotland, the Spaniſh match, was, by direction of his Majeſty, brought upon the carpet, and his Lordſhip had too much wiſdom and penetration, not to perceive the many and great difficulties, with which it was likely to be attended, which he hinted to the King in a letter, wherein he very prudently and honeſtly adviſed his Majeſty not to proceed therein, but with an united Council, expreſſing at the ſame time his juſt ſenſe of the misfortunes that had already attended, in various inſtances, diſcordancy of opinions. As that buſineſs proceeded, his diſlike increaſed; yet he did not declare himſelf openly againſt it, but contented himſelf with ſuch inſinuations, as he thought might have reſtrained and diſcountenanced it (*e*). In other affairs of no ſmall conſequence, he behaved as circumſtances required, with the gravity of a great officer of State, or with the freedom of an accompliſhed gentleman. Thus, in his ſet ſpeech to the Judges before the ſummer circuit, in 1617, and in his ſeveral ſpeeches to ſuch as were ſworn before him into offices of high truſt, he conducted himſelf with all imaginable gravity: but to qualify this, he ſoon after invited all the Judges to dinner, and in a friendly converſation ſatisfied them, that he had no intention to extend the power of the Court of Chancery beyond its ordinary limits, to the prejudice of other Courts; and therefore deſired them, in caſe they were at any time diſſatisfied with his proceedings, to acquaint him therewith, adding, that he made no doubt of their adjuſting things to their mutual ſatisfaction (*f*). He recommended to them likewiſe, their bringing him reports of their ſeveral circuits, that according to his command they might be certified to his Majeſty (*g*). In all other reſpects he was equally cautious and methodical, tranſmitting from time to time, clear and diſtinct accounts of whatever paſſed of any moment to the Earl of Buckingham, who wrote to him alſo in a very reſpectful ſtile, expreſſing not only his own admiration of his great parts and prudent conduct, but likewiſe the commendations given of them by the King (*h*); which makes it very improbable, that ever this favourite pretended to treat the Lord-Keeper in the manner which ſome pens have repreſented [*AA*]. But however, it muſt be allowed, that long after this, Sir Francis Bacon fell into ſome kind

(*y*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p 666. Camden's Annals, May 28, 1617. Dugdale's Baronage of England, p. 415.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 607.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 660.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. xvii. p. 1.

(*c*) Memorables in the reign of King James, p. 295.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 664.

(*e*) Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 212.

(*f*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 665.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 666.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 667, 668.

[*AA*] *In the manner ſome pens have repreſented.*] There is perhaps no country in the world in which exalted fortune does not beget envy; but at the ſame time, I believe, it may be truly ſaid that kind of envy riſes no where higher, or manifeſts itſelf with more violence and bitterneſs than with us in England. The Lord Keeper Bacon felt this very ſeverely; for no ſooner was he advanced to this high point of preferment in his profeſſion, than all tongues were opened againſt him, that either from intereſt or inclination wiſhed to have ſeen ſome other perſon ſeated in that high poſt. He was very ſenſible of this, and ſought by all poſſible means to guard againſt it, endeavouring always to conduct buſineſs *ſuavibus modis*,

kind of disgrace, both with the King and the favourite; and this about a family concern of Buckingham's, which, to say the truth, shews a most shameful weakness in that government,

as his own expression is, by the softest and gentlest methods, that to his utmost he might avoid giving provocations; which however had not altogether the force that might have been expected. For this there may be many reasons assigned; but I shall mention only a few. He was on bad terms with all Somerset's party, which was numerous and powerful; he was an opponent to the famous Sir Edward Coke, who had a great train of admirers and dependants; he was a constant friend to Buckingham, which drew upon him the ill will of such as hated that haughty favourite; and besides all this, he provoked many of that great man's dependants by stopping their grants at the Seal. However, very little evil was publicly divulged of him during his life-time, when it might have afforded room for apology or defence, but has discovered itself in libels, penned indeed by such as lived in his days, but not such as were most likely to be well acquainted with him, or the points of which they so confidently wrote. Sir Anthony Weldon, in his Court and Character of King James asserts, 'That Buckingham, to vex the very soul of Lord 'Chancellor Egerton in the last agony, sent Bacon to 'him for the seals; and that the dying Chancellor 'hated that Bacon should be his successor, and that 'the old man's spirit could not brook this, but sent 'the seals by his own servant to the King, and 'shortly after yielded up his soul to his Maker (69).' But this account contains two egregious falsities: for in the first place, though, as we have seen in the text, Camden says, the Chancellor resigned to the King himself; other authors agree, that it was the King sent for the seals, and not the Duke of Buckingham; and he sent for them, not by Sir Francis Bacon, but by Secretary Winwood, with this message, that himself would be his under-keeper, and not dispose of them while he lived to bear the name of Chancellor; nor did any person remove the seal out of the King's sight till the Lord Egerton died, which happened soon after (70). In the next place, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, as Dr. Tenison observes, was willing that the Attorney-General, Bacon, should be his successor, and ready to promote it: so far was he from conceiving any hatred against him either upon that or any other account. He had been a friend to Sir Francis Bacon even in the Queen's time, as appears from a letter of the latter to him, mentioned by Dr. Tenison, and this favour of his continued to the last (71): For Sir Francis Bacon writes as follows in a letter to Sir George Villiers, dated the 15th of February 1615 (72): 'My Lord 'Chancellor told me himself yesterday in plain terms, 'that if the King would ask his opinion, touching the 'person that he would commend to succeed him upon 'death or disability, he would name me for the fittest 'man. You may advise whether use may not be 'made of this offer.' And in a letter to King James dated January 29, 1614, he wrote as follows: 'It 'pleased the Lord Chancellor out of his antient and 'great love to me (which many times in sickness 'appeared most) to admit me to a great deal of freedom 'of speech with him this afternoon, which during these 'three days he hath scarce done to any (73).' Sir Anthony Weldon reproaches my Lord Bacon, as a very necessitous man, and one for that reason made Keeper by the Duke of Buckingham, to serve such turns as men of better fortunes would never condescend to. But this is a mere groundless and malicious insinuation: for he had enjoyed for a long time many profitable places, which preserved him from indigence; though, as Dr. Tenison observes, his great mind did not permit him to swell his purse by them to any extraordinary height; and in the Queen's time when he was in meaner circumstances, he did not look upon himself as in that estate of necessity, which tempteth generous minds to vile things. But let us hear himself in the letter to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, quoted by Dr. Tenison (74), 'My estate, says he, I confess a 'truth to your Lordship, is weak and indebted and in 'need of comfort; for both my father (though I think 'I had greatest part in his love of all his children) 'in his wisdom served me in as last comer, and myself 'in mine own industry, have rather referred and 'aspired to virtue than to gain, whereof yet I am 'not wise enough to repent me. But the while, 'whereas Solomon speaketh, that want cometh 'first as a wayfaring man, and after as an armed 'man, I must acknowledge myself to be in *primo 'gradu*, for it stealeth upon me; but for the second, 'that it should not be resisted, I hope in God I am 'not in that case; for the preventing whereof as I 'do depend upon God's providence all in all, so in 'the same his providence, I see opened unto me three 'not unlikely expectations of help; the one, my prac-'tice; the other, some proceeding in the Queen's 'service; the third, the place I have in reversion, 'which as it now standeth unto me, is but like ano-'ther man's ground butalling upon my house, which 'may mend my prospect, but it doth not fill my 'barn.' However, it must be owned, that the Earl of Buckingham was very instrumental in the Lord Keeper's preferment, which he acknowledged in his letter, written the same day that the Seals were presented to him; and surely, says Mr. Stephens (75), fewer lines did never contain a greater sense of gratitude, or expressed it in a more becoming manner, though by the original they seemed to have been hastily written, and may serve to confirm what had been told me, by one who lived in his latter times, that his first copies required no great labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments; it is as follows: 'It is both in care and business, that small ones float 'upon the tongue, and great ones sink down into the 'heart in silence; therefore I could speak little to 'your Lordship to-day, neither had I fit time, but 'I must profess thus much, that in this day's work 'you are the truest and perfectest mirrour and example 'of firm and generous friendship that ever was in 'court, and I shall count every day lost wherein I 'shall not either study your well doing in thought, 'or do your name honour in speech, or perform you 'service indeed.' In the same volume we have likewise his speech at the taking his place in Chancery, in performance of the charge his Majesty had given him, when he received the Seals in 1617. Sir Anthony Weldon has upon this occasion introduced another scandalous story with regard to Sir Francis Bacon, and tells us (76), that this great favourite (Buckingham) sent a noble gentleman and of much worth to him with this message, That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to serve his master in the Keeper's place, but he also knew him of a base and ungrateful disposition, and an errant knave, apt in his prosperity to ruin any that had raised him in his adversity; yet for all this, he did so much study his master's service, knowing how fit an instrument he might be for him, that he had obtained the Seals for him, but with this assurance, should he ever requite him as he had done some others to whom he had been bound, he would cast him down as much below scorn, as he had now raised him high above any honour he could ever have expected. Bacon, continues that author, was at that time Attorney-General, who patiently hearing this message, replied, I am glad my noble Lord deals so friendly and freely with me, and hath made choice of so discreet and noble a friend, that hath delivered his message in so plain language. But, says he, can my Lord know these abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the highest preferment my profession is capable of, I shall so much fail in my judgment and understanding as to lose these abilities, and by my miscarriage to so noble a patron, cast myself headlong from the top of that honour to the very bottom of contempt and scorn. Surely my Lord cannot think so meanly of me. The gentleman replied, I deliver nothing from myself, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordship, to which I neither add nor diminish; for had it been left to my discretion, surely, though I might have given you the substance, yet I should have apparelled it in a more modest attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lord's to you, so will I as faithfully deliver your's to his Lordship. You must understand, continues Sir A. Weldon, the reason of this message was his ungratefulness to the Earl of Essex, which every one could remember, for the Earl saved him from starving, and he requited him so as his apology must witness: were there not a great fault there needed no apology, nor could

(69) Court and Character of King James I. p. 115.

(70) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 171.

(71) Tenison's Baconiana, p. 249, 250.

(72) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 610.

(73) Ibid. p. 609.

(74) Baconiana, p. 231.

(75) Introduction to Stephens' Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 42.

(76) Court and Character of King James, p. 116, 117, &c.

government, as it very plainly proves, that the private concerns of a particular perſon, were grown to be of as great conſequence as matters of State (*i*). The caſe then, to ſtate it in as few words as poſſible, was this: Sir Edward Coke had formerly rejected, with ſome marks of contempt and diſdain, a marriage that had been propoſed between Buckingham's elder brother, Sir John Villiers, and one of Sir Edward's daughters, by Lady Hatton: but now finding the power of this family ſo great, and being deſirous of coming again into favour, he applied himſelf to Secretary Winwood, and with great profeſſions of ſorrow for having offended the King, and of not being able to live if he was not reſtored to his good graces, he offered to do any thing that was required from him, and particularly to conſent to this marriage (*k*). As ſoon as the Lord-Keeper was informed of this, he wrote very freely and fully both to Buckingham, and to the King, againſt the marriage, which however, had not the deſired effect, but, on the contrary, drew upon him the diſpleaſure of the favourite and his maſter. It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, as indeed it appears clearly by his letters, that the Lord-Keeper was chiefly moved to this oppoſition, from his apprehenſion of its bringing Sir Edward Coke again into favour, and there is no denying that this was a great meanneſs in him, and very unbecoming a perſon of his great abilities, as well as one in his high ſtation (*l*). But after all, this proves no more, than that even the greateſt men have their weakneſſes, and that the corruptions of Courts are capable of tainting the moſt noble minds. On the King's return from Scotland, which was in the beginning of the month of September 1617, the Lord-Keeper and ſome other members of the Council, were reprimanded for the concern they had in this affair: but it does not appear, that it went ſo far as to create a breach between his Lordſhip and the Earl of Buckingham; and indeed, conſidering all things, one can ſee no juſt ground why it ſhould, ſince, in the courſe of the whole diſpute, it very plainly appears, that it was not from any coldneſs or diſtaſte that his Lordſhip had taken, but rather from the exceſs of his fidelity and affection to Buckingham, that he had intereſted himſelf ſo much in this matter; and therefore, when the Earl had maturely conſidered it, he, of his own accord, thought proper to mitigate his Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the Lord-Keeper, and very ſoon procured, that is, within a fortnight after the King's return, a thorough reconciliation, for which the Lord-Keeper wrote Buckingham a letter of thanks, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible (*m*). Towards the cloſe of the month, the marriage which had raiſed all thoſe diſputes, was ſolemnized, in conſequence of which, Sir Edward Coke was recalled to the Council table; yet it was not long that he continued in favour; for his great friend Secretary Winwood dying, things ſoon ran again into their old channel, and therefore the ſtories we meet with in ſome writers of thoſe times, may well be accounted, rather inſtances of Court malice, then repreſentations of any real facts (*n*) [*BB*]. This ſtorm once over, the Lord Keeper returned to his former province, of ſuperintending the King's affairs in general and

(*i*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his Works, p. 24, 25.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 669.

(*l*) Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 216.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 674.

(*n*) See Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, p. 115. Aulic. Coquinar. p. 171. Saunderſon's Hiſt. of King James I. p. 437.

could any age, but a worthleſs and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy of a ſuch place of honour. Very hard language this of a man ſo eminent and well known, and this from a perſon of no character at all, or, which is worſe, of a very bad one. At preſent it ſhall ſuffice that we obſerve, there is not the leaſt degree of probability in the ſtory which he relates, at the ſame time that he pretends not to the leaſt ſhadow of evidence; ſo that we are to take a fact, which would ſcarcely deſerve credit, though ſupported by ever ſo good witneſſes, without any witneſs at all, and this againſt the light of one's own reaſon, and of a multitde of facts which may be alledged to diſcredit it: for whereas this is made to have been a ſudden promotion, in conſequence of a bargain with Buckingham, we have ſeen that it was ſo far from being ſuch a promotion, that it was long before in agitation with the King himſelf, upon whom it is evident enough Sir Francis Bacon chiefly depended. This ſtory makes Buckingham, even before he had acquired that title, an inſolent and overbearing favourite, which is directly contrary to what all the hiſtorians of thoſe times ſay, who commend him for his affability and generoſity at the beginning, by which, as he roſe in the King's favour, he grew likewiſe in eſteem with his ſubjects, purſuing therein a conduct very different from that of his predeceſſor, Somerſet, who really raiſed and diſgraced, brought into credit or drove out of the court, without the leaſt regard to decency, men of great merit or men of none, juſt as his intereſt required or his fancy dictated. It is not therefore at all probable, that the new favourite, who ſo well knew by what ſteps the old one became ſo very odious, ſhould immediately purſue his path; more eſpecially when he could not but very well know, that he was far enough from being abſolutely maſter of the King's good graces, out of which he had very near thrown himſelf a very little after this, by moſt imprudently diſcovering his averſion to the King's intended journey into Scotland.

[*BB*] *Inſtances of Court malice than repreſentations of any real facts.*] We have in the former note given the reader a ſpecimen of Sir A. Weldon's malice to Sir Francis Bacon, and of his ſmall regard for truth: in this we are obliged again to quote him, and quote him for the very ſame reaſon. He was informed of the quarrel between the Lord Keeper and Buckingham, while the latter attended his Majeſty in Scotland, and he could not but ſee, that, during his Majeſty's abſence, the Lord Keeper Bacon had the chief direction of affairs, which in ſome meaſure he loſt, while this quarrel ſubſiſted. Now let us hear the whole of this ſtory in his own language: 'Now was Bacon, ſays he, inveſted in this 'office, and within ten days after the King goes to 'Scotland. Bacon inſtantly begins to believe him'ſelf King, lies in the King's lodgings, gives au'dience in the great banquetting-houſe, makes all 'other counſellors attend his motions with the ſame 'ſtate the King uſed to come out to give audience to 'ambaſſadors: when any other Counſellors ſat with 'him about the King's affairs, would (if they ſat 'near him) bid them know their diſtance, upon 'which, Winwood, then Secretary, roſe, went a'way, and would never ſit more, but inſtantly diſ'patched one to the King, to deſire him to make 'haſte back, for his ſeat was already uſurped. At 'which, I remember, the King reading it to us, both 'the King and we were very merry; and if Buck'ingham had ſent him any letter, would not vouch'ſafe opening it, or reading in public, though it 'was ſaid it required ſpeedy diſpatch, nor would 'vouchſafe him any anſwer. In this poſture he lived 'until he heard the King was returning, and began 'to

and more particularly the bringing the expence of the King's government, now called the Civil Liſt, into ſuch a compaſs, as that it might not exceed his ordinary revenue (*o*). We have many of the Lord-Keeper's letters on this and on other ſubjects of importance, both to the King himſelf and to Buckingham, in which there is nothing diſcovered of a ſupple cringing or low ſpirit, but quite the contrary; for he often ſtopped at the ſeal, patents and grants obtained by the intereſt of the favourite, and gives him his reaſons in very free and clear terms, which moſt evidently ſhews, that he was not of ſuch a ſervile temper, as his enemies have repreſented him (*p*); and though he muſt have been exceedingly occupied, by that prodigious variety of buſineſs which paſſed through his hands, yet, even at this time, we have a remarkable inſtance of his concern for the public, expreſſed in the care he took to procure a patent, which was inrolled in Chancery, for conſtituting two Reporters in the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, with a fee of one hundred pounds *per annum* to each, which, how little fruit ſoever it may have brought forth, was certainly a thing well deſigned, and which might have proved highly advantageous, as well to the nation in general, as to the profeſſion of the Law in particular (*q*). Towards the end of this year, which had been ſo fruitful of extraordinary events to his Lordſhip, he was in ſome little danger of loſing his life. This fell out from the paſſion of an angry man, againſt whom he had made a decree in Chancery, *viz.* Gervaſe Lord Clifton, who publickly declared, that he was very ſorry he had not ſtabbed the Lord-Keeper in his chair, at the time he pronounced the decree (*r*). He was for this offence committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London, and the thing made the more noiſe, becauſe, but the year before, one Sir John Tyndal, a Maſter in Chancery, had been actually ſhot by one Mr. Bertram, a man of conſiderable fortune and very fair character, and this for making a report againſt him, that was perfectly agreeable to juſtice. There is ſeveral times mention made of this affair of Lord Clifton's, in the Lord-Keeper's letters, from which it is eaſy enough to diſcern, that though his Lordſhip profeſſes, that he neither hated him for what was paſt, nor feared what might happen from him in time to come, yet he did not care that he ſhould be enlarged ſuddenly, and without ſuch notice taken of him, as the nature of his crime deſerved (*s*). There is no certainty, though there may be a probability, that a proſecution was commenced againſt this angry Lord in the Star-Chamber: but however it was, to ſecure himſelf from the effects of thoſe misfortunes drawn on by his own ill conduct, he laid violent hands upon himſelf the next year, which ſhews how great danger the Lord-Keeper was in, from the reſentment of a perſon of ſuch ſtrong paſſions (*t*). In the very entrance of the ſucceeding year 1618, *viz.* on the fourth of January, Sir Francis Bacon had the title given him of Lord High Chancellor of England (*u*), which ſhews how effectually he had got over that coldneſs, which aroſe about the marriage beforementioned, and as to which it began already to appear, that he had formed a much better, or at leaſt a truer, judgment, than thoſe who had promoted it; and about the ſame time his friend the Earl of Buckingham was raiſed to the degree of a Marquis (*w*), by the ſame title; and, if we may judge

(*o*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 673.

(*p*) Stephens's Introduction to LordBacon's letters, p. 42, 43.

(*q*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. xviii. p. 27.

(*r*) Camden's Annals of King James.

(*s*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 685.

(*t*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 424.

(*u*) Pat. 15 Jac. I. p. 4.

(*w*) Pat. 15 Jac. I. p. 11.

'to believe the play was almoſt at an end: he might 'perſonate a King's part no longer, and therefore did 'again re-inveſt himſelf with his old rags of baſeneſs, 'which were ſo tattered and poor at the King's coming to Windſor; that he attended two days in Buckingham's anti-chamber, being not admitted to any 'better place than the room where trencher ſcrapers 'and lacquies attended: there ſitting upon an old 'wooden cheſt (among ſuch as for his baſeneſs were 'only fit for his companions, although the honour 'of his place did merit far more reſpect) with his 'purſe and ſeal lying by him on that cheſt, myſelf 'told a ſervant of my Lord Buckingham's, it was a 'ſhame to ſee the purſe and ſeal of ſo little value 'or eſteem in his chamber, though the carrier without it merited nothing but ſcorn, being worſt 'among the baſeſt; he told me they had command 'it muſt be ſo. After two days he had admittance, at 'firſt entrance fell down flat on his face at the Duke's 'foot, kiſſing it, vowing never to riſe till he had 'his pardon; then was he again reconciled, and ſince 'that time ſo very a ſlave to the Duke, and all that 'family, that he durſt not deny the command of the 'meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppoſe any thing: by 'this you ſee, a baſe ſpirit is ever moſt concomitant 'with the proudeſt mind, and ſurely, never ſo many 'parts, and ſo baſe an abject ſpirit, tenanted together 'in any one earthen cottage, as in this one man (78).'

(78) Court and Character of King James, p. 130—133.

The very manner in which this libel is delivered, ſufficiently deſtroys its credit. The facts contained therein are ſo unlikely and improbable, that there ſeems to be no occaſion for refuting them; yet as they have been very unaccountably tranſcribed as well atteſted truths by ſome writers, I think it may not be amiſs, to ſhew how little appearance of truth there is in them. There are ſtill remaining abundance of Lord Bacon's letters to Buckingham, and many of his anſwers, not one of which bears any mark of meanneſs on the one ſide, or of haughtineſs on the other, but rather, I think, quite the contrary (79). It is indeed true, that the author of this book attended King James in his journey to Scotland, as one of the Clerks of the Green-Cloth; but it is not very probable that the King ſhould read the Secretary of State's letter in abuſe of the Lord Keeper, either to, or in the preſence of ſuch a Clerk. It was this man's misfortune to be diſgraced in this journey, and that for writing a libel on the people of Scotland, while they were endeavouring to outdo one another in careſſing the King's Engliſh ſervants, for which he was turned out, as a man unfit to be in the King's family, but had a ſum of money given him, and a ſmall penſion for life, which he gratefully returned by writing this book. This makes it improbable that he ſhould be ſo intimate at Buckingham's, as he pretends to be on the King's return (80). He contradicts himſelf alſo in this account, for in another part of his book, he ſays, that Buckingham behaved modeſtly ſo long as his brother Purbeck was about him; and it appears plainly, that this brother of his, then Sir John Villiers, was in greater credit with him then, than at any time afterwards (81). Add to all this, the unlikelineſs, that, after ſuch treatment, the Lord Keeper ſhould in three months time be made Lord Chancellor, by the intereſt of that very perſon, who, according to this account, had offered him ſuch an inſult as could not well be forgiven, or at leaſt, forgot on either ſide; and that no other perſon except this obſcure man, ever mentions any circumſtance that agrees with, or affords the leaſt credit to, this wild and improbable ſtory.

(79) See theſe Letters from Mr. Stephens's excellent Collection in Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 605, & ſeq.

(80) Aulicus Coquinariæ, in the preface.

(81) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

judge from their letters, their friendſhip at this time was as cordial as ever. Yet the Chancellor ſtill continued to uſe the ſame freedom as formerly, with reſpect to grants and patents which came recommended by the favourite, ſeveral of which he ſtopped at the Seal, and on ſignifying his reaſons to the Marquis of Buckingham, he was ſo far from reſenting any thing in the Chancellor's conduct, or expreſſing himſelf with any loftineſs upon ſuch occaſions, that, on the contrary, he thanked his Lordſhip by letter, telling him expreſsly, that he deſired nothing ſhould paſs the Seal at his inſtance or requeſt, but what was juſt and convenient (*x*). As the new year entered with an Act of Advancement, ſo the ſpring afforded frequent opportunities to the Chancellor, to ingratiate himſelf with his maſter by free and honourable counſels, which inclined his Majeſty to confer ſtill higher marks of his favour, and accordingly by letters patents dated at Wanſtead the eleventh of July 1618, Sir Francis Bacon was created Baron of Verulam in the county of Hertford; and in the preamble to thoſe letters it is recited, that his Majeſty was moved thereto, by the grateful ſenſe of the many and faithful ſervices rendered him by this worthy perſon, as well in the Court of Chancery, as in the Privy-Council, and elſewhere; and the witneſſes to the aforeſaid letters, are Charles Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and others of the prime nobility (*y*). This new honour excited his Lordſhip to new ſervices, and it appears from his own writings, that he was very attentive to every thing that might conduce, either to the immediate benefit of his Majeſty, or to the general good of his ſubjects. He has indeed been cenſured for giving ſome oppoſition to the charity of Mr. Alleyne the Player; but it is very evident, that his Lordſhip meant no more therein, than to prevent an extravagant increaſe of licences in Mortmain, agreeable to the ſentiments he had expreſſed while Solicitor-General, on account of the foundation of Sutton's Hoſpital; and as at this diſtance of time, we have an opportunity of comparing his advice with the events that have followed, there ſeems but little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings (*z*) [*CC*]. The next affair of great moment, in which his Lordſhip had a particular concern, was the proſecution of the Dutch merchants, for tranſporting abroad vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver, in money, plate, and bullion, in which his Lordſhip proceeded with great caution, and due reſpect to juſtice. The firſt ſtep taken in it, was the Attorney-General's applying to the Chancellor, on the nineteenth of October 1618, for writs of *Ne exeant Regnum*, againſt ſeveral of thoſe merchants, on a ſuggeſtion of their offending in this matter; upon which he immediately wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, expreſſing an

(*x*) See the Marquis of Buckingham's Letter to the Lord Chancellor, in Stephens's Collection of Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 73.

(*y*) Saunderſon's Continuation of Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. xvii. p. 17, where there is a plain miſtake of a year in the date.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 686.

[*CC*] *Little room to take offence, either at his Lordſhip's opinions or proceedings.*] This imputation of his having no great affection to charitable foundations, is a very high reflection on his memory; and, though in itſelf very groundleſs, has been maintained with great warmth by many well meaning people, from unreaſonable prejudices, and for want of due information. When he was Solicitor-General, he oppoſed the erecting that hoſpital which is now called the Charter-houſe, purſuant to the will of Mr. Sutton the founder, and this in two capacities; firſt, in that of his profeſſion, for he was of counſel with Simon Baxter, nephew to Mr. Sutton, who claimed his eſtate as heir at law, together with Mr. Walter and Mr. Yelverton, afterwards Attorney-General and a Judge. Secondly, as Solicitor-General, he adviſed the King, in caſe the heir at law failed in his ſuit, to improve this charity of Sutton's, which he thought was but crudely digeſted, and therefore he compares it to a ſacrifice without ſalt. The defects he apprehended were, that by degrees this deſign might be corrupted, and ſuch perſons placed therein as poor, as the owner never intended; that the maſter would grow into a place of great profit, and be conſidered rather as a good preferment, than as the head and director of a charity; that the great revenue aſſigned by the founder, of near ſix thouſand pounds a year, would in the end make a few people rich, inſtead of affording a comfortable maintenance to many. In his diſcourſe upon this ſubject, as indeed in his diſcourſes upon all ſubjects, there are many curious and uncommon remarks, which, to an unbiaſſed reader, will fully prove, that he oppoſed this charitable foundation, from no other principle than that of an extenſive charity (82). Yet a certain writer has been pleaſed to aſſign three very unworthy motives for his behaviour on this occaſion: The firſt is, *the comfortable expectation of a great ſhare of the revenues* (83). But how could this be, ſince, as a Lawyer, he contended for the right of the heir at law, which would have veſted Sutton's eſtate in him; and in his advice to King James, he recommends three things; firſt, the erecting a college of controverſy againſt the Papiſts; ſecondly, an hoſpital for converts to the Proteſtant religion; and thirdly, the maintaining itinerant preachers in ſuch parts of the King's dominions as were infected with Popery. I ſhould be glad to know in which of theſe he would have placed himſelf. The ſecond motive to this oppoſition is ſaid to be, *becauſe he was not named by* Sutton, *as one of the truſtees for the foundation* (84); *which very reflection was ſuggeſted by Mr.* Laws, *the executor, about the time of the trial.* A reflection it is very juſtly called, for it could never be proved, and therefore cannot be anſwered; but one may have leave to ſuggeſt, that if he had really had a mind to have had a hand in the direction of this charity, he might very eaſily have ſucceeded, by employing his pen and his intereſt in the ſupport of it. The laſt motive for his oppoſition is ſaid to have been, *that he and Sir* Edward Coke *could never agree, and therefore no wonder if they differed in this affair.* I ſhould be glad to know what can be inferred from this difference. Was Sir Edward Coke a man always in the right, ſo that whoever differed from him muſt be neceſſarily in the wrong? Or can it be ſuppoſed, that Sir Francis Bacon, who was ſo wiſe a man, ſhould act ſo unpopular a part, as to oppoſe this charity merely becauſe Sir Edward Coke eſpouſed it? The reaſons himſelf aſſigned for his conduct very evidently prove the contrary, in as much as they have been judged very ſtrong, and very well grounded by men of the beſt underſtandings in ſucceeding times. As to the caſe of Alleyne the Player, he meant not to hurt or to oppoſe his charity, but to reſtrain it from eight hundred pounds a year to five, to make way for a grant of three hundred pounds a year to the two univerſities, which he judged might be of greater uſe to the public. The reader may inform himſelf farther upon this ſubject, by peruſing the letter itſelf, with ſome remarks upon it already inſerted in a foregoing article (85). Upon the whole, it may be juſtly affirmed, that if no other part of his conduct had been more liable to exception than this, few men's characters would have been more unſpotted.

(82) See his advice to the King as to Sutton's Hoſpital in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 449.

(83) Account of the Charter-Houſe by Samuel Herne, p. 107.

(84) Might not Sir Francis Bacon have retorted on Mr. Laws, that his zeal aroſe from his being an executor?

(85) Biographia Britannica, Vol. i. p. 156.

unwillingneſs to grant thoſe writs in prejudice of the merchants, without being acquainted with evidence, and at the ſame time gave theſe ſalutary cautions; That his Majeſty would not grant to Sir Thomas Vavaſor, or Sir John Brittaine, the forfeitures accruing from this diſcovery, but rather reward them at diſcretion; and next, that his Majeſty would grant a commiſſion to his Lordſhip, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Coke, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice of England, for examining into, and conducting this affair to his Majeſty's profit (*a*). Theſe notices were both kindly received, and readily complied with, by his royal Maſter; and the conſequences were, that the Attorney-General filed informations againſt one hundred and fourſcore of theſe merchants; but at firſt proceeded to trial againſt twenty only, of the richeſt and moſt remarkable, who were convicted and fined to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Some time after, ſeveral more of theſe merchants were likewiſe brought to trial, and fined; the reſt of the proſecutions being ſtayed at the inſtance of Buckingham, who was moved thereto by letters from the States-General; and the ſeverity of the fines was afterwards mitigated to a third part, by the interceſſion of Sir Noel Caron, then Miniſter here from the republic of the United Provinces (*b*). While this buſineſs was depending, there fell out another affair, in which the Lord Chancellor had a pretty large concern, of which we ſhould have been able to give a better account, if all the letters written by the Lord Verulam about this matter had been preſerved. It was, in ſhort, this: Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord High-Treaſurer, being removed from this high employment upon a ſuſpicion of corruption, a commiſſion was granted for enquiring into his conduct, and upon the report of theſe Commiſſioners, there was a proſecution commenced againſt him in the Star-Chamber (*c*). If we may credit the writers of thoſe times, his Lordſhip was an honeſt, open-hearted man, but had a cunning, rapacious, and buſy wife, who by the help of one Sir John Bingley, an under officer to his Lordſhip, had driven ſeveral ſcandalous bargains, which brought the Earl under this proſecution, carried on with a great deal of rigour, and brought to a hearing on the nineteenth of November, 1619 (*d*). In pronouncing the judgment of the Court, Sir Edward Coke led the way, and having ſhewn his learning, by running through the proſecutions againſt Treaſurers in paſt times, for like offences, concluded for a fine of one hundred thouſand pounds, the impriſonment of the Earl and Counteſs in the Tower, and a fine of five thouſand pounds on Sir John Bingley, and commitment to the Fleet; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, concurred with him in this judgment: but the Lord Chief-Juſtice Hobart thought this rather a ranſom than a fine, and therefore declared for thirty thouſand pounds on the Earl, and two thouſand on Sir John Bingley, with whom the reſt of the Court concurred (*e*). The Earl and Counteſs were both for ſome time committed to the Tower; but by the interpoſition of the Marquis of Buckingham were ſet at liberty, and the fine reduced to ſeven thouſand pounds, which was paid (*f*). It appears from the letters of the Lord Verulam that are ſtill remaining, that he was very aſſiduous in this buſineſs, that he had a principal hand in detecting the frauds and corruptions practiſed in the Treaſury, and that, at the time of paſſing ſentence, he approved the more moderate proceeding, and laboured to eſtabliſh in the minds of the Court and of the audience, an high opinion of the King's tenderneſs and mercy (*g*), for which he received his Majeſty's thanks, together with a full approbation of his conduct, by a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham (*h*). Such were the great tranſactions of theſe two years, for if we were to mention all the matters of importance which paſſed through his hands, and of which he has either left memorials in his letters, or that might be collected from records, it would ſwell this life into a volume; and therefore we touch only the moſt memorable accidents that we meet with in his memoirs, and that with a due regard to the times in which they happened, a circumſtance wherein we have met with great difficulties, from the many falſe and imperfect dates which occur in the hiſtories of that reign. While he was High Chancellor of England, he procured from the King the farm of the Alienation-Office, which was of conſiderable benefit, and proved a great part of his ſubſiſtence, after he loſt his office. He likewiſe procured York-Houſe for the place of his reſidence, for which he ſeems to have had an affection, as being the place of his birth, and where his father had lived, all the time he poſſeſſed the high office of Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal (*i*). Here, in the beginning of the year 1620, he kept his birth-day with great ſplendor and magnificence, as appears by a ſhort performance of the famous Poet Ben Jonſon upon that occaſion, in which, though the verſe be ſomewhat harſh, there is ſo much good ſenſe, and ſuch a vein of Poetry, as very well deſerves the reader's notice (*k*) [*DD*] One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this year, was the proſecution of the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, in which the city of London was alſo involved; the offence with which he was charged, being the exceeding

(*a*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 46.

(*b*) Annals of the Reign of King James I. p. 22.

(*c*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 625.

(*d*) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 437. 490. Court and Character of King James, p. 126. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 280.

(*e*) Annals of the Reign of King James I. p. 22.

(*f*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 48.

(*g*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 696.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 696.

(*i*) See the note [*DD*]; in which the date of the year is fixed by that of the Chancellor's age.

(*k*) Jonſon's Works, Lond. 1631, fol. Vol. ii. p. 232.

[*DD*] *Such a vein of Poetry as well deſerves the reader's notice.*] This poem is amongſt thoſe which Ben Jonſon, of immortal memory, ſtiled his *Underwood*, in alluſion to a former work of his, which he named his *Foreſt*. The reader will obſerve, that the form of the poem implies a very beautiful fiction, the poet ſtarting, as it were, on his entering York-Houſe, at the ſight of the Genius of the place performing ſome myſtery, which, penetrating from the gaiety of his look, affords matter for the compliment (85).

(85) Jonſon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 222.

ing his inſtructions in drawing a charter for this metropolis (*l*). This gentleman had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of the Marquis of Buckingham, who, according to his nature, which inclined him to do much good to his friends, and much evil to thoſe he eſteemed his enemies, perſecuted him with great fury; and it ſeems, from a letter of Verulam's, that this diſpoſition of the Marquis had made ſome impreſſion upon himſelf, ſince he adviſes the King not to accept the Attorney's ſubmiſſion, as a ſatisfaction, and yet to make uſe of it as evidence: but in the ſame letter he ſhews, that ſuch violent methods were not ſuitable to his temper, ſince he concludes it, with recommending the Attorney to his Majeſty's mercy (*m*). In conſequence of this advice, an information was preferred in the Star-Chamber againſt the Attorney, and the Lord-Mayor of London, which ended in a heavy ſentence and a ſevere impriſonment. However he was afterwards reſtored to Buckingham's favour, by whoſe recommendation he was made a Judge of the Common-Pleas: but as this happened long after that Lord Verulam was removed from having any ſhare in public affairs, we ſhall take no farther notice of it here. The ſame cares, with reſpect to the King's buſineſs, and chiefly with regard to his revenue, ſtill employed and took up a great part of his Lordſhip's time, in which he ſeems to have agreed better with Sir Edward Coke, than could have been well expected, and always repreſents him as labouring heartily and effectually in the King's ſervice, which ſhews that he was very far from being of an unforgiving nature; and indeed his whole ſtudy ſeems at this time to have been directed, to keep all who were concerned in the King's affairs on good terms with each other (*n*). About this time, however, an attempt was made to the prejudice of his Lordſhip, which might have given him ſome warning of his fall. For one Mr. Wrenham, againſt whom he had made a decree, ſurmiſing he had wrong done him, preſented a libellous petition to the King againſt him, the ſuggeſtions of which were thoroughly examined, from whence it clearly appeared, that the Chancellor had acted as became him, and that he had in truth been very much injured by this Wrenham (*o*). Happy had it been for his Lordſhip, had he been always as ready and able to defend himſelf. But though he was fully acquitted of all blame on account of this matter, yet the effects of it ſtuck cloſe to him, and in the end proved his ruin, the induſtry of Wrenham producing thoſe complaints, of which we ſhall hear enough hereafter (*p*). In the midſt of ſo much difficulty, under the weight of ſo great a load of buſineſs, and notwithſtanding the diligence and attention ſhewn by him in the diſcharge of the ſeveral branches of his duty, he was ſo far from forgetting or neglecting his philoſophic ſtudies, that in the month of October 1620, he ſent the King his maſter the ripeſt fruits of them, in the moſt perfect and moſt important work that ever fell from his pen, and which of all others he valued moſt, his *Novum Organum* (*q*) [*EE*]. This his Majeſty received as graciouſly as

(*l*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 699.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 700.

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 696. 702.

(*o*) Hobart's Reports, as quoted by Stephens.

(*p*) This Mr. Wrenham found out, and egged on, ſuch, as in the next ſeſſion of Parliament petitioned againſt the Chancellor to the Houſe of Commons.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 269.

LORD BACON'S BIRTH-DAY.

Haile happie GENIUS of this antient pile!
How comes it all things ſo about thee ſmile?
The fire, the wine, the men; and in the midſt
Thou ſtand'ſt, as if ſome myſtery thou didſt!
Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
For whoſe returnes, and many, all theſe pray:
And ſo doe I. This is the ſixtieth yeare,
Since Bacon, and thy Lord was borne and here;
Sonne to the grave, wiſe Keeper of the Seale,
Fame and foundation of the Engliſh weale.
What then his father was, that ſince is hee,
Now with a title more to the degree.
England's High-Chancellor the deſtin'd heire,
In his ſoft cradle to his father's chair,
Whoſe even thred the Fates ſpinne round and full,
Out of their choyceſt and their whiteſt wooll.

'Tis a brave cauſe of joy, let it be knowne
For 'twere a narrow gladneſſe, kept thine owne.
Give me a deep-crown'd bowle, that I may ſing,
In rayſing him, the wyſdome of my King.

[*EE*] *Which of all others he valued moſt, the* Novum Organum.] In order to give the reader a juſt idea of the value and importance of this work, we will firſt deſcribe the nature of it, and then mention the judgment paſſed thereon by ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the republic of letters. The deſign of the *Novum Organum* was, to execute the ſecond part of the Inſtauration, by advancing a more perfect method of uſing the rational faculty than men were before acquainted with, in order to raiſe and improve the underſtanding, as far as its preſent imperfect ſtate admits, and enable it to conquer and interpret the difficulties and obſcurities of nature. With this view it undertakes the care and conduct of the underſtanding, and draws out and deſcribes the apparatus and inſtruments of reaſoning; whence it appears to endeavour at a new kind of Logic, though greatly ſuperior to the common, which, through the abuſes crept into it, appears fitter to corrupt than ſtrengthen and improve the mind; for the ſcope and uſe of this new Logic, is not to diſcover arguments and probable reaſons, but arts and works. It is divided into two principal parts, viz. into a preparatory part, and one that is ſcientifical and inſtructive. The firſt part tends to prepare and purge the mind, and fit it to receive and uſe the inſtructions and inſtruments laid down in the ſecond; the mind, like a mirror, requiring to be levelled and poliſhed, or diſcharged of its falſe imaginations and perverted notions, before it can be ſet to receive and reflect the light of truth and juſt information; and the levelling part is of four kinds, with reſpect to the four different ſorts of idols or falſe notions, that poſſeſs the mind. Theſe idols are either acquired or natural, and proceed either from the doctrines and ſects of Philoſophers, the perverted and corrupt laws and methods of demonſtration, or elſe are innate and inherent in the very conſtitution of the mind itſelf. The firſt labour therefore is to diſcharge and free the mind from its ſwarms of falſe theories, which occaſion ſuch violent conflicts and oppoſitions; the next point is to releaſe it from the ſlavery of perverted demonſtrations; and the laſt is to put a check upon this ſeducing power of the mind, and either to pluck up thoſe innate idols by the root, or if that cannot be done, to point them out, that they may be thoroughly known and watched, and ſo have the depravities which they occaſion corrected. This levelling part therefore is performed by three kinds of confutations, viz. the confutation of philoſophies, the confutation of demonſtrations, and the confutation of the natural unaſſiſted reaſon. When thus the mind is rendered equable and unbiaſſed, the work proceeds to ſet it in a proper ſituation, and as it were, with a benevolent aſpect to the remaining inſtructions, whereby the buſineſs of preparing the mind is ſtill farther carried on, and the whole drift of this enſuing part, is only to poſſeſs mankind with a juſt opinion of the whole Inſtauration for a time, that they may

as he could wiſh, and wrote him a letter thereupon, which certainly does honour to both their memories (*s*). He received alſo the complements of many learned men on the ſame ſubject, and had all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied with the general reception of a work, which coſt him ſo much time and pains.

(*s*) See the contents of this letter in note [*EE*].

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may wait with patience, the iſſue and event thereof, upon ſolid aſſurances of ſome conſiderable benefit and advantage from it, when its ſcope ſhall come to be well underſtood; and thence it proceeds diſtinctly to obviate all the objections and falſe ſuſpicions which may be raiſed about it, through the prevailing notions and prejudices drawn from religious conſideration, thoſe of abſtract ſpeculation, natural prudence, diſtruſt, levity, &c. thus endeavouring to pacify and allay every wind of oppoſition. To render this preparation ſtill more compleat and perfect, the next thing is to raiſe the mind from the languor and torpidity it may contract from the apparent miraculous nature of the thing; and as this wrong diſpoſition of the mind cannot be rectified without the diſcovery of cauſes, the work proceeds to mark out all the impediments, which have hitherto perverſely retarded and blocked the way of true Philoſophy, and thus makes it appear no wonder at all, that mankind ſhould have been ſo long entangled and perplexed with errors. When the ways of removing theſe impediments are ſhewn, there follows a chain of arguments for eſtabliſhing a ſolid foundation of hope, for the better ſucceſs of genuine and ſerviceable Philoſophy in future: for it is hereby demonſtrated that though the interpretation of nature intended by the Inſtauration may indeed be difficult, yet much the greater parts of the difficulties attending it, are in the power of man to remove, as ariſing, not from the nature of the ſenſes and things themſelves, but only require that the mind be rectified, in order to their removal; and this firſt general part concludes, with an account of the excellence of the end in view. The preparatory part being thus diſpatched, the work proceeds to the buſineſs of information, the perfecting of the underſtanding, and the delivery of the art of working with this new machine in the interpretation of nature. This is laid down in three ſeveral branches, with regard to the ſenſe, the memory, and the reaſon, each whereof is aſſiſted in its turn. This work he addreſſed to his Majeſty, who, in his letter dated October 16, 1620 (86), tells him that he could not have made him a more acceptable preſent, and that for his part he could not expreſs his thanks better, than by informing him of the reſolution he had taken to read it through with care and attention, though he ſhould ſteal ſome hours from his ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read, as his Lordſhip had to write it, with many other gracious expreſſions, which fully demonſtrate how much the Chancellor was in the King's good graces, and how high an eſteem he had for his parts and learning. The famous Sir Henry Wotton, to whom his Lordſhip ſent three copies of this book, wrote him a large letter of praiſe in return, which, as we have no room for complements, we ſhall omit. He received the like tribute of commendation from ſuch as were the moſt learned, or ſo affected to be thought, in this and in the neighbouring nations: yet after all, this performance was rather praiſed than read, and more generally applauded than underſtood. This produced a kind of latent cenſure, a ſort of owl-like criticiſm that durſt not abide day-light. Honeſt Ben Johnſon produced this to the world a little after our author's death, when he very generouſly, as well as judiciouſly, gave this character of the *Novum Organum* (87): 'That though 'by moſt ſuperficial men, who cannot get beyond 'the title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated or un-'derſtood, really openeth all defects of learning what-'ſoever and is a book,

Qui longum noto ſcriptori prorogat ævum.
To lateſt times ſhall hand the author's name.

We need not wonder at this, when we conſider the pains it coſt the noble Verulam, for Dr. Rawley aſſures us, that he had ſeen twelve copies reviſed, altered, and corrected year by year, before it was reduced into the form in which it was publiſhed (88). We muſt however allow that it is not abſolutely perfect, as appears from what a moſt ingenious and judicious writer has delivered upon it, with that modeſty, circumſpection, and good ſenſe, which is diſcernible in all his writings: The perſon I mean, is the late learned and excellent Mr. Baker of St. John's College in Cambridge, who allows that my Lord Bacon ſaw clearer into the defects of the art of reaſoning than moſt men did, and being neither ſatisfied with the vulgar Logic, nor with the reformations that were made; ſuitable to his vaſt and enterprizing genius, attempted a Logic wholly new and plain, which is laid down in his *Novum Organum* (89). 'The way of ſyllogizing, ſays he, ſeemed to him very 'fallacious, and too dependent upon words to be much 'relied on: His ſearch was after things, and therefore 'he brought in a new way of arguing from induction, 'and that grounded upon obſervation and experi-'ments:' But the ſame gentleman obſerves, 'that this 'plan, as laid by him, looks liker an univerſal art 'than a diſtinct Logic, and the deſign is too great, 'and the induction too large to be made by one man, 'or any ſociety of men in one age, if at all practi-'cable. For whatever opinion he might have of the 'concluſiveneſs of this way, one croſs circumſtance in 'an experiment would as eaſily overthrow his induction, 'as an ambiguous word would diſorder a ſyllogiſm; 'and a man needs only make a trial in any part of 'natural hiſtory, as left us by my Lord Bacon, to ſee 'how concluſive his induction was like to have been. 'To ſay nothing, that notwithſtanding his blaming 'the common logics, as being too much ſpent in 'words, himſelf runs into the fault he condemns, 'for what elſe can we make of his *Idola Tribus*, *Idola 'Specus*, *Fori*, *Theatri*; or of his *inſtantiæ ſolitariæ*, '*migrantes*, *oſtenſivæ*, *clandeſtinæ*, *conſtitutivæ*, *&c.* 'but fine words put to expreſs very common and 'ordinary things? After the way of free-thinking had 'been laid open by my Lord Bacon, it was ſoon 'after greedily followed; for the underſtanding af-'fects freedom as well as the will, and men will pur-'ſue liberty though it ends in confuſion.' There is certainly a great deal of truth in what Mr. Baker ſays, with regard to the conſequences of Lord Verulam's Philoſophy, and the manner in which it has been proſecuted: But ſurely this ought not to be imputed to him, who, if I underſtand him at all, was of all philoſophical writers the leaſt addicted to free-thinking. Of this opinion is the famous Morhof (90), who beſtows the higheſt praiſes on the work of which we are now ſpeaking, making no ſcruple to declare, that he had found but very little in the books ſince written by Engliſhmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon, the extent of whoſe genius ſtruck him with admiration, as it muſt do every man who takes the pains to underſtand him; becauſe, though this new Logic of his be very difficult, and requires much ſtudy and application to maſter it, yet it leads to the knowledge of things and not of words. Mr. Voltaire, in his Letters concerning the Engliſh nation (91), remarks, 'That the 'moſt ſingular and the beſt of all his pieces, is that 'which is moſt uſeleſs and leaſt read, I mean, ſays 'my author, his *Novum Scientiarum Organum*, this 'is the ſcaffold with which the new Philoſophy was 'raiſed, and when the edifice was built, part of it 'at leaſt, the ſcaffold was no longer of ſervice. The 'Lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, 'but then he knew and pointed out the ſeveral paths 'that led to it. He had deſpiſed in his younger years 'the thing called Philoſophy in the univerſities, 'and did all that lay in his power to prevent thoſe 'ſocieties of men, inſtituted to improve human reaſon, 'from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors 'of *vacuum*, their ſubſtantial forms, and all thoſe impertinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered 'venerable, but which had been made ſacred by their 'being ridiculouſly blended with religion.' There cannot be any thing more honourable for the memory of this great perſon, than the teſtimony of the writer before mentioned, who, it is certain, has not ſhewn too great a readineſs to praiſe or commend any body, and much leſs the Engliſh authors, whom, except Newton, he ſeems to applaud with reluctance. There is, however,

(86) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 764.

(87) Jonſon's Works, Vol. ii. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(88) See Dr. Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*.

(89) Reflections upon Learning, chap. v. p. 71, 72.

(90) Polyhiſtor. II. 2. 1, 2. & ſeq.

(91) Letter xii.

The King's affairs were by this time come to ſuch a paſs, that notwithſtanding all the labour that his Council had beſtowed in regulating his expences and revenues, a Parliament was not only expedient but neceſſary, and this in no man's judgment more than in that of the Chancellor, who was always deſirous of governing according to the Conſtitution, and who valued himſelf particularly upon his abilities in managing ſuch aſſemblies (*t*). When the calling a Parliament was reſolved upon, he was directed to conſult with the proper perſons, about the means moſt likely to render that meaſure ſafe and ſalutary for the King and kingdom; and accordingly taking to his aſſiſtance the two Chief-Juſtices, Montague and Hobart, and Serjeant Crewe, they, after mature deliberation, agreed upon four points, which the Chancellor repreſented in a letter to his Majeſty. The firſt was looking carefully into the grievances formerly complained of, and examining into ſuch things of a like nature, as might probably afford room for new complaints. The ſecond was, the ſettling a proclamation, explaining the cauſes which at that juncture moved his Majeſty to call a Parliament, ſo as to quiet and conciliate the minds of the nation. The third related to the admonitions that might be fitly given, as to the choice of members. The fourth referred to commonwealth bills, as his Lordſhip called them, a phraſe which I take to be equivalent to popular laws, as they are now ſtiled (*u*). The King was extremely well pleaſed with this advice, for which the Marquis of Buckingham returned him his Majeſty's thanks, and recommended to him the drawing of ſuch a proclamation, which he accordingly performed, and ſent it to his Majeſty, after it had received the approbation of Sir Edward Coke, the two Chief-Juſtices, and Serjeant Crewe. We have it ſtill extant in his Works, and it muſt be allowed, that never any thing of its kind ſurpaſſed it. However it did not entirely pleaſe the King, who thought it too long, and that it told the people too much of what ought to be reſerved for his Majeſty's ſpeech and his own, at the opening of the Parliament (*w*). It was therefore contracted, and only the ſubſtance of it retained, in the proclamation iſſued for calling the Parliament, on the ſixth of November following. But after all it was found impoſſible to put things in order by that time, which made another proclamation neceſſary, which was referred to his Lordſhip to draw, and ſo happily he ſucceeded therein, that the King declared he thought a word could not be altered in it (*x*). By this proclamation the meeting of the Parliament was put off to the thirtieth of January following, and in the mean time, ſeveral ſteps were taken to pleaſe the people, in order to render this meeting between the King and his great Council, more agreeable to all parties. Amongſt theſe, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, his Majeſty, by his letters patent of that date, raiſed Sir Francis Bacon Knt. Baron of Verulam, to the dignity of a Viſcount, by the ſtyle and title of Viſcount St. Albans in the county of Hertford. In the preamble to this patent, the King ſets forth, that as he thought nothing could adorn his government more, than raiſing worthy perſons to honour, or afford greater encouragement to virtue and public ſpirit, he, after mature deliberation, had thought fit to advance his dearly beloved and faithful Counſellor, deſcended from an ancient and honourable family, ſo much the more illuſtrious, by his ſucceeding his moſt worthy and prudent father in the office of Keeper of the Great-Seal, to which, through various offices of inferior dignity, from a juſt experience of his capacity and fidelity, he had by his Majeſty been led, and reflecting finally on the acceptable and faithful ſervices, which as well by his aſſiduity and integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice, as by his care and prudence in the diſcharge of his duty as a Privy-Counſellor, and in the management of his revenue, without reſpect either to private advantage or vain breath of popularity, to a higher degree of nobility (*y*). At the ſame time this new dignity was granted to him and his heirs male, there was annexed to it a ſmall penſion out of the cuſtoms. The witneſſes to this patent, were more illuſtrious in ſome reſpects than thoſe to the former. For beſides the Prince of

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 39.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 702.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 738.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 712.

(*y*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. xvii. p. 279.

ever, one thing in his judgment of this work, which deſerves to be particularly conſidered, and that is, his compariſon of it to a ſcaffold, which it cannot be denied, is at once very juſt and very ſignificant: but then it is not very eaſy to know, what this great Critic means by repreſenting it as uſeleſs, and aſſigning that as a reaſon, why this treatiſe is now ſo little read or underſtood. The very contrary of this ſeems to be the fact: The new Philoſophy ſtands like a vaſt magnificent palace, in ſome places half finiſhed, in others the walls carried up to a moderate height, in ſome, juſt raiſed above the ground, in others, hardly marked out. What reaſon therefore for taking away the ſcaffold? Or rather, what reaſon to expect the work ſhould ever be finiſhed, at leaſt thoroughly and regularly, if the ſcaffold be taken away? The truth of the matter is, that ſeveral who have wrought upon this noble ſtructure ſince, have erected ſcaffolds for their own uſe, of their own contrivance, and when they have in ſome meaſure finiſhed the part they were about, taken them away, and concealed from the eye of the public their manner of working (92). Others again have attempted to raiſe ſcaffolds from the lights received from our author, and ſo far as they have copied them, have done this with great ſucceſs. But Lord Verulam's was a more noble deſign: He knew that the life of one man could not ſuffice for the finiſhing, even a ſmall part of this ſtately edifice; and therefore he ſpent ſo many years in conſtructing this ſcaffold, which might have ſerved for perfecting and compleating the whole work, if others had been as diligent in purſuing his plan, as he was ſtudious and careful in rendering it every way fit for the uſe which he deſigned. This is the true account, and the only true one, of the *Novum Organum*; and one may ſafely venture to aſſert, that if his deſign had been purſued with that ſteadineſs which it deſerved, the new Philoſophy had been by this time, not only more perfect than it is, but more perfect than it is ever like to be, unleſs the learned at laſt diſcern their error in this reſpect, and are content to make uſe of the helps he has left them, which, the more they are conſidered, the more they are tried, will be found more adequate to the great deſign of their author, than well can be imagined.

(92) See Dr. Shaw's Appendix to the *Novum Organum*, in his Abridgment of Lord Bacon's Works.

Wales,

Wales, there were the Viſcount Mandeville, Lord High Treaſurer; the Earl of Worceſter, Lord Privy-Seal; the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High-Admiral; Marquis Hamilton, the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Rutland, Montgomery, Leiceſter, March, Holderneſs, and many others. He was likewiſe ſolemnly inveſted in this new dignity, the Lord Crewe carrying the robe of ſtate before him, which robe was held up by the Marquis of Buckingham, and the new Viſcount gave the King ſolemn thanks for all the favours he had beſtowed upon him, which he particularly recapitulated (*z*). On the thirtieth of January he opened the Parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, and made another larger at the receiving Sir Thomas Richardſon, whom the Commons choſe for their Speaker (*a*). The King had great hopes of this Parliament, from the general inclination ſhewn by the people, to enable his Majeſty to aſſiſt his ſon-in-law, who was not only deprived of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which he was elected, but alſo in great danger of utterly loſing his hereditary dominions; whence his Majeſty flattered himſelf, that knowing his neceſſities, they would immediately apply themſelves to the means of relieving them, without digreſſing into any diſagreeable enquiries after grievances. But in this he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken; for, like a true Houſe of Commons, they were reſolved to expreſs their loyalty to their Prince, by chearfully voting a ſupply, and to teſtify their zeal for the ſervice of their country, by examining diligently all the complaints that were laid before them (*b*). Theſe in a few days became numerous enough; ſo that early in the month of February, many of the Agents of the Marquis of Buckingham and his family, who had been buſy in obtaining patents, and very active in making a bad uſe of them, found themſelves in the utmoſt danger of being brought to a ſevere account (*c*). Nor was it long, before the Houſe ſaw cauſe to extend their enquiries farther, and to appoint a Committee, for examining into the proceedings of the Courts of juſtice, which exceedingly alarmed the Miniſters, and is thought to have given riſe to thoſe reſolutions, which made way for the ruin of the Chancellor, which ſo ſoon followed his advancement in title. For upon the fifteenth of March 1620-1, Sir Robert Phillips reported, from the Committee appointed to enquire into the abuſes in the courts of juſtice, that two charges of corruption had been brought againſt the Lord Chancellor (*). The firſt was in the caſe of one Awbrey, who finding a ſuit he had in Chancery to go on very ſlowly, he was adviſed to quicken it, by giving the Lord-Chancellor one hundred pounds. The poor gentleman being in great diſtreſs, took up this money of an uſurer, and when he had got it, he ſent it by Sir George Haſtings and Mr. Jenkins, to the Lord-Chancellor, going with them when they carried it. They took the money in to the Lord-Chancellor, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn, and when they came out again, Sir George Haſtings told Mr. Awbrey that his Lordſhip was thankful, and aſſured him of good ſucceſs in his buſineſs, which however he had not (*d*). The other caſe was of one Mr. Egerton, and it came out to be, that he had mortgaged his eſtate for four hundred pounds, which he ſent by Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young, who preſented it to the Lord-Chancellor, telling him, that it was in gratitude for the aſſiſtance he had given this gentleman when he was Attorney General. At firſt his Lordſhip refuſed it, ſaying it was too much; but at laſt he accepted it, as it was for favours paſt; and theſe gentlemen coming out to Mr. Egerton, told him, that his Lordſhip ſaid he did not only enrich him, but laid a tie upon him, to aſſiſt him in all juſt and lawful buſineſs. Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard Young being examined, acknowledged the receiving and delivery of a purſe, but pretended that they knew not what was in it; but it could not be made appear to the Committee, that Mr. Egerton had at that time any cauſe depending, either in the Chancery or the Star-Chamber (*e*). Sir Robert Phillips, in making the report, proceeded not only with caution and decency, but with viſible reluctancy and tenderneſs towards the Lord Chancellor. The Houſe ordered a farther enquiry by the Committee, and on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, Sir Robert Phillips reported ſome ſtronger circumſtances; Sir George Haſtings, who was himſelf a member, becoming a witneſs, and teſtifying poſitively to both facts. Sir Edward Sackville, and Mr. Finch, then Recorder of London, ſpoke in favour of the Chancellor, and endeavoured to extenuate the thing, though now it appeared plainly that there were cauſes depending in both caſes, and that Dr. Field, Biſhop of Llandaff was deeply concerned in the laſt mentioned buſineſs: Sir Edward Coke, his Lordſhip's old antagoniſt, preſſed for the ſending up of the complaint to the Houſe of Lords, but without any heat or bitterneſs (*f*). After the debate, the Houſe *ordered*, 'That the complaint of Awbrey 'and Egerton againſt the Lord-Chancellor and the Biſhop for corruption, for the 100, 'and 400 pounds, and the recognizance, ſhould be drawn up by Sir Robert Phillips, 'Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Noy, and Sir Dudley Diggs, and that the ſame be related to 'the Lords, without prejudice or opinion, at a conference, and that a meſſage be ſent 'to the Lords for this purpoſe, on Monday the nineteenth.' Accordingly, on that day the complaint was made to the Houſe of Lords, in the manner preſcribed by the Commons (*g*), and when it came to be debated, the Marquis of Buckingham preſented a letter from the Lord-Chancellor, who was then ſick, wherein he deſired four things of their Lordſhips. Firſt, that they would maintain him in their good opinion till his cauſe was heard. Secondly, that they would give him a convenient time, as well in regard of his ill ſtate of health, as of the importance of the charge, to make his defence. Thirdly, that they would allow him to except againſt the credit of the witneſſes againſt him, to croſs-

(*a*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 729.

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. i. p. 26.

(*c*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(*z*) Camden's Annals, Jan. 27, 1621.

(*) See the Journals of the Houſe of Commons of that date.

(*d*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 371. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 21. Camden's Annals of King James I.

(*e*) See this affair fully explained in the note [*GG*].

(*f*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 373. See alſo the article of COKE (Sir EDWARD). Annals of King James, p. 53.

(*g*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 377. Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 448. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 28.

croſs-examine them, and to produce evidence in his own defence. And fourthly, that in caſe there came any more petitions of the like nature, that their Lordſhips would not take any prejudice at their number, conſidering they were againſt a Judge, that made two thouſand orders and decrees in a year (*b*). Upon which expoſtulatory letter, anſwer was ſent on the twentieth of March unto the Lord-Chancellor, *viz.* 'That the Lords received his 'Lordſhip's letter, delivered unto them by the Lord-Admiral. They intended to pro-'ceed in his cauſe now before their Lordſhips, according to the right rules of juſtice, 'and they ſhall be glad if his Lordſhip ſhall clear his honour therein, to which end they 'pray his Lordſhip to provide for his juſt defence.' The very next day there came up freſh complaints from the Houſe of Commons, which induced their Lordſhips to appoint a ſelect Committee to take examinations, and to report the proofs in reſpect to theſe and other inſtances of corruption in the Lord-Chancellor, which Committee reported above twenty ſeveral facts, in which he had taken bribes to the amount of ſeveral thouſands of pounds (*i*). It may be very eaſily conceived, that things were now grown too high to be got over, eſpecially in ſuch times, by any interpoſition from the court. However his Lordſhip applied to the Marquis of Buckingham, as appears by his letter of the twenty-fifth of March, to preſent another which was encloſed to the King, wherein he paſſionately laments his misfortunes, and with all poſſible ſubmiſſion intreats his Majeſty's favour. In conſequence of this letter he had an audience of the King, who received him, as appears by another letter of thanks, with great tenderneſs and compaſſion (*k*). To ſay the truth, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that his maſter was very unfeignedly ſorry for his calamity, ſince he tells us himſelf, that the King ſhed tears on the firſt news of it; and it very evidently appears from the circumſtances before related, that he had every kind of aſſiſtance given him, and all the ſigns of friendſhip and protection afforded, that was either in the power of the Marquis of Buckingham, or even in the King his maſter, who actually procured a receſs of Parliament, in hopes that ſome means might be found to ſoften things a little (*l*). But that method, though probably dictated by himſelf, had a quite contrary effect; for the more time there was allowed to enquire into and examine this matter, the plainer the facts appeared, and the higher the clamour roſe againſt him. This it was, that very probably determined the Lord-Chancellor to depart from his firſt deſign, and inſtead of entering into a long and formal defence, to throw himſelf on the mercy of the Houſe, by an humble ſubmiſſion which he drew up in writing, and prevailed upon the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I., to preſent to the Houſe of Peers, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fourth of April, when this matter came again under their Lordſhips conſideration. There never was perhaps any piece of this kind, penned with more beauty of ſtyle or ſtrength of expreſſion, which ſhews that even in the depth of miſery, he was able to command his thoughts and his pen too, ſo as to expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom (*m*) [*FF*]. This ſubmiſſion of his being read, as alſo the report of the Lords Committees, containing the collections of his corruptions and the proofs, they ſent a copy of the former but not of the latter, by Mr. Baron Denham, and Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, to the Lord-Chancellor, with this meſſage from their Lordſhips, *viz.*

(*b*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 685.

(*i*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 381. Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 713. Sanderſon's Life of King James I. p. 500.

(*k*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 713, 714, 715.

(*l*) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 51.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 716. Sanderſon's Hiſt. of King James, p. 501. Wilſon's Hiſtory of Great Britain, p. 159.

[*FF*] *Expreſs himſelf with great force and freedom.*] There is no great wonder in this ſudden and dreadful fall of the Chancellor St. Albans. He was attacked in a conſtitutional way, in conſequence of a regular inquiry ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons, and conducted, not only with calmneſs and juſtice, but with great decency and tenderneſs. It does not appear that this was either contrived or carried on by any particular perſon, or encouraged or ſupported by any faction, though there did not want warm ſpirits enough in the Houſe: but they ſeem to have had other perſons, and other things in their view, and to have been forced out of their way in taking notice of this; for, as his Lordſhip truly obſerves, he was at the opening of this parliament in the greateſt credit of any man with both Houſes; but at that time it ſeems no man's credit was too ſtrong for juſtice, and of this he was ſo ſenſible, that he determined to try how far a moving and ſubmiſſive letter might prevail in his favour, which he reſolved to ſend, rather than venture upon a dangerous defence: this letter was dated the twenty-ſecond of April, 1621. He deſired firſt of their Lordſhips a benign interpretation of what he ſhall write, ſince words that came from waſted ſpirits and an oppreſſed mind, are more ſafe in being depoſited in a noble conſtruction, than in being circled in any reſerved caution. He tells them then, that in the midſt of a ſtate of as great affliction, as he thinks a mortal man can endure (honour being above life), he ſhall begin with the profeſſing of gladneſs in ſome things: the firſt is, that hereafter the greatneſs of a Judge or Magiſtrate ſhall be no ſanctuary or protection of guiltineſs, which, in few words, is the beginning of a golden world; the next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing that is in likeneſs of corruption (though it were at a great diſtance), as from a ſerpent, which tendeth to the purging of the courts of juſtice, and the reducing them to their true honour and ſplendour: He obſerves, that he underſtood that ſome juſtification had been expected from him, and therefore he had choſen one only juſtification inſtead of all others, out of the juſtification of Job; for after the clear ſubmiſſion and confeſſion which he ſhould then make to their Lordſhips, he hoped he might ſay and juſtify with Job in theſe words, *I have not hid my ſin as did* Adam, *nor concealed my fault in my boſom:* That it reſted therefore, that without fig leaves, he ſhould ingenuouſly confeſs, and acknowledge, that having underſtood the particulars of the charge, not formally before the Houſe, but enough to inform his conſcience and memory, he found matters ſufficient and full, both to move him to deſert his defence, and to move their Lordſhips to condemn and cenſure him: That he would not trouble their Lordſhips by ſingling thoſe particulars which he thought might fall off; *Quid te exempta juvat de millibus una?* nor prompt them to obſerve upon the proofs, where they come not home, on the ſcruple touching the credit of the witneſſes: Neither would he preſent to their Lordſhips, how far a defence in diverſe things might extenuate the offence, in reſpect of the time and manner of the gift, or the like circumſtances, but only leave thoſe things to ſpring out of their own noble thoughts and obſervations of the evidence and examinations themſelves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God ſhould put it into their minds, and to ſubmit himſelf wholly to their pity and grace: That having ſpoken to their Lordſhips as Judges, he ſhould

viz. That they did not conceive his ſubmiſſion to be full enough, for three reaſons. 1. His Lordſhip confeſſeth not any particular bribe or corruption. 2. Nor ſhews how his Lordſhip heard the charge thereof. 3. The confeſſion, ſuch as it is, is afterwards extenuated in the ſame ſubmiſſion, and therefore their Lordſhips have ſent him a particular of the charge, and do expect his anſwer to the ſame with all convenient expedition. Unto which meſſage the Lord-Chancellor anſwered, that he would return the Lords an anſwer with ſpeed. And on the twenty-fifth of April, the Lords conſidered of the Lord-Chancellor's ſaid anſwer, ſent unto their meſſage of the day before, and ſent a ſecond meſſage unto his Lordſhip to this effect, by the ſaid Mr. Baron Denham, and Mr. Attorney-General, *viz.* The Lords having received a doubtful anſwer unto the meſſage their Lordſhips ſent him yeſterday, therefore they now ſend to him again, to know of his Lordſhip directly and preſently, Whether his Lordſhip will make his confeſſion, or ſtand upon his defence? Anſwer was returned by the ſaid meſſengers, *viz.* The Lord-Chancellor will make no manner of defence to the charge, but meaneth to acknowledge corruption, and to make a particular confeſſion to every point, and after that an humble ſubmiſſion; but humbly craves liberty, that where the charge is more full than he finds the truth of the fact, he may make declaration of the truth in ſuch particulars, the charge being brief, and containing not all circumſtances. The Lords ſent the ſame meſſengers back again to the Lord-Chancellor, to let him know, that their Lordſhips had granted him until Monday the thirtieth of April, by ten in the morning, to ſend ſuch confeſſion and ſubmiſſion, as his Lordſhip intended to make (*n*). Accordingly on that day, the Lord-Chancellor ſent a very full and particular confeſſion and ſubmiſſion to the Houſe, in which he acknowledges moſt, but extenuates ſome, of the many inſtances of corruption with which he had been charged, and ſo once more threw himſelf entirely upon the mercy of his Peers (*o*) [*GG*]. The Lords having heard this paper read, the following members of that illuſtrious aſſembly, *viz.* the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, the Biſhop of Durham, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, the Lord Wentworth, and Lord Cromwell, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, the Lord Chandois, and the Lord Hunſdon, were ſent

(*n*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 383. Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 551.

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 383.

ſay a few words to them as Peers and Prelates, humbly commending his cauſe to their noble minds and magnanimous affections; that their Lordſhips were not ſimply Judges, but parliamentary Judges, and had a farther extent of arbitrary power than other courts, and if their Lordſhips were not tied by ordinary courſes of courts, or precedents in points of ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation; and yet if any thing which he ſhould move might be contrary to their worthy ends of introducing a reformation, he ſhould not ſeek it: That his humble deſire was, that his Majeſty would take the ſeal into his hands, which would be a great downfal, and might ſerve, he hoped, in itſelf for an expiation of his faults; therefore if mercy and mitigation were in their Lordſhips power, and did no ways croſs their noble ends, why ſhould he not hope of their favour and commiſeration? 'Your 'Lordſhips, ſays he, will be pleaſed to behold your 'chief pattern, the King our Sovereign, a King of 'incomparable clemency, and whoſe heart is inſcru-'table for wiſdom and goodneſs. Your Lordſhips 'will remember, that there ſat not theſe hundred 'years before a Prince in your houſe, and never 'ſuch a Prince, whoſe preſence deſerves to be made 'memorable by records and acts mixed of mercy and 'juſtice: Your Lordſhips are either Nobles (and 'compaſſion ever breathed in the veins of noble 'blood), or reverend Prelates, who are the ſervants 'of him, who would not break the bruiſed reed, 'nor quench the ſmokeing flax; you all ſit upon one 'high ſtage, and therefore, cannot but be more ſenſible 'of the changes of the world, and of the fall of any 'of high place; neither will your Lordſhips forget 'that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia ho-'minis*; and that the beginning of reformations 'hath the contrary power of the pool of Bethſeda, 'for that had ſtrength to cure him only that was 'firſt caſt in; and this hath commonly ſtrength to 'hurt him only that is firſt *caſt* in; and for my part, 'I wiſh it may ſtay there, and go no farther. Laſtly, 'I aſſure myſelf, your Lordſhips have a noble feeling 'of me, as a member of your own body, and one 'that in this very ſeſſion had ſome taſte of your 'loving affections, which I hope was not a lighten-'ing before the death of them, but rather a ſpark 'of that grace, which now in the concluſion will 'more appear. And now therefore, my humble ſuit 'to your Lordſhips is, that my penitent ſubmiſſion 'may be my ſentence, and the loſs of the Seal my 'puniſhment, and that your Lordſhips will ſpare my 'further ſentence, but recommend me to his Ma-'jeſty's grace and pardon for all that is paſt.'

[*GG*] *Once more threw himſelf entirely on the mercy of the Peers.*] In almoſt all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of the Viſcount of St. Albans, there has been not only a veil drawn over theſe tranſactions, (which was needleſs and to no purpoſe) but great pains have been likewiſe taken to inſinuate, that he was rather ſuſpected than guilty; that he might be more properly ſaid to be given up than convicted; and on the whole, that he ought to be conſidered as a court ſacrifice, and not as a victim to public juſtice. But let us conſider whether this be right? An author who takes upon him to tranſmit the actions of great men to poſterity, ought to be ſure to have no ſervile complaiſance, no party-views in favour of a court. And why? Becauſe this is inconſiſtent with that regard for truth,' which is neceſſary, and indeed, almoſt the one thing neceſſary for an Hiſtorian. But if this be ſo, ought not the ſame regard to be always paid to truth, or can there be any merit in ſacrificing courts, kings, and nations, to any favourite character of a man, great in reſpect to parts, or high in reference to his ſtation? Surely there is not, and therefore it is more than time that the world ſhould be undeceived in this matter. It would take up a great deal of time to go through the whole charge and defence, or rather apology: We will therefore take the firſt article of each, and leave it to the reader's judgment, after ſeeing what was ſaid againſt him, and what he was able to ſay for himſelf, whether this great man was ſuſpected only, or whether he was really guilty (93).

The Commons, at a conference with the Lords, which was reported by the Lord-Treaſurer, then Viſcount Mandeville, formerly Sir James Montague, and Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, ſtated their charge thus (94). 'The caſe of Edward Egerton 'is this: There being diverſe ſuits between Edward 'Egerton and Sir Rowland Egerton in the Chancery, 'Edward Egerton preſented his Lordſhip a little after 'he was Lord-Keeper, with a baſon and ewer of the 'value of 50 pounds and upwards, and afterwards he 'delivered in to Sir George Haſtings and Sir Richard 'Young, 400 pounds in gold; Sir Richard Young 'preſented it his Lordſhip, who took it and poiſed 'it, and ſaid it was too much; and returned anſwer, 'that Mr. Egerton had not only enriched him, but 'had laid a tie upon his Lordſhip to do him favour 'in all his juſt cauſes. The proofs for this are the 'teſtimony of Sir George Haſtings, and the teſti-'mony of Mereſil, a Scrivener, thus far, that he 'took

(93) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 685. Sanderſon's Life of King James, p. 501.

(94) State Trials, Vol. i. p 380. Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 450.

ſent to him the ſaid Lord-Chancellor, and ſhewed him the ſaid confeſſion, and told him, that the Lords do conceive it to be an ingenuous and full confeſſion, and demanded of him, Whether it be his own hand that is ſubſcribed to the ſame? and Whether he will ſtand to it or not? Unto which the ſaid Lord-Chancellor anſwered, My Lords, It is my act, my hand, my heart. I beſeech your Lordſhips to be merciful to a broken reed. The which anſwer being reported to the Houſe, it was agreed by the Houſe, to move his Majeſty to ſequeſter the Seal (*p*). And the Lords intreated the Prince's Highneſs, that he would be pleaſed to move the King; whereunto his Highneſs condeſcended, and the ſame Lords which went to take the acknowledgment of the Lord-Chancellor's hand, were appointed to attend the Prince to the King, with ſome other Lords added. And his Majeſty did not only ſequeſter the Seal, but awarded a new commiſſion unto the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, to execute the place of Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, as Speaker in the Lords Houſe. was on the firſt of May, as appears by a very particular account of the whole tranſaction drawn up by the King's order, and inrolled in Chancery, that his Lordſhip delivered up the Great-Seal with the greateſt

(*p*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 386.

'took up 700 pounds for Mr. Egerton, Mr. Egerton 'a piece: Thereupon, after diverſe hearings, I made 'my award with the advice and conſent of my Lord 'Hobart; the award was perfected and publiſhed 'to the parties, which was in February: Then ſome 'days after the three hundred pounds mentioned in 'the charge, were delivered unto me; afterwards 'Mr. Edward Egerton flew off from the award: Then 'in Midſummer Term following, a ſuit was begun 'in Chancery by Sir Rowland to have the award 'confirmed, and upon that ſuit was the decree made 'mentioned in the article. The ſecond article in the 'charge, viz. in the ſame cauſe he received from 'Edward Egerton four hundred pounds; I confeſs and 'declare, that ſoon after my coming to the Seal, being 'a time when I was preſented by many, the four 'hundred pounds mentioned in the ſaid charge, was 'delivered unto me in a purſe, and, as I now call to 'mind, by Mr. Edward Egerton; but as far as I can 'remember, it was expreſſed by them that brought it, 'to be for favours paſt, and not in reſpect of favours 'to come (95).'

(95) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 383.

It is very evident from his own account of the matter that there was too much ground for this complaint, as indeed there was for moſt of the reſt. The laſt article of the charge was, that he had given way to great exactions by his ſervants, both in reſpect to private ſeals and otherwiſe, for ſealing of injunctions, to which he gave no other anſwer than this, *I confeſs it was a great fault of neglect in me, that I looked no better to my ſervants.* It is very remarkable, that this large and long confeſſion was ſcarcely known to any of our Hiſtorians, who, when they ſpeak of the Chancellor's ſubmiſſion, mean by it that paper, the ſubſtance of which is given in the former note: His Lordſhip concluded all with the following moſt humble and ſubmiſſive prayer.

'This declaration I have made to your Lordſhips 'with a ſincere mind, humbly craving, that if there 'ſhould be any miſtake, your Lordſhips will impute it 'to want of memory, and not to any deſire of mine 'to obſcure truth, or palliate any thing; for I do now 'again confeſs, that in points charged upon me, 'though they ſhould be taken as myſelf have declared 'them, there is a great deal of corruption and neg-'lect, for which I am heartily ſorry, and ſubmit 'myſelf to the judgment, grace, and mercy of the 'court: For extenuation I will uſe none concerning 'the matters themſelves, only it may pleaſe your 'Lordſhips, out of your nobleneſs, to caſt your eyes 'of compaſſion upon my perſon and eſtate; I was 'never noted for an avaricious man, and the Apoſtle 'ſaith, That covetouſneſs is the root of all evil. I 'hope alſo that your Lordſhips do the rather find me 'in the ſtate of grace, for that in all theſe particulars, 'there are few or none that are not almoſt two years 'old; whereas thoſe that have an habit of corruption, 'do commonly wax worſe, ſo that it hath pleaſed 'God to prepare me by precedent degrees of a-'mendment to my preſent penitency: And for my 'eſtate, it is ſo mean and poor, as my care is now 'chiefly to ſatisfy my debts; and ſo fearing I have 'troubled your Lordſhips too long, I ſhall conclude 'with an humble ſuit unto you, that if your Lordſhips 'proceed to ſentence, your ſentence may not be 'heavy to my ruin, but gracious and mixed with 'mercy, and not only ſo, but that you would be 'noble interceſſors for me to his Majeſty, likewiſe for 'his grace and favour (96).'

(96) *Ibid.* p. 383, 386.

The humble ſubmiſſion and confeſſion of me the Lord-Chancellor.

'Upon adviſed conſideration of the charge de-'pending into my own conſcience, and calling my 'memory to account, ſo far as I am able, I do plainly 'and ingenuouſly confeſs, that I am guilty of cor-'ruption, and do renounce all defence, and put myſelf 'upon the grace and mercy of your Lordſhips. The 'particulars I confeſs and declare to be as followeth: 'To the firſt article of the charge, viz. In the cauſe 'between Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, 'the Lord-Chancellor received three hundred pounds 'on the part of Sir Rowland Egerton, before he had 'decreed the cauſe. I do confeſs and declare, that 'upon a reference from his Majeſty of all ſuits and 'controverſies between Rowland Egerton and Edward 'Egerton, both parties ſubmitted themſelves to my 'award by recognizances reciprocal in 10,000 marks

decency, as well as with the higheſt ſigns of gratitude to the King, for the many favours conferred upon him, and of the utmoſt ſorrow, for his own abuſes of thoſe acts of his Sovereign's kindneſs (*q*). This being reported to the Peers the next day, they reſolved to proceed immediately to ſentence; and thereupon ſent the Gentleman-Uſher, and Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe, to ſummon his Lordſhip before them, from which however he excuſed himſelf on account of ſickneſs, profeſſing that otherwiſe he would willingly have attended them. The Lords reſolved to proceed notwithſtanding, and ſent a meſſage to the Commons to that purpoſe (*r*). Accordingly, on the third of May 1621, the Commons being come to the bar of their Lordſhips Houſe, their Speaker, Sir Thomas Richardſon delivered himſelf in the following manner. 'The 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons Houſe of Parliament, having made 'complaints unto your Lordſhips, of many exorbitant offences of bribery and corruption 'committed by the Lord Chancellor, underſtand that your Lordſhips are ready to 'give judgment upon him for the ſame; wherefore I, their Speaker, in their name, do 'humbly demand and pray judgment againſt him the ſaid Lord Chancellor, as the nature 'of his offence and demerits do require.' The Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, 'Mr. Speaker, 'Upon complaint of the Commons againſt the Viſcount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor, 'this high court hath thereby, and by his own confeſſion, found him guilty of the 'crimes and corruptions complained of by the Commons, and of ſundry other crimes 'and corruptions of the like nature. And therefore this high Court having firſt ſum-'moned him to attend, and having his excuſe of not attending by reaſon of infirmity 'and ſickneſs, which he proteſted was not feigned, or elſe he would moſt willingly have 'attended, doth nevertheleſs think fit to proceed to judgment, and therefore this high 'court doth adjudge, That the Lord Viſcount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, 'ſhall undergo fine and ranſom of forty thouſand pounds, that he ſhall be impriſoned 'in the Tower during the King's pleaſure, that he ſhall for ever be incapable of any 'office or employment in the State or Commonwealth, that he ſhall never ſit in Par-'liament, or come within the verge of the Court (*s*).' Such was the iſſue of this great affair, and ſuch the ſentence paſſed upon this noble perſon, whereby he had ſcarcely any thing left him of his honours except the bare titles, and even theſe he is ſaid to have ſaved by the tenderneſs of the Biſhops. It appears, however, that this was entirely owing to a ſtrict and ſteady purſuit of juſtice; though there want not ſome who have refined upon this matter, and attributed the ſeverity of this ſentence to the evil arts of a great Miniſter, the weakneſs of the King, and too great ſubmiſſion in the Viſcount St. Albans, in ſupport of which, the opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings (*t*) [*HH*]. After a ſhort confinement in the Tower

(*q*) Continuation of Rymer's Fœd. Tom. xvii. p. 296.

(*r*) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 387.

(*s*) *Ibid.* See alſo the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, in Bacon's Works.

(*t*) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 418

[*HH*] *The opinions of ſome conſiderable perſons may be cited, as well as ſome paſſages from his own writings.*] It muſt be allowed, that, conſidering the extraordinary length into which this life has already run, one ought to be tender of entering far into any controverted points: but when I reflect on the importance of ſetting this matter in its true light, and remember, that hitherto nothing has had a place in theſe memoirs which did not deſerve it, I cannot refrain from ſtating fairly to the reader, and from the beſt authorities, what has been offered in his excuſe. Such as have written critically, or rather politically, of the occurrences of this reign, have endeavoured to repreſent Buckingham, as the great object of the people's hatred, and of the Parliament's ill-will, one whom at any rate they meant to deſtroy, and to get at whom they were conſtrained to fall upon the Lord Chancellor, who might have delivered himſelf by a prudent and circumſpect defence, if he had not devoted himſelf entirely to the King's commands; and conſequently would inſinuate, that he was reſtrained from this courſe, and abandoned by King James to the fury of the Houſe of Commons, in order to obtain his own ends, and more particularly to ſcreen and ſecure his favourite. The project is far from being ill laid, conſidering the temper of the times, the power of the Miniſter, and the maxims of King James's government. We may add to this, that the Lord Viſcount St. Albans himſelf inſinuates in ſome of his letters, that he fell a ſacrifice; that at the beginning of his troubles, as we have ſeen in the text, he at firſt denied things, and after more charges were brought in, deſired that the Lords would not be prejudiced againſt him by the increaſe of complaints, but conſider, that he had ſat in a court, where a multitude of decrees and orders were made in a year, and that it was after all this he made his ſubmiſſion and that particular confeſſion, which has been taken notice of in the preceding note. Yet perhaps this ſtory had never gained ſo much credit, if it had been picked up and pieced together only from caſual expreſſions and phraſes of ambiguous meaning. But the truth is, that we have a long and formal detail of this matter, from one who might certainly be preſumed to know a great deal of it: viz. Mr. Buſhel, who was his Lordſhip's ſervant at that time, and who having ruined himſelf by engaging in the working of mines, upon pretence of following his Lord's philoſophical theory on that ſubject, endeavoured, while a priſoner in the Fleet, to apologize for his own conduct, by publiſhing a ſpeech, which he aſſerts his maſter intended to have made to that Parliament in which he was undone, upon this ſubject, and for procuring the eſtabliſhment of a Royal Academy of Sciences, on the plan delivered in a work of his, entitled, his new Atlantis, which ſpeech of his, though it may contain ſome thoughts of Lord Bacon's, is allowed by the learned Dr. Teniſon to be in a great meaſure fictitious, and not only unworthy of that noble perſon, but ſuch as it was impoſſible for him to have drawn. It is at the cloſe of this ſpeech, and in order to account for its not being ſpoken, that Mr. Buſhel mentions his maſter's fall, which, he ſays, intervened before it could be ſpoken, and thereupon undertakes to give us all the circumſtances of that extraordinary event from his own knowledge, which, if it could be depended upon, muſt be admitted to be a thing extremely worthy our notice: but I at preſent produce it with a view to gratify the inclination of the ingenious reader, of ſeeing whatever has been advanced on this ſubject on either ſide. In this light too, Mr. Buſhel's account is a matter of ſome conſequence, ſince it is the fulleſt and moſt circumſtantial that has been hitherto given. Having, as I ſaid, mentioned his Lord's deſign of propoſing ſeveral projects to the Parliament for the public ſervice, he then proceeds thus (97). 'Before this could be 'accompliſhed to his own content, there aroſe ſuch 'complaints againſt his Lordſhip, and the then fa-'vourite at court, that for ſome days put the King 'to this Quere, whether he ſhould permit the fa-'vourite of his affection, or the oracle of his coun-'cil, to ſink in his ſervice; whereupon his Lordſhip 'was

(97) Buſhel's Abridgment of Bacon's Philoſophical Theory, in Mineral Proſecutions, Appendix, p. 5.

Tower he was discharged, and in a little time he applied himself to the King and Marquis of Buckingham, for access to his Majesty, which he obtained; and because his sentence

'was sent for by the King, who, after some discourse, 'gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to 'his House of Peers, and that (upon his princely 'word) he would then restore him again, if they, '(in their honours) should not be sensible of his me-'rits. Now, though my Lord saw his approaching 'ruin, and told his Majesty there was little hopes 'of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies were 'to give fire, if he did not plead for himself: yet 'such was his obedience to him from whom he had 'his being, that he resolved his Majesty's will should 'be his only law, and so took leave of him with 'these words, Those that will strike at your Chan-'cellor (it is much to be feared), will strike at your 'crown, and wished, that as he was then the first, 'so he might be the last of sacrifices. Soon after, '(according to his Majesty's commands) he wrote a 'submissive letter to the House, and sent me to my 'Lord Windsor to know the result, which I was loth, 'at my return, to acquaint him with; for alas! his 'Sovereign's favour was not in so high a measure, but 'he (like the phœnix) must be sacrificed in flames of 'his own raising, and so perished (like Icarus) in that 'his lofty design. The great revenue of his office 'being lost, and his titles of honour saved but by 'the Bishops votes, whereto he replied, that *he was 'only bound to thank his Clergy*; the thunder of which 'fatal sentence did much perplex my troubled 'thoughts, as well as others, to see that famous Lord, 'who procured his Majesty to call this Parliament, 'must be the first subject of their revengeful wrath, 'and that so unparalleled a master should be thus 'brought upon the public stage, for the foolish mis-'carriage of his own servants, whereof (with grief of 'heart) I confess myself to be one. Yet shortly after, 'the King dissolved the Parliament, but never re-'stored that matchless Lord to his place, which made 'him then to wish, the many years he had spent in 'state policy and law study, had been solely de-'voted to true Philosophy: for, (said he) the one, 'at the best, doth but comprehend man's frailty, 'in its greatest splendour; but the other, the 'mysterious knowledge of all things created in the 'six days work.' Mr. Stephens, in his introduction, having observed, that the last article in the charge against his Lorship was, *that he had given way to great exactions by his servants*, and that he confessed, *it was a great neglect in him that he looked to them no better*, tells us, that he mentions this the rather, because those writers who excuse the master, lay the greatest blame upon his servants, and there is no doubt but that some of them were very guilty, and that their Lord had that opinion of them, which it is reported his Lordship in the time of his troubles signified, in passing through a room where many of his retinue rising up to salute him, he said, *Sit you down, my masters, your rise hath been my fall* (98). We are told likewise by *Rushworth* in the first volume of his Historical Collections: 'That he treasured up 'nothing for himself or family, but was over indul-'gent to his servants, and connived at their takings, 'and their ways betrayed him to that error: they 'were profuse and expensive, and had at their com-'mand whatever he was master of. The gifts taken 'were for the most part for interlocutory orders: his 'decrees were generally made with so much equity, 'that, though gifts rendered him suspected for in-'justice, yet never any decree made by him was 'reversed as unjust, as it has been observed by some 'who were well skilled in our laws. To this we 'may add, what he alledges by way of excuse, that 'great part of the gifts, &c. were made as presents, 'in cases where no suits were depending, or a good 'while before they were begun, or after they were 'ended (99). Upon this occasion, says Mr. Stephens, who can forbear to observe and lament the weakness and infirmity of human nature? To see a man so far exalted above the common level of his fellow-creatures, to sink so far below it; to see a man, who, like Seneca, gave admirable rules for the conduct of life, and condemning the avaricious pursuit after riches, and what is unlike Seneca, condemning them in his own person and yet be defiled thereby. To see a man applauding Sir George Villiers, whilst very young, for despising money where it crossed reason of state or virtue, to take money in his mature age, in opposition to both, and to his own destruction: Above all, to see a great master of Reason and Philosophy, who had been a credit and ornament to the Reformed Religion, to abate the lustre of his example, by submitting to a temptation which many of the Heathen Philosophers had the power to resist. But as his Lordship had the misfortune to be made a memorial for the greatest and the wisest *to take heed lest they fall*; so hath he the good fortune (which he observes attended three famous writers fallen under the like circumstances) to have the remembrance of this calamity looked on by posterity as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works. The same gentleman also tells us, that the Marquis of Buckingham, in a letter which he wrote to Sir Lionel Cranfield, soon after the accusing the Chancellor, says, That he hoped that God, who had given that great Lord many other gifts, had also preserved him from being guilty of such crimes; yet that he likewise hoped that the House of Commons would wave their application to the Lords, and go their direct way to the King, who both could and would do them justice (100). Dr. Heylyn likewise in his life of Archbishop Laud (101), and Mr. Elsing, in a MS. discourse concerning Parliaments, considered the giving up of this great Minister to the Parliament, as a false step made by the King, and a leading card to others soon after. Yet the Committee seemed to be of another opinion, when they told the Peers, that they followed ancient precedents, which shewed that greater persons had been accused for the like crimes, in Parliament, intimating that they not only went in the way, but also trod in the high road of justice (102). Such writers therefore as reflect on the King's conduct in this particular, seem to have a view to that sort of Machiavelian policy, which admits of no constraint from the laws either of God or man, which, to say no more of it, is a policy to be abhorred by a free people; and the truth is, that King James did not suffer either in fame or in peace, by giving up St. Albans to the justice of a Parliament, but by screening others from it. And whoever reads our history with discretion will see, that not giving up ministers to legal prosecutions, has done ten times more mischief to the Crown, than suffering them to fall under sentences rather too severe; which, however, generally speaking, the Crown has power to correct or mitigate, and that usually with the approbation of the people. But as his Lordship must have known himself best, and was abundantly inclined, as well as every way capable, to say what might best excuse him, let us hear him to Dr. Andrews Bishop of Winchester (103), setting forth the thoughts that kept him in best humour with himself. He observes in that letter, that amongst consolations, it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamities in others; and as it savours of vanity to make ourselves highly in our conceit, so on the other side, it is a good sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved; that in this consolation he had not been wanting to himself, and as a Christian, he had tasted through God's great goodness of higher remedies: having, therefore, through the variety of his reading set before him many examples both of ancient and latter times, his thoughts, he confessed, had chiefly staid upon three particulars, as the most eminent and the most resembling, all three persons that had held chief place of authority in their countries, all three ruined, not by war, or by any other disaster, but by justice and sentence, as delinquents and criminals, all three famous writers, insomuch as the remembrances of their calamity, is now to posterity but a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair and excellent tables of their acts and works, and all three (if that were any thing to the matter) fit examples to quench any man's ambition of rising again, since they were every one of them restored with great glory, but to their further ruin and destruction ending in a violent death. These men were, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, persons that he durst not claim

(98) Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 54.

(99) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. i. p. 26.

(100) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 55.

(101) Part the first, p. 64.

(102) Journal of the House of Commons.

(103) Bacon's Works, Vol. iii. p. 534.

ſentence reſtrained him from coming within the verge of the Court, the King thought fit to diſpenſe therewith for ſome time, that his Lordſhip might have the better opportunity to take care of his health, and to purſue the proper meaſures of putting his debts into ſome courſe of payment (*u*). The Parliament being prorogued in ſome heat, his Majeſty was pleaſed to conſult his Lordſhip, as to the propereſt methods of reforming the courts of juſtice, and taking away other grievances which that Parliament had enquired into; and he thereupon drew up a memorial, which is ſtill extant in his works (*w*). On the thirteenth of September, the King ſigned a licence for him to remain for ſix weeks at Sir John Vaughan's houſe at Parſon's Green, or at London, as his occaſions ſhould require. On the twentieth of the ſame month, his Majeſty ſigned a warrant to Sir Thomas Coventry, then Attorney-General, for the aſſignment of his fine to ſuch perſons as he ſhould name, in order to make him the more eaſy as to his debts. On the twelfth of October the King ſigned a warrant for his pardon (his parliamentary ſentence excepted), which however met with ſome ſtay at the Seal, then in the cuſtody of the Lord-Keeper Williams (*x*). His licence being expired, he would willingly have had it renewed, which however he could not obtain; and therefore was obliged to retire to his ſeat at Gorhambury, at which time probably that accident happened, which has been mentioned

(*u*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 24.

(*w*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 719.

(*x*) Stephens's Account of the Life of Lord Bacon, p. 25. See alſo his Lordſhip's letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 723.

affinity with, except the ſimilitude had contracted it; that when he caſt his eyes on theſe examples, he was carried on farther to obſerve how they bore their fortunes, and principally how they employed their times, being baniſhed and diſabled for public buſineſs, to the end that he might learn by them, and that they might be as well his counſellors as his comforters. Whereupon he happened to note how differently their fortunes wrought upon them, eſpecially in that point at which he moſt aimed, which was the employing of their times and pens, 'In Cicero, ſays he, I ſaw 'that during his baniſhment (which was almoſt two 'years) he was ſo ſoftened and dejected, as he wrote 'nothing but a few womaniſh epiſtles, and yet in 'mine opinion, he had the leaſt reaſon of the three 'to be diſcouraged; for that although it was judged, 'and judged by the higheſt kind of judgment in form 'of ſtatute or law, that he ſhould be baniſhed, and 'his whole eſtate confiſcated and ſeized, and his 'houſes pulled down, and that it ſhould be highly 'penal for any man to propound a repeal, yet his 'caſe even then had no great blot of ignominy, for 'it was thought but a tempeſt of popularity which 'overthrew him. Demoſthenes, contrariwiſe, though 'his cauſe was foul, being condemned for bribery, 'and not ſimple bribery, but bribery in the nature 'of treaſon and diſloyalty, yet nevertheleſs took ſo 'little knowledge of his fortune, as during his ba-'niſhment he did much buſy himſelf and intermeddle 'with matters of ſtate, and took upon him to coun-'cil the ſtate (as if he had been ſtill at the helm) 'by letters, as appears by ſome epiſtles of his which 'are extant. Seneca, indeed, who was condemned 'for many corruptions and crimes, and baniſhed into 'a ſolitary iſland, kept a mean, and though his 'pen did not freeze, yet he abſtained from intruding 'into matters of buſineſs, but ſpent his time in writing 'books of excellent uſe for all ages, though he might 'have made better choice ſometimes of his dedi-'cations. Theſe examples confirmed me much in 'a reſolution (whereunto I was otherwiſe inclined), 'to ſpend my time wholly in writing, and to put 'forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it 'is that God hath given me, not as heretofore, to 'particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of 'perpetuity, which will not break.' Theſe thoughts ſeem to have dwelt much upon his Lordſhip's mind, ſince he repeated them very nearly in the ſame words to the King, in a letter to him while under his misfortunes (104). But to ſum up the whole matter fairly, and to do juſtice to truth, let it be at whoſe expence it will. Buſhel was a very ſtrange man, and has told ſo many improbable ſtories of his maſter, and ſo many ſilly ones of himſelf, that what he ſays deſerves no credit, farther than as it agrees with other evidence (105). The Chancellor himſelf never pretended to be abſolutely innocent, but only that he was leſs guilty, than from the charge brought againſt him might be thought. His Lordſhip ſeems to have had a very particular notion of bribery: he thought it muſt be connected with injuſtice, and therefore if his decrees were upright, he perſuaded himſelf that he was not guilty of that offence, notwithſtanding he had taken money, or preſents of great value, and this diſtinction runs through all his writings on this ſubject; ſo that he was willing to own corruption, though he did not think it amounted, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to the taking bribes (106). This accounts for what Mr. Ruſhworth ſays, and for the reflections made thereupon by Mr. Stephens. As to his being made a ſacrifice by the King, he meant no more by it than this, that his Majeſty had it in his power to ſave him by diſſolving the Parliament, but he did not think that his Majeſty did him any injuſtice, otherwiſe he would not have ſaid, as he did when he reſigned the ſeals, *Rex dedit, culpa abſtulit*, that is, *the King gave, and my own faults have taken away*, with many other expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe (107). The moſt candid, and the beſt informed of our hiſtorians, ſtate this matter ſo as to acquit the King of any ſeverity. Camden writes thus (108): 'The Chan-'cellor being convicted of bribery pretends, as if 'being weary of honour, he would reſign his place, 'being much loaded with calumnies.' Wilſon, ſpeaking of his ſubmiſſion, ſays, 'His great ſpirit was 'brought low, and this humiliation might have raiſed 'him again, if his offences had not been ſo weighty 'as to keep him down (109).' He had ſaid before, 'His crimes were bribery and extortion, which were 'proved and aggravated againſt him with ſo many 'circumſtances, that they fell very foully upon him '(110).' He ſays afterwards, which ſhews that he was not prejudiced againſt the man (111), 'He was 'a fit jewel to have beautified and adorned a flouriſh-'ing kingdom, if his flaws had not diſgraced the 'luſtre that ſhould have ſet him off.' Biſhop Hacket, in his Life of the Lord Keeper Williams, has given a large, true, and candid account of this matter. We learn from him, that the King, in the beginning of the Parliament, had ſaid before all the members, *Spare none, where you find juſt cauſe to puniſh*. This encouraged the Parliament to attack ſuch as were concerned in monopolies and impoſitions, and together with theſe vermin, ſays my author, the Lord-Chancellor was queſtioned without pity to his excellent parts. The conſequence of this was, that ſuch as were afraid of being brought to juſtice, endeavoured to frighten Buckingham and prejudice the King againſt the Parliament, inſinuating, that he had better take as much or more by his prerogative, than to wait for a ſmall exhibition of money from them, which would cauſe the ruin of his moſt loyal and faithful ſervants (112). But Dean Williams having prepared an antidote to this poiſon, the Parliament were ſuffered to ſit and to go on as it had begun: 'Yet, continues our Prelate, they were 'prorogued at Eaſter from the 27th of March to the '18th of April, the Marquis having his eye therein 'upon the Lord-Chancellor, to try if time could 'mitigate the diſpleaſure, which in both Houſes was 'ſtrong againſt him. But the leiſure of three weeks 'multiplied a pile of new ſuggeſtions, and nothing 'was preſaged more certain than his downfall (113).' Thus, in a larger, than a note might ſeem to allow, but in as narrow a compaſs as it was poſſible for me to bring it, I have given the reader the beſt teſtimonies on both ſides, and with great pains have ſet that in a true light, which others have laboured to obſcure. As to ſuch faults in this great man as are imputed only in libels, I do not think them worthy of preſerving, but as I believe them begot by malice, ſhall leave them to periſh in oblivion.

(104) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 722.

(105) Teniſon's Account of Lord Bacon's Works, p. 97.

(106) See his Letter to the King, printed in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 736; where he ſays, that there was as much difference between his corruption and Sir John Bennet's, as between black and aſh-colour.

(107) Life of Sir Symond's d'Ewes, written by himſelf MS. p. 58.

(108) Annals of King James, March — 1621.

(109) Life and Reign of King James, p. 735.

(110) *Ib.* p. 734.

(111) *Ib.* p. 736.

(112) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, p. 49.

(113) *Ib.* p. 51.

as

as a proof, that his ſpirits did not ſink with his fortunes. The Prince coming to London, ſaw at a diſtance a coach followed by a conſiderable number of people on horſeback, and upon enquiry, was told it was the Lord St. Albans attended by his friends; on which his Highneſs ſaid with a ſmile, *Well! do what we can, this man ſcorns to go out like a ſnuff* (*y*). He had indeed very little reaſon to complain of the Court, ſince his misfortunes roſe entirely from himſelf, and he met with nothing under them, that could heighten or increaſe his ſenſe of them. The King was gracious to him, not only as far as his circumſtances would then give him leave, but to a degree that offended many. The Prince willingly undertook whatever he deſired for his ſervice, and Buckingham ſeems to have been as hearty, and more reſpectful in his friendſhip to him after, than before his fall. Theſe circumſtances may be collected from their reſpective writings, and thoſe of Lord Bacon to them (*z*). Public hiſtories may contain miſinformations, ſecret hiſtories are frequently full of wilful miſtakes, but facts from private letters can never miſlead us. There was indeed ſome miſunderſtanding between Viſcount St. Albans and the Marquis of Buckingham; but it is very plain, that though offence was taken by the former, it was never meant him by the latter. The caſe was this: after his Lordſhip's fall, the Marquis of Buckingham had a mind to York-Houſe, and made ſome overtures to his Lordſhip for his term in it, which he took ill, and expoſtulated upon it very freely, which was ſo far from provoking the Marquis, that he anſwered him not only with great decency, but alſo with all the marks of concern, that could be expected from their long friendſhip (*a*). It is alſo evident, that his kindneſs towards him was not confined to bare expreſſions; for very ſoon after this, he procured for him the diſcharge of that part of his ſentence which afflicted him moſt, *viz.* his being reſtrained from coming within the verge of the Court, which he called an impriſonment, nor was he wanting in any thing elſe, that could well be expected from him. Theſe favours had ſo far ſettled the mind, and raiſed the ſpirits of Lord St. Albans, that he ſoon applied himſelf again to his ſtudies with equal diligence and vigour; ſo that in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of King HENRY VII.*, which he dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales, a work, which, though not abſolutely free from faults, is certainly as well performed as any thing of that kind in our language (*b*). It is true, that after this, his troubles bore very hard upon him, as appears clearly from a very long, very humble, and very paſſionate letter written to the King upon that ſubject, which is without date: but this was owing chiefly to his own circumſtances, which would not allow him to ſettle things to his wiſh, and in ſome meaſure alſo to the King's, which would as little permit him to relieve his Lordſhip in proportion to his wants, or to the kindneſs which he ſtill retained for him. Yet however uneaſy his condition might be, he was, or might have been, far enough from neceſſity, ſince he had a penſion from the Crown of twelve hundred pounds a year, and retained his grant from the Alienation-Office, worth ſix hundred pounds a year more, beſides his own eſtate, which was worth ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*, all which taken together, might certainly have preſerved him from indigence (*c*). He was however greatly in debt, which ſeems to have been the heavieſt part of his load, and towards the ſatisfaction of this, we are told, he paid eight thouſand pounds after his fall. And yet at his death, he died in debt upwards of twenty-two thouſand pounds (*d*). So that at the time of his writing this letter, he might well be ſuppoſed to owe thirty thouſand, a ſufficient cauſe of uneaſineſs to himſelf, and therefore may be juſtly eſteemed that miſery which touched him ſo deeply. His Lordſhip alſo lived at a great expence even after his fall, notwithſtanding what ſome writers, who, as they lived in or near his time, ought to have known better, have reported to the contrary. Theſe things therefore taken together, might very well weigh him down, and keep him low, ſo as to occaſion continual applications to his Majeſty, and to his friends at court (*e*), which though it might ſeem to be attended with great diſturbance and diſtraction of mind, yet of ſuch a ſingular conſtruction was his Lordſhip's temper, and ſo thoroughly were all paſſions wrought to obedience, that though he was very well able to expreſs his ſolicitude about matters that concerned his intereſt, diſcovered his reſentments with becoming freedom, and willingly paid a juſt tribute of thankfulneſs for the benefits he received, he ſuffered none of theſe to hurry his thoughts to the prejudice of his ſtudies, which he always regarded as the principal occupation of his life (*f*). We have an inſtance of this, which will always do honour to his memory, reported by Dr. Rawley, whoſe fidelity is unqueſtionable. One day his Lordſhip was dictating to that Doctor, ſome of his experiments in his *Sylva*. The ſame day he had ſent a friend to Court, to receive for him a final anſwer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by King James. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred; and he was deſirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed one way or other from the ſuſpenſe of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly, that he muſt thenceforth deſpair of that grant, how much ſoever his fortunes needed it. *Be it ſo*, ſaid his Lordſhip, and then he diſmiſſed his friend very chearfully, with thankful acknowledgments for his ſervice. His friend being gone, he came ſtraightway to Dr. Rawley, and ſaid thus to him, *Well, Sir, yon buſineſs won't go on, let us go on with this in our power*; and then he dictated to him afreſh for ſome hours, without the leaſt heſitancy of ſpeech, or diſcernable interruption of thought (*g*). The departure of his friend, the Marquis of Bucks, into Spain, in the beginning of the

(*y*) Aulicus Coquin. p. 174.

(*z*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 713, & ſeq.

(*a*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 723, 724.

(*b*) This is contained in the third Volume of his Lordſhip's Works, p. 396.

(*c*) See theſe particulars verified in his own will, at the end of the third Volume of his Works.

(*d*) Stephens's Introduction to Lord Bacon's Letters, p. 57. and the computation of his debts, at the end of the ſecond Volume of Bacon's Works.

(*e*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 721, & ſeq.

(*f*) See his Lordſhip's Letter to King James about the Chancellor's place, in his Works, Vol. iv. p. 617.

(*g*) Account of his Writings by Teniſon, p. 45, 46.

year 1623, was a great prejudice to his affairs, and taught him, by experience, that no body about the court had ſo warm and ſo ſincere an inclination to promote his requeſts; which, together with his former difficulties, brought down his hopes to ſuch a degree of humility, that, upon the death of Mr. Murray, he ſolicited the King to ſucceed him, as Provoſt of Eaton-college, to which this anſwer was given, That the King could not value his Lordſhip ſo little, or conceive he limited his deſires ſo low; in which however he ſhould have been gratified, if his Majeſty had not been engaged for Sir William Beecher, his agent in France (*b*). While the Marquis of Buckingham was abroad with the Prince of Wales, he was created Duke; and at his return, ſaw himſelf in ſuch plenitude of power, as never any ſubject had enjoyed in this kingdom, being at once the favourite both of the poſſeſſor and heir of the crown, and, which was no leſs ſingular, in as great credit with the people. The Viſcount of St. Albans preſented his Grace at his return, with *The Advancement of Learning*, tranſlated into Latin, and ſo much augmented and enriched, that it might with equal juſtice have paſſed for a new performance, which his noble patron not only kindly received, but continued likewiſe to do him very many, and thoſe very important ſervices, more eſpecially in procuring him conſiderable ſums of money, and from time to time freſh marks of royal favour (*i*). In acknowledgment for theſe, he dedicated to him a Latin tranſlation of his *Eſſays*, which he alſo augmented and poliſhed to the higheſt degree of perfection (*k*). A new Parliament having been called, in which the Houſe of Commons ſhewed great zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, his Lordſhip turned his pen to a new ſubject, and compoſed a treatiſe, intitled, *Conſiderations of a war with Spain* (*l*), which he preſented to the Prince of Wales, and afterwards to the Queen of Bohemia. He likewiſe drew up *Heads of a Speech* (*m*), for his friend Sir Edward Sackville, upon the ſame ſubject, and theſe ſervices were ſo well received, that upon an application to the King for a full pardon, he eaſily obtained it. In the warrant directed for this purpoſe to the Attorney-General, his Majeſty took notice of his Lordſhip's having already ſatisfied juſtice by his ſufferings, and that himſelf being always inclined to temper juſtice with mercy, and likewiſe calling to remembrance his former good ſervices, and how well and profitably he had ſpent his time ſince his troubles, he was graciouſly pleaſed to remove from him that blot of ignominy which yet remained upon him, of incapacity and diſablement, and to remit to him all penalties whatſoever, inflicted by that ſentence (*n*). This was one of the laſt acts of his government; for he died very ſoon after, and, in conſequence of this pardon, his Lordſhip was ſummoned to the ſecond Parliament in the ſucceeding reign, though his infirmities would not allow him to ſit therein. He received alſo ſome comfort, from the great reſpect ſhewn him by foreigners of diſtinction, particularly by the Marquis D'Effiat, the French Ambaſſador, who cauſed his Eſſays to be tranſlated into his own language, and, upon his firſt viſit, compared his Lordſhip to the *Angels*, of whom he had heard and read much, but had never ſeen them; to which the Viſcount St. Albans very modeſtly and wiſely replied, *That if the charity of others compared him to an Angel, his own infirmities told him he was a man* (*o*). This nobleman contracted ſo cloſe a friendſhip with him, that they correſponded conſtantly ever after, and his Excellency eſteemed it a particular honour, to be ſtyled in thoſe letters his ſon: he likewiſe deſired and obtained his picture, which he carried into France. Theſe honours did not hinder the Viſcount St. Albans from thinking of, and preparing for, his end; which he foreſaw was drawing on, though he was ſo happy as to eſcape the great plague, in the ſpring of the year 1625. Having ſufficiently eſtabliſhed the fame of his learning and abilities, by his writings publiſhed by himſelf, he committed by his Will ſeveral of his Latin and Philoſophical compoſitions, to the care of Sir William Boſwel, his Majeſty's agent in Holland, where they were afterwards publiſhed by Gruter. His Orations and Letters he commended to Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the duchy, and the Biſhop of Lincoln (who had been his ſucceſſor in the Court of Chancery, and acknowledged the honour of that truſt) the letters to be preſerved but not to be divulged, as touching too much on perſons and matters of State (*p*). By this judicious care of his, moſt of his papers were preſerved, and the greateſt part of them at different times have been printed and publiſhed, collected into volumes, and ſtand immortal monuments, not to his own honour only, but to that of his age and country, nay, and even of Human Nature alſo, if the teſtimony of the beſt judges may be allowed: for as his merit deſerved, ſo it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge (*q*) [*II*]. The ſevere winter which followed the infectious ſummer

(*b*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 26.

(*i*) See the Duke's Letters, in Bacon's Works, Vol iv. p. 733, 734, 735, &c.

(*l*) It is from this Latin tranſlation we have his Eſſays in Engliſh, in his Works, Vol. iii. p. 290.

(*m*) See likewiſe theſe heads of a ſpeech, in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 12.

(*l*) See this excellent piece in his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. iii. p. 513.

(*n*) Cabala, p. 249, edit. 1691.

(*o*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 29.

(*p*) See that letter printed in Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 737.

(*q*) See the proof of this in note [*II*].

[*II*] *So it has received the univerſal praiſe of all true friends to knowledge.*] If one ſhould attempt to collect and digeſt into order the various characters beſtowed, and the ample commendations afforded the Viſcount of St. Albans by firſt-rate writers only, it would demand a volume; and alas! I have ſcarcely a page to ſpare. But let me make the beſt uſe of this little room I can; and as Dr. Rawley, who was his Lordſhip's amanuenſis, rejected many of the Cambridge verſes on his Lord's death, becauſe he knew that great man conſidered rather *weight* than *number*; ſo let the order and the choice of thoſe names I mention on this occaſion, atone for my mentioning a few only out of a multitude, and that *multitude* too compared with the herd of mankind, deſerving to be ſtyled *the few*. I will begin with his contemporaries, ſuch as knew him beſt, and knew him with all his failings; who yet could not but admire the ſplendour of his parts, and of thoſe great qualities which rendered him ſo truly the glory of his age and nation. Sir Walter Raleigh (114), that true judge of men and things; of ages paſt and preſent; diſcourſing of the great men of

(114) Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 9.

ſummer of 1625, brought him very low; but the ſpring reviving his ſpirits, he made a little excurſion into the country, in order to try ſome experiments in Natural Philoſophy, in

of his time, ſaid, 'That the Earl of Saliſbury was 'an excellent ſpeaker, but no good penman; that 'Lord Henry Howard was an excellent penman, but 'no good ſpeaker; Sir Francis Bacon, alike eminent 'in both.' The judicious and penetrating Ben Jonſon thought, that Engliſh eloquence aſcended till the time of the Viſcount St. Albans, and from thence went backward and declined: he, who was not too apt to praiſe, was profuſe in his praiſes of Bacon, cloſing them with theſe admirable reflections (115): 'My conceit of his perſon was never increaſed toward him by his place or honours: but I have and 'do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only 'proper to himſelf, in that he ſeemed to me ever by 'his works one of the greateſt men, and moſt worthy of admiration that had been in many ages: in 'his adverſity, I ever prayed that God would give 'him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want; 'neither could I condole in a word or ſyllable for 'him, as knowing no accident could do harm to 'virtue, but rather help to make it manifeſt.' Archbiſhop Williams, to whoſe care the Viſcount St. Albans committed his Orations and Epiſtles, expreſſed his ſenſe of that confidence repoſed in him in theſe words (116). 'Your Lordſhip doth moſt worthily, therefore, in preſerving theſe two pieces 'amongſt the reſt of thoſe matchleſs monuments you 'ſhall leave behind you; conſidering, that as one 'age hath not bred your experience, ſo is it not fit 'it ſhould be confined to one age, and not imparted 'to the times to come; for my part therein, I do 'embrace the honour with all thankfulneſs, and the 'truſt impoſed upon me with all religion and devotion.' The famous Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving from him the *Novum Organum*, wrote to him thus in return (117). 'Your Lordſhip hath 'done a great and everlaſting benefit to all the children of Nature, and to Nature herſelf in her utmoſt 'extent of latitude, who never before had ſo noble 'nor ſo true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to 'ſtyle your Lordſhip) never ſo inward a Secretary of 'her cabinet.' But one of the nobleſt, and perhaps the moſt noble, teſtimony in honour of his great abilities, was the letter written to him not long after his fall by the Univerſity of Oxford, on their receiving from him his book *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, the firſt paragraph only of which ſhall be here tranſcribed (118). '*Right honourable, and what in nobility is almoſt a miracle; moſt learned Viſcount!* 'Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the Univerſity could have received nothing 'more acceptable than the Sciences; and thoſe ſciences which ſhe formerly ſent forth poor, of low 'ſtature unpoliſhed, ſhe hath received elegant, tall, 'and by the ſupplies of your wit (by which alone 'they could have been advanced) moſt rich in dowry. 'She eſteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a 'return with uſury made of that by a ſtranger, (if ſo 'near a relation may be called a ſtranger) which ſhe 'beſtows as a patrimony upon her children; and ſhe 'readily acknowledgeth, that though the Muſes are 'born in Oxford, they grow elſewhere: grown they 'are, and under your pen, who, like ſome mighty 'Hercules in learning, have, by your own hand, further advanced thoſe pillars in the learned world, 'which, by the reſt of that world, were ſuppoſed 'immoveable.' Neither were the beſt judges in the ſucceeding age leſs ſenſible of, or leſs inclined to celebrate, his worth. Thus, for inſtance, the famous Mr. Francis Oſborn, whoſe talent lay not much in commending, and who in many places of his works ſhews he was under no prepoſſeſſion in favour of our author, allows him to have been the moſt univerſal genius he had ever ſeen, or was ever like to ſee had he lived ever ſo long. He tells us, that he was ſo excellent, ſo agreeable a ſpeaker, that all who heard him were uneaſy if he was interrupted, and ſorry when he concluded; but what he thought, and very juſtly too, moſt remarkable, was his underſtanding all ſubjects to the bottom, for which he endeavours to account in the following manner (119). 'Now this general knowledge he had in all things 'huſbanded by his wit, and dignified by ſo majeſtical a carriage he was known to own, ſtruck ſuch 'an awful reverence in thoſe he queſtioned, that 'they durſt not conceal the moſt intrinſic part of 'their myſteries from him, for fear of appearing 'ignorant or ſaucy: all which rendered him no leſs 'neceſſary than admirable at the Council-table, 'where, in reference to impoſitions, monopolies, '&c. the meaneſt manufactures were an uſual argument, and, as I have heard, did in this baffle the 'Earl of Middleſex, that was born and bred a Citizen; yet without any great (if at all) interrupting 'his other ſtudies, as is not hard to be imagined, 'of a quick apprehenſion, in which he was admirable.' Dr. Peter Heylyn repreſents the Viſcount St. Albans as a man of a ſtrong brain, and capable of the higheſt performances, more eſpecially of framing a body of perfect Philoſophy (120). 'Pity 'it was, ſaid he, he was not entertained with ſome 'liberal ſalary, abſtracted from all affairs both of 'court and judicature, and furniſhed with ſufficiency 'both of means and helps for the going on in his deſign, which, had it been, he might have given us 'ſuch a body of Natural Philoſophy, and made it ſo 'ſubſervient to the public good, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Theophraſtus amongſt the Ancients, nor 'Paracelſus, or the reſt of our later Chymiſts, would 'have been conſiderable.' Our famous Poet, Abraham Cowley, has juſtly celebrated the mighty diſcoveries of the great Lord Bacon, and in a poem, too long to be inſerted here, done him all the juſtice that might be expected from one vaſt genius to another (121). Biſhop Sprat beſtows on him the higheſt praiſes when he ſays, that his books contained the beſt arguments in the defence of Experimental Philoſophy, and the beſt directions for promoting it. To ſay the truth, his character is ſo clear, ſo curious, and ſo remarkably worthy of the great man it celebrates, that I cannot help ſetting down a part of it, though it ſhould oblige me to be ſhorter in other citations (122). Thus then he ſpeaks: 'But methinks, 'in this one man I do at once find enough occaſion 'to admire the ſtrength of human wit, and to bewail the weakneſs of a mortal condition; for is it 'not wonderful, that he who had run through all 'the degrees of that profeſſion, which uſually takes 'up men's whole time, who had ſtudied, and practiſed, and governed the Common-Law, who had 'always lived in the crowd, and borne the greateſt 'burden of civil buſineſs, ſhould yet find leiſure 'enough for theſe retired ſtudies, to excel all thoſe 'men who ſeparate themſelves for this very purpoſe? 'He was a man of ſtrong, clear, and powerful imaginations; his genius was ſearching and inimitable, 'and of this I need give no other proof than his 'ſtyle itſelf, which as, for the moſt part, it deſcribes 'men's minds as well as pictures do their bodies, ſo 'it did his above all men living; the courſe of it 'vigorous and majeſtic; the wit, bold and familiar; 'the compariſons, fetched out of the way, and yet 'the moſt eaſy; in all, expreſſing a ſoul equally 'ſkilled in men and nature.' The incomparable Mr. Boyle * ſpeaks often of our author in his works, and always with honour; he ſtyles him ſometimes an *illuſtrious*, at others, an *admirable* and *excellent* Philoſopher; and, which is a higher commendation than any phraſe could have expreſſed, he often imitates him, and profeſſes a deſire of treading in his paths. Dr. Power, one of the moſt active and judicious among the firſt members of the Royal Society, in a learned treatiſe of his †, places at the head of his chapters, the Latin text from the Lord Verulam's work, to ſhew, that all the honour he had claimed was to have proſecuted his views. Biſhop Nicolſon, ſpeaking of the authors who have written concerning the reign of Henry VII., gives this character of his Lordſhip's performance on that ſubject (123). 'But this good 'work was moſt effectually undertaken and compleated by the incomparable Sir Francis Bacon, who has 'bravely ſurmounted all thoſe difficulties, and paſſed 'over thoſe rocks and ſhallows, againſt which he took 'ſuch pains to caution other leſs experienced hiſtorians. 'He has perfectly put himſelf into King Henry's own 'garb and livery, giving as ſprightly a view of the 'ſecrets of his Council, as if himſelf had been Pre-

* ſident

(115) Jonſon's Works, Vol. ii. in his Diſcoveries, p. 102.

(116) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 738.

(117) Sir Henry Wotton's Remains, p. 298.

(118) Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 405.

(119) Miſcellaneous Works of Francis Oſborn, Eſq; edit. 1722. Vol. i. p. 157, 158.

(120) Life of Archbiſhop Laud, P. i. p. 64.

(121) See his Pindarick on the Royal Society.

(122) In his Lordſhip's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Lond. 1734. 4to, p. 35, 36.

(*) Boyle's Works, Vol. i. p. 196. 458. iii. p. 154. v. p. 24. 41. 51.

(†) Experimental Philoſophy, in three books, Lond. 1694. 4to.

(123) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 84, 85.

in which journey he was taken ſo ill, that he was obliged to ſtay at the Earl of Arundel's houſe at Highgate, about a week, and there he expired, on the ninth of April 1626, being

'ſident in it. No trivial paſſages, ſuch as are below 'the notice of a ſtateſman, are mixed with his ſage 'remarks; nor is any thing of weight or moment, 'ſlubbered over with that careleſs haſte and indiffe-'rency, which is too common in other writers. No 'allowances are given to the author's own conjecture 'or invention, where a little pains and conſideration 'will ſerve to ſet the matter in its proper and true 'light. No impertinent digreſſions, nor fanciful com-'ments diſtract his readers; but the whole is written 'in ſuch a grave and uniform ſtile, as becomes both 'the ſubject and the artificer.' I ſhall add to theſe authorities but two more from the learned of our own nation, but they are two ſuch as might alone have ſecured immortality to any author they had commended. The firſt of theſe was Mr. Addiſon, who in one of the Tatlers, in which he vindicates the Chriſtian religion, by ſhewing that the wiſeſt and ableſt men in all ages have profeſſed themſelves believers, ſpeaks of our author thus (124): 'I ſhall 'in this paper only inſtance Sir Francis Bacon, a man, 'who, for the greatneſs of his genius and compaſs of 'knowledge, did honour to his age and country, I 'could almoſt ſay to human nature itſelf. He poſſeſſed 'at once all thoſe extraordinary talents, which were 'divided amongſt the greateſt authors of antiquity; 'he had the ſound, diſtinct, comprehenſive knowledge 'of Ariſtotle, with all the beautiful lights, graces, 'and embelliſhments of Cicero. One does not know 'which to admire moſt in his writings, the ſtrength 'of reaſon, force of ſtyle, or brightneſs of imagi-'nation. This author has remarked in ſeveral 'parts of his works, that a thorough inſight into 'Philoſophy makes a good believer, and that a ſmat-'tering in it naturally produces ſuch a race of 'deſpicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of 'the preſent age, whom (I muſt confeſs) I have al-'ways accuſed to myſelf, not ſo much for their want 'of faith, as their want of learning. I was infinitely 'pleaſed to find among the works of this extraor-'dinary man, a prayer of his own compoſing, which, 'for the elevation of thought and greatneſs of ex-'preſſion, ſeems rather the devotion of an angel than 'of a man. His principal fault ſeems to have been 'the exceſs of that virtue which covers a multitude 'of faults: This betrayed him to ſo great an indul-'gence towards his ſervants, who made a corrupt uſe 'of it, that it ſtripped him of all thoſe riches and 'honours, which a long ſeries of merits had heaped 'upon him.' The ſecond is that ſhort character of his writings, given us by the pen of the moſt noble John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamſhire, who aſ-ſerts (125), *That all his works are for expreſſion as well as thought, the glory of our nation and of all latter ages.* This reſpect paid to his extraordinary merit by his countrymen, did not either commence more early, or extend to greater diſtance, or riſe to a higher degree at home than abroad. The famous Conde de Gondamar, ſo long Ambaſſador here from his Catho-lic Majeſty, wrote him a very handſome letter upon his misfortune, in which he aſſures him of the King his maſter's interpoſition, if he judged it any way convenient for the reſtoring his condition (126). So well was his character known in Spain and ſo much regarded, though his conduct had been always op-poſite to that of the Spaniſh faction in the court of King James. Dr. Rawley tells us, he had ſeen a letter to the then Lord Cavendiſh, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, from Italy, wherein it was ſaid, that my Lord Bacon was more and more known, and his books more and more delighted in; ſo that thoſe men who had more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs eſteemed him one of the moſt capable ſpirits of that age (127). The elegant Mr. Voiture gives this character of the Latin works he had ſeen of the Viſ-count St. Albans (128): 'I find every thing perfectly 'fine that you have ſent me of Bacon, but do you 'not think that Horace, who ſaid

'Viſum Britannos hoſpitibus feros,

'would be much aſtoniſhed to hear a barbarian talk 'in this manner, and to ſee that there is not perhaps 'at this day a Roman, who ſpeaks ſo good Latin as 'this Engliſhman? And would not Juvenal ſay with 'greater reaſon than ever,

'Nunc totus Grajas noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas?'

The learned Grotius, in a private letter to a friend of his (129), highly commends his Lordſhip's life of Henry VII., as a work written with admirable judgment; and in this opinion the no leſs learned Conringius fully agrees. But the character of his writings in general, afforded by ſo exquiſite a judge of all the numerous ſubjects on which they were written, I mean the celebrated Baron Puffendorf, does ſtill greater honour to his memory (129) 'The late 'moſt wiſe Chancellor of England, ſays he, was the 'chief writer of our age, and who carried as it were 'the ſtandard that we might preſs forward, and make 'greater diſcoveries in Philoſophic matters, than any 'of which hitherto our ſchools had rung. So that 'if in our time any great improvements have been 'made in Philoſophy, there has been not a little 'owing to that great man.' The accurate and ju-dicious Francis Buddeus, (that I may mention ſome of the authors of our own time) applauds the Viſcount St. Albans extremely (130): He ſtiles him a new light in Philoſophy, one who firſt united ſpeculation and prac-tice, and opened a paſſage to thoſe mighty diſcoveries that have been made ſince his time. He indicates alſo the ſeveral parts of his great Body of Science, which have been commented on and explained by the learned Philoſophers of Germany; and thereby ſhews, that the memory of this admirable man expanded more fragrantly abroad for many years than here in his native country, where foreign approbation too fre-quently teaches us to revere the names of thoſe, who in their lives wanted common reſpect, though this was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the caſe of our author; and yet, as himſelf foreſaw, in ſome ſort it was: for though there ne-ver wanted ſome amongſt the moſt learned in this iſland who underſtood and applauded his writings, yet un-doubtedly it was their being tranſlated into Latin that procured both them and their author the praiſe they deſerved. The laſt authority I ſhall cite on this ſubject ſhall be Mr. Voltaire (131), who very juſtly ſtiles him, the father of Experimental Philoſophy, and enters into abundance of very judicious reflections on his diſcoveries and writings, owning at the ſame time, that what ſurprized him moſt was, to find the Doctrine of Attraction, which is looked upon as the foundation of another Philoſophy, expreſsly ſet down in Lord Bacon's, in words not to be controverted or miſtaken. I ſhall not take upon me to decide how far this may be juſt or not, but leave it to the ſearch and deciſion of the learned and ingenious reader: only give me leave to ſay, I have always ſuſpected the *Novum Organum* has been ſo little commended by the Moderns for two reaſons; firſt, that it requires a deep head and a ſtrong attention to become fully maſter of it, and ſo has been thoroughly underſtood by few; ſecondly, that thoſe few who have fully penetrated it, uſed it to raiſe ſtructures of their own, and not to finiſh Bacon's palace of wiſdom. It was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and ſelfiſh in his compoſition: he gave away without concern what-ever he poſſeſſed, and, believing other men of the ſame mould, he received with as little conſideration. Nay even as to fame he had the like notion; he was deſirous to enjoy it, but in the ſame way; not from his knowledge, but from his free and liberal com-munication of that knowledge; ſo that it may be truly and without flattery ſaid, his worſt qualities were the exceſſes of the moſt exalted virtues.

To the memory of ſuch a man, of what importance is it, if *James Howell* (132) has ſet down ſome vul-gar tales mixed with many miſtakes? If the foreign dictator in our hiſtory, *Rapin* (133), has treated him harſhly on the credit of *Weldon*, and other libellers, who knew no way of eſcaping oblivion, but by aſ-ſaſſinating great names, condemning thereby their own to immortal infamy? Or if POPE, forgetting at once the diſtance and reſemblance of their characters, ſuf-fers his petulant muſe to ſay,

If parts allure thee, think how *Bacon* ſhin'd,
The wiſeſt, brighteſt, meaneſt of mankind (134).

(124) Tatler, No. 267, in Addiſon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 401.

(125) D. Buckingham's Works, Vol. i. p. 264.

(126) See this Letter in Stephens's Collection, p. 517. where from a note it appears, that Count Gondamar really did his Lordſhip ſervice.

(127) Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 14.

(128) Oeuvres de Voiture, edit. 1650, p. 753.

(129) Epiſt. ad Gulielm. Maurerium. Jul. 26. 1629.

(129) Specimen. Controverſ. cap. i. ſect. 5.

(130) Compendium Hiſtoriæ Philoſophicæ, cap. vi. ſect. 13. p. 409, & ſeq.

(131) Letter xii. on the Engliſh Nation.

(132) Howel's Letters, p. 158, 159.

(133) Hiſtory of England, under the years 1616 and 1621.

(134) Eſſay on Man, epiſt. iv. ver. 277, 278.

being Eaſter-day (*r*), and was privately buried in the chapel of St. Michael's church, within the precincts of Old Verulam. In the chancel of which church, his faithful friend, and indefatigable ſervant in his troubles, Sir Thomas Meautys, cauſed a neat monument of white marble to be erected, with his Lordſhip's effigies ſitting in a contemplative poſture, with an inſcription written by Sir Henry Wotton (*s*), every way worthy of that excellent writer, and of that admirable man to whoſe honour it is dedicated [*KK*]. The moſt eminent ſcholars of the univerſity of Cambridge ſhewed their concern for his death, and the juſt ſenſe they had of the honour reſulting to that noble ſeminary of learning, from his receiving his education there, by compoſing verſes in ſeveral languages on that occaſion, which were afterwards printed (*t*). The ſame juſtice, poſterity has alſo rendered to his memory; inſomuch that it may be truly ſaid, his own prophecy has been fulfilled, and that after flying through foreign countries for a time, his reputation ſtands now fixed at home, where all admire the ſtrength and beauty of his genius, and, in favour of its efforts, would willingly forget, a man ſo endowed was not altogether exempt from failings.

(*r*) Dr. Rawley's Memoirs of Lord Bacon, prefixed to the *Reſuſcitatio*, p. 16, 17.

(*t*) Stephens's Account of Lord Bacon's Life, p. 36.

(*s*) An excellent plate of this monument, etched by the maſterly hand of *W. Hollar*, was prefixed to Rawley's *Reſuſcitatio*; and ſtands alſo before the third Volume of Bacon's Works by way of frontiſpiece.

[Notwithſtanding the length and copiouſneſs of the preceding article, Lord Bacon was ſo illuſtrious a man, and ſo many things have been written concerning him, by different authors, that we cannot avoid making an addition to the ſubject. Several incidents, not heretofore taken notice of, with regard to the early part of his life, are related by the induſtrious Dr. Birch, in his memoirs of Queen Elizabeth; and ſome farther particulars may be collected from other publications. Out of theſe we ſhall endeavour to ſelect ſuch facts and obſervations as may ſerve to throw farther light on our great Philoſopher's hiſtory and character.

Mr. Bacon was choſen to repreſent the county of Middleſex in the Parliament which met in February, 1592-3 (*u*). This, conſidering the narrowneſs of his fortune at that time, muſt be regarded as a proof of the general eſteem and reputation in which he was held: And no ſooner did he appear in the Houſe of Commons than he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a ſpeaker. He took a part in the debates which aroſe concerning the ſubſidies then demanded; and though he aſſented to them, yet, becauſe he was not for having them paid under ſix years, urging the neceſſities of the people, the danger of raiſing public diſcontentment, and the impropriety of ſetting *an evil precedent againſt themſelves and their poſterity*, the Queen was highly offended with him: So dangerous was it in thoſe days for a man to deliver his ſentiments with any freedom in Parliament. Her Majeſty's diſpleaſure on this account was ſo great, that though he took no ſmall pains to explain his conduct, and to ſolicit the return of her favour, by writing for that purpoſe, to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, and the Lord Keeper Puckering, ſhe continued her reſentment a long time, and it appears to have been the principal cauſe of her rejecting the ſolicitations made for his promotion (*w*). Mr. Bacon's having incurred the Queen's anger muſt have been the more ſenſibly felt by him, as his circumſtances were now exceedingly perplexed. Indeed, his anxiety from the ſituation of his affairs, and from the failure of the expectations of preferment, was ſuch as to have an ill effect upon a conſtitution of body naturally not firm, and weakened ſtill more by the intemperance of his night ſtudies (*x*). His great friend and patron, the Earl of Eſſex, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, to reſtore him to the good graces of her Majeſty, and to procure for him a valuable ſettlement. The ardour with which this

(*u*) Birch's Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. i. p. 93. Parl. Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 342. Letters, &c. of Francis Bacon, publiſhed by Dr. Birch, p. 1. note. In the laſt mentioned book, the Parliament is ſaid, by miſtake, to have met, Nov. 19, 1592.

(*w*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 372, 383. Birch's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 97. Letters, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2. Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 416. folio edit. 1753.

(*x*) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 95.

His glory cannot be blaſted by ſuch envious flaſhes as theſe. His failings did hurt only to his cotemporaries, and were expiated by his ſufferings: but his virtue and knowledge, and, above all, his zeal for mankind, will be felt while there are men; and conſequently, while they have gratitude, the name of Bacon, Verulam, or St. Albans, can never be mentioned but with admiration!

[*KK*] *To whoſe honour it is dedicated.*] This elegant tomb was erected to the memory of his Lordſhip, by one bound to him by a variety of ties: for Sir Thomas Meautys was not only his Secretary, and moſt faithful ſervant, but his couſin and heir, and had likewiſe married his grand niece (135). His Lordſhip is repreſented ſitting in his chair in a contemplative and his uſual poſture, one hand ſupporting his head, the other hanging over the arm of the chair, and underneath this inſcription, often, but ſometimes very incorrectly, tranſcribed; and therefore added here with a tranſlation expreſſing its true meaning, and ſo more fully explaining the intention of its ingenious author, one of the correcteſt writers of his time.

(135) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

FRANCISCUS BACON,
Baro de Verulam, Sancti Albani Vicecomes;
Seu Notioribus Titulis,
Scientiarum Lumen, Facundiæ Lex,
Sic Sedebat.

Qui poſtquam Omnia Naturalis Sapientiæ,
Et Civilis Arcana Evolviſſet,
Naturæ Decretum Explevit,
Compoſita Solvantur;
Anno Domini, M.DC.XXVI,
Ætatis LXVI.

Tanti Viri
Mem.
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Superſtitis Cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.

FRANCIS BACON,
Baron of Verulam, Viſcount St. Albans;
Or by more conſpicuous titles,
Of Sciences the Light, of Eloquence the Law,
Sat Thus.

Who after all Natural Wiſdom,
And Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded,
Nature's Law fulfilled,
Let Compounds be diſſolved;
In the Year of our Lord, M.DC.XXVI.
Of his Age, LXVI.

Of ſuch a Man,
That the Memory might remain,
THOMAS MEAUTYS,
Living his Attendant,
Dead his Admirer,
Placed this Monument.

generous nobleman proſecuted the matter will be apparent from one of his own letters to Mr. Bacon: 'Yeſterday I had, ſays his Lordſhip, a full audience, but with little 'better ſucceſs than before. The points I preſſed were an abſolute Αμνηστια, and an 'acceſs, as at former times. Againſt the firſt ſhe pleaded, that you were more in fault 'than any of the reſt in Parliament; and when ſhe did forgive it, and manifeſt her 'receiving of them into favour, that offended her then, ſhe will do it to many, that 'were leſs in fault, as well as to yourſelf. Your acceſs, ſhe ſaith, is as much as you 'can look for. If it had been in the King her father's time, a leſs offence than that 'would have made a man be baniſhed his preſence for ever. But you did come to the 'court, when you would yourſelf; and ſhe ſhould precipitate too much from being 'heavily diſpleaſed with you, to give you near acceſs, ſuch as ſhe ſhews only to thoſe, 'that ſhe favours extraordinarily. I told her, what I ſought for you was not ſo much 'for your good, though it were a thing I would ſeek extremely, and pleaſe myſelf in 'obtaining, as for her own honour, that thoſe excellent tranſlations of hers might be 'known by them, who could beſt judge of them. Beſides, my deſire was, that you 'ſhould neither be a ſtranger to her perſon nor to her ſervice; the one for your own 'ſatisfaction, the other for her Majeſty's own ſake, who, if ſhe did not employ you, 'ſhould loſe the uſe of the ableſt gentleman to do her ſervice of any of your quality 'whatſoever. Her humour is yet to delay. I am now going to her again; and what 'I cannot effect at once, I will look to do *ſæpe cædendo*. Excuſe my ill writing. I 'write in haſte, and have my chamber full of company, that break my head with talk-'ing (*y*).' This letter appears to have been written either in the latter end of Auguſt or the beginning of September, 1593.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 120, 121.

It is ſaid (p. 453.) that Mr. Bacon in 1594, preſſed very earneſtly to be made Queen's Solicitor. But it is evident that before this the Earl of Eſſex uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure for him a higher poſt, that of Attorney General. A conference which the Earl had with Sir Robert Cecil upon the ſubject, and which we ſhall inſert in a note, will ſerve ſtill farther to diſplay, in a very ſtriking light, his Lordſhip's zeal for his friend [*LL*]. But though Sir Robert Cecil ſeemed thus averſe to promoting the intereſt of his relation, yet, whether ſtimulated by this converſation, or by whatever motives, it is certain that he wrote in his favour to Sir Thomas Egerton, juſt then raiſed from the Attorneyſhip to be Maſter of the Rolls; from which letter, however, it is apparent that Sir Robert had no farther view than to Mr. Bacon's hereafter obtaining the poſt of Solicitor General (*z*). Whether Sir Robert Cecil was even ſo far ſincere, may be doubted: For in an interview which, nearly a twelvemonth afterward, Lady Ann Bacon had with the Lord Treaſurer and his ſon, though they made ſtrong profeſſions of kindneſs to Mr. Bacon, her Ladyſhip ſeemed to think that theſe pro-

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 165, 166.

[*LL*] *His Lordſhip's zeal for his friend.*] As the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Robert Cecil were returning in a coach together, from the examination of Dr. Lopez in the Tower, in February 1593-4, Sir Robert began of himſelf, ſaying, 'My Lord, the 'Queen has reſolved, e'er five days paſs, without 'any farther delay to make an Attorney General. 'I pray your Lordſhip to let me know whom you 'will favour.' The Earl anſwered, 'That he won-'dered Sir Robert ſhould aſk him that queſtion, 'ſeeing it could not be unknown to him, that reſo-'lutely againſt all whoſoever he ſtood for Francis 'Bacon.' 'Good Lord,' replied Sir Robert, 'I 'wonder your Lordſhip ſhould go about to ſpend 'your ſtrength in ſo unlikely or impoſſible a matter;' deſiring his Lordſhip to alledge to him but one only precedent of ſo raw a youth to that place of ſuch moment. The Earl, very cunningly working upon him, ſaid, 'That for the Attorneyſhip, which was 'but an ordinary office other than the Prince's 'favour, he could produce no pattern, becauſe he 'had not made any ſearch for that purpoſe; but 'that a younger than Francis Bacon, of leſs learn-'ing, and of no greater experience, was ſuing and 'ſtriving with all force for an office of far greater 'importance, greater charge, and greater weight, 'than the Attorneyſhip.' 'Such an one,' the Earl ſaid, 'he could name to him.' Sir Robert's an-ſwer was, 'That he well knew, that his Lordſhip 'meant him; and that admitting, that both his 'years and experience were ſmall, yet weighing the 'ſchool which he ſtudied in, and the great wiſdom 'and learning of his ſchoolmaſter, and the pains 'and obſervations he daily paſſed in that ſchool, 'he thought his forces and wiſdom to be ſufficient 'to ſway that machine; alledging with all, his 'Father's deſerts in theſe his long and painful travels 'of ſo long an adminiſtration to merit a mark of 'gratitude in the perſon of his ſon. And with 'regard to the affair of Mr. Francis Bacon, he de-'ſired his Lordſhip to conſider of it.' 'If at leaſt, 'ſaid he, your Lordſhip had ſpoken of the Solicitor-'ſhip, that might be of eaſier digeſtion by her Ma-'jeſty.' The Earl upon this anſwered, 'Digeſt me 'no digeſtions; for the Attorneyſhip for Francis is 'that I muſt have; and in that will I ſpend all my 'might, authority, and amity, and with tooth and 'nail defend and procure the ſame for him againſt 'whomſoever; and that whoſoever getteth this office 'out of my hands for any other, before he have it, 'it ſhall coſt him the coming by, and this be you 'aſſured of, Sir Robert; for now do I fully declare 'myſelf. And for your own part, Sir Robert, I 'think ſtrange both of my Lord Treaſurer and you, 'that you can have the mind to ſeek the preferment 'of a ſtranger before ſo near a kinſman; for if you 'weigh in a balance the parts every way of his com-'petitor and him, only excepting five poor years of 'admitting to a Houſe of Court before Francis, you 'ſhall find in all other reſpects whatſoever no com-'pariſon between them (136).' It is hinted, in the preceding converſation, that Sir Robert Cecil was younger than Francis Bacon; upon which the author of the Britiſh Biography judiciouſly obſerves, that either the Earl of Eſſex was miſtaken in Cecil's age, or that the common accounts which make him ſome years older than Bacon, are erroneous (137). Robert Cecil's birth is generally placed about 1550; but, as the exact time cannot be aſcertained, it may be worthy of conſideration how far the intimation given above renders it probable that he was born a good deal later than hath uſually been imagined. It is a ſurprizing inſtance of prejudice and diſlike in Sir Robert Cecil, that he ſhould repreſent his couſin, Mr. Francis Bacon, who had then entered into the thirty-fourth year of his age, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great abilities, as a raw youth.

(136) Birch's Memoirs of the reign of Queen Eliz. Vol. i. p. 152, 153.

(137) Britiſh Biography, Vol. iv. p. 131, note.

 ſeſſions,

feſſions, at leaſt on Sir Robert's part, were only external (*a*). In the mean while, the Earl of Eſſex continued his ſolicitations to the Queen, with almoſt unparalelled earneſtneſs and perſeverance; nor was Mr. Bacon himſelf deficient in uſing his utmoſt endeavours to remove her Majeſty's prejudices againſt him; but all in vain. He was, at length, totally diſappointed both of the Attorneyſhip and the Solicitorſhip, which laſt his patron would gladly have procured for him, when the former could not be obtained (*b*). And yet it appears, that, while the affair of his preferment was depending, the Queen was pleaſed to employ him on ſome buſineſs of truſt, the nature of which is not now known (*c*). With reſpect to his advancement, he had ſuch a conviction of Lord Keeper Puckering's having treated him with inſincerity, that he expoſtulated with him very freely upon the ſubject, by which his Lordſhip was greatly offended (*d*). It is ſaid by Mr. Mallet, that Mr. Bacon's repeated diſappointments ſunk ſo deep into his ſpirit, that he was ſeveral times on the point of retiring for ever, and even of hiding his grief and reſentment in ſome foreign country (*e*). And a late writer informs us, that he was ſo much diſguſted with his being refuſed that preferment, which he thought he had a natural right to expect, that he had once entertained a deſign of relinquiſhing his profeſſion, and retiring to Cambridge, with a view of dedicating the remainder of his days to ſcience and philoſophy. It would probably, as the ſame author judiciouſly remarks, have been advantageous to the character of Bacon, and of the higheſt benefit to the learned world, if he had really adopted this deſign (*f*). Though we do not diſpute the truth of the preceding aſſertions, we have not been able to find out the authorities on which they are grounded.

(*a*) *Ibid.* 195, 196.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 166—168. 171, 172. 271, 272.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 179, 180.

(*d*) *Ibid.* Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 421—424.

(*e*) Mallet's Life of Bacon, p. 27.

(*f*) Britiſh Biography, Vol. iv. p. 133.

To return a little backwards: In 1593, Mr. Bacon formed an intimacy with the famous Antonio Perez, then in England, which gave great diſguſt to Lady Ann Bacon, who expreſſed, in ſevere terms, the extreme concern ſhe felt at both her ſons having entered into a connection with a man of whom ſhe had conceived a very bad opinion (*g*). It is ſaid in Birch's Memoirs, that Bacon made his firſt pleading in the caſe of the heir of Lord Cheney, about the latter end of January 1593-4 (*h*). And he is repreſented as having been ſoon after called to diſtinguiſh himſelf, with much commendation, in other public cauſes (*i*). We do not well know how to reconcile this account of things with the relation that is given of his early practice, and of his having been appointed Counſel learned in the law extraordinary to Queen Elizabeth in the twenty-eighth year of his age; unleſs we ſuppoſe that his practice had hitherto been entirely of a private nature, or confined to inferior courts. If it were ſo late before he engaged in public pleadings, it is the leſs ſurprizing that there ſhould be ſome reluctance in conſtituting him Attorney or Solicitor General; and, perhaps, the zeal of the Earl of Eſſex, in ſo ſtrongly inſiſting upon the former poſt for him, is more to be commended than his wiſdom. Among the perſons of rank and diſtinction, who were attached to the intereſts of Mr. Bacon, and ſolicitous for his promotion, was Mr. Fulke Greville. This accompliſhed gentleman, who was an eminent patron of able men in their ſeveral profeſſions, exerted his influence upon the Queen with ſuch an expectation of ſucceſs, that he ſays, in a letter to Mr. Bacon, he would lay 100 l. to 50 l. that he would be her Solicitor. A few days after the writing of this letter, we find Mr. Bacon at Cambridge, where, on the 27th of July 1594, he was created Maſter of Arts (*k*).

(*g*) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 140—145.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 147, 148.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 152. 154, 155.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 178, 179. 181.

Sometime after his diſappointment, her Majeſty (*l*) treated him with ſuch appearances of grace and truſt, as ſeemed to raiſe in him freſh hopes of profiting by her favour. Accordingly, when Sir Thomas Egerton was advanced to the dignity of Lord Keeper, Mr. Bacon had a view of ſucceeding him as Maſter of the Rolls. But, whether there was any probability or not of the ſcheme's becoming otherwiſe effectual, it was rendered impracticable by Sir Thomas's retaining that office, together with the Keeperſhip, till after the death of Elizabeth (*m*).

(*l*) In 1596.

(*m*) Birch's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 468. 481.

In 1597, Mr. Bacon formed a deſign of bettering his fortune by marriage. The Lady he had a view to, was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Cecil, eldeſt ſon of the Lord Treaſurer. She had lately become a rich widow, by the death of her huſband, Sir William Hatton. Mr. Bacon immediately communicated his intention to the Earl of Eſſex, who was then ſetting out upon his expedition to Spain, and deſired his Lordſhip's intereſt in ſupport of his pretenſions. That nobleman embraced the cauſe of his friend with his wonted zeal, and inſtantly diſpatched two letters from Sandwich, to be given to the father and mother of the Lady [*MM*]. It was not likely that Bacon ſhould

[*MM*] *To be given to the father and mother of the Lady.*] The letter to Sir Thomas Cecil was as follows:

'SIR,

'I Write this letter from the ſea ſide ready to go abroad, and leave it with my Secretary to be by 'him delivered to you, whenſoever he ſhall know, 'that my dear and worthy friend Mr. Francis Bacon 'is a ſuitor to my Lady Hatton your daughter. 'What his virtues and excellent parts are, you are not ignorant. What advantages you may give both to yourſelf and to your houſe, by having a ſon-in-law ſo qualified, and ſo likely to riſe in his profeſſion, you may eaſily judge. Therefore, to warrant my moving of you to incline favourably to his ſuit, I will only add this, that if ſhe were my ſiſter or daughter, I proteſt I would as confidently reſolve to farther it, as I now perſuade you. And though my love to him be exceedingly great, yet is my judgment nothing partial; for he that knows him as well as I do, cannot but be ſo affected.

ſhould ſucceed in an application which depended ſo much on the favour of the Cecils. Lady Hatton afterwards married his great rival and antagoniſt, the Attorney General Coke (*n*).

(*n*) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 346—348.

It was the more neceſſary for Mr. Bacon to endeavour at ſome methods of improving his fortune, as his affairs were, at this time, in the greateſt perplexity. His circumſtances were ſo embarraſſed about a year after his intention of making propoſals of marriage to Lady Hatton, that he had the mortification of being arreſted, as he returned from the Tower, where he had been attending on ſome important buſineſs of a public nature. The perſon, at whoſe ſuit he was attached, was one Sympſon, a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet, and the ſum was for three hundred pounds. Mr. Bacon complained heavily of this tranſaction, to Sir Thomas Egerton and Sir Robert Cecil, as a diſhoneſty to himſelf (no warning having been given him), and as a contempt thrown upon her Majeſty's ſervice (*o*). Notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs he muſt have felt, and the other difficulties he could not avoid being expoſed to, from the diſtreſs of his private fortune, he ſtill retained vigour of mind ſufficient to proſecute his ſtudies with ardour, and to take an active part in the debates of Parliament. In the latter end of 1597, he had made a motion in the Houſe of Commons, againſt incloſures and depopulation of towns and houſes of huſbandry and tillage; and, in his ſpeech upon this occaſion, had uſed the very ſame arguments which have been urged, again and again, in the preſent age, in oppoſition to the like meaſures (*p*). He had ſpoken, likewiſe, in favour of the ſubſidy (*q*).

(*o*) Letters, &c. of Lord Bacon, p. 16—19.

(*p*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 414.

(*q*) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 616—618.

With regard to Mr. Bacon's conduct towards the Earl of Eſſex, little needs to be added. The latter part of it is ſo far from being capable of a full vindication, that it can ſcarcely be at all extenuated; and yet it is but doing an act of juſtice to him to remark, that he ſeemed as willing to ſerve that nobleman as the timidity of his nature, and his deſire of recommending himſelf to the government, would permit. He not only diſſuaded, but proteſted againſt the Earl's going to Ireland, repreſenting to him, with as much vehemency and aſſeveration as he could, that his abſence would exulcerate the Queen's mind in a manner that would be ill for *her*, ill for *him*, and ill for the *ſtate*. Mr. Bacon farther inſiſted upon it, that the enterprize would be attended with ſuch difficulties as would diſappoint his Lordſhip's hopes, and greatly diminiſh his reputation (*r*). The Earl not paying a regard to his repreſentations, Mr. Bacon wrote to him, juſt before he ſet out on his Iriſh expedition, a letter of advice, which ſhews the real concern which the writer had for his noble friend's honour and ſucceſs (*s*). When the Queen expreſſed a vehement diſlike of Eſſex's proceedings in Ireland, Mr. Bacon adviſed her Majeſty to continue him about her own perſon, with a white ſtaff in his hand, as Lord Leiceſter had, for ſociety to herſelf, and for an honour and ornament to her attendance and Court (*t*). Upon the Earl's return, and during his impriſonment in the Lord Keeper's houſe, Mr. Bacon, as he has particularly related in his apology, endeavoured ſeveral times to ſoften the reſentment of Elizabeth (*u*) [*NN*]. But the

(*r*) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 608. Birch's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 395.

(*s*) *Ibid.* Bacon's Works, Vol. ii. p. 458.

(*t*) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 608. Birch, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. ii. p. 432.

(*u*) Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 606—614. Birch, as before, p. 438—440.

'affected. In this farewel of mine I pray receive the 'kindeſt wiſhes of

'your moſt affectionate

Sandwich, this 24th of June. 'and aſſured friend,

'Eſſex.'

Lady Cecil, to whom the next letter was addreſſed, was one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Nevil, Lord Latimer.

MADAM,

'THE end in my writing to your Ladyſhip now, 'is to do that office to my worthy and dear 'friend, which, if I had ſtayed in England, I would 'have done by ſpeech; and that is, to ſolicit your 'Ladyſhip to favour his ſuit to my Lady Hatton, 'your daughter; which I do in behalf of Mr. 'Francis Bacon, whoſe virtues I know ſo much, 'as you muſt hold him worthy of very good fortune. 'If my judgment be any thing, I do aſſure your 'Ladyſhip I think you ſhall very happily beſtow 'your daughter. And if my faith be any thing, I 'proteſt, if I had one as near me, as ſhe is to you, 'I had rather match her with him than with men 'of far greater titles. And if my words do carry 'credit with your Ladyſhip, you ſhall make me very 'much bound to you, and ſhall tie me to be

'at your Ladyſhip's commandment,

Sandwich, the 24th of June, 1597. 'Eſſex (138).

(138) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. ii. p. 347, 348.

[*NN*] *To ſoften the reſentment of Elizabeth.*] Among other inſtances of Bacon's endeavours to moderate the Queen's indignation againſt Eſſex, there is a pleaſant circumſtance recorded concerning Sir John Haywarde's *firſt part of the Life and Reign of King Henry the IVth.* This work, the writer (then Dr. Haywarde, a Civilian) publiſhed in 1559, at London, in quarto, with a dedication to the Earl of Eſſex, in which were theſe expreſſions, *Magnus ſiquidem es, et præſenti Judicio et futuri Temporis expectatione.* The dedication, and the ſubject of the book, which was the hiſtory of the depoſing of King Richard the Second, gave new offence to her Majeſty, and occaſioned the author to be committed to priſon, where he continued for a conſiderable time. The Queen, who imagined that this hiſtory was a ſeditious prelude to inſpire the people with boldneſs and faction, and who thought there was treaſon in it, aſked Mr. Bacon whether he could not find paſſages in it that might involve that crime? To which he anſwered that for treaſon, he could find none, but for felony very many. And when her Majeſty aſked wherein? He told her the author had committed very apparent theft; for he had taken moſt of the ſentences out of Tacitus, and having tranſlated them into Engliſh, inſerted them into his text. At another time when the Queen could not be perſuaded, that the book was the performance of the writer whoſe name was prefixed, but that it had ſome more miſchievous author, and ſaid, with great indignation, that ſhe would have him racked to produce that author; Mr. Bacon replied, 'Nay, Madam, he is 'a Doctor, never rack his perſon, but rack his ſtyle; 'let him have a pen, ink, and paper, and help of 'books, and be enjoined to continue the ſtory where 'it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating 'the ſtyles, to judge, whether he were the author or 'no (139).'

(139) Birch's Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 439. Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 610.

ſequel

ſequel of the ſtory, his pleading againſt his generous patron and friend, and the publiſhing of the declaration of his practices and treaſons, can admit of no palliation.

In the laſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Bacon diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than ever, by the concern he took in public buſineſs, and the ſpeeches he made on various occaſions. Beſides propoſing a bill for the ſuppreſſing of abuſes in weights and meaſures, and ſpeaking in the queſtion upon the ſupply, he was very active in the debates that aroſe with regard to monopolies (*w*). The points he chiefly had in view were to ſhew his duty to her Majeſty, and to moderate the proceedings of the Commons, who were greatly and juſtly alarmed at the exceſs to which monopolies had been carried. At the acceſſion of King James the Firſt, Mr. Bacon's affairs continued to be ſo embarraſſed, that he appears to have been arreſted the ſecond time. This circumſtance, together with his having three Knights in his meſs at Gray's Inn, and the ſcheme he had now begun to form of obtaining Alderman Barnham's daughter in marriage, are aſſigned by him as reaſons why he wiſhed to be knighted, though no one could be more ſenſible of the proſtitution of that honour which then took place (*x*). From henceforward, his fortune and his dignities were continually increaſing; and if he had maintained an integrity and prudence of conduct proportioned to his eminent abilities, no man in a public ſtation could have ſhone with equal ſplendour. A paper or two which will farther illuſtrate the corrupt practices he was charged with, and the anſwers he was capable of making to the accuſations brought againſt him, will be inſerted in a note [*OO*]. We ſhall ſubjoin, likewiſe, ſome additional remarks on his perſonal character, his

(*w*) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. iv. p. 436. 440. 452. 461, 463. 475.

(*x*) Bacon's Letters by Birch, p. 23, 24, 25.

[*OO*] *Will be inſerted in a note.*] Beſides the accounts of the proceedings againſt Lord Bacon which may be met with in Franklyn, Ruſhworth, and the State Trials, there is a very full relation of the whole affair in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, from which we ſhall extract the particulars of the crimes he was accuſed of, and the anſwers or acknowledgments he made to each of them.

Corruptions charged on the Lord Chancellor with the Proofs thereof.

I. 'In the cauſe between Sir Rowland Egerton, 'Knt. and Edward Egerton, Eſq; the Lord Chancellor 'received 500 l. on the part of Sir Rowland, before 'he decreed the ſame. Proved by the depoſition of 'Sir Rowland Egerton, and John Brook, who pro'vided the money, and payed it to the Chancellor's 'agent. Bevis Thelwell depoſes he delivered 200 l. 'to the Lord Chancellor he received from Edward 'Egerton, in the ſame cauſe. And 400 l. more. 'Proved by the depoſitions of Sir Richard Young 'and Sir George Haſtings, Ralph Mereſill, and 'Triſtram Woodward.

II. 'In the cauſe between Hody and Hody, he 'received a dozen of buttons of the value of 50 l. 'a fortnight after the cauſe was ended. Proved 'by the depoſitions of Sir Thomas Perient and John 'Churchill; who ſpeaks of greater value by the re'port of Hody.

III. 'In the cauſe between the Lady Wharton 'and the coheirs of Sir Francis Willoughby, he re'ceived of the Lady 310 l. Proved by the depoſi'tions of the Lady Wharton, Richard Keeling, and 'Anthony Gardner.

IV. 'In Sir Thomas Monk's cauſe, he received 'of Sir Thomas, by the hands of Sir Henry Holmes, '100 l. but this was nine months after the ſuit was 'ended. Proved by the depoſition of Sir Henry 'Holmes.

V. 'In the cauſe between Sir John Trevor and 'Aſcue, he received of the ſaid Sir John 100 l. Prov'ed by the depoſition of Richard Keeling.

VI. 'In the cauſe between *Holman* and Young, he 'received of Young 100 l. after the decree made for 'him. Proved by the aforeſaid Richard Keeling.

VII. 'In the cauſe between Fiſher and Wrenham, 'after the decree was paſt, he received of Fiſher a ſuit 'of hangings worth 160 l. and better; which Fiſher 'gave by advice of Mr. Duke. Proved by the de'poſition of Sir Edward Fiſher.

VIII. 'In one Kenneday's cauſe he had of him a 'rich cabinet worth 800 l. Proved by the depoſition 'of James Kenneday.

IX. 'He borrowed of one Valore 1000 l. upon his 'own bond, at one time; and the like ſum at ano'ther time, on his own note, indorſed by Hunt, 'his ſervant. Proved by the depoſition of Peter 'Valore.

X. 'He received from Richard Scot 200 l. after 'his cauſe was ended; but upon a precedent pro'miſe; likewiſe, he had in the ſame cauſe 100 l. for 'Sir John Lenthal's part. Proved by the depoſitions 'of Richard Scot and Edward Sherborne.

XI. 'In a cauſe between Wroth and Sir Arthur 'Manwaring, he had of the former 100 l. Proved 'by John Churchill and John Hunt.

XII. 'Sir Ralph Hanſby, having a cauſe depend'ing before the Chancellor, he had of him 500 l. 'Proved by the depoſitions of * * * * * *

XIII. 'William Counton had an extent granted 'him for a debt of 1200 l. the Lord Chancellor ſtay'ed it and wrote his letter; on which part of the 'debt was paid preſently, and part at a future day. 'The Lord Chancellor hereupon ſends to borrow '500 l. and, becauſe Counton was to pay to one 'Huxley 400 l. his Lordſhip required Huxley to for'bear it for ſix months, and thereupon obtains the 'money from Counton. The money being unpaid, 'ſuit grows between Huxley and Counton in Chan'cery; where his Lordſhip decreed Counton to pay 'Huxley the debt, with damages and coſts, when 'the money was in his own hands. Proved by the 'depoſition of William Counton.

XIV. 'In the cauſe between Sir William Brunker 'and Aubrey, the Chancellor received from Aubrey '100 l. Proved by the depoſitions of Chriſtopher 'Aubrey, Sir George Haſtings, and the letters from 'Aubrey to the Lord Chancellor.

XV. 'In Lord Montagu's cauſe he received from 'that Lord 6 or 700 l. and more was to be paid at 'the end of the cauſe. Proved by Bevis Thelwell.

XVI. 'In Mr. Dunch's cauſe, he received from 'him 200 l. Proved by Thelwell.

XVII. 'In a cauſe between Reynel and Peacock, 'the Lord Chancellor received from Reynel 200 l. 'and a diamond ring worth 5 or 600 l. Proved by 'the depoſitions of John Hunt and Sir John Reynel. 'He took of Peacock alſo 100 l. and borrowed '1000 l. without ſecurity, intereſt, or time of repay'ment. Proved by William Peacock and James 'Rolfe.

XVIII. 'In the cauſe between Smithwick and 'Wyche, he received from the former 200 l. which 'was repaid. Proved by John Hunt.

XIX. 'In Sir Henry Ruſſel's cauſe, he received 'money from him; but it is not certain how much. 'Proved by Hunt.

XX. 'In the cauſe of Mr. Barker, the Chancellor 'received of the ſaid Barker 700 l. Proved by 'the depoſitions of Robert Barker and Edward 'Sherborne.

XXI. 'There being a reference from his Majeſty 'to his Lordſhip, for a buſineſs between the Grocers 'and Apothecaries of London, he received of the 'Grocers 200 l. Proved by the depoſitions of Sir 'Thomas Middleton, Alderman Johnſon, and John 'Banbury. And he received, in the ſame cauſe of 'the

[*PP*], his writings and philoſophy [*QQ*], and ſuch other incidental circumſtances as may be worthy of notice [*RR*.]

'the Apothecaries, who oppoſed the Grocers, a 'taſter of gold worth 40 or 50 l. together with a 'preſent of ambergreaſe. Proved by Sir Thomas 'Middleton and Samuel Jones. Alſo, of the new 'Company of Apothecaries, in the ſame cauſe 100 l. 'Proved by John Keilet and Gabriel Sheriffe.

XXII. 'He took of the French Merchants 1000 l. 'to conſtrain the Vintners of London to take from 'them 1500 tuns of wine. Proved by the depoſitions 'of Robert Bell, William Spright, and Richard 'Peacock. To accompliſh this buſineſs he uſed very 'indirect means, by colour of his office and autho-'rity, without bill or ſuit depending; terrifying the 'Vintners by threats and impriſonments of their 'perſons, to buy wines, for which they had no uſe 'nor need, at higher rates than they were at that 'time vendible. Proved by the depoſitions of John 'Child, Henry Aſhton, Thomas Heſſelfoote, Ralph 'Moor, Thomas Knight, and the Chancellor's own 'letters and orders.

XXIII. 'The Lord Chancellor hath alſo given 'way to great exactions by his ſervants, both in re-'ſpect of private ſeals, and likewiſe for ſealing of 'injunctions, with other things. Proved by Thomas 'Manwood and Richard Keeling.'

The Confeſſion and Humble Submiſſion of me the Lord Chancellor.

I. 'To the firſt article he confeſſed, That upon 'a reference from his Majeſty, of all ſuits between 'Sir Rowland Egerton and Edward Egerton, both 'parties ſubmitted to his award, by reciprocal recog-'nizances in 10,000 marks a-piece: That after 'divers hearings, he made his award with the advice 'of Lord Hobart; and, ſome days after, the ſums 'mentioned in the charge were delivered to him 'from Sir Rowland. That Mr. Edward Egerton 'flying off from the award, a ſuit was begun in 'Chancery by Sir Rowland Egerton, to have the 'award confirmed; and a decree was made there-'upon. That ſoon after his coming to the ſeal, 'when many preſented him, he received the 400 l. 'mentioned in this article, of Mr. Egerton; but, as 'he remembered, it was for favours paſt.

II. 'That in the cauſe between Hody and Hody, 'about a fortnight after the cauſe was ended, there 'were gold-buttons, about the value of 50 l. pre-'ſented him.

III. 'That in the cauſe between the Lady Whar-'ton, and the coheirs of Sir Francis Willoughby, he 'received of the Lady Wharton 200 l. in gold, and, 'at another time, an hundred pieces, while the cauſe 'was depending.

IV. 'That he received of Sir Thomas Monk one 'hundred pieces; but it was long after his ſuit was 'ended.

V. 'That he received of Sir John Trevor, as a 'new-year's-gift, 100 l. but he confeſſed it was while 'his cauſe was depending.

VI. 'In the cauſe between Holman and Young, 'he received of Young an 100 l. but it was long after 'his cauſe was ended.

VII. 'That while the cauſe was depending be-'tween Fiſher and Wrenham (or Wraynham) he did 'receive of Sir Edward Fiſher, a ſuit of hangings 'of the value of about 160 l. towards furniſhing his 'houſe; and was at the ſame time preſented by 'others, who were no ſuitors, with furniture for his 'houſe.

VIII. 'As to the charge of his receiving a cabinet, 'of the value of 800 l. of Sir John Kenneday; a 'cabinet was indeed ſent to his houſe by Sir John, 'but not of half that value; but he refuſed to 'accept it, and was determined to ſend it back 'again: That one Pinkney, who ſtood engaged for 'the money to pay for the cabinet, deſired he might 'have it; and thereupon Sir John entreated his 'Lordſhip, that he would not diſgrace him by return-'ing the gift, much leſs put it into a wrong hand; 'and that he was ready to return it to whom their 'Lordſhips ſhould appoint.

IX. 'He confeſſed he had borrowed 1000 l. of 'Valore; but looked upon it as a debt, and was 'obliged to repay it.

X. 'He acknowledged his receiving 200 l. of Mr. 'Scot, about a fortnight after the decree paſſed for 'him: And that he received 100 l. of Sir John 'Lenthall, about a month after the decree paſſed.

XI. 'That the cauſe between Wroth and Man-'waring was ended by his arbitrement, by conſent 'of parties, and he received of Mr. Wroth 100 l. 'about a month after the cauſe was ended.

XII. 'That he received of Sir Ralph Hanſby, 'while his cauſe was depending, 500 l.

XIII. 'That he did borrow the 500 l. mentioned 'in this article of Counton; but looked upon it as a 'debt which he was obliged to repay.

XIV. 'In the cauſe between Sir William Brounker 'and Aubrey, he did acknowledge his receiving 100 l. 'of Aubrey.

XV. 'He confeſſed he received money of the Lord 'Montagu, while his ſuit was depending, to the 'amount of 6 or 700 l.

XVI. 'He confeſſed his receiving 200 l. of Mr. 'Dunch; but thought it was ſome time after the 'decree.

XVII. 'He confeſſed his receiving 200 l. of Sir 'George Reynel, his near relation, at his firſt coming 'to the ſeal, to be beſtowed in furniture; but thinks 'this was before any ſuit began: And as to the 'diamond-ring he received of him while his cauſe 'was depending, charged to be worth 5 or 600 l. it 'was not of near that value; though, he confeſſed, 'it was too much for a new-year's-gift: He alſo 'confeſſed his receiving of 100 l. of Mr. Peacock, at 'his coming to the ſeal, as a preſent, and that he 'afterwards borrowed 1000 l. of him at twice; for 'which, he ſaid, he would take no ſecurity or intereſt, 'and gave him his own time for repaying it.

XVIII. 'He confeſſed his ſervant Hunt did receive '200 l. of Smithwick; but that he ordered it to be 'repaid.

XIX. 'That he did receive of Sir Henry Ruſſel '3 or 400 l. about a month after the cauſe was de-'creed; in which decree he was aſſiſted by two of 'the Judges.

XX. 'He confeſſed he received of Mr. Barker the '700 l. mentioned in this article, ſome time after the 'decree paſſed.

XXI. 'As to this article, he confeſſed, he received 'the ſums there mentioned, *viz.* of the Grocers, '200 l. of the Apothecaries, that ſtood with the Gro-'cers, a taſter of gold worth 40 or 50 l. and a preſent 'of ambergreaſe; and of a new Company of Apo-'thecaries, that ſtood againſt the Grocers, 100 l. 'But this was no judicial buſineſs, he obſerved, only 'a compoſition between the parties; and he thought, 'as they all received benefit by it, and were all three 'common purſes, there was no great matter in re-'ceiving what they voluntarily preſented.

XXII. 'To this article, in which he is charged 'with taking of the French Merchants, 1000 l. to 'conſtrain the Company of Vintners to take 1500 'tuns of their wine, with threatning and impriſon-'ing the Vintners becauſe they would not take their 'wines at higher prices than they were vendible, he 'confeſſed, Sir Thomas Smith did deal with him 'in behalf of the French Company, informing him, 'That the Vintners, by combination, refuſed to take 'the wines at any reaſonable prices, and that this 'would deſtroy their trade, which the ſtate was con-'cerned in; and that the Company would gratify 'him with 1000 l. for the trouble he ſhould take 'in it. He did, he confeſſed, thereupon endeavour 'to compromiſe matters between them, and prevent 'a ſuit, propounding ſuch a price as the Vintners 'might gain 6 l. a ton; and the King afterwards 'recommending the buſineſs to him, as a matter that 'concerned his cuſtoms, he dealt the more peremp-'torily in it, and did, for a day or two, reſtrain 'ſome of thoſe that were the moſt ſtiff, in a meſſen-'ger's hands; and afterwards the Merchants pre-'ſented him with 1000 l.

XXIII. 'To this article, That he had given way 'to the exactions of his ſervants, in reſpect of pri-'vate ſeals and injunctions, he confeſſed it to be a 'great fault, that he had looked no better to his 'ſervants (140).'

(140) Parl. Hiſt. Vol. v. p. 403—406. 411—415.

[*PP*] *Additional remarks on his perſonal character.*] It muſt be confeſſed that, in the preceding article, Lord Bacon's conduct is, in two or three caſes, too much palliated. For inſtance, what is ſaid in p. 463. 'That he had not either a very aſpiring, or a 'very covetous diſpoſition, but was content to wait 'the proper ſeaſons and favourable opportunities 'of riſing, which are brought forth by time,' cannot be conſidered as ſtrictly true. For, though he was not directly covetous, his profuſeneſs led him to one of the worſt effects of avarice, the accepting of bribes: And that he was of an aſpiring temper, is evident from his reiterated ſolicitations for preferment. His application for the Chancellorſhip was not carried on with all the dignity and honour deſcribed in p. 470. It appears that he urged his devotedneſs to the prerogative as the reaſon for his being raiſed to that high office. This, indeed, is ſo plain from the letter inſerted in the note [Z], wherein he tells the King, 'that he could only 'preſent him with *Gloria in Obſequio*, and that he 'dared to promiſe that, if he ſat in that place, his 'Majeſty's buſineſs ſhould not make ſuch ſhort turns 'as it had done, but a direction being once given, 'it ſhould be purſued and performed,' that we are ſurprized at the commendations beſtowed on the manner of Sir Francis Bacon's ſuing for the Chancellorſhip. Neither do we think that his depreciating the other perſons who might be thought of for the ſame poſt, redounds to his credit. In a letter which he wrote to King James on another occaſion, he ſays, 'when he that letteth (Sir Edward Coke) 'is gone, I ſhall endeavour, to the beſt of my power 'and ſkill, that there may be a conſent and united 'mind in your judges to ſerve you, and ſtrengthen 'your buſineſs (141).' We are afraid that his oppoſition to the marriage of Sir Edward Coke's daughter with Sir John Villiers, did not proceed ſo much from the exceſs of his fidelity and affection to Buckingham (which is aſſerted in p. 474.) as from a ſelfiſh policy, that, in this inſtance, was equally mean and unſucceſsful. With regard to Sir Francis Bacon's general conduct as a lawyer, ſeveral caſes might be mentioned which clearly ſhew how much he was guided by the King's inclinations and directions. Not to inſiſt upon other facts, the part he took in the affair of Peacham was highly diſgraceful. This matter hath been ſo well ſtated by a late judge, of the moſt incorruptible integrity, as well as of the ſoundeſt abilities, that it would be an injury to our readers not to tranſcribe the whole paſſage. 'True it is, that in Peacham's caſe, a 'MS. Sermon, in which were ſome treaſonable 'paſſages, found in his ſtudy, never, for aught 'appearing, preached or publiſhed, or intended to 'be ſo, was thought to bring him within this branch 'of the ſtatute; (high treaſon in compaſſing the 'King's death) and accordingly he was found guilty, '*but not executed.* For whatever rule the court of 'King's Bench, where he was tried, might lay down, "many of the judges, ſaith Croke, were of opinion, "that it was not treaſon." This caſe therefore 'weigheth very little; and no great regard hath 'been paid to it ever ſince.

'And perhaps ſtill leſs regard will be paid to it if 'it be conſidered, that the King, who appeareth to 'have had the ſucceſs of the proſecution much at 'heart, and took a part in it unbecoming the Majeſty of the Crown, condeſcended to inſtruct his 'Attorney-general with regard to the proper meaſures to be taken in the examination of the de'fendant; that the Attorney, at his Majeſty's com'mand, ſubmitted to the drudgery of ſounding the 'opinions of the Judges upon the point of law, 'before it was thought adviſeable to riſque it at an 'open trial; that the Judges were to be ſifted ſepa'rately and *ſoon, before they could have an opportu'nity of conferring together*; and that, for this pur'poſe, four gentlemen of the profeſſion in the ſervice 'of the Crown were immediately diſpatched, one to 'each of the Judges; Mr. Attorney himſelf under'taking to practiſe upon the Chief Juſtice, of whom 'ſome doubt was then entertained.

'Is it poſſible, that a gentleman of Bacon's great 'talents could ſubmit to a ſervice ſo much below his 'rank and character! But he did ſubmit to it, and 'acquitted himſelf notably in it.

'Avarice, I think, was not his ruling paſſion. 'But whenever a falſe ambition, ever reſtleſs and 'craving, overheated in the purſuit of the honours 'which the Crown alone can confer, happeneth to 'ſtimulate an heart otherwiſe formed for great and 'noble purſuits, it hath frequently betrayed it into 'meaſures full as mean as avarice itſelf could have 'ſuggeſted to the wretched animals who live and die 'under its dominion. For theſe paſſions, however 'they may ſeem to be at variance, have ordinarily 'produced the ſame effects. Both degrade the man, 'both contract his views into the little point of ſelf'intereſt, and equally ſteel the heart againſt the re'bukes of conſcience, or the ſenſe of true honour.

'Bacon, having undertaken the ſervice, informeth 'his Majeſty in a letter addreſſed to him, that with 'regard to three of the Judges whom he nameth, he 'had ſmall doubt of their concurrence; "Neither, "ſaith he, am I *wholly out of hope, that my Lord "Coke himſelf, when I have in* SOME DARK MANNER "*put him in doubt that he ſhall be left alone, will "not continue ſingular.*" Theſe are plain naked 'facts, they need no comment. Every reader will 'make his own reflections upon them. I have but 'one to make in this place. This method of fore'ſtalling the judgment of a court in a caſe of blood 'then depending, at a time too when the Judges 'were removable at the pleaſure of the Crown, doth 'no honour to the memory of the perſons concerned 'in a tranſaction ſo inſidious and unconſtitutional; 'and at the ſame time greatly weakeneth the autho'rity of the judgment (142).' Another thing which gives us pain, in examining the circumſtances of Lord Bacon's life, is his having ſubmitted without complaint, or remonſtrance, to the receiving continual applications from Buckingham, in favour of perſons whoſe cauſes came judicially before him in the court of Chancery. Theſe applications are ſo numerous that they form a very diſagreeable part (in Dr. Birch's collection) of the letters written to him when Lord Chancellor. However, this diſgrace is not peculiar to Bacon. The diſhonour is, in ſome meaſure, to be imputed to the corruption of Government, and the ſervile ſpirit of that time. We find that Buckingham uſed the ſame freedom with the Lord Keeper Williams; and it is probable that ſuch recommendations were then conſidered as leſs extraordinary and irregular than they would appear at preſent. Bp. Williams, however, ſhewed ſo much diſſatisfaction at this conduct of his patron, that it occaſioned ſome coldneſs between them (143).

Among the perſons who, in his own age, ſeverely condemned Lord Bacon's public character and conduct, we are not to reckon thoſe alone who may be conſidered as libellers, or the retailers of private ſcandal. Wilſon, who is acknowledged not to have been prejudiced againſt the Chancellor, ſpeaks of him in the following terms. 'He was the true 'emblem of human frailty, being more than a man 'in ſome things, and leſs than a woman in others. 'His crime was bribery and extortion; and theſe he 'had often condemned others for as a Judge, which 'now he came to ſuffer for as a delinquent. And 'they were proved and aggravated againſt him 'with ſo many circumſtances, that they fell very 'foully upon him, both in relation to his reception 'of them, and his expending of them. For that 'which he raked in and ſcrewed for one way, he 'ſcattered and threw abroad another: for his ſer'vants being young, prodigal, and expenſive youths, 'which he kept about him, his treaſure was their 'common ſtore, which they took without ſtint, hav'ing free acceſs to his moſt retired privacies; and 'his indulgence to them, and familiarity with them, 'opened a gap to infamous reports, which left an 'unſavoury tincture on him.' Theſe reports, which, we are perſuaded, were the reſult of ſuſpicions equally groundleſs and malignant, Wilſon doth not ſeem willing to believe. 'Innocency itſelf, ſays he, 'is a crime when calumny ſets her mark upon it. 'How prudent, therefore, ought men to be, that 'not ſo much as their garments be defiled, with the 'four breath of the times (144).' The corruption of Lord Verulam muſt be conſidered as the more deplorable and criminal, when we reflect, that, from the extent of his abilities, and the juſtneſs and beauty of his ideas, no one could have a ſtronger ſenſibility of what was becoming either a man or a magiſtrate. But, not to bear too hard upon him, let us hear what he was capable of alledging in his own behalf.

When

(141) Bacon's Letters, by Birch, p. 103.

(142) Sir Michael Foſter's Report and Diſcourſes, ſecond edit. 8vo. p. 198, —200.

(143) Bacon's Letters, by Birch, p. 113. note. Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 107.

(144) Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 734. 736.

When he first began to be accuſed of abuſes in the office of Chancellor, he aſſumed the language of innocence, and wrote thus in a letter to Buckingham. 'Your Lordſhip ſpoke of purgatory. I am 'now in it. But my mind is in a calm; for my 'fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean 'hands, and a clean heart; and, I hope, a clean 'houſe for friends or ſervants. But Job himſelf, or 'whoſoever was the juſteſt Judge, by ſuch hunting 'for matters againſt him, as hath been uſed againſt 'me, may for a time ſeem foul, eſpecially in a time, 'when greatneſs is the mark, and accuſation is the 'game (145).' On the ſame occaſion, in the draught of a paper intended to be delivered to the King, he diſtinguiſhed the bribery with which a Judge might be charged, into three degrees; Firſt, of bargain, or contract, for reward to pervert juſtice: Secondly, where the Judge conceives the cauſe to be at an end, by the information of the party, or otherwiſe, and uſeth not ſuch diligence, as he ought, to enquire into it: and Thirdly, when the cauſe is really ended, and the gift is *ſine fraude*, without relation to any precedent promiſe. Of the firſt kind he declared his entire innocence. With regard to the ſecond, he doubts that in ſome particulars he might have been faulty. And as to the third, he conceived it to be no fault: But in this reſpect, he deſired to be better informed, that he might be twice penitent, once for the fact, and again for the error. 'For I 'had rather, ſays he, be a briber, than a defender 'of bribes (146).' In a letter written to Buckingham, after his diſgrace, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms. 'I praiſe God for it, I never took 'penny for any benefice or eccleſiaſtical living; I 'never took penny for releaſing any thing I ſtopped 'at the ſeal; I never took penny for any commiſſion, 'or things of that nature; I never ſhared with any 'ſervant for any ſecond or inferior profit. My 'offences I have myſelf recorded, wherein I ſtudied, 'as a good confeſſant, guiltineſs and not excuſe: 'and therefore I hope it leaves me fair in the King's 'grace, and will turn many men's hearts to me '(147).' To the other things which caſt a ſhade on Lord Bacon's character, muſt be added the meanneſs of his ſupplicatory letters after his fall. A diſpoſition that could ſtoop, in the abject manner which his did, to flatter the King, and intreat his forgiveneſs, will ever be condemned by impartial perſons. The only excuſe that can be alledged for him, is the extreme perplexity of his affairs, which reduced him to the neceſſity of ſoliciting his Majeſty's aſſiſtance and favour (148). Several of his letters to Buckingham are of the moſt humiliatory nature. This, however, is not the caſe with all of them: for he ſometimes employed himſelf in giving ſound and uſeful counſel to that proud favourite. From the apprehenſions which Lord Bacon expreſſed with regard to Buckingham's journey to Spain with the Prince of Wales, it is plain that he ſecretly diſapproved of the voyage (149). And in a letter which ſeems to have been written to that nobleman, in January 1623-4, he gave him moſt excellent advice, and with a becoming freedom, concerning the Spaniſh match, and the general ſtate of public affairs (150). It appears, too, that he had held ſeveral conferences with him on theſe ſubjects (151). At this time, by one of thoſe ſtrange revolutions in politics which occaſionally happen, Buckingham ſtood in favour with the King, the Prince, the Parliament, and the people (152).

Though we have enlarged ſo much on Lord Bacon's perſonal character, we cannot avoid taking notice of what hath been ſaid concerning it by two or three late hiſtorians. Mr. Guthrie is very moderate and candid in his cenſures of our Lord Chancellor. 'Bacon, ſays he, was generous, eaſy, good-'natured, and naturally juſt. But he had the miſ-'fortune to be beſet by domeſtic harpies, who, in a 'manner, farmed out his office; and he had given 'way to intolerable impoſitions upon the ſubject 'among the Maſters in Chancery.——Even in the 'charges againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, it 'appears as if ſome of the preſents that had been 'made to influence his juſtice, had neither come 'into his own pocket, nor been made with his 'knowledge. For ſome decrees had been given 'againſt the corrupters; and reſentment for this, 'had brought them to accuſe him in the Committee 'of the Commons (153).' Mr. Hume's account of the Lord Chancellor's conduct, though written with much candour, is ſomewhat more pointed. He obſerves, that Bacon was 'a man univerſally admired 'for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for the 'courteouſneſs and humanity of his behaviour. He 'was the great ornament of his age and nation; 'and nought was wanting to render him the ornament of Human Nature itſelf, but that ſtrength 'of mind, which might check his intemperate deſire 'of preferment, that could add nothing to his dignity, and reſtrain his profuſe inclination to expence, that could be requiſite neither for his honour 'nor entertainment. His want of Oeconomy, and 'his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in 'neceſſities; and, in order to ſupply his prodigality, 'he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a 'very open manner, from ſuitors in Chancery. It 'is *pretended*, that, notwithſtanding this enormous 'abuſe, he had ſtill, in the ſeat of juſtice, preſerved 'the integrity of a Judge, and had given juſt decrees 'againſt thoſe very perſons, from whom he had received the wages of iniquity. Complaints roſe 'the louder on that account, and at laſt reached 'the Houſe of Commons, who ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the Peers. The Chancellor, 'conſcious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his 'judges, and endeavoured, by a general avowal, to 'eſcape the confuſion of a ſtricter enquiry. The 'Lords inſiſted on a particular confeſſion of all his 'corruptions. He acknowledged twenty-eight ar-'ticles (154).' Mrs. Macaulay, who doth not ſuffer herſelf to be ſeduced, by the ſhining qualities, and even private virtues, of characters, into a palliation of the delinquency of their public principles and conduct, ſpeaks of Lord Bacon with great ſeverity. 'Thus, ignominious, ſays this ingenious 'Lady, was the fall of the famous Bacon, deſpicable 'in all the active parts of life, and only glorious in 'the contemplative. Him the rays of knowledge 'ſerved but to embelliſh, not enlighten; and Phi-'loſophy itſelf was degraded by a conjunction with 'his mean ſoul: we are told, that he often lamented 'that ambition and falſe glory had diverted him from 'ſpending his whole time in the manner worthy 'of his extenſive genius: but there is too much 'reaſon to believe from his conduct, that theſe ſentiments aroſe from the weight of his mortifications, 'and not from the conviction of his judgment. He 'preferred mean applications to James, and con-'tinued to flatter him ſo far, as to paint his grand-'father Henry the Seventh, in an amiable light.' The ſame writer adds (155), with regard to the letters written by Buckingham, in favour of different people who had cauſes depending in Chancery, that 'there is great reaſon to believe, that every one of 'theſe mandates were implicitly obeyed by the obe-'dient Chancellor (156).' When, however, we recollect the aſſertion of Ruſhworth (157), 'that 'his decrees were generally made with ſo much 'equity, that, though gifts rendered him ſuſpected 'for injuſtice, yet never any decree made by him 'was reverſed as unjuſt,' we would hope that his obedience to the mandates of Buckingham was not entirely ſo implicit as Mrs. Macaulay ſuppoſes.

Upon the whole, notwithſtanding the ſoftenings which Lord Bacon's character may, in ſome reſpects, admit of, from the ſpirit of the times, from his own peculiar circumſtances, and from other conſiderations, yet, when we call to mind his ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion in general to the will of the Crown, and eſpecially his ingratitude to Eſſex, and his corruption as a Judge, we are obliged, though with the greateſt regret, to join with Mr. Pope, in ſtyling him,

The wiſeſt, brighteſt, meaneſt of mankind.

[QQ] *His writings and philoſophy.*] Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at London, Oct. 28, 1620, mentions, that Mr. Cuffe, the Earl of Eſſex's Secretary, having *long ſince peruſed the Novum Organum, gave this cenſure, that a fool could not have written ſuch a work, and that a wiſe man would not.* And in another letter, written in the February following, Mr. Chamberlain takes notice, that the King could not forbear, ſometimes, in reading that book, to ſay, that it was like the peace of God, that ſurpaſſeth all underſtanding (158). As the Novum Organum was a long time in digeſting and completing, and was not publiſhed

(145) Letters *ubi ſupra*, p. 265.

(146) *Ibid.* p. 268, 269.

(147) *Ibid.* p. 388.

(148) *Ibid.* p. 385—387.

(149) *Ibid.* p. 332. 337.

(150) *Ibid.* p. 356—362.

(151) *Ibid.* p. 352—358.

(152) Kennet's compleat Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 779—780.

(153) Brit. Biog. Vol. iv. p. 147.

(154) Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Vol. vii. p. 52. 8vo edit. 1763.

(155) In a note.

(156) Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, Vol. i. p. 163, 164. 4to.

(157) See note [HH].

(158) Letters, ubi ſupra, p. 236, note.

liſhed till the year 1620, it could probably be only a ſketch of it that was ſeen by Mr. Cuffe, who was executed in 1601. Even if the work had been in a more perfect ſtate, Cuffe might be incapable of judging properly concerning its merit. For, though he was a man of parts, he was a pragmatical, conceited man, who delivered his opinions with more freedom than knowledge or diſcretion, and who might be engaged too much in political intrigues, to pay a due attention to an object which required the cloſeſt thought and reflection. As to King James, it is not at all ſurpriſing that he ſhould paſs ſuch a judgment on the Novum Organum. Though not deſtitute of learning, his learning was merely of the pedantic kind, and his underſtanding was wholly unequal to the ſubject. Wiſer men have not always been ſufficiently ſenſible of Lord Bacon's philoſophical excellencies, and of the value of the new ſpecies of Logic which he attempted to introduce. In the extract from the worthy and learned Mr. Thomas Baker, given in the note [*EE*], we may obſerve a certain degree of prejudice; and the concluding ſentence, in particular, is very weak: for Lord Bacon meant only to encourage that kind of free-thinking, which is the true honour of Human Nature, and muſt ever be attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences. Mr. Hume was diſpoſed to qualify and leſſen the praiſes of our illuſtrious Philoſopher. 'The great glory of literature, ſays he, in this 'iſland, during the reign of James, was my Lord 'Bacon. Moſt of his performances were compoſed 'in Latin; though he poſſeſſed neither the elegance 'of that, nor of his native tongue. If we conſider 'the variety of talents diſplayed by this man; as a 'public ſpeaker, a man of buſineſs, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philoſopher; he 'is juſtly the object of great admiration. If we 'conſider him merely as an author and philoſopher, 'the light in which we view him at preſent, though 'very eſtimable, he was yet inferior to his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. Bacon 'pointed out at a diſtance the road to true philoſophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and 'made himſelf conſiderable advances in it. The 'Engliſhman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that ſcience, excelled in it, and was 'the firſt who applied it, together with experiment, 'to Natural Philoſophy. The former rejected, with 'the moſt poſitive diſdain, the ſyſtem of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived 'both from reaſon and the ſenſes. Bacon's ſtyle is 'ſtiff and rigid: his wit, though often brilliant, is 'ſometimes unnatural and far-fetched; and he ſeems 'to be the original of thoſe pointed ſimilies and 'long-ſpun allegories, which ſo much diſtinguiſh the 'Engliſh authors: Galileo is a lively and agreeable, though ſomewhat a prolix writer. But 'Italy, not united in any ſingle government, and 'perhaps ſatiated with that literary glory, which it 'has poſſeſſed both in ancient and modern times, 'has too much neglected the renown which it has 'acquired by giving birth to ſo great a man. That 'national ſpirit, which prevails among the Engliſh, 'and which forms their great happineſs, is the cauſe 'why they beſtow on all their eminent writers, and 'on Bacon among the reſt, ſuch praiſes and acclamations, as may often appear partial and exceſſive (159).' In anſwer to theſe ſtrictures, it hath been juſtly obſerved by the author of the Britiſh Biography, that 'Galileo was undoubtedly an 'illuſtrious man, and Kepler an admirable Aſtronomer: but though we admit their ſuperiority in 'Aſtronomy, Mechanics, and ſome particular 'branches of phyſical knowledge, it does by no 'means follow, that either of them were greater 'Philoſophers than Bacon. The praiſe of Bacon is 'founded not upon his ſkill in this or that particular 'branch of knowledge, but on his great and comprehenſive underſtanding, which took in almoſt 'the whole extent of univerſal ſcience. And he was 'ſo little indebted to the partiality of his countrymen, that his writings appear, for ſome time at 'leaſt, to have been more eſteemed and admired in 'foreign countries than in England (160).' With theſe remarks we entirely concur; and, indeed, we think that it was wholly needleſs, and very invidious, in Mr. Hume, to make the compariſon he hath done between Lord Bacon and Galileo. The reputation of each of theſe great men ſtands upon its proper and diſtinct baſis. We have no inclination to detract any thing from the leaſt portion of Galileo's fame: but it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe an obſervation of Dr. Teniſon's. 'Galileo farther im-'proved the doctrine of Copernicus; diſcovered, by 'teleſcopes, new ſtars in the Heavens; wrote dia-'logues concerning the ſyſtem of the world, and 'touching local motion; which latter is the key 'that openeth Nature. But he deſcended not to the 'ſeveral claſſes of bodies in Nature, and the par-'ticulars contained in them, and their reſpective 'motions and uſes. Neither did he publiſh any 'thing, till many years had paſſed, ſince Mr. 'Bacon had formed and modelled in his thoughts, 'his larger idea of experimental Knowledge (161).' It is really ſurpriſing what different judgments will be formed by different perſons, in the peruſal of the ſame works. The writer of theſe notes cannot eaſily conceive how Mr. Hume could read Lord Bacon with attention, and yet deliver an opinion of him ſo phlegmatic, and, comparatively, ſo much to his prejudice. For my part, after reperuſing ſome of his capital productions, I find my admiration of him highly increaſed, and feel no diſpoſition to criticiſe on ſlight imperfections. It is not eaſy to deſcribe the ſtrength and extent of his genius: 'His precious 'bequeſts to poſterity,' as Mrs. Macaulay finely obſerves, 'paint them ſtronger than can any other 'pen (162).' It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſſed, that it was ſome diſcredit to him, that he could not ſee the reaſonableneſs of Copernicus's ſyſtem. Perhaps he underſtood leſs of Aſtronomy, and had leſs extenſive views wherein it was deficient, than of any other part of ſcience and philoſophy.

But, though ſome few writers have endeavoured to detract from the juſt praiſes of Lord Bacon, this is far from having been the caſe with the generality of learned men. They uſually embrace every opportunity of ſpeaking of him in terms of the warmeſt admiration and gratitude; and to the teſtimonies of applauſe, which have already been produced, in the courſe of the article, many others might be added. We ſhall conclude this note with the juſt and fine eſtimate of his merit, which hath been made by an author now living, of diſtinguiſhed eminence in the philoſophical and literary world, Monſ. D'Alembert. Not having the original at hand, we ſhall take it as it is given in the Annual Regiſter: 'On conſidering 'attentively the ſound, intelligent, and extenſive 'views of this great man, the multiplicity of ob-'jects his piercing wit had comprehended within its 'ſphere, the elevation of his ſtyle, that every-where 'makes the boldeſt images to coaleſce with the moſt 'rigorous preciſion, we ſhould be tempted to eſteem 'him the greateſt, the moſt univerſal, and the moſt 'eloquent of Philoſophers. His works are juſtly 'valued, perhaps more valued than known, and 'therefore more deſerving of our ſtudy than elo-'giums. Bacon, born amidſt the obſcurity of the 'moſt profound night, perceived that philoſophy did 'not yet exiſt, though many had undoubtedly flattered themſelves for having excelled in it; for, the 'more an age is groſs and ignorant, the more it believes itſelf informed of all that can be poſſibly 'known. He began by taking a general view of the 'various objects of all natural ſciences; he divided 'thoſe ſciences into different branches, of which he 'made the moſt exact enumeration; he examined 'into what was already known as to each of thoſe 'objects, and he drew up an immenſe catalogue of 'what remained to be diſcovered. This was the aim 'and ſubject of his admirable work, on the dignity and augmentation of natural knowledge. In 'his New Organ of Sciences, he perfects the views 'he had pointed out in the firſt work; he carries 'them farther, and ſhews the neceſſity of experimental phyſics, which was not yet thought of. An 'enemy to ſyſtems, he beholds philoſophy as only 'that part of our knowledge, which ought to contribute to make us better or more happy. He 'ſeems to limit it to the ſcience of uſeful things, and 'every-where recommends the ſtudy of Nature. His 'other writings are formed on the ſame plan. Every 'thing in them, even their titles, is expreſſive of the 'man of genius, of the mind that ſees in great. He 'there collects facts, he there compares experiments, 'and indicates a great number to be made. He in-'vites

(159) Hume, ubi ſupra, p. 133, 134.

(160) Brit. Biog. Vol. iv. p. 154, 155.

(161) *Ibid.* note.

(162) Macaulay, ubi ſupra, p. 165.

'vites the learned to ſtudy and perfect the arts, 'which he deems as the moſt illuſtrious and moſt 'eſſential part of human knowledge. He expoſes 'with a noble ſimplicity, his conjectures and thoughts 'on different objects worthy of intereſting men; and 'he might have ſaid, as the old Gentleman of Te-'rence, that nothing affecting humanity was foreign 'to him. Science of Nature, Morality, Politics, 'Oeconomics, all ſeemed to be within the ſtretch 'of that luminous and profound wit; and we know 'not which moſt to admire, the richneſs he diffuſes 'over all the ſubjects he treats of, or the dignity with 'which he ſpeaks of them. His writings cannot be 'better compared, than to thoſe of Hippocrates on 'Medicine; and they would be neither leſs admired 'nor leſs read, if the culture of the mind was as dear 'to mankind as the preſervation of their health. 'But there are none but the chiefs of ſects of all 'kinds whoſe works can have a certain ſplendour. 'Bacon was not of the number, and the form of his 'philoſophy was againſt it. It was too good to fill 'any one with aſtoniſhment. The Scholaſtic Philo-'ſophy, which had gained the aſcendant in his time, 'could not be overthrown but by bold and new opi-'nions; and there is no probability that a Philoſo-'pher, who only intimates to men, "This is the "little you have learned, this is what remains for "your enquiry," is calculated for making much noiſe 'among his contemporaries. We might even pre-'ſume to hazard ſome degree of reproach againſt the 'Lord Chancellor Bacon for having been perhaps too 'timid, if we were not ſenſible with what reſerve, 'and as it were, with what ſuperſtition, judgment 'ought to be paſſed on ſo ſublime a genius. Though 'he confeſſes that the ſcholaſtic Philoſophers had 'enervated the ſciences by the minutiæ of their 'queſtions, and that ſound intellects ought to have 'made a ſacrifice of the ſtudy of general beings to 'that of particular objects, he ſeems, notwithſtand-'ing, by the frequent uſe he makes of ſchool-terms, 'and ſometimes alſo by the adopting of ſcholaſtic 'principles, and by the diviſions and ſub-diviſions 'then much in vogue, to have ſhewed too much 'deference for the predominant taſte of his age. 'This great man, after breaking the ſhackles of ſo 'many irons, was ſtill intangled by ſome chains, 'which he either could not, or dared not to break 'aſunder (163).'

(163) Ann. Reg. Vol. xvi. P. ii. p. 80, 81.

[*RR*] *Other incidental circumſtances.*] Mr. Mallet, ſpeaking of Bacon's being in France when he was only ſixteen years old, takes notice, that it may juſtly be wondered at, that the Lord-Keeper, a Miniſter of great obſervation upon men and things, ſhould have ſent his ſon to travel at that age; when we need but look round us, to be convinced how little our youth of quality, who viſit foreign countries about the ſame age, are wont to profit either in taſte, wiſdom, or morals (164). The former part of this remark is not ſo well founded as the latter. For Sir Nicholas Bacon did not ſend his ſon Francis to travel in the manner which is now commonly done. He put him into the family and ſervice, and under the immediate inſpection, of Sir Amias Powlet, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris. It was one of the modes of education then practiſed, for young perſons, who were intended for public life, to become part of the ſuite of eminent Stateſmen, whether they reſided at home or abroad. And this cuſtom, by training up youth to early habits of buſineſs, was attended with conſiderable advantages; though it may, perhaps, be queſtioned whether it might not contribute, among other cauſes, to the ſervility of manners which prevailed at that period.

(164) Life of Lord Chancellor Bacon, p. 6, 7.

The vindication of James the Firſt, in p. 458, with regard to the profuſeneſs with which he beſtowed his honours, on his acceſſion to the throne of England, is ingenious and plauſible. But, notwithſtanding Dr. Campbell hath alledged all that can be urged in ſupport of the matter, it doth not appear to us entirely ſatisfactory. The proſtitution of titles was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that, by rendering them too cheap and contemptible, the political purpoſes for which they were conferred were, in ſome meaſure, defeated. Of this the generality of the writers of that time were ſo ſenſible, that the affair muſt be conſidered as diſplaying more of the weakneſs than the wiſdom of the King.

Amelot, in his Memoires Hiſtoriques, tom. i. p. 361. hath aſſerted, upon the pretended authority of Caſaubon, that Lord Bacon did not underſtand Latin. This is as evident a falſehood, as any which is to be met with in Amelot's whole book. If there be any truth in Caſaubon's having ſaid that Bacon did not underſtand Latin, he muſt have meant that he did not underſtand it *critically*, as he himſelf did (165).

(165) From a learned correſpondent.

There ſeems to have been a notion, among the editors of Lord Bacon's works, that he uſed to lend his pen to his great friend and patron, the Earl of Eſſex, in the writing of letters. But it is certain that the noble Earl did not want ſuch aſſiſtance. It is equally certain, that he could not have received it upon many and moſt important occaſions, which required him to write ſome of the moſt finiſhed of his epiſtolary performances; the ſtyle of which is not only very different from, but, likewiſe, much more natural, eaſy, and perſpicuous than that of Bacon, who acknowledges it to be *far better than his own* (166).

(166) Birch's Mem. of Q. Eliz. Vol. ii. p. 20. Bacon's Works, Vol. i. p. 613.

Sir John Hawkins informs us, that 'Lord Bacon, 'in his natural Hiſtory, has given a great variety 'of experiments touching muſic, that ſhew him to 'have been not barely a Philoſopher, an enquirer 'into the phænomena of ſound, but a maſter of the 'ſcience of harmony, and very intimately ac-'quainted with the precepts of muſical compoſition.' And the ſame author quotes, with commendation, the following remark, as a ſpecimen of his Lordſhip's ſkill in the ſubject, and a proof of what were his ſentiments of harmony, and in what he conceived the perfection of it to conſiſt. 'The ſweeteſt and 'beſt harmony is, when every part or inſtrument is 'not heard by itſelf, but a conflation of them all; 'which requireth to ſtand ſome diſtance off, even as 'it is in the mixture of perfumes, or the taking of 'the ſmells of ſeveral flowers in the air (167).'

(167) Hiſtory of Muſic. Vol. i. Prel. Diſcourſe, p. 11. 83.

As the Public is not a little indebted to Dr. Rawley, Lord Bacon's Chaplain, for printing ſome of the Works, and writing the Life, of his noble patron and friend, it may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to our readers, if we cloſe the whole with a ſhort account of that gentleman. This we have been enabled to do, by the learned Mr. Maſters's valuable Hiſtory of Corpus-Chriſti College, Cambridge.

William Rawley, of Norwich, or Norfolk, was admitted a Bible-Clerk in that college, under the tuition of Mr. Chapman, on the twenty-ſecond of January 1600, and took both the degrees in Arts before the 19th of March 1609, when he was elected a Fellow of the Houſe. Upon this he commenced Tutor, and was ordained Deacon by the Biſhop of Ely, at Downham, 22d of September, 1611; not long after which, he was preſented by the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the Univerſity of Cambridge to the Rectory of Bowthorpe in Norfolk, and was inſtituted to it on the 10th of December 1612. In 1616, by the favour of Sir Francis Bacon, who procured the Living for him of the College, he obtained the Rectory of Landbeach. He had commenced B. D. the year before, and upon his patron's being made Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, was appointed his domeſtic Chaplain. While Mr. Rawley was in this ſituation, he proceeded D. D. in 1621. He was of great uſe to his maſter, in writing down, compiling, digeſting, and publiſhing his works; to many of which he wrote prefaces and dedications, as well as tranſlated ſeveral of them into Latin. Theſe, with ſome other pieces committed to his care, he collected together, and printed, after his Lordſhip's deceaſe, in folio, Lond. 1638, with a dedication to King Charles; one of whoſe Chaplains he then was. In 1657, he publiſhed, at London, in folio, under the title of *Reſuſcitatio*, ſeveral others of Lord Bacon's Tracts beſides theſe; to which publication, at the requeſt of many foreigners, and natives of the kingdom, he prefixed ſome account of his patron's life. This, which is thought to be drawn up in a clear and manly ſtyle, ſhews Dr. Rawley to have been an able writer. It was, likewiſe, tranſlated into Latin, and placed before the *Opuſcula varia Poſthuma*, printed in 8*vo* the year following, which, he tells us, were the laſt things he had in his hands. However, he republiſhed the *Reſuſcitatio*, with ſome additions, in 1661; at which time he was Chaplain in ordinary to his

Majeſty King Charles the Second. So great a favourite was he of the Lord Bacon's, that, after his reſignation of the Seals, he recommended Dr. Rawley to his ſucceſſor, Biſhop Williams, for farther preferment. This the Biſhop promiſed, and deſired Lord Bacon to pitch upon ſome particular. But his Lordſhip modeſtly declining to do it, and referring the choice to the Lord-Keeper, Dr. Rawley appears to have derived no advantage from his friend's recommendation. Lord Verulam, beſides the care of his writings, left the Doctor by Will, as a farther teſtimony of his regard, one hundred pounds, with the King of Spain's great Bible. After the publication of his maſter's works, in 1638, Dr. Rawley came and reſided upon his Rectory at Landbeach. He married Barbara, the daughter of Mr. John Wickſted Alderman of Cambridge, by whom he had two children. His daughter, *Mary*, died in her infancy; but his ſon, *William*, became Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, and was buried at Landbeach, on the third of July 1666. Dr. Rawley loſt his ſon, his wife, and his ſervants, all in the ſame year, of the plague; which probably affected him ſo much as to bring down his grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave. He died on the 18th of June 1667, in the 79th year of his age, after having been Paſtor at Landbeach fifty years, and throughout the whole of the troubles. His remains were depoſited near the Communion-table, in the chancel of his own church, under a black marble, with a Latin inſcription to his memory. Dr. Rawley was Proctor in Convocation for the Clergy of the dioceſe of Ely, in 1661, and as ſuch ſubſcribed to the Book of Common-Prayer, upon its reviſal. He had the appellation of the Lord Bacon's learned Chaplain; and that this title was juſtly beſtowed upon him, is evident from the teſtimonies of ſeveral conſiderable men, both at home and abroad. He preſented Lord Bacon's Works, as he publiſhed them, to the library of Corpus-Chriſti College; and bequeathed to it *Camden's Britannia*, with *Ciceronis Opera*, in two Tomes, and *Platonis*, in three Tomes folio. Theſe books were delivered by his Executor Mr. John Rawley, to whoſe care we are indebted for thoſe remains of Lord Bacon which were publiſhed by Dr. Teniſon (168).] K.

(168) Maſter's Hiſt. of Corp. Chriſt. Coll. Cambridge, p. 357—360.

BACON (ANTHONY), elder brother to the Chancellor, and eldeſt ſon to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, by his ſecond wife Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Cook, a woman equally diſtinguiſhed by her learning and her piety, and, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times (*a*) [*A*]. At this diſtance, we have not been able to fix the exact time of this gentleman's birth; but it appears from a variety of circumſtances, that he was ſeveral years older than his brother Francis. He received an excellent education at home, and giving evident ſigns of pregnant parts, his father, the Lord-Keeper, thought fit to ſend him early abroad, to improve his abilities by viſiting foreign countries, in which he ſpent ſome years with great profit to himſelf, though his father did not live to ſee the fruits of his great improvements (*b*). But before his departure, the good old Lord-Keeper, thought proper to convey to him his manor of Gorhambury in Hertfordſhire, which he had purchaſed from Mr. Rowlet. In the courſe of his travels, Mr. Anthony Bacon was reſident for ſome time at Venice, and having viſited other parts of Italy, received the news of his father's death at Geneva, which very probably haſtened him home. While he remained in the city laſt mentioned, he entered into a very cloſe friendſhip with the famous Beza, who, by his perſuaſion, wrote to the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, and preſented to the library of Cambridge, a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch in ſix languages, which was eſteemed a great curioſity; and it is from his letter, dated in December 1581, that we are able to fix the time of Mr. Bacon's return from his travels (*c*). Whether he went abroad again or not, ſeems a little uncertain; but if he did, there is good reaſon to believe, that it was but for a very ſhort time, ſince we find, that as ſoon as his brother began to be taken notice of by the Earl of Eſſex, he made it his buſineſs to draw Mr. Anthony Bacon to that nobleman's ſervice (*d*). The two brothers were alike prodigies for parts, but of very different kinds: for whereas the younger ſpoke eloquently and wrote admirably, the elder was reſerved in converſation, had a deep reach in politicks, and was the beſt verſed in foreign affairs of any man of his time. Mr. Francis Bacon did not affect to hide his talents, but gave early proofs of them to the world, both by ſpeaking and writing. Mr. Anthony Bacon diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither way, but remained contented with the reputation he acquired among the circle of his private acquaintance, and the intereſt he had with ſome perſons of the firſt quality, who knew how to value as well as to employ his great abilities. We have ſeen in the former article, that

(*a*) Chancey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 471.

(*c*) Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. iii. p. 76.

(*d*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 430.

[*A*] *And, as ſuch, highly commended by the writers of thoſe times.*] It was no unuſual things in thoſe days for ladies to apply themſelves to the ſame ſtudies, with the ſame ſtrictneſs, and, conſequently, with the ſame ſucceſs, that the other ſex did. The Lady Jane Grey was excellently learned in Greek; and Queen Elizabeth tranſlated ſeveral pieces both from that language and from the Latin. The moſt remarkable inſtance however, of the ſpirit of learning which prevailed in that age, was in the family to which this lady belonged (1): for all the four daughters of Sir Anthony Cook were perfectly ſkilled in the learned languages, and this his ſecond daughter Anne, wife to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, made both a florid and exact tranſlation of Biſhop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England from Latin into Engliſh, which was eſteemed ſo uſeful in its nature, as well as ſo correct in its manner, that in the year 1564 it was publiſhed for common uſe by the ſpecial order of Archbiſhop Parker with ſome additions of his own at the end (2). There have been many ladies remarkable for their learning and their writings, but very few whoſe works, like the Lady Bacon's, were publiſhed by authority and commended to public reading. It was this that ſtirred the gall of Father Parſons, commonly called Parſons the Jeſuit, who has reflected bitterly upon this lady (3) for her performance, without reflecting that his ill language redounded more to her reputation than all the praiſes of her friends, as a late ingenious writer has very judiciouſly obſerved (4). It was to the great abilities and tender care of ſo accompliſhed a parent, that her two ſons, Anthony and Francis, owed the early part of their education, and without doing any injuſtice to the genius of either of theſe great men we may ſafely affirm, that they were not a little indebted for the reputation they acquired, to the pains taken with them by this excellent woman in their tender years, when the mind is moſt ſuſceptible of learning, and thereby rendered more capable of retaining the principles of ſcience, than when they are inſtilled in an age farther advanced. It was in gratitude to her memory, and from a juſt ſenſe of the advantages received from her in this way, that her ſon, the Viſcount St. Albans, directed by his Will, that his body ſhould be laid near her's in the church of St. Michael within the precincts of Old Verulam (5).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 386.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. ii. p. 469.

(3) A Relation of a Conference before Henry IV, of France, &c. p. 197.

(4) Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 2.

(5) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 464.

Mr.

Mr. Francis Bacon with all his knowledge wanted œconomy, and that to a very high degree, a point in which his brother Anthony chiefly excelled; for though he had a very fair eſtate of his own, yet he knew how to ſet a juſt price upon his labours, and did not think it reaſonable to waſte his time in the ſervice of others, without receiving a proper recompence (*e*). He had the misfortune to be very lame, ſo that he was able to ſtir little abroad, and indeed could not ſo much as move about his room, for which reaſon the Earl of Eſſex, who relied much upon his advice, and made uſe of him in all his affairs, and even in thoſe of the greateſt ſecrecy, thought proper to take him into his houſe, and to make him a handſome allowance for his ſervices (*f*). It was by his advice, that the Earl entered into a very early and cloſe correſpondence with the King of Scotland, preſumptive heir to the crown of England, which he carried on, chiefly by the means of Mr. Anthony Bacon, who managed it with ſuch dexterity and addreſs, that though the Cecils always ſuſpected, and left no means untried to diſcover it, yet they were never able to come at any proofs of it. It was his having this great and dangerous ſecret in his hands, that enabled him to advance his fortune very conſiderably, of which notwithſtanding the ſecrecy that muſt naturally have attended ſuch tranſactions, there are ſtill ſome teſtimonies remaining, ſupported by undeniable authority (*g*) [*B*]. We are not, however, to ſuppoſe, that though this gentleman took ſo much care of his own affairs, and though he was very nearly related to thoſe who brought about that noble Earl's ruin, he was in any degree acceſſary thereto, either by diſcovering his ſecrets, or deſerting his ſervice. On the contrary, we are aſſured by a writer of great knowledge and fidelity, that Mr. Bacon remained ever true to his noble patron; and indeed the thing ſpeaks itſelf, for when his enemies accompliſhed their deſigns, they were not able to give any thing againſt him in evidence, in reference to his correſpondence with King James, which if they had ever had it in their power, they would moſt certainly have done (*h*). The correſpondence between this great favourite and the ingenious Mr. Bacon, though very probably it began in convenience, very ſoon grew up into a ſtricter and more cloſe friendſhip, than, the diſtance of their circumſtances conſidered, could have been well expected; which may perhaps be juſtly attributed to the likeneſs of their tempers. For the Earl was naturally ſtudious and contemplative, with a little leaning towards melancholy, and his uſual recreations were muſic, poetry, and walking, in all which, except the laſt, he found Mr. Bacon an agreeable companion. There was another uſe which very probably my Lord Eſſex made of him, which was to examine ſuch as were commended to him for preferment, not in a ſaucy ſupercilious manner, as one who had an entire dominion over his patron's inclinations, but in a gentle and almoſt imperceptible method, that there might be none about his Lordſhip from whom he might not expect a return of credit, in proportion to that degree of favour he beſtowed. At leaſt thus much is certain, that his recommendations had always great weight with the Earl of Eſſex, who made uſe of his power and influence, not in the gratification of the common paſſions of the mind, or enriching himſelf or his family, or to ſatisfy the cravings of ſuch, as by complying with his weakneſſes had gained an aſcendency over him; but in a way becoming a great man, in relieving and ſupporting men of merit,

(*e*) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 13.

(*f*) See this fully explained in note [*B*].

(*g*) Wotton's Remains, p. 126

(*h*) Diſparity between the Earl of Eſſex, and the Duke of Bucks, (ſuppoſed to be written by the Earl of Clarendon) p. 5.

[*B*] *Supported by undeniable authority.*] Amongſt other curious pieces of hiſtory penned by the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton, one of the moſt judicious as well as ingenious writers of his age, there is one intitled, *A Parallel between* Robert Devereux, *Earl of* Eſſex, *and* George Villiers, *Duke of* Buckingham, *in the times of their favour*, which containing for the moſt part facts, that lay within the compaſs of the author's immediate knowledge, has been always, and very deſervedly, in the moſt general eſteem. It is from this treatiſe, than which certainly better authority cannot be had, that the circumſtances hinted at in the text have been taken, and that the reader may view them in a juſt and natural light, they are here preſented to him in Sir Henry's own words (6): 'The Earl of Eſſex had accommodated Maſter Anthony Bacon in a partition of his houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment: this was a gentleman of impotent feet but a nimble head, and through his hand run all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the Lord Viſcount St. Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous ſecret, would many times cunningly let fall ſome words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great proffers to win him away, which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſigns of apparent diſcontent to my Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, (who was of the party, and ſtood himſelf in much umbrage with the Queen) that he flies preſently to my Lord of Eſſex (with whom he was commonly *primæ admiſſionis* by his bedſide in the morning) and tells him, that unleſs that gentleman was ſatisfied with a round ſum all would be vented; this took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were very low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him Eſſex houſe, which the good old Lady Walſingham did afterward diſengage out of her own ſtore, with two thouſand five hundred pounds; and, before, he had diſtilled fifteen hundred pounds at another time by the ſame ſkill. So as we rate this one ſecret, as it was finely carried, at four thouſand pounds in preſent money, beſides at leaſt one thouſand pounds of annual penſion, to a private and bed-rid gentleman: what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?' It may not be amiſs to add here, what ſeems to relate to the ſame ſubject, from another piece which bears the title of *The Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of* George *Duke of* Buckingham, *and* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex: the author of which, ſpeaking of the peculiar advantages and felicities attending the laſt of theſe noblemen, ſays (7), 'In his friendſhips he was ſo fortunate, that though he contracted with ancient enemies, and ſuch as he had undeſerved by ſome unkindneſs, as grievous as injurious, it is not known that ever he was betrayed in his truſts, or had ever his ſecrets derived unhandſomely to any ears that they were not intended to, and this, if he had not planted himſelf upon ſuch, whoſe zeal to his ſervice was more remarkable than their other abilities, would have preſerved him from ſo prodigious a fate.'

(6) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 12.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 47.

and thereby attaching them to his intereſts, which induced him to receive whoever was introduced to him in this light, not as a new dependant, but as a real acquiſition (*i*). In this way (as himſelf (*k*) very gratefully remembers) Richard Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Cork in Ireland, was by Mr. Anthony Bacon brought to the notice of the Earl of Eſſex, a little before his laſt unfortunate voyage to that iſland, by whom he was very kindly received, and employed in ſeveral things relating to the ſuing out of patents, 'till Mr. Boyle's enemies procured him (on very falſe pretences) to be ſeized and impriſoned, in which condition he lay when the Earl went over to Ireland, and which accident, however unexpected or unreliſhed when it happened, very probably preſerved him from being involved in the Earl's misfortunes, and moſt certainly proved the ſource of all his future felicity, in which it is ſome honour to Mr. Bacon, that he was ſo far inſtrumental. But in regard to thoſe meaſures and counſels which were ſo fatal to his great friend, neither records, or hiſtory, private memoirs, or the libellous remembrances of thoſe times, which have deſcended in a competent proportion to manifeſt any man's character to ours, ſay ſo much as a ſyllable of this gentleman's interfering. The truth of the matter is, that this Lord had two ſets of counſellors, one who ſet him upon raſh and violent methods, which proved his undoing; and the other, thoſe who thought to raiſe their own fortunes by ſupporting the Earl's, and who conſtantly laboured to keep him within the bounds of moderation, in hopes of reſtoring him by degrees to the Queen's favour. At the head of the former was his Secretary Cuffe, a man of parts, but of a fierce and violent temper; and the chiefs of the other, were the two Bacons (*l*). We have an inſtance of their ſincere endeavours to ſave, and to reſtore that unfortunate nobleman, even after his raſh exploit in returning from Ireland, and a little before his much raſher exploit, which coſt him his head. They agreed together, but with his Lordſhip's conſent, that Mr. Francis Bacon ſhould pen a letter of advice, in the name of, and as if written by, Mr. Anthony Bacon, to the Earl, and an anſwer in the Earl's name to him, which Mr. Francis Bacon undertook to ſhew the Queen, and which were extremely well calculated to do him ſervice, as appears from the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant (*m*) [C]. It is certain that

(*i*) See the article of DEVEREUX, (Robert) Earl of Eſſex.

(*k*) See his own Memoirs preſerved in the Life of Robert Boyle, Eſq; prefixed to the firſt Volume of his Works, p. 2.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col 307.

(*m*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 437. 5, 6.

[C] *From the letters themſelves, which are ſtill extant.*] Theſe letters have cauſed a great deal of noiſe, and ſome very groſs miſtakes have been made about them. The Earl at his trial provoked at hearing Mr. Francis Bacon plead againſt him, delivered himſelf thus, directing his diſcourſe to the Lord-High-Steward (8). 'May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I muſt 'produce Mr. Bacon for a witneſs; for when the courſe 'of private perſecution was in hand and moſt aſſailed 'me then Mr. Bacon was the man that proffered me 'means to the Queen, and drew a letter in my name, 'and in his brother Sir Nicholas Bacon's name, (apparently miſtaken for Mr. Anthony Bacon) which 'letter he propoſed to ſhew the Queen, and Goſnal 'was the man that brought them unto me, wherein 'I did ſee Mr. Bacon's hand pleaded as orderly, and 'appointed them out that were my enemies, as 'directly as might be; which letters I know Mr. 'Secretary Cecil hath ſeen, and by them it will 'appear what conceit he held of me, and no otherwiſe than he here coloureth and pleadeth the 'contrary.' To which Mr. Francis Bacon gave this anſwer (9): 'My Lord, I ſpent more hours 'to make you a good ſubject, than upon any man 'in the world beſides; but ſince you have ſtirred 'up this point, my Lord, I dare warrant you this 'letter will not bluſh, for I did but perform the 'part of an honeſt man, and ever laboured to have 'done you good if it might have been, and to no 'other end; for what I intended for your good was 'wiſhed from the heart without touch of any man's 'honour.' There was nothing more paſſed at this trial concerning this matter. But in the apology written by Mr. Francis Bacon, the point is ſtated as in the text, and we are aſſured that theſe letters were written at the time the Earl of Eſſex was confined to his own houſe (10). The firſt of them in the name of Mr. Anthony Bacon, is by way of advice to his Lordſhip, on the then untoward ſituation of his affairs, in which he very artfully ſets forth, that though ſome affected to give out, he had no farther room for hope left at Court, but might very well conſider himſelf as a man doomed to paſs the remainder of his years in privacy, and in the enjoyment of his particular fortune, without any farther thought of the public; yet in his, the writer's conception, there was no reaſon that his Lordſhip ſhould give into ſuch notions, or ſuffer himſelf to fall into abſolute deſpair, ſo as to frame his mind to ſuch a ſpirit of retirement, as this fancy, if he ſhould receive it, would lead him to. The firſt reaſon he aſſigns, is the temper of the Queen, that it was ſteady and conſtant, ſo that whoever ſhe once liked ſhe never abſolutely diſliked; and having preſſed this point very ſtrongly, he then proceeds to another argument, and ſo forward in theſe words: 'If I can ſpell, and ſcholar like put together, the parts of her Majeſty's 'proceedings now againſt your Lordſhip, I cannot 'but make this conſtruction, that her Majeſty, in her 'royal intention, never intended to call your Lordſhip's doings into public queſtion, but only to 'have uſed a cloud without a ſhower, in cenſuring 'them by ſome temporary reſtraint only of liberty, 'and debarring you from her preſence. For firſt, the 'handling the cauſe in the Star-Chamber, your not 'being called, was enforced by the violence of libeling and rumours, (wherein the Queen thought to 'have ſatisfied the world, and yet ſpared your Lordſhip's appearance) and after, when the means which 'was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits 'turned to kindle them, (becauſe it was ſaid, your 'Lordſhip was condemned unheard, and your Lordſhip's ſiſter wrote that piquant letter) then her Majeſty ſaw plainly, that theſe winds of rumours could 'not be commanded down without the handling of 'the cauſe, by making you a party, and admitting 'your defence; and to this purpoſe I do aſſure your 'Lordſhip, that my brother, Francis Bacon, who is 'too wiſe (I think) to be abuſed, and too honeſt to 'abuſe, though he be more reſerved in all particulars than is needful, yet, in generality, he hath ever 'conſtantly, and with aſſeveration affirmed to me, 'that both thoſe days, that of the Star-Chamber, 'and that at my Lord-Keeper's, were won from the 'Queen merely upon neceſſity and point of honour 'againſt her own inclination. Thirdly, in the laſt 'proceeding, I note three points which are directly ſignificant, that her Majeſty did expreſsly forbear any 'point, which was irreparable, or might make your 'Lordſhip in any degree incapable of the return of 'her favour, or might fix any character indelible of 'diſgrace upon you, for ſhe ſpared the public place 'of the Star-Chamber which ſpared ignominy, ſhe 'limited the charge preciſely not to touch upon any 'pretence of diſloyalty, and no record remaineth to 'memory of the charge or ſentence. Fourthly, the very 'diſtinction which was made in the ſentence of ſequeſtration from the places of ſervice in ſtate, and 'leaving

(8) State Trials, Vol. i. p. 205.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 439.

that while things were in this ſituation, and before the Earl was hurried into his laſt unadviſed action, the Bacons had in ſome meaſure ſoftened the Queen, who frequently ſpoke to Mr. Francis Bacon of the Earl of Eſſex, with an air of concern (*n*). Once when he was ſpeaking to her Majeſty on this ſubject, ſhe took occaſion to aſk him, How the man had ſucceeded, who had undertaken to cure his brother Anthony of the gout? He anſwered, 'That at firſt the medicine he gave him did him good, but after a little 'while it loſt its efficacy, and at laſt he thought it did him harm.' The Queen replied to this in the following terms, 'I will tell you, Bacon, the error of it; the 'manner of theſe Phyſicians, and eſpecially theſe Empirics, is to continue one kind of 'medicine, which at the firſt is proper to draw out the ill humour, but after, they have 'not the diſcretion to change their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when 'they ſhould rather intend to cure and corroborate the part.' Mr. Bacon immediately applied this, 'How wiſely and aptly, Madam, ſaid he, do you ſpeak and diſcern of 'phyſic miniſtered to the body, and conſider not that there is the like occaſion of 'phyſic miniſtered to the mind? as now in the caſe of my Lord Eſſex; your 'princely word ever was, that you intended to reform his mind, and not to ruin his 'fortune; you cannot but think you have drawn the humours ſufficiently, and therefore 'it is more than time, for fear of mortifying, that you miniſter ſtrength and comfort 'unto him, for theſe ſame gradations, are fitter to corrupt than to correct any great 'mind.' But however Mr. Francis Bacon might afterwards cool in his affections to that noble perſon, moſt certain it is, that Mr. Anthony Bacon loved him beyond the grave, as appears by a paper directed to him, which fully vindicates his Lordſhip's character, and ſhews that he was influenced by public ſpirit, and not by the deſire of revenging his private quarrel on his enemies (*o*). This paper which is ſtill preſerved, remains an inconteſtible proof of Mr. Anthony Bacon's having openly eſpouſed his Lord's cauſe, even after it had brought him to the block, and on that account doubly deſerves notice [*D*]. In all probability the death of the Earl of Eſſex affected him very deeply, ſince his own followed within leſs than a year. He was, as appears by various paſſages in his brother's writings, a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in polite learning, and in all the arts requiſite to the conduct of human life. How nearly ſoever he was related to the Cecils, and how great ſoever his intereſt might be with the Lord-Treaſurer, it does not by any means appear, that he had any intercourſe with that family in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but dedicated all his time, except what was employed in the ſervice of his patron, to his ſtudies. It was owing to this reſerved life of his, that

(*n*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iv. p. 438, 439.

(*o*) Camden, Annal. p. 960.

'leaving to your Lordſhip the place of Maſter of the 'Horſe, doth to my underſtanding *indicativè* point 'at this, that her Majeſty meant to uſe your Lord-'ſhip's attendance in court, while the exerciſes of 'the other places ſtood ſuſpended. Fifthly, I have 'heard, and your Lordſhip knoweth better than 'I, that now ſince you were in your own cuſtody, 'her Majeſty, in *verbo regio*, and by his mouth to 'whom ſhe committed her royal grants and decrees, 'hath aſſured your Lordſhip ſhe will forbid and not 'ſuffer your ruin.——I know your Lordſhip 'may juſtly interpret, that this which I perſuade may 'have ſome reference to my particular fortune, but 'I may truly ſay, *te ſtante* (not *virebo*, for I am 'withered in myſelf, but) *manebo* or *tenebo*, and that 'I ſhall in ſome ſort be able to hold out: But though 'your Lordſhip's years and health may expect return 'of grace and fortune, yet your eclipſe for a time 'is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune, and were it not 'that I deſire and hope to ſee my brother eſtabliſhed 'by her Majeſty's favour, (as I think him well worthy 'for what he hath done and ſuffered) it were time 'I did take that courſe from which I diſſuade your 'Lordſhip; but now in the mean time I cannot chuſe 'but perform thoſe honeſt duties unto you, to whom 'I have been ſo deeply bounden (11).' The anſwer to this written in the Earl's name, but by the ſame pen which drew the former, is full of duty and affection to the Queen, but with ſome free and ſharp touches on his enemies, which perhaps were thrown in to give it more the air of his Lordſhip's writing. The concluſion of it, as it relates particularly to the two brothers, it is requiſite the reader ſhould ſee in the words of the letter itſelf (12). 'But for her firſt 'love and for her laſt protection, and for all her great 'benefits, I can but pray for her Majeſty, and my 'endeavours are now to make my prayers for her 'Majeſty and myſelf better heard; for, thanks be to 'God, they that can make her Majeſty believe that 'I counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe 'that I counterfeit with him; and they which can 'let me from coming near unto her, cannot let me 'from drawing near unto him, as I hope I do daily: 'For your brother, I hold him to be an honeſt gentle-'man, and wiſh him all good, much the rather for 'your ſake: Yourſelf I know hath ſuffered more for 'me and with me, than any friend I have; yet I 'cannot but lament freely, as you ſee I do, and 'adviſe you not to do that which I do, which is, 'to deſpair; you know letters what hurt they have 'done me, and therefore make ſure of this, and yet 'I could not (as having no other pledge of my love) 'but communicate freely with you, for the eaſe of 'my heart and yours.'

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 548.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 549.

[*D*] *And on that account doubly deſerves notice.*] This letter was directed to Mr. A. Bacon, and dated from the writer's chamber in London, May the 30th, 1601. In it the writer tells him, that after the Earl of Eſſex was condemned, one Mr. Aſhton, a Preacher, was ſent to him by the Lords, with intent to get out of him what he could. This man talked to him in a very high and ſaucy ſtrain, imputing to him ſuch baſe and black deſigns, that at length the Earl, who profeſſed that he feared ſuch imputations on his memory, more than he did a thouſand deaths, found himſelf obliged, in defence of all that was now left him, his good name, to ſpeak more clearly to the point, than perhaps he ever intended: Thus, being extremely urged, ſays the letter-writer, 'He 'made confeſſion, according to the premiſes, namely, 'that he meant to have eſtabliſhed the King of Scots 'his title in ſucceſſion, and that in this intention he 'had many of the worthieſt perſons of the land in 'conſent with him, which alſo he had an earneſt 'purpoſe to have revealed at his death, as Aſhton 'and others have confeſſed; but that he was ſo 'mightily diſſuaded and commanded to the contrary, 'as a thing that might tend to the great danger of 'her Majeſty's perſon: Now how little his honour 'is herein touched, and what ſmall reaſon, he had 'then, of all times, to diſſemble, your wiſe and 'religious heart may eaſily judge. Thus having, 'according to my wonted plainneſs, given you a true 'ſatisfaction in your deſire, I moſt humbly recom-'mend you to the protection of God, wiſhing much 'more health and comfort to you, than either your 'weak body hath of late enjoyed, or theſe times 'do afford (13).'

(13) Camd. Annal. edit. T. Hearne, p. 960, 961.

his father's fine ſeat fell to decay, and that the water which had been laid to it from ſprings at a conſiderable diſtance, was cut off in ſuch a manner, that it could not afterwards be recovered, but at ſo great an expence, that the Lord Viſcount St. Albans choſe rather to build a little neat houſe near the great pond; ſaying merrily (*p*), that *Since the water could not be brought to his houſe, he would bring his houſe to the water.* The friendſhip between theſe two brothers was not only warm and ſincere, but conſtant and laſting, as appears by Francis Bacon's dedicating the firſt work he publiſhed to his brother Anthony, and celebrating his memory in many of thoſe pieces which he publiſhed after his deceaſe (*q*). There is good reaſon to believe, that this gentleman alſo wrote ſeveral things, though none of them have come down to our times, or at leaſt none under his name; but as we ſhall ſhew in another place, it is more than probable, that ſome of thoſe ſonnets and other little pieces of poetry, that are generally aſcribed to his patron the Earl of Eſſex, were, either in the whole or in part, of his compoſition, and were owned by the Earl, not from any affectation of learning which he did not poſſeſs, for his abilities were not of a nature to need any ſuch aſſiſtance, or his ſpirit of that ſort to ſeek or deſire it, but for political reaſons, he adopted what his occaſions required, and what, if he had had leiſure, he could have performed with equal elegance and beauty (*r*). It does not appear whether Mr. Anthony Bacon was interred at Verulam or not: But if he had, one might reaſonably ſuppoſe, ſome monument would have been erected there to his memory, conſidering not only the obligations, but the affection of his brother towards him; and yet it is not impoſſible that the circumſtance of time might prevent his erecting ſuch a teſtimony of reſpect to his memory, as not allowing room for celebrating his attachment to the Earl of Eſſex, his fidelity in which muſt have made a principal part of the character afforded him therein. He left behind him, beſides the manor of Gorhambury, which deſcended to his brother Francis, a conſiderable perſonal eſtate, which he likewiſe bequeathed to him, and which it is believed he laid out in the purchaſe of the manor of Kingſbery (*s*), both of which, at the deceaſe of the Viſcount St. Albans, came to Sir Thomas Meautys, and paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong [*E*]. As he laid the foundation of his brother the

(*p*) Bacon's Works, Vol. iii. p. 273.

(*q*) See his Dedication to the firſt edit. of his Eſſays, and likewiſe the Dedication to the ſecond edition, the former being to this brother, the latter to his brother-in law, Sir John Conſtable.

(*r*) See the article of DEVEREUX (Robert) Earl of Eſſex.

(*s*) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 463.

[*E*] *And paſſed from his heirs to the family of Grimſton, to whom they ſtill belong.*] Sir Thomas Meautys, who lived many years with the Viſcount St. Albans, and who upon his ſentence in the Houſe of Lords, made over his eſtate to him, was likewiſe his heir, and he marrying Anne, daughter to Sir Nathanial Bacon of Culford in the county of Suffolk, Knight of the Bath, left the manor of Gorhambury to her for her life, and ſhe afterwards marrying Sir Harbottle Grimſton, he procured from Hercules Meautys, for a valuable conſideration, an aſſignment of his right to the reverſion of this eſtate, which would have deſcended to him as nephew and heir of the beforementioned Sir Thomas Meautys (14). This Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Knight and Baronet, was the direct anceſtor of the Viſcounts Grimſton of the kingdom of Ireland, the preſent owners of this manor and ſeat (15), of which having ſo largely diſcourſed in the foregoing articles, it ſeemed requiſite for the reader's ſatisfaction to add theſe few lines here. C.

(14) Chauncey's Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(15) See the Iriſh Compendium, under the title of Viſcount Grimſton.

[Though Lady Anne Bacon was a woman of great piety and virtue, as well as of diſtinguiſhed abilities, yet her temper ſeems to have been very diſagreeable. Her admonitions to her ſons, which were often wiſe, and undoubtedly proceeded from her ſincere regard for their welfare, were ſo harſh that they could not ſubmit to them with patience. Indeed, her expreſſions were ſometimes unreaſonably ſevere. She was ſo full of reſentment at Mr. Anthony Bacon's continuing longer abroad than appeared to her to be adviſable, that ſhe called him a traitor to God and his country, and alledged that he had undone her, and ſought her death; but that when he ſhould gain that, which he ſought for, he would have but a hundred pounds more than he had then. She was reſolved, ſhe ſaid, to procure the Queen's Letter to force him to return home; and that upon his coming back, if her Majeſty gave him his right, ſhe would commit him to priſon. Lady Bacon added, that ſhe could not bear to hear of him, and that he was hated of all the chiefeſt in France, and curſed of God in all his actions, ſince Mr. Lawſon's being with him. This Lawſon was a ſervant of Mr. Anthony Bacon's, againſt whom her Ladyſhip had conceived an unconquerable averſion; which circumſtance, together with her diſlike of ſome other connections her ſon had formed, and her fears leſt his religious principles ſhould be corrupted, gave additional ſtrength to the aſperity of her language. Her continual reproaches, addreſſed to both her ſons, at length extorted from Mr. Anthony Bacon the following letter:

'MADAM,

'FOR anſwer on my part to your Ladyſhip's letter to us both, having aſked counſel and leave of him who only knoweth and guideth the heart, I found myſelf emboldened with warrant of a good conſcience, and by the force of truth, to remonſtrate unto your Ladyſhip with a moſt dutiful mind, and tender care of your Ladyſhip's ſoul and reputation, that howſoever your Ladyſhip doth pretend and alledge for reaſon towards us in your motherly affection in that which concerneth Lawſon; yet any man of judgment and indifferency muſt needs take it for a mere paſſion, ſpringing either from preſumption, that your Ladyſhip can only judge and ſee that in the man, which never any man yet hath ſeen; or from a ſovereign deſire to over-rule your ſons in all things, how little ſoever you may underſtand either the ground or the circumſtances of their proceedings; or elſe from want of civility, abandoning your mind continually to moſt ſtrange and wrongful ſuſpicions, notwithſtanding all moſt humble ſubmiſſions and endeavours poſſible on his part to procure your Ladyſhip's ſatisfaction and contentment. This my remonſtrance, as I have juſt cauſe to fear, that it will at the firſt ſight be offenſive to your Ladyſhip, yet have I no leſs reaſon to hope, that almighty God, who knoweth with how dutiful intent, and to what end I have made the ſame, will in his mercy diſpoſe your Ladyſhip's heart not to yield to your , which you as it were ſo heinous an offence, but to truth and charity. Whereupon intirely repoſing myſelf as infallible grounds, I remain more ready to receive and endure your blame for performing with free filial reſpect this my bounden duty, than your thanks or liking, for ſoothing or allowing by ſilence ſo dangerous humours and uncharitable miſconceits. And ſo I moſt humbly take my leave (16).'

(16) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. p. 56. 173.

Mr. Anthony Bacon's expoſtulation with his mother did not produce the deſired effect. By continuing to write to him in her uſual ſplenetic manner, ſhe drew from him a ſecond complaint. In this he told her, that from a mother ſickly and in years he was content to take in good part any miſconceit, miſinter-

the Chancellor's fortunes in one ſenſe, ſo he was very uſeful to them in another likewiſe, I mean that of favour; ſince the firſt marks which Sir Francis Bacon received of King James's kindneſs and good-will, are in the very grant expreſſed, to be in conſideration of the many good ſervices rendered him before his acceſſion to the throne of England, by his brother Mr. Anthony Bacon, as well as by himſelf (*t*). Such are the few ſcattered memoirs we have been able to collect of this great man, which at the ſame time that they are very curious in themſelves, render them likewiſe a very uſeful Supplement to the foregoing articles.

(*t*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. xv. p. 597.

[In Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, which are principally extracted from the original papers of Mr. Anthony Bacon, we meet with a number of circumſtances concerning him, and a full detail of his correſpondencies. Many of the particulars recorded are too minute to deſerve much attention. For though Mr. Anthony Bacon was a man of eminent political abilities and intrigue, yet his character is not, like that of his great brother, ſo intereſting as to confer an importance upon every minute event in which he was concerned. We ſhall ſelect, however, ſuch facts as may beſt ſerve to compleat the general account of his life. He was born in the year 1558 (*u*); ſo that he could not be three years older than his brother Francis, together with whom he received his education at Trinity College in Cambridge, both of them being matriculated in the univerſity on the ſame day (*w*). As Dr. Whitgift was then Maſter of the College, whatever directions he might give in the ſtudies of the young gentlemen, he could not properly be their tutor. Mr. Anthony Bacon began his travels in 1579, at the age of twenty-one, and reſided for ſome time at Paris, from whence he removed to Bourges, and thence to Geneva, where he lodged at the houſe of Theodore Beza (*x*). We do not find any evidence of his having been, about this period, at Venice. It is very certain that he was not returned from his travels in December 1581, as is ſuppoſed in the preceding article. He was then at Geneva (*y*): And there is no appearance of his having been in England at all, till his final ſettlement in his own country, many years after. From Geneva he ſucceſſively removed to Montpellier, to Marſeilles, to Bourdeaux, to Montaubon, and again to Bourdeaux, where he reſided the longeſt (*z*). During his ſtay abroad, he correſponded with ſeveral eminent perſons in England, and ſometimes communicated intelligence of importance to the public ſervice (*a*). In the year 1584, he paid a viſit to Henry, King of Navarre, at Bearn, where he became acquainted with the learned Lambert Danæus, who had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he dedicated to him ſeveral of his works (*b*). While Mr. Bacon was at Montaubon, in 1586, he contracted an intimacy with the famous Philip Pleſſis de Mornay, and his family. Charlotte Arbaleſte, wife of Monſ. du Pleſſis, having formed a ſcheme of marrying her daughter (probably by her firſt huſband) to Mr. Bacon, and the deſign not ſucceeding, ſhe was ſo filled with reſentment againſt him, on this and ſome other accounts, that, by alienating Philip de Mornay's mind from him, ſhe involved him in conſiderable difficulties. Nay, ſhe carried her indignation and complaints to Lady Bacon, who paid ſo much attention to her ſuggeſtions and ſurmiſes, as to procure Mr. Lawſon's being kept in priſon for ten months, though he had been ſent home by his maſter with diſpatches very important to the ſtate (*c*). We ought to have mentioned, that Mr. Bacon, during his firſt reſidence at Bourdeaux, in 1584, excited the jealouſy and hatred of the bigotted papiſts, and expoſed himſelf to perſonal danger, by the ſervices he rendered to the proteſtants in that city (*d*) He returned to England, in a very ill ſtate of health, in the beginning of February, 1591-2 (*e*). It was not till the latter end of the year 1595, that he took up his reſidence in Eſſex Houſe (*f*); in which ſituation he carried on a moſt extenſive correſpondence, as may be ſeen, at large, in Birch's Memoirs. In 1596, Mr. Bacon received a letter from Henry the Fourth, King of France, in which that illuſtrious monarch aſſured him of his high eſteem, and requeſted his intereſt with the Earl of Eſſex (*g*). In the ſame year he was viſited by the Duke de Bouillon, then in England (*b*). From the end of the year 1597, there are few letters to the Earl of Eſſex to be found in Mr. Bacon's collections. This defect was

(*u*) Birch's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. i. p. 11.

(*w*) On the 16th of June, 1573, according to moſt authors, but Dr. Birch, from the univerſity regiſter, ſays the 10th.

(*x*) *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 12, 13. 16.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 17.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 22. 28. 40. 50. 61.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 13. 40. 45, 46. 50. 54.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 54.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 49, 50.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 315.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p 461, 462.

(*b*) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. ii. p. 122.

miſinterpretations, or cauſeleſs humorous threats whatſoever. 'Only this, ſays he, I may with reaſon, 'and muſt for once, upon the warrant of a good 'conſcience, remonſtrate unto your Ladyſhip, that 'your ſon's poor credit dependeth upon judgment 'and not upon humour; and that your Ladyſhip 'cannot utter any thing in your paſſion to your ſon's 'lack, ſo long as God gives him the grace to be 'more careful in duty to pleaſe and reverence your 'Ladyſhip as his mother, than your Ladyſhip ſeem-'eth many times to be towards me as your ſon (17).' The age and bad health of Lady Bacon here mentioned form the beſt apology for her peeviſhneſs; to which it may be added, that, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of her temper, ſhe appears to have had the moſt ardent affection for her ſons, and to have exerted herſelf, with great generoſity and zeal, to promote their intereſt. We ſhall take ſome farther notice of this Lady, together with her learned ſiſters, under the article of Sir Anthony Cooke.

(17) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 24.

If what is related, in the note [*B*], of Lord Henry Howard's being commonly *primæ admiſſionis* at the Earl of Eſſex's bedſide in the morning, be true, it is, as a valuable correſpondent obſerves, very remarkable. Lord Henry Howard was certainly an agent of Cecil's. He wrote the ſecret diſpatches ſent by Cecil to the King of Scotland, the originals of which are yet extant in the advocates library at Edinburgh, and have been publiſhed by Sir David Dalrymple. If Howard, therefore, as Wotton poſitively teſtifies, was in cloſe confidence with the Earl of Eſſex, there can be little doubt but that, as he was a bad man, he would communicate what he knew to Cecil. Hence it ſeems that Eſſex was gulled to give four thouſand pounds for the preſervation of a ſecret which Howard was acquainted with, and in all probability revealed.] K.

probably

probably owing to his having deſtroyed his later correſpondencies, when his great friend fell into his misfortunes; though it does not appear, but that Mr. Bacon was abſolutely innocent of the occaſions of thoſe misfortunes (*i*). Dr. Birch doubts the truth of the ſtory related from Sir Henry Wotton in the note [*B.*] 'Sir Henry's veracity, 'ſays the Doctor, which I have ſeen good reaſon to queſtion in other caſes, is juſtly to 'be ſuſpected in this, ſince he appears to have conceived ſome diſguſt againſt Mr. 'Bacon, while he was one of the Earl's Secretaries, that gentleman frequently complain-'ing of his behaviour towards him, and charging him with having ſuppreſſed the letters, 'which he had been ordered by his Lordſhip to write in favour of Dr. Hawkins, and 'yet affirming, that he had ſent them. Nor does he ſeem to be well-founded in his 'aſſertion, that Mr. Bacon was of a *provident nature, contrary to the temper of his brother* '*Francis*, ſince the reverſe of that character is evident from Mr. Bacon's own papers *; 'who could not have ſo frequently been diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, if he had been 'an œconomiſt, or ſupplied by the Earl, as Sir Henry farther adds, with a *noble enter-'tainment in his houſe, and at leaſt one thouſand pounds of annual penſion.* And indeed of 'this pretended penſion there is not the leaſt trace in all Mr. Bacon's papers: Nor is 'there any appearance, that he was *entertained* at Eſſex Houſe at the Earl's charge. But 'it is, on the contrary, evident from a letter of that gentleman to his mother, dated 'October 2, 1596, that he enjoyed no other advantage in that houſe than of his lodg-'ings, his other expences being defrayed by himſelf, his Lordſhip ſeldom coming 'thither except to viſit him, or to give entertainments occaſionally to perſons of diſtinc-'tion (*k*).' This repreſentation of things will be deemed the more credible, when we conſider that Mr. Anthony Bacon's circumſtances, juſt before he quitted Eſſex Houſe by the Queen's command, in March, 1599-60, were ſo diſtreſſed, that it was appre-hended, he would be obliged to ſell his eſtate of Gorhambury (*l*). The time and place of his death have not yet been diſcovered by the ſtricteſt enquiry. It is certain that he ſurvived the Earl of Eſſex, and that he did not live till the acceſſion of King James the Firſt to the throne of England (*m*).] K.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 371.

* He was remarkably generous to his brother Francis. *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 95.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 443, 498, 499.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

BACONTHORP (*a*), or BACONDORP (*b*), or ſimply BACON (*c*) (JOHN), ſurnamed the *Reſolute Doctor*, and one of the learneſt men of his times, was born, towards the end of the XIIIth century, at Baconthorp, an obſcure village in Norfolk, from which he took his name. In his youth, he was a Monk in the convent of Blackney (*d*), a ſmall town in Norfolk, about five miles from Walſingham. After ſome years dedicated to learning and piety, he removed to Oxford, and from thence to Paris; where he was honoured with the degrees in Divinity and Laws, and acquired a great reputation for learning, being eſteemed the head of the *Averroïſts* [*A*], or followers of the Philoſopher Averroës (*e*). Upon his return into England, he was unanimouſly choſen the twelfth Provincial of the Engliſh Carmelites, in a general aſſembly of that order held at London, in the year 1329. Four years after, he was invited by letters to Rome; where, in ſeveral diſputations on the ſubject of marriage, he gave no little offence, by carrying the Papal authority too high in the caſe of divorces: but he thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion [*B*], and was held in great eſteem at Rome, and other parts of Italy. This learned Doctor wrote ſeveral pieces,

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. c. 374. & Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(*b*) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Script. *an.* 1346.

(*c*) Trithemius *and others call him ſo.* Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

(*d*) *Called in Latin* Nigeria.

(*e*) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was eſteemed the head of the* Averroïſts.] Averroës, the author of this ſect, was an Arabian Philoſopher, of Corduba, who flouriſhed in the XIIth century. He was extremely attached to Ariſtotle, whoſe works he commented on with ſuch ability, that he was ſtiled, by way of eminence, *The Commentator*. He was Profeſſor in the univerſity of Morocco, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great ſkill in the theoretical part of Phyſic. He taught that *there is an intelligence, which, without multiplication of itſelf, animates all the individuals of the human ſpecies, in reſpect to their exerciſing the functions of a rational ſoul.* As to religion, he had really none at all: for, according to him, Chriſtianity was abſurd, Judaiſm the religion of Children, and Mahometiſm (which he outwardly profeſſed) the religion of Swine (1). 'Averroës 'of Corduba (ſays another writer) was inſtructed by 'his father in the laws and religion of his country. 'He was extremely fat, though he uſed to eat but 'once a day. He paſſed whole nights in the ſtudy 'of Philoſophy; and when he found himſelf tired, 'he diverted himſelf with reading ſome book of 'poetry or hiſtory. He was never ſeen to play, or 'to ſeek after any amuſement. The errors, of which 'he was accuſed, drew on him a ſentence, whereby 'he was deſpoiled of his goods, and obliged to recant. 'After his condemnation, he went to Fez, and after-'wards returned to Corduba; where he ſtayed, till, 'at the earneſt requeſt of the people, he was recalled 'to Morocco, and continued there till his death, 'which happened in 1206 (2).' It was with reſpect to the philoſophical, not the religious, opinions of Averroës, that our Baconthorp was ſaid to be the head, or chief of his followers: for he underſtood the writings of Ariſtotle, and maintained his doctrines, in a manner agreeable to the explications or comments of this Philoſopher. Hence his Panegyriſt Baptiſta Mantuanus:

Nemo magis mentem cognovit *Averroïs*, illum
Si ſequeris, ſies alter *Ariſtoteles* (3).

(1) *See* M. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Crit. *Art.* AVERROES.

(2) Journal des Savans, 1 July, 1697, p. 475, *edit. of Holland.*

(3) *See the whole paſſage cited in the remark* [*E*], marg. note (9).

[*B*] *He thought fit afterwards to retract his opinion.*] Bale aſſures us, that Baconthorp not only recanted his former doctrine, but took the other ſide of the queſtion; proving, by the ſtrongeſt arguments fetched from reaſon and Scripture, that, in degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the divine law, the Pope has no diſpenſing power. *Sed erroris a Dei verbo admonitus, vitium agnovit, deteſtabat noxam, ac palinodiam modeſtiſſime cecinit, ſolidiſſimis ſcripturis et rationibus probans, in gradibus conſanguinitatis divina lege prohibitis, Papam diſpenſare non poſſe* (4). It is remarkable, that Pits ſays not one word of Baconthorp's giving offence, and afterwards changing his opinion, but only tells us in general, that he was ſent for to Rome upon ſome important queſtions relating to marriage, and that he was as much eſteemed in Italy as he had been in France. *Romam vocatus eſt ſuper graviſſimis de matrimonio dubiis. Tum cœpit fama hominis apud Italos, uti prius apud Gallos magis magiſque indies clareſcere* (5).

(4) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. V. c. i.

(5) Pits, de illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1346.

mentioned below [C]. He was ſmall of ſtature [D], but of a great and lofty genius, as is ſufficiently teſtified by writers of other nations [E], as well as our own [F]. John Baconthorp

[C] *He wrote ſeveral pieces.*] Among thoſe, which have ſeen the light, the moſt remarkable are the following: I. Commentaria, ſeu Quæſtiones ſuper quatuor libros Sententiarum; i. e. *Commentaries, or Queſtions on the Four Books of Sentences.* This book was publiſhed at Milan in 1510 and 1611; at Cremona, by John Chryſoſtom Maraſce, in 1618, in two volumes; twice at Paris, and once at Venice. II. Compendium Legis Chriſti, et Quodlibeta; i. e. *An Abridgment of the Law of Chriſt, and Quodlibets. Venice*, 1527. The *Quodlibeta* were publiſhed, together with the *Commentaries on the Sentences*, at Cremona, in 1618 (6). Dr. Cave mentions another piece, which he is not ſure was ever publiſhed. It is entitled, Tractatus Duo de Regula Ordinis Carmelitani, et Compendium hiſtoriarum et jurium pro defenſione ejuſdem Ordinis; i. e. *Two Treatiſes concerning the Rule of the Order of the Carmelites, and an hiſtorical and juridical Compendium in defence of the ſaid Order.* Leland, Bale, and Pits, give us, as uſual, a very long catalogue of our author's works never yet publiſhed; among which, the moſt worthy of notice, are theſe: I. *Commentaries on all the Books of the Bible*, and *on St. Auſtin's Book* De Civitate Dei. II. *Several Treatiſes againſt the Jews.* III. *A Treatiſe againſt Pope John, concerning the Viſion of the Bleſſed.* And IV. *Diſcourſes on various Subjects.*

(6) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. Sæc. Wicklev. *an.* 1329.

[D] *He was ſmall of ſtature.*] This circumſtance is pleaſantly aggravated by Pits and Fuller. 'Erat 'quidem, ut alter Zachæus, ſtatura puſillus, ſed 'ingenio magnus, ut mirum ſit in tam exili corpuſculo tantas habitaſſe virtutes, et naturam in tantillo 'homuncione tam ſublime collocaſſe ingenium. Tam 'ingentia ſcripſit volumina, ut corpus non tuliſſet 'quod ingenium protulerat. Nam ſi moles librorum 'ejus, compoſita ſarcina, auctoris humeris impoſita 'fuiſſet, homulum ſine dubio comprimere ſuffeciſſet '(7). *He was, like another Zachæus, a very dwarf 'in ſtature, but of ſo great a genius, that it is ſurpriſing ſuch exalted virtues ſhould dwell in ſo ſmall 'a body, and that nature ſhould have placed ſo ſublime a wit, in ſuch an epitome of a man. He wrote 'ſuch large volumes, that his body could not have 'ſuſtained the product of his mind. For if the weight 'of his books, bundled together, had been laid upon 'their author's ſhoulders, the little man muſt undoubtedly 'have ſunk under it.*' In like manner Fuller makes himſelf merry with little Baconthorp. *One remarkable*, ſays he, *firſt for the dwarfiſhneſs of his ſtature:*

(7) Pits, ubi ſupra.

Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libellus,

His pen-knife, pen, ink-horn, one ſheet of paper, and any of his books, would amount to his full height. As for all the books of his own making, put together, their burden were more than his body could bear. Secondly, For his high ſpirit in his low body. Indeed, his ſoul had but a ſmall dioceſe to viſit, and therefore might the better attend the effectual informing thereof. I have heard it delivered by a learned Doctor in Phyſic (at the Anatomy Lecture in London), who a little before had been preſent at the embowéling and embalming of Duke Hamilton and the Lord Capel, that the heart of the former was the largeſt, the latter the leaſt he had ever beheld, inferring hence, that contracted ſpirits act with the greateſt vigorouſneſs (8).

(8) *Worthies of England*, Norfolk, p. 255.

[E] *The greatneſs of his genius is acknowledged by writers of other nations.*] Baptiſta Mantuanus celebrates him in the following lines (9).

(9) *Apud* Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 374.

Quis liber in lucem nuper qui venit ab umbris?
Hic eſt Carmeli gloria magna Bacon.
Nemo magis mentem cognovit Averroïs, iſtum
Si ſequeris, fies alter Ariſtoteles.
Iſte tenebroſi damnat veſtigia Scoti,
Et per ſacra novis it documenta viis.
Hunc habeat, quibus eſt ſapientia grata; redundat
Iſtius in ſacris fontibus omne Sophos.

Paulus Panſa, a celebrated Orator of Italy, has immortalized the memory of Baconthorp in the following eulogium: 'Si Dei optimi maximi pene'tralia adire ſuadeat animus, nemo accurabilius eſ'ſentiam ejus mandavit literis. Si rerum cauſas, ſi 'naturæ effectus, ſi cæli varios motus, ac elemen'torum contrarias qualitates diſcere exoptet quiſquam, 'hic ſe officinam offert. Chriſtianæ religionis arma 'Vulcaniis munitiora contra Judæos, ſolus hic Re'ſolutus Doctor miniſtranda tradidit: Meſſiæ adven'tum dilucidat, Antichriſti aperit venturas fallacias, 'Mahumeti ſectam proſternit, ſcripturæ nodos ſolvit, 'et ænigmata cuncta ſerenat (10).—*If your incli'nation leads you to ſearch into the nature of Almighty 'God, no one has written more accurately upon his 'eſſence. If you would inquire into the cauſes of 'things, the effects of nature, the various motions 'of the heavens, and the contrary qualities of the 'elements, here you are preſented with a magazine. 'This one Reſolute Doctor has furniſhed the Chriſtian 'religion with the ſtrongeſt arms againſt the Jews: 'he clears up the coming of the Meſſiah, detects the 'future fallacies of Antichriſt, overthrows the ſect 'of Mahomet, and explains all the difficult parts of 'the Scriptures.*' The ſame author celebrates Baconthorp, both as a Philoſopher and a Divine, in the following diſtich:

(10) *Apud* Baleum, ubi ſupra.

Noſcere vis rerum cauſas, ipſumque tonantem,
Et Sophiæ omne genus? ſume Baconis opus (11).

(11) *Apud* Leland, ubi ſupra.

I ſhall conclude theſe foreign teſtimonies with certain barbarous verſes, written by Laurence Burell of Dijon, in the perſon of Baconthorp himſelf. They relate chiefly to our author's works, and their publication after his death. If the reader has a mind to ſkip over them as too long, or for any other reaſon, with all my heart; he has my free leave.

Anglia me genuit, Joannem quiſque vocabat,
Et de Bacone nomine notus eram.
Cum cuperem ſacros è fonte haurire liquores,
Pariſios petii plena fluenta lares.
Illic quod ſtudium potuit, quod cura laborque,
Præteritum ingenio nil volui eſſe meo.
Nam non ſacra fuit tantum mihi pagina curæ,
Pontificum Canones ſed placuere mihi.
Quatuor expoſui vulgata volumina Petri,
Sed magis in quarto mens mea fixa fuit.
Scripſi et Ephæmerides, quæ vos Quodlibeta vocatis,
Tum vetus atque novum clarius eſſe dedi.
Ethica nec noſtris ſine ſcriptis lentus omiſi,
In Metaphyſicis ſtat labor ipſe meus.
Inque animæ libros ſcripſi: tum multa notavi,
Auguſtine, tua rurſus in urbe Dei.
Nec quæ de trino ſimul uno ſcripta dediſti,
Sum paſſus ſcriptis illa carere meis.
Anſelmum expoſui, dum ſcripto quæritat ille,
Cur Deus è Sancta Virgine factus homo?
Et dum deſcribit quo pacto è Virgine verbum
Aſſumpſit carnem, ſedulus expoſui.
Pauperiem Chriſti ſcripſi, et quis jure tenere
Has poſſit fluxas paſtor ovilis opes.
Hiſtoriam breviter tetigi, quæ candidus ordo
Noſter, ab excelſa ſit genetrice Dei.
Tum mea Judæi ſenſerunt vulnera cæci,
Tum ſcripſi ut virgo concipit atque parit.
Scripſi alios multos, quos non te, candide lector,
Pœniteat ſtudii, ſi ſemel ipſe legas.
Et tandem in prima terra poſt fata quievi,
Dulcius eſt patrium quod tegit oſſa ſolum.
Poſt jacui tandem per tempora longa ſepultus;
Omnia ſic tempus innovat atque fugat.
Franciſcus Medicus, ſed religionis alumnus,
Vivere me rurſus et mea ſcripta dedit.
Nam mea formari per multa volumina fecit,
Cauſa fuit doctûm quod legor ore virûm.
Debeo multa viro, tum debeo multa legenti,
Multa et tu debes, dogmata quiſquis amas (12).

(12) *Apud* Baleum, *ibid.*

[F] —— *As well as our own.*] His virtues, according to Leland, were in themſelves ſo illuſtrious, that they ſtand in no need of borrowed colours. *Virtutes hominis tam per ſe illuſtres erant, ut pigmentis aliunde adſcitis jam per ſe non egeant* (13). Bale aſſures us, he was the learneded Monk of the Mendicant order that England ever produced; and that in all his writings he abhorred ſophiſtry, as hereſy, blaſphemy, and the bane of the Chriſtian faith. But this hiſtorian thinks, he would have performed much greater things, and been the completeſt writer that ever

(13) Leland, ubi ſupra.

Baconthorp died at London [G], in the nineteenth year of Edward III., A. D. 1346 (f). B.

(f) Leland, Bale, *and* Pits, ubi ſupra.

ever was, had it not been for the darkneſs of the age he lived in, under the tyranny of Antichriſt; that is, in other words, if he had not been a Papiſt: however, in the midſt of that darkneſs he ſaw many things of which he durſt not declare his opinion. The Biſhop of Oſſory adds, that he had found ſome ſentences in Baconthorp's works more weighty, than in all the other writers of his time; and that he had made a collection of them, as ſo many inſtances of the author's piety, but fears he had loſt them in Ireland. *Talis ille erat in omni bonarum artium genere, qualem nec ante nec poſt habebat Anglia, ex omni Mendicantium Monachorum cumulo. —— In omnibus ſcriptis ſophiſticen, ut hæreſim, blaſphemiam, ac perniciosſimam fidei peſtem aſpernabatur. —— Si non fuiſſet hic ſcriptor ejus ætatis caligine impeditus, ſub Antichriſti tyrannide, multa et magna præſtitiſſet, nec eo fuiſſet quicquam abſolutius. Multa certe in ipſis tenebris vidit, quæ pronunciare non audebat. Porro inveni ſententias aliquot graviores apud illum, quam apud omnes ejus temporis ſcriptores: et eas, ut fragmenta quædam pietatis ejus, collegi; quæ tamen apud Hybernos periiſſe timeo* (14). Pits praiſes him almoſt in the very words of Paulus Panſa (15). *Nemo doctius confundebat Judæos, nemo nerveſior confutabat Turcos, vel quoſcunque infideles; nemo felicius expugnabat Hereticos; nemo ſolidius Chriſti veritatem dilucidabat; nemo manifeſtius Antichriſti falſitatem et impoſturas detegebat, ſuiſque coloribus depingebat; nemo ſubtilius difficiles nodos ſolvebat; nemo clarius obſcura ſacræ Scripturæ loca explanabat, et ſenſus reconditos et arcana myſteria dilucidius aperiebat* (16).

(16) Pits, ubi ſupra.

[G] *He died at London.*] It is added, that he was buried in the convent of the Carmelites there; but Leland tells us, he had in vain endeavoured to diſcover his monument. *Tumulus à me Londini ſolicite quæſitus at non inventus* (17). Some pretend, he was buried at Blackney, and others aſſign Norwich as the place of his interment (18).

(17) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(18) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

[From the united teſtimonies concerning Baconthorp, it appears that, conſidering the age in which he lived, he was an extraordinary man. Were we to give full credit to the encomiums upon him inſerted in the notes [E] and [F], we might almoſt be ready to rank him with Roger Bacon, and to regret that his printed works ſhould be ſo little attended to, and that his other tracts ſhould either be loſt, or lie buried in the duſt of ſome old libraries. But when we peruſe the numerous Catalogue of his writings in Bale or Tanner, and ſee that they were moſt of them upon theological ſubjects, we ſhall be tolerably reconciled to their having ſunk into oblivion.] K.

(14) Baleus, ubi ſupra.

(15) *See the preceding remark*, marg. note (10).

BADEW (Richard de), the firſt and original founder of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, was deſcended from a knightly family, ſeated at Great Badew, or Badow, near Chelmsford, in the county of Eſſex (a). From this place of their reſidence they took their ſurname; and here, probably, Richard de Badew was born. In 1326, he was Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge (b): and having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet of Nigel Thornton, a Phyſician [A], he laid there, in the year abovementioned, the foundation of a building, to which was given the name of Univerſity-Hall. In it he placed a Principal, who was to take care of the Penſioners that came to live there at their own expence (c); or, as others ſay, at the charges of the univerſity (d); for as yet it was not endowed. It continued in this condition for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and then by an accidental fire was burnt down (e). Richard de Badew being unable to build it, it lay for a few years in ruins. But one of the late Penſioners having a great intereſt with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glouceſter, and third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare, the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford [B], he prevailed upon her to undertake what de Badew was not able to perform (f). Whereupon this charitable Lady, after the reſignation of Walter Thaxtead the Principal, and with the conſent of Richard de Badew, new-built that hall, and endowed it, in the year 1347, with revenues for one Maſter, ten Fellows, and ten Scholars (g). At the ſame time ſhe named it Clare-Hall, from her own family-ſurname (h). When ſhe founded it, King Edward III. gave licence of mortmain to the Maſter and Scholars, to take lands and tenements, to the value of forty pounds a year (i). The revenues of this Hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors [C]; ſo that at preſent it contains one Maſter, eighteen Fellows, and ſixty-three Scholars (k). Some conclude (l) from the two following verſes of Chaucer (m), that it was formerly called Sollere or Scholar-hall,

(a) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Lond. 1655, p. 37. Magna Britannia, by T. Cox, Lond. 1717, 4to. Vol. i. p. 245.

(b) Fuller, *ibid.* J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebr. Acad. p. 57, edit. 1574, Lond. 4to. Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8vo. p. 42.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) Scot's Tables quoted by T. Fuller, *ibid.* The Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Lond. 1651, 4to. p. 4.

(e) Caius, & Fuller, *ibid.*

(f) Caius, & Fuller, *ibid.*

(g) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(h) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(i) Stow, ubi ſupra.

(k) Magna Britannia, ubi ſupra.

(l) Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(m) In the Reve's Tale.

> And namely there was a great college,
> Men clepen (n) it the Sollere-hall of Cambrege.

(n) *i. e.* call.

[A] *Having purchaſed two tenements in Miln-ſtreet, &c.*] Stow ſays (1), that it was founded by the Chancellor, R. Badew, and Maſters of the univerſity of Cambridge, upon a ground whereon ſtood two houſes, belonging of old time to the ſaid Chancellor and univerſity, in Miln-ſtreet.

(1) In his Account of the Univerſities in England, at the end of his Chronicle.

[B] *Third ſiſter and coheir of Sir Gilbert de Clare, the laſt Earl of Glouceſter and Hertford.*] Namely of that name and family. She was married three times, 1. To John de Burgh, ſon and heir to the Earl of Ulſter (2), by whom ſhe had William de Burgh, laſt Earl of Ulſter. 2. To Theobald of Verdon. And 3. To Sir Roger Damary, or Tamari (3). She had formerly been a benefactreſs to Univerſity-Hall, having beſtowed upon it the perpetual patronage of Litlington, and been otherwiſe very bountiful to that foundation (4).

(2) T. Walſingham Hiſt. Angl. edit. Francof. 1603, fol. p. 106. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 217.

(3) Stow's Ann. ubi ſupra, p. 1058, edit. 1631.

(4) Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, ubi ſupra.

[C] *The revenues of this hall have been augmented ſince by ſeveral benefactors.*] The chief of them have been, John Thaxton, Editha Green, William Ducket, William Worleigh, William Marſhal, Ralph Scrivener, Thomas Cave, Thomas Stoyle, or Stoite, Edmund Natureſs, Edward Leedes, Robert Scot, Thomas Cecil Earl of Exeter, and his Lady Dorothy, who gave 108 pounds a year in rent, William Butler, John Freeman, George Ruggle, Sir Robert Heath, Thomas Binge, Humphry Hide, Robert Johnſon, Eraſmus Farrar, William Briden, Thomas Croply, &c. (5) M.

(5) *Ibid.* & Caius, & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

[BAILLIE (Robert), a Preſbyterian Divine of conſiderable eminence in the Church of Scotland during the laſt century, was born at Glaſgow, in the year 1599. His father, Mr. Thomas Baillie, was a citizen of that place, and ſon to Baillie of Jerviſton,

viſton, who was a brother of the family of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient family of Lamington [*A*], all in the county of Lanerk (*a*). His mother, whoſe name was Helen Gibſon, was of the ſtock of the Gibſons of Durie, ſeveral of whom have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Law. Our Robert Baillie was educated in the Univerſity of his native city, under the direction of Mr. Sharp, who was at that time the Head of the College there. After Mr. Baillie had taken his degrees in Arts, he turned his thoughts to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he applied with uncommon diligence. Having, about the year 1622, received orders from Archbiſhop Law, he was choſen a Regent of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. While he was in this ſtation, he had, for ſome years, the care of the education of Lord Montgomery, who, at length, carried him with him to Kilwinning; to which Church he was preſented by the Earl of Eglinton. Here he lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with that noble family, and the people connected with it; as he did, alſo, with his Ordinary the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, with whom he kept up an epiſtolary correſpondence. In 1633, he declined, from a principle of modeſty, an offer which was made him of a Church in Edinburgh (*b*). Being requeſted, in 1637, by the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to preach a Sermon before the Aſſembly at Edinburgh, in order to recommend the Canon and Service Book, then publiſhed and eſtabliſhed by authority, he refuſed to do it; and wrote a handſome letter to the Archbiſhop, aſſigning the reaſons of his refuſal [*B*] (*c*). In 1638, he was choſen by the Preſbytery of Irvine, a member of the famous Aſſembly at Glaſgow, which was a prelude to the civil war. Though Mr. Baillie is ſaid to have behaved in this Aſſembly with great moderation, it is evident that he was by no means deficient in his zeal againſt Prelacy and Arminianiſm [*C*] (*d*). He was a Member of all the following General Aſſemblies, till 1653, excepting

(*a*) Vid. Some account of Mr. Baillie's Life, taken from the Archives of the Church of Scotland, and prefixed to his Letters and Journals, printed at Edinburgh, in two Vols. 8vo. 1775.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. i. p. 11, 12.

(*d*) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 5. Letters and Journals, Vol. i. p. 122, 123.

[*A*] *A branch of the ancient family of Lamington.*] Baillie of Hoprig and Lamington was a branch of the Baliols, Lords of Galloway. Hoprig, by marrying the daughter of the famous Sir William Wallace, Regent of Scotland, obtained the eſtate of Lamington. Their ſecond ſon was the firſt of the houſe of Carphin; and from him Jerviſton, the predeceſſor of our Robert Baillie, deſcended (1).

(1) Account of Mr. Baillie's life, prefixed to his Letters and Journals, p. 3, note.

[*B*] *Aſſigning the reaſons of his refuſal.*] The letter is dated at Kilwinning, Auguſt the 19th, 1637, and is as follows:

'Pleaſe your Lordſhip,

'YOUR Lordſhip's letter of the 7th of this inſtant, 'I received the 13th, late, wherein I am deſired 'to preach the laſt Wedneſday of this inſtant, before 'the Aſſembly, and to frame my Sermon to unite 'my hearers to the obedience and practice of the 'canon of our church and ſervice-book, publiſhed 'and eſtabliſhed by authority. I am much obliged 'to your Lordſhip's eſtimation of my poor gifts, and 'do humbly thank your Lordſhip for intending to 'honour me with ſo great a ſervice; but withal am 'ſorry that my preſent diſpoſition neceſſitates me to 'decline the charge. I will confeſs myſelf to your 'Lordſhip freely; for I have found ever ſuch equity 'in your Lordſhip, and favour and reſpect to me in 'all my affairs, that I am emboldened, without all 'diſſimulation, to ſpeak what is in my mind. The 'truth is, that as yet I have not ſtudied the matters 'contained in that book of our Canons and Common Prayer, only I have taken a ſlight view of 'them; whereby, for the preſent, my mind is no 'ways ſatisfied; yea, the little pleaſure I have in 'theſe books, and the great diſpleaſure I find the 'moſt part have, of paſtors and people wherever I 'come, to have conceived of them, has filled my 'mind with ſuch a meaſure of grief, that I am ſcarce 'able to preach to my own flock: but to preach in 'another congregation, and that in ſo famous a 'meeting, and that upon theſe matters, I am at this 'time all utterly unable. Your Lordſhip, I put no 'queſtion, is ſo equitable as to take in good part 'this my ingenuous confeſſion of the true cauſe why 'I am unable to accept that honourable compliment, 'which your Lordſhip's more than ordinary reſpect 'would have laid upon me. So for this, and many 'more favours received, far above my deſerving, I 'pray God to bleſs your Lordſhip, and to continue 'you many years to be our overſeer; for be perſuaded, that many thouſands here where I live, are 'greatly afraid, that whenever your Lordſhip ſhall go, 'their peace and quietneſs ſhall go away with you. 'This is from your Lordſhip's very loving friend, and

'obedient ſervant,

Kilwinning, Aug. 19, 1637.

'R. BAILLIE (2).'

(2) Letters and Journals, Vol. i. p. 11, 22.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Baillie's refuſal, and the reaſons of it, he was ſtill urged upon the ſubject, and, indeed, commanded, upon his canonical obedience, to preach before the Synod; the matter of the Sermon being left to his own diſcretion. Accordingly, on a very ſhort notice, he compoſed a diſcourſe, in which, without ſaying a ſyllable relative to Conformity, he inſiſted only upon the paſtoral duties in general. However, when the time appointed came, he peremptorily refuſed to preach at all (3).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.

[*C*] *In his zeal againſt Prelacy and Arminianiſm.*] Out of many proofs that might be produced of the truth of our aſſertion, we ſhall only bring one paſſage from Mr. Baillie's Hiſtory of the General Aſſembly, which will ſufficiently evince his ſentiments on the points mentioned in the text, and his unfavourable opinion of thoſe who were of the oppoſite party.

'Saturday the firſt of December was our tenth ſeſſion. Mr. David Lindſay preſented to us (for he 'had chief charge of the bill; yea, the man's dexterity and diligence in that kind of employment 'was ſuch, that to the end of the aſſembly ſuch buſineſs lay upon him almoſt alone) three cloſed proceſſes before the Preſbyteries; that of Mr. David 'Mitchell, who this long time had delighted to 'grieve the whole land with the doctrine of the faction, Arminianiſm in all the heads, and ſundry 'points of Popery, proved by ſundry witneſſes, beſides his declining the Aſſembly, which alone, according to the acts of our Church, imports depoſition. He came to Glaſgow, at leaſt remained 'ſome days in Hamilton with the Biſhop of Roſs: 'no man could have kept ſuch a one in our church 'without ſerious repentance for his manifold avowed 'errors. The next was Dr. Panther, Profeſſor of 'St. Andrews. I never ſaw the man; but his Valaidos makes me love him as one of the beſt poets 'I know now living. The man has a bonny ſpirit, 'ſome things in all ſciences; but St. Andrews was 'far in the wrong to advance him to a Divinity-profeſſion before he had well learned the grounds 'of that profeſſion or ſcience. He was never diligent; but he had no ſooner ſettled himſelf in his 'charge till he began to recommend the Engliſh 'method of ſtudy, to begin with the Popiſh ſchoolmen and fathers, and to cloſe with Proteſtant Neotoretics; a moſt unhappy and dangerous order! I 'hear in his public notes he has deviated to the 'Popiſh juſtification, and in his diſcourſes to the 'groſſeſt Pelagianiſm in original ſin, let be in other 'points of Arminianiſm. Did not the Heavens cry 'for a vengeance againſt our Biſhops, though we had 'been dumb, who did hear and ſee our Church undermined with ſuch inſtruments, of their own making and maintaining? The third was Archdean 'Gladſtones, a monſter of drunkenneſs and Atheiſtic 'profanity. Rome Pagan would not have ſuffered 'ſuch

ing the time in which he attended the Weſtminſter Aſſembly. In 1640, he was ſent by the covenanting Lords to London, to draw up an accuſation againſt Dr. Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the Church of Scotland (*e*). While Mr. Baillie was in England upon this occaſion, he wrote to the Preſbytery of Irvine a regular account of the ſtate of public affairs; and ſent them, among other things, a large journal of the proceedings in the trial of the Earl of Strafford (*f*). Not long after his return to his own country (in 1642), he was appointed Joint Profeſſor of Divinity, with Mr. David Dickſon, in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. And his reputation was become ſo great, that he had before this received invitations from the other three Univerſities, all of which he refuſed. He continued in his Profeſſorſhip till the Reſtoration; but his diſcharge of the duties of it was interrupted, for a conſiderable time, by his reſidence in England: for in 1643, he was choſen one of the Commiſſioners of the Church of Scotland to the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter (*g*). Though he never ſpoke in the debates of the Aſſembly, he appears to have been an uſeful Member of it (*b*); and he entirely concurred in the principles and views of its leaders. He had, in particular, the ſame averſion to Toleration, and had imbibed a conſiderable portion of that enthuſiaſtical ſpirit which delighted in carrying on religious ſervices to a ſurpriſing length [*D*] (*i*). Mr. Baillie returned again to his own country in the latter end of the year 1646. When, after the execution of Charles the Firſt, Charles the Second was proclaimed in Scotland, our Profeſſor was one of the Divines appointed by the General Aſſembly to wait upon his Majeſty at the Hague; upon which occaſion, on the 27th of March, 1649, he made a ſpeech in the Royal Preſence, wherein he expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt

(*e*) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

(*f*) Letters and Journals, Vol. i. p. 219—297.

(*g*) Life, *ibid.*

(*b*) Letters and Journals, Vol. ii. p. 252.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

'ſuch a beaſtly man to have remained a Prieſt even 'to Bacchus. I hear that the man once had a very 'great appearance of much good parts; they ſay he 'was a trim perſonage of a man, had a pretty eſtate, 'was a ſcholar in all faculties; right eloquent, wiſe, 'and diſcreet, and free of all ſcandalous vices; in 'favour with the King, court, and country: but 'long ſince, having caſt away the fear of God, all 'theſe gifts of body, eſtate, mind, has evidently 'left him. Theſe proceſſes were read and conſi'dered, but ſentences delayed becauſe their errors 'ran much on Arminianiſm. It was thought meet 'to appoint ſome to ſpeak at our next meeting 'againſt theſe errors. Mr. D. Dickſon and I were 'nominate. Very evil will I had of that taſk. My 'diligence upon the books was not yet delivered off 'my hand. Arminianiſm is a deep, large, and in'tricate ſubject. Our time was the next meeting. 'Whatever I do, I would do it in earneſt; ſo with'out time I can do nothing. Always there was no 'remeid; that night, and to-morrow at night, I 'did what ye ſaw, and with which the aſſembly was 'pleaſed on that ſubject (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 122—124.

[*D*] *The ſame averſion to Toleration*, &c.] Mr. Baillie's diſlike of the ſectaries is apparent through the whole of his letters; and he ſcarcely omits any convenient opportunity of ſhewing his diſapprobation of the doctrine of Toleration. His views upon theſe heads, together with a remarkable inſtance of the length to which the devotional acts of the Preſbyterians were ſometimes extended, and of the delight he received from them, will be diſplayed in the following extract. It ſhould be remembered that the letter it is taken from, was addreſſed to a Scotch Miniſter who was ſettled in Holland.

'The Independents here, finding they have not 'the Magiſtrate ſo obſequious as in New England, 'turn their pens, as you will ſee in MS. to take 'from the Magiſtrate all power of taking any coer'cive order with the vileſt Hereticks. Not only they 'praiſe your Magiſtrate, who for policy gives ſome 'ſecret tolerance to divers religions, wherein, as I 'conceive, your Divines preach againſt them as 'great ſinners; but avow, that by God's command, 'the Magiſtrate is diſcharged to put the leaſt diſcour'teſy on any man, Jew, Turk, Papiſt, Socinian, or 'whatever, for his religion. I wiſh Apollonius 'conſidered this well. The five he writes to will not 'ſay this; but M.S. is of as great authority here as 'any of them. Your courſe of engaging the other 'provinces is very good. I ſend this incloſed to a 'friend here, who is well acquainted in Paris, 'Bern, Leyden, Sedan, and Geneva, who accord'ingly has written to all theſe five places for their 'aſſiſtance in the common cauſe. My correſpon'dence with you is ſo ſecret as may be. Some of 'them ſuſpect ſomewhat of you; but know little: 'however, they muſt be content that all the Re'formed, whom they openly avow to oppugn, ſhould 'declare what ſenſe they have of their wounds and 'danger from them. I long for Morellius and Sa'dael, alſo if by Mr. Paget, or any of your friends 'at Amſterdam, you could find any of the writs of 'Brown, the firſt ſectary; for however I have uſed 'all poſſible diligence, yet cannot I find any of that 'man's writs here: they would, I conceive, be very 'uſeful to me. This day was the beſt that I have 'ſeen ſince I came to England. General Eſſex, 'when he went out, ſent to the Aſſembly, to in'treat, that a day of faſting might be kept for him. 'We appoint, this day, four of our number to 'preach and pray at Chriſt's church; alſo, taking 'the occaſion, we thought it meet to be humbled in 'the Aſſembly, ſo we ſpent from nine to five very 'graciouſly. After D. Twiſſe had begun with a 'brief prayer, Mr. Marſhall prayed large two hours, 'moſt divinely, confeſſing the ſins of the Members 'of the Aſſembly, in a wonderful, pathetic, and 'prudent way. After, Mr. Arrowſmith preached an 'hour, then a pſalm; thereafter Mr. Vines prayed 'near two hours, and Mr. Palmer preached an hour, 'and Mr. Seaman prayed near two hours, then a 'pſalm; after Mr. Henderſon brought them to a 'ſweet conference of the heat confeſſed in the Aſſem'bly, and other ſeen faults, to be remedied, and the 'conveniency to preach againſt all ſects, eſpecially 'Anabaptiſts and Antinomians. Dr. Twiſſe cloſed 'with a ſhort prayer and bleſſing. God was ſo evi'dently in all this exerciſe, that we expect certainly 'a bleſſing both in our matter of the Aſſembly and 'whole kingdom (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 18, 19.

We cannot paſs over the preceding letter, without making a few obſervations upon it. Even the moſt devout perſon would find it difficult to conceive, at preſent, how a religious ſervice could be extended, with any degree of advantage and ſatisfaction, to ſuch a diſproportionable length. But the ardour of thoſe times, whether we impute it to the ſpirit of piety, or to the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, was ſurpriſingly great. The minds of men were raiſed, by an amazingly ſerious education, by their theological diſputes, and their warm conteſts for civil liberty, to a prodigious pitch of fervour. The union of ſuch cauſes enflamed their devotional zeal to a height, which, in this phlegmatic age, will almoſt be thought to have bordered on lunacy. And yet many of the perſons who could thus engage in, or attend upon preaching and praying for eight hours together, with the utmoſt delight, were not mere Fanatics. They were not only men of learning, but of underſtanding, who had eminent talents for buſineſs, and the conduct of affairs. They did not ſo reſt in the hopes of the Divine Interpoſition, as to neglect applying, with ſagacity and attention, to the natural means of ſucceſs.

When

ſtrongeſt terms, his abhorrence of the murder of the late King [*E*] (*k*); and, in his ſentiments upon this event, it appears, that the Preſbyterian Divines of that period, both at home and abroad, almoſt univerſally agreed [*F*]. After the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, Mr. Baillie, on the twenty-third of January, 1661, by the intereſt of the Earl of Lauderdale, with whom he was a great favourite, was made Principal of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, upon the removal of Mr. Patrick Gilleſpie, who had been patronized by Cromwell. It is ſaid, by ſeveral writers, that Mr. Baillie, had the offer of a Biſhopric, which he abſolutely refuſed (*l*). Though he was very loyal, and moſt ſincerely rejoiced in his Majeſty's reſtoration, he began, a little before his death, to be extremely anxious for the fate of his beloved Preſbytery [*G*]. His health failed him in the ſpring of the year 1662. During his illneſs, he was viſited by the new-made Archbiſhop

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 333

(*l*) Life, ubi ſupra.

When abilities and activity are united with an enthuſiaſm, which, inſtead of totally ſwallowing up, ſerves but to impel the faculties of the mind, then it is, perhaps, that mankind are capable of the greateſt efforts, and that their exertions are moſt to be apprehended.

Extravagant as the devotion of the Preſbyterians of the laſt century may be eſteemed, *that* is far from being the thing for which they chiefly deſerve to be condemned. They are infinitely more worthy of cenſure on account of their narrow and intolerant ſpirit. The Preſbyterians of Scotland, and the Preſbyterians of England, were, in this reſpect, alike blameable. They had not learned wiſdom and moderation from the dangers and ſufferings they had been expoſed to from the Epiſcopal Party. The Puritans had been depreſſed for almoſt a century; and yet when they came into power, they immediately ſet up the divine right of Preſbytery, and would not permit ſects and ſectaries to be tolerated. Could any thing be more abſurd, than for men, who had long been perſecuted themſelves, to apply to the infamous work of perſecution? And their conduct was ſtill the more criminal, as their having been ſo earneſtly engaged in the cauſe of civil liberty, ought to have given them juſt and enlarged views, with regard to the general rights of human nature. Even the Independents of that age, who were the firſt in this country that promulgated the doctrine of Toleration, probably owed their ſentiments more to the peculiarity of their ſituation, than to the liberality of their minds. Standing in a critical ſituation between two powerful parties, and expoſed to the danger of being cruſhed, which ever of them became uppermoſt, they were under a neceſſity of pleading for indulgence to tender conſciences. In judging, therefore, of theſe times, an impartial and candid man will be obliged to condemn both Epiſcopalians and Preſbyterians, and to lament that ſo bigotted and perſecuting a ſpirit pervaded the Clergy on each ſide. To whatever denomination we belong, we ſhould freely and equally cenſure the intolerant principles and practices of our anceſtors, and rejoice that better principles and practices now prevail. We ſhould guard, alſo, againſt judging of general bodies of men, at preſent, from what hath been done formerly by thoſe who have borne the ſame name, without adverting to the alterations which have gradually been produced in their ſentiments and manners. If individuals write with a malignant and perſecuting ſpirit, let them be treated with the contempt or indignation they may deſerve. But let not the Church of England, or the Church of Scotland, or the Engliſh Diſſenters, as ſuch, be charged with principles, which, in general, have long ſince been diſcarded.

[*E*] *His abhorrence of the murder of the late King.*]

'Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

'IN theſe very ſad and calamitous times,' ſays Mr. Baillie, 'the Church of Scotland hath ſent ſome 'of us who are here, Miniſters and ruling Elders, and 'others who are yet behind, in commiſſion to your 'Majeſty, to declare, in their name, not only the 'ſincere and deep grief of that whole Church for your 'Majeſty's moſt lamentable afflictions, but alſo their 'real and great joy for your Majeſty's ſucceſſion to 'the throne, and their confident hopes, by the bleſſ-'ing of the Moſt High, on your royal perſon and 'government, now at laſt to come up out of that 'pit of grievous confuſions, calamities, fears, and 'dangers, wherein long they have been ſinking.

'According, therefore, to this our truſt, we do 'declare, what in our own breaſts often we have felt, 'and generally in the people among whom we live, 'have ſeen with our eyes an mournful ſorrow for that 'execrable and tragic parricide, which, though all 'men on earth ſhould paſs over unqueſtioned, yet 'we nothing doubt but the great judge of the world 'will ariſe, and plead againſt every one, of what 'condition ſoever, who have been either authors, or 'actors, or conſenters, or approvers, of that hardly 'expreſſible crime, which ſtamps and ſtigmatizes, 'with a new and before unſeen character of infamy, 'the face of the whole generation of ſectaries and 'their adherents, from whoſe hearts and hands that 'vileſt villany did proceed (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 333.

This part of Mr. Baillie's ſpeech, together with his warm commendations of King Charles the Second, and a diſapprobation he had expreſſed, in a private letter, of the too rigid proceedings of the Scotch Clergy, expoſed him to ſome degree of obloquy among ſeveral of his brethren; which being a new thing to him, he felt in a ſenſible manner. However, he appears to have vindicated his conduct to general ſatisfaction; and, when he made his report of the proceedings of the Committee appointed to wait upon his Majeſty, he obtained the unanimous approbation and thanks of the whole Aſſembly (7).

(7) *Ibid.* p. 337, 338.

[*F*] *Both at home and abroad, almoſt univerſally agreed.*] How highly the Preſbyterian Clergy of this country diſapproved of the beheading of King Charles the Firſt, and how ſincerely they lamented it, is evident from the hiſtory of that time, and eſpecially from the remonſtrance which was preſented by the principal Miniſters, in and near the city of London, to Fairfax and his Council of War (8). What ſentiments the Divines of Holland entertained of this event, will appear from a paſſage in a letter written from that country, in March 1649, to Mr. Baillie, by Mr. Spang, his principal correſpondent:

(8) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. iii. p. 532—537.

'I am ſure it has been a matter of inconceivable 'grief to you all, when you heard of that bloody 'murdering of the late King; and it is reaſon. that 'following the examples of the zealous preachers in 'London, you teſtify your utter abhorring of it, that 'there may be an extant teſtimony to the world of 'the loyalty of your hearts, whereby the foul mouths 'of Papiſts and malignants may be ſtopt, as Jacob 'did, Gen. xlix. 6.; and David, 2 Sam. iii. 35, 36, '37. All the Miniſters in this province do publicly 'declare their utter abhorring of it, and many have 'choſen ſelect texts for that purpoſe, and ever with 'that tender reſpect to our country and their pro-'ceedings, as was matter of joy for us to hear, now 'you have proclaimed the Prince to be King; and 'bleſſed be God who hath put it in your hearts ſo to 'do. This makes your names like a fragrant ſmell: 'and if you be put to any hazard for the maintenance 'of that action, if you will manage your credit well 'abroad, you will find real friends (9).'

(9) Letters and Journals, Vol. ii. p. 313.

[*G*] *Anxious for the fate of his beloved Preſbytery.*] His concern in this reſpect is manifeſt in one of his laſt letters to Mr. Spang, dated, January 31ſt, 1661. 'But as nothing is perfectly bleſſed on earth, ſome 'water was quickly poured in the wine of many; 'I am ſure in mine, as I expreſſed it in a ſharp and 'free letter to Lauderdale. Biſhops and Liturgies 'were every where ſet up in England and Ireland 'without contradiction; our League and Covenant, 'by a number of printed pamphlets, was torn to 'pieces. This was the more grievous, that at the 'beginning it appeared moſt eaſy to have been reme-'died. His gracious Majeſty was ready to have been 'adviſed by his Parliament; the leading men there 'were avowed Covenanters and Preſbyterians; Lau-'derdale and Mr. Sharp, both at Breda and London, 'had

biſhop of Glaſgow, to whom he is ſaid to have addreſſed himſelf in the following words: 'Mr. Andrew, I will not call you my Lord. King Charles would have made me one 'of theſe Lords: but I do not find in the New Teſtament, that Chriſt has any Lords in 'his Houſe.' However, he treated the Archbiſhop very courteouſly. Mr. Baillie died in July 1662, being ſixty-three years of age. By his firſt wife, who was Lilias Fleming, of the family of Cardarroch, in the pariſh of Cadder, near Glaſgow, he had many children, five of whom ſurvived him; viz. one ſon, and four daughters. The poſterity of his ſon, Mr. Henry Baillie, who was a Preacher, but never accepted of any charge, ſtill inherit the eſtate of Carnbroe in the county of Lanerk, an ancient ſeat of the Baillies. The Principal's four daughters married into reſpectable families. Mrs. Baillie, who was an excellent woman, and much lamented by her huſband, died, after a long and lingering diſorder, June 7th, 1653. On the firſt of October 1656, Mr. Baillie took, for his ſecond wife, Mrs. Wilkie, a widow gentlewoman, daughter of Dr. Strang, Principal of the univerſity of Glaſgow. By this lady he had one daughter, who was married to Mr. Wilkinſhaw of Borrowfield (*m*). Mr. Baillie's character has been drawn to great advantage, not only by Mr. Wodrow, but by an hiſtorian of the oppoſite party [*H*]. His works [*I*], which were very learned, and acquired him reputation in his own time, are probably little attended to, in the preſent age. The memory of him, as a writer, will now chiefly be preſerved by his Letters and Journals, lately publiſhed; which, though they do not contain many things very remarkable or intereſting, will, nevertheleſs, as they relate to a moſt important period, be found of ſome uſe to the diligent reſearchers into Britiſh hiſtory [*K*].]

(*m*) *Ibid.*

'had very much of the King's ear; Monk was for 'us in that at the beginning, firm enough; the 'Queen and her party was on our ſide; the Epiſco-'pal men were ſundry of them as evil as before; 'Bramhill, Wren, Heylin, Thorndyke, Coſſings, 'Sydſerf, Hammond, Pierce, none of the beſt or 'moſt orthodox; Juxon and Duppa ſmally 'learned; Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very 'wiſe men; but the overturning of all the Reforma-'tion of England, without a contrary petition, to 'me was ſtrange, and very grievous, and I ſuſpect 'we know not yet the bottom of that myſtery. I 'wiſh all our friends, Scots and Engliſh, have been 'honeſt and faithful. Sure they have not been ſo 'prudent and induſtrious as, I think, they ſhould 'have been. However, as this was the original of 'all our late troubles, I think it will not fail in time 'to procure new commotions, if petitions and re-'monſtrances do not prevent them.

'It is like the general joy for the King's happy 'return, and the general abhorrence of our late 'confuſions and miſeries, together with fear leſt any 'juſtling, even by petitions, might give occaſion to 'theſe who were watching for it to make ſome new 'commotions, made our friends eaſy to be prevailed 'with not to oppoſe the King's deſires; eſpecially 'the King promiſing, by conference with the chief 'Preſbyterians and Epiſcopals, to do his endeavours 'for their agreement; as indeed he laboured much 'in this, and, by his declaration, drew both ſome 'nearer than they were; but for little ſatisfaction of 'either of the parties; the Epiſcopals, not having 'all they were wont, were diſcontent: the Preſby-'terians found the other had got too much, and 'more than in conſcience they could ever aſſent to; 'yet, for love to the King, they were ſilent, when 'all the biſhops were ſolemnly inſtalled, and the 'liturgy every where reſtored, clean contrary to our 'covenant, and acts of the Engliſh Parliament ſince '1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great 'actor in this Epiſcopal buſineſs, while a few hours 'treaty, or but a petition from the Houſes, Gene-'ral, and city, ſent with the Commiſſioners to 'Breda, might eaſily have freed us, for the great 'good of them, and of all theſe vexations (10).'

(10) *Ib.* p. 443, 444.

[*H*] *Not only by Mr. Wodrow, but by an hiſtorian of the oppoſite party.*] 'Mr. Robert Baillie,' ſays Mr. Wodrow, 'may moſt juſtly be reckoned among the 'great men of this time, and was an honour to his 'country, for his profound and univerſal learning, 'his exact and ſolid judgment, that vaſt variety of 'languages he underſtood, to the number of twelve 'or thirteen, and his writing a Latin ſtyle which 'might become the Auguſtan age. But I need not 'enlarge on his character; *his works do praiſe him in 'the gates.* He had been employed in much of the 'public buſineſs of this church ſince the year 1637, 'and was a worthy member of the venerable aſſem-'bly at Weſtminſter, and at London almoſt all the 'time of it, and hath left behind him very large 'accounts of matters both of Church and State. He 'was of a moſt peaceable and healing temper, and 'always a vigorous aſſerter of the King's intereſt: 'and although, at the firſt, he wanted not his own 'difficulties, from his education, and tenderneſs of 'the King's authority; yet after reaſoning, reading, 'and prayer, as he himſelf expreſſeth it, he came 'heartily into the meaſures of the Covenanters. I 'have it from an unqueſtionable hand, one of his 'ſcholars, who afterwards was his ſucceſſor, and 'waited on him a few weeks before his death this 'year [1662], that he died under a rooted averſion 'to Prelacy in this Church. My author deſired Mr. 'Baillie's judgment of the courſes this Church was 'ſo faſt running into. His words to him were, 'Prelacy is now coming in like a land-flood: for 'my ſhare, I have conſidered that controverſy as far 'as I was able, and after all my inquiry, I find it 'and am perſuaded it is inconſiſtent with Scripture, 'contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and 'diametrically oppoſite to the true intereſt of theſe 'lands (11).' It is not to be wondered at that ſo zealous a writer as Mr. Wodrow, ſhould give a very high character of a man, who joined to his abilities and virtues, a warm attachment to the Preſbyterian diſcipline. But Mr. Baillie's reputation was not confined to his own religious party. The author of the Appendix to Archbiſhop Spottiſwood's Hiſtory ſpeaks of him in the following terms. 'Robert Baillie, 'Profeſſor of Divinity, and afterwards Principal, 'a learned and modeſt man. Though he publiſhed 'ſome very violent writings, yet theſe flowed ra-'ther from the inſtigations of other perſons than his 'own inclinations. He has left a great evidence 'of his diligence and learning in his Opus Chro-'nologicum (12).'

(11) Life of Mr. Baillie, prefixed to the 1ſt Vol. of his Letters and Journals, p. vii, viii.

(12) *Ibid.*

[*I*] *His works.*] Theſe were, '*Opus Hiſtoricum 'et Chronologicum*, in folio, printed at Amſterdam.—'A Defence of the Reformation of the Church of 'Scotland, againſt Mr. Maxwell, Biſhop of Roſs.—'A Parallel betwixt the Scottiſh Service-Book and 'the Romiſh Miſſal, Breviary, &c.—The Canter-'burian Self-Conviction.--Queries anent the Service-'Book.—Antidote againſt Arminianiſm.—A Treatiſe 'on Scottiſh Epiſcopacy.—*Laudenſium.*—Diſſuaſive 'againſt the Errors of the Times, with a Supple-'ment.—A Reply to the Modeſt Enquirer.—With 'ſome other Tracts, and ſeveral Sermons upon pub-'lic occaſions (13).' It is plain from the preceding catalogue, that Mr. Baillie's *Opus Hiſtoricum et Chronologicum* was his capital production. The reſt of his writings, being chiefly on controverſial and temporary ſubjects, can, at preſent, be of little or no value.

(13) *Ibid.*

[*K*] *His Letters and Journals, lately publiſhed*, &c.] This publication is intitled, 'Letters and Journals, 'written

' written by the deceaſed Mr. Robert Baillie, Prin-
' cipal of the Univerſity of Glaſgow. Carefully
' tranſcribed by Robert Aiken. Containing an
' impartial Account of public Tranſactions, Civil,
' Eccleſiaſtical, and Military, both in England and
' Scotland, from 1637 to 1662; a Period, perhaps,
' the moſt remarkable that is to be met with in the
' Britiſh Hiſtory. With an Account of the Author's
' life, prefixed; and a Gloſſary, annexed.' Two volumes 8vo, printed at Edinburgh, for W. Gray, 1775. The chief correſpondents of Mr. Baillie were, Mr. William Spang, Miniſter firſt to the Scotch Staple at Campvere, and afterwards to the Engliſh Congregation in Middleburgh in Zealand, who was his couſin-german; Mr. David Dickſon, profeſſor of Divinity, firſt at Glaſgow, then at Edinburgh, and Meſſrs. Robert Ramſay and George Young, who were Miniſters in Glaſgow. There are, in this collection, letters to ſeveral other perſons: but Mr Spang was the gentleman with whom Mr. Baillie principally correſponded. The Journals contain a hiſtory of the General Aſſembly at Glaſgow, in 1638; an account of the Earl of Strafford's trial; the tranſactions of the General Aſſembly and Parliament, in 1641; and the proceedings of the General Aſſembly, in 1643.] K.

BAINBRIDGE (JOHN), an eminent Phyſician and Aſtronomer of the XVIIth century, was the ſon of Robert Bainbridge by Anne his wife, daughter of Richard Everard, of Shenton in Leiceſterſhire, and born, in the year 1582, at Aſhby de la Zouch, in the ſame county. He was educated at the grammar-ſchool in that town, and from thence removed to Emanuel College in Cambridge, under the tuition of his kinſman Dr. Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. He took the degrees of Batchelor and Maſter of Arts, and ſtudied Phyſic in that univerſity; after which he retired to his own country, where he taught a grammar-ſchool for ſome years, and practiſed Phyſic (*a*). He applied himſelf likewiſe to the ſtudy of the Mathematics, eſpecially Aſtronomy, of which he had been extremely fond from his earlieſt years. By the advice of his friends, he removed to London, where he was admitted a Fellow of the college of Phyſicians (*b*). His *Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 brought him acquainted with Sir Henry Savile, who, without any application or recommendation in favour of Dr. Bainbridge, appointed him his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in the year 1619; whereupon he removed thither, and was entered a maſter-commoner of Merton College; of which ſociety he continued a member ſome years. In 1631, he was appointed by the Maſter and Fellows of Merton, Junior-Reader of Linacre's lecture, and in 1635 Superior Reader of the ſame lecture (*c*). Having reſolved to publiſh correct editions of the ancient Aſtronomers, agreeably to the ſtatutes of the founder of that profeſſorſhip, in order to acquaint himſelf with the diſcoveries of the Arabian Aſtronomers, he began to ſtudy the Arabic language, being then about forty years of age (*d*). Some time before his death, he removed to an houſe over againſt Merton College church, and died there November the 3d, 1643, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age. His body was conveyed to the public ſchools, where it reſted ſome time; and, an oration having been ſpoken in praiſe of the deceaſed by Mr. William Strode, the univerſity Orator, it was carried from thence, attended by a great number of members of the univerſity, to Merton College, and there depoſited near the high altar (*e*). An epitaph, ſaid to be written by his ſucceſſor Mr. Greaves [*A*], was inſcribed on his

(*a*) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. ii. col. 34. *and* Th. Smith *Commentariolus de vita et ſtudiis Joannis Bainbridgii*, p. 3. publiſhed in his *Vitæ quorundam eruditiſſ. et illuſtriſſ. virorum*, *London*, 1708. 4to.

(*b*) Th. Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*c*) Id. ib. p. 5, 6. & Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Th. Smith, ib. p. 10, 11.

(*e*) Wood, 10. & Smith, ib. p. 12.

[*A*] *His epitaph ——— ſaid to be written by Mr. Greaves.*] It is as follows: *Si ſcire cupias, viator, quis et quantus hic jacet, alibi quæras oportet; dicere ſatis nequeo. Britannia tota viri famam non capit. Ne cætera tamen ignores, in rem tuam pauca hæc accipe.* JOANNES BAINBRIDGIUS, *vir famæ integerrimæ, et doctrinæ incomparabilis; Medicinæ profeſſor et Matheſeos, morborum tam felix expugnator novorum, quam ſagax indagator ſyderum; Quem primum Aſtronomiæ profeſſorem, et dignum collegam, in mathematicis prælecturis, quas magnificè erexerat, prudens hominum et librorum æſtimator, elegit Savilius; Quem Cantabrigiæ educatum Academia Oxonienſis fovit ut ſuum, defunctum publicè flevit, ut par utriuſque ornamentum; Qui Scaligerum felicius correxit, quam Scaliger tempora; In non levem literarum jacturam, immaturus obiit* MDCXLIII. *Abi jam; cætera quær vel ab exteris.*

In Engliſh.

' If, paſſenger, you would know who, and how
' great a man lies here, you muſt enquire elſewhere;
' I cannot ſufficiently inform you; all Britain is too
' little for his fame. But that you may not be ig-
' norant of the reſt, take the following account for
' your benefit. JOHN BAINBRIDGE, a perſon of the
' moſt unblemiſhed character, and unequalled learn-
' ing, Profeſſor of Phyſic and Mathematics, as ſuc-
' ceſsful in removing new diſeaſes, as ſagacious in his
' obſervations on the ſtars; whom Sir Henry Savile,
' that excellent judge of men and books, appointed
' his firſt Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, and his worthy col-
' league in the mathematical lectures he had ſo nobly
' founded; who, having been educated at Cambridge,
' was cheriſhed by the univerſity of Oxford as her
' own ſon, and honoured by her with a public oration
' and funeral, as equally an ornament of both; who
' corrected Scaliger with more ſucceſs than Scaliger
' had corrected Chronology: He died too early for the
' intereſt of learning, in the year 1643. Go now
' and learn the reſt even from foreigners.'

Dr. Smith, who gives us this epitaph (1), tells us, he is not certain it was written by Mr. Greaves, though many aſſert it was; and that he had tranſcribed the following epitaph from a manuſcript of that gentleman's. *Quod ſupereſt clariſſimi viri D. Joannes Bainbridge, in Academia Oxonienſi publici Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris, ſub hoc marmore clauditur. Quod vero amavimus, quod ſuſpeximus, quod mæſti deſideramus, fruſtra hic quæras: illud cælo, cui vivus animo cogitationeque incubuit, receptum eſt. Obiit* A. D. CIↃ. IↃ. XLIII. IX*bris* III. *ætatis ſuæ* LXII. *hora ſexta matutina.*

(1) Comment. de vit. et ſtud. J. B. p. 13. *apud* Vit. quorund. erudit. et illuſtr. viror. *Lond.* 1708, 4to.

In Engliſh.

' Under this marble is depoſited, what remains of
' the celebrated Dr. John Bainbridge, public Profeſſor
' of Aſtronomy at Oxford: but it is in vain to look
' for, in this place, what we loved, what we ad-
' mired, and what we now lament the loſs of; that
' part of him is raiſed to heaven, on which, while
' he lived, his mind and thoughts were earneſtly in-
' tent. He died the third of November 1643, aged
' ſixty-two, at ſix o'clock in the morning.'

monument.

monument. We ſhall give an account of Dr. Bainbridge's works in the remark [*B*], and ſhall ſet down an odd ſtory concerning him from Dr. Walter Pope [*C*].

[*B*] 1. *His works.*] *An Aſtronomical Deſcription of the late Comet from the 18th of November* 1618, *to the 16th of December following*, London 1619 in 4to (2). This piece was only a ſpecimen of a larger work, which the author intended to publiſh in Latin under the title of *Cometographia*, i. e. 'the doctrine 'of Comets.' He ſeems indeed to have given a little too much into the vulgar notion of comets being preſages of ſome impending calamity; with which perſuaſion he has ſubjoined to this treatiſe, certain *Moral Prognoſtics* (3). 2. *Procli Sphæra* and *Ptolomæi de Hypotheſibus Planetarum liber ſingularis*; to which he added Ptolemy's *Canon regnorum:* both collated with manuſcripts, put into Latin, and publiſhed by our author with figures: Printed 1620 in 4to. 3. *Canicularia*; being a treatiſe concerning the Dog-ſtar and the Canicular Days; publiſhed at Oxford in 1648 by Mr. Greaves, together with a demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of Sirius or the Dog-ſtar for the parallel of Lower Egypt (4). Dr. Bainbridge wrote this treatiſe at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Uſher, but left it imperfect, being prevented either by the troubles, which followed upon the breaking out of the civil war, or by death; ſo that he was not able to finiſh his demonſtration of the Heliacal riſing of the Dog-ſtar, which, as Mr. Greaves ſays, was the only pillar of that diſcourſe (5). Theſe are all our author's writings that have been publiſhed: but there were ſeveral diſſertations of his prepared for the preſs, the year after his death, with the approbation of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, though the edition of them was never compleated. The titles of them are as follows, 1. *Antiprognoſticon, in quo μαντικῆς aſtrologicæ, cæleſtium domorum, et triplicitatum commentis, magniſque Saturni et Jovis (cujuſmodi anno* 1623 *et* 1643 *contigerunt, et viceſimo fere quoque deinceps anno, ratis naturæ legibus, recurrent) conjunctionibus innixæ, vanitas breviter detegitur: i. e.* 'Antiprognoſtics, in which is briefly 'detected the vanity of Aſtrological predictions, 'grounded upon the idle conceits of celeſtial houſes 'and triplicities, and the grand conjunctions of Sa-'turn and Jupiter, ſuch as happened in the years '1623 and 1643, and will recur once in almoſt every 'twenty years hereafter, agreeably to the ſtated laws 'of nature.' 2. *De Meridianorum ſive Longitudinum differentiis inveniendis Diſſertatio:* i. e. 'A Diſſer-'tation concerning the method of finding the diffe-'rences of the Meridians or Longitudes.' 3. *De Stella Veneris Diatriba:* i. e. 'A Diſſertation con-'cerning the Planet Venus.' To theſe pieces was added, the oration ſpoken at his funeral by the Univerſity Orator, Mr. William Strode. They fell into the hands of Dr. Thomas Smith, who promiſed to publiſh them, if the avarice of the Bookſellers, as he terms it, would give him leave (6). Beſides theſe, a ſpecimen of *Celeſtial Obſervations*, made by Dr. Bainbridge at Oxford, may be ſeen in Iſmael Bullialdus's *Aſtronomia Philolaica* (7), publiſhed at Paris in 1645. But the pieces hitherto mentioned are very inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe other tracts of our author's, which never were publiſhed, but left by his will to Archbiſhop Uſher; among whoſe manuſcripts they are preſerved in the library of Trinity College in Dublin. Among others, are the following: 1. *A Theory of the Sun.* 2. *A Theory of the Moon.* 3. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Quantity of the Year.* 4. *Two volumes of Aſtronomical Obſervations*; and 5. *Nine or ten volumes of Miſcellaneous Papers relating to the Mathematics* (8). Dr. Bainbridge undertook likewiſe, *A Deſcription of the Britiſh Monarchy*, diſtinguiſhed into three columns, in order to ſhew the advantages of the union of England and Scotland under one Monarch; as appears from his dedication of *the Deſcription of the Comet* in 1618 to King James I.; but this treatiſe was either ſuppreſſed by him, or is loſt (9).

[*C*] *An odd ſtory concerning* Dr. Bainbridge *related by* Dr. Walter Pope.] That writer, in his *Life of Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury* (10), ſpeaking of the Doctor, ſays, 'This was the ſame Dr. Bambridge (*), 'who was afterwards Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy 'at Oxford, a learned and good Mathematician: 'yet there goes a ſtory of him, which was in many 'ſcholars mouths, when I was firſt admitted there, 'that he put upon the ſchool-gate an *Affiche*, or writ-'ten paper, as the cuſtom is, giving notice, at what 'time, and upon what ſubject, the Profeſſor will 'read, which ended in theſe words, *lecturus de polis 'et axis*, under which was written by an unknown 'hand as follows;

'Doctor Bainbridge
'Came from Cambridge,
'To read *de polis et axis:*
'Let him go back again,
'Like a dunce as he came,
'And learn a new Syntaxis.'

Dr. Smith takes notice of this ſtory, and tells us, the Doctor's reputation had ſuffered, upon the moſt trifling account, from the falſe and malicious calumny of ſome perſons, who charged him with an offence againſt Syntax in one of his lectures; which abſurd and ridiculous ſtory he ſhould have omitted, as unworthy of any reply, had not a certain eminent buffoon inſerted that ſtupid epigram in a late book of his. *In vindicias illius famæ, quam licet in re leviculaæ, læſit vendaciſſima quorundam obtrectatio, quaſi in prælectione habita contra Grammaticæ Syntaxeos regulas ex ignorantia ſemel peccaſſet; quam utpote ſcomma abſurdum ridiculumque, et quod ſerio refutetur prorſus indignum, penitus omiſiſſem, niſi inſignis quidam Sannio in nupero libello epigramma illud inficetum, rythmis Anglicanis olim conſcribillatum, ad captandum puerorum plauſum, irriſorium planè id modum inſeruiſſet* (11). But by Dr. Smith's leave, he had no good reaſon for being ſo very angry with this epigram; which does not, as he pretends, charge Dr. Bainbridge with committing an error in Syntax in one of his lectures, but only in the *Affiche* or written paper; and it is nothing more than a pleaſant banter upon the miſtake of *axis* for *axibus*, which might happen through haſte and inadvertency. B.

(2) Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. ii. col. 34.

(3) Th. Smith, Comment. *ubi ſupra*, p. 5.

(4) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(5) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 14.

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(7) Lib. xii. p. 467.

(8) Smith, ibi p. 15.

(9) *Id. ib.* p. 15, 16.

(10) Ch. iii.

(*) Erroneouſly for *Bainbridge*.

(11) Smith, ibi p. 16.

BAKER (Sir RICHARD) a writer in the XVIIth century, and noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England [*A*], was born at Siſſingherſt

[*A*] *Noted chiefly for being the author of a Chronicle of the Kings of England.*] The whole title of it was as follows, 'A Chronicle of the Kings of England, 'from the time of the Romans Government unto the 'death of King James. Containing all paſſages of 'State and Church, with all other Obſervations pro-'per for a Chronicle. Faithfully collected out of 'Authors ancient and modern; and digeſted into a 'new method. By Sir Richard Baker, Knight.' The firſt edition of it was publiſhed at London in 1641, fol. the ſecond in 1653, and the third in 1658. To this third edition was added, 'The reign of King 'Charles the Firſt,' with 'A Continuation from his death to 1658.' By Edward Phillips, ſometime a ſtudent of Magdalen-Hall, Oxon, and nephew to the celebrated poet J. Milton. The fourth edition came out in 1665, having a continuation of the Chronicle to the coronation of King Charles the Second: in 'which were many material Affairs of State never 'before publiſhed; and likewiſe the moſt remarkable 'Occurrences relating to his Majeſties Reſtauration, 'by the prudent conduct of General Monck, Duke 'of Albemarle, and Captain-General of all his Ma-'jeſties Armies: as they were extracted out of his 'Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Me-'morials of thoſe imployed in the moſt important and 'ſecret Tranſactions of that Time.' The account of the Reſtoration was ſaid to be moſtly done by Sir Thomas Clarges, whoſe ſiſter the duke of Albemarle had married, and put into the hands of Edward Phillips, who attributing more to the Duke's glory than was true, got his ill-will (1). This Chronicle was in great

(1) Wood, Athen. Vol. ii. col. 72, 73.

Siſſingherſt in Kent, (*a*), about the year 1568 (*b*). His mother was Catherine, daughter of Sir Reynold Scot of Scots-hall in Kent, Knight; and his father, John Baker of London, Gentleman, a younger ſon of Sir John Baker, of Siſſingherſt abovementioned, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy-Council to King Henry VIII. (*c*). Our author was entered a Commoner of Hart-Hall in Oxford, in 1584, and matriculated in Michaelmas-term the ſame year, being in the ſixteenth year of his age (*d*). After he had ſpent in this place about three years, in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy [*B*], he went to one of the Inns of Court, and compleated his education by travelling into foreign parts; nothing being omitted by his parents to render him an accompliſhed gentleman. In 1594, after the celebration of a ſolemn act, he was, with other perſons of quality, created Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*e*); and in May 1603 [*C*], he received the honour of knighthood from King James I. at Theobalds (*f*). At that time he lived at Highgate near London, and was eſteemed a moſt compleat and learned perſon (*g*). In 1620 he was High-Sheriff of Oxfordſhire, being poſſeſſed of the manor of Middle-Aſton, and other eſtates in that county; and was alſo a Juſtice of Peace for the ſame (*h*). He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Manwaring of Ightfield in Shropſhire, Knight; which marriage cauſed him a great deal of trouble, and involved him into inextricable difficulties. For, engaging unwiſely for the payment of ſome of that family's debts (*i*), he was thereby reduced to poverty; and forced to betake himſelf for ſhelter to the Fleet-priſon, where he compoſed ſeveral books [*D*]; and ſo reaped, in his old age, the benefit of his learning, when his conſiderable eſtate, through ſurety-ſhip, was very much impaired (*k*). At length, after a life full of troubles and cares, he died very poor in the Fleet-priſon in London, February the 18th, 1644-5, and

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 71. Fuller, by miſtake, ſays, that he was a native of Oxfordſhire, *Worthies of England*, &c. in Oxfordſhire, p. 338, edit. 1662, fol.

(*b*) For in 1584, when he was admitted in Oxford, he was in the 16th year of his age. Wood, ibid. col. 72.

(*c*) Wood, ibid. col. 71.

(*d*) Ibid.

(*e*) Ibid. & Faſti, Vol. i. col. 149.

(*f*) See his Chronicle, in the beginning of the reign of King James I.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 72.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Ibid. col 74.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Oxfordſhire, p. 339.

great vogue for ſeveral years, being a common piece of furniture in almoſt every country Eſquire's hall. And juſtly indeed if what the author of it ſaid in its commendation was true, 'That it was collected with ſo 'great care and diligence, that if all other of our 'Chronicles ſhould be loſt, this only would be ſuffi-'cient to inform poſterity of all paſſages memorable 'or worthy to be known (2).' But all perſons have not entertained the ſame favourable opinion of that performance. One ſays (3), 'that it being reduced to 'method, and not according to time, purpoſely to 'pleaſe gentlemen and novices, many chief things to 'be obſerved therein, as name, time, &c. are egre-'giouſly falſe, and conſequently breed a great deal of 'confuſion in the peruſer, eſpecially if he be curious 'or critical.' Another (4) allows, that 'the author 'was a perſon of thoſe accompliſhments in wit and 'language, that his Chronicle has been the beſt read 'and liked of any hitherto publiſhed; and that his 'method is new, and ſeems to pleaſe the rabble; but, 'adds he, learned men will be of another opinion.' The greateſt adverſary to that book, was Thomas Blount, Eſq (5); who in 1672, publiſhed at Oxford in 12*mo*, 'Animadverſions upon Sir Richard Baker's 'Chronicle and its Continuation. Wherein many 'Errors are diſcovered, and ſome Truths advanced.' In the preface, he expreſſes his wonder, to ſee that Chronicle twice printed by itſelf, and three times with a Continuation (6), and no perſon ſhould impugn it, being ſtuffed with ſo many contradictions and repetitions, ſo many miſtimings and miſtakes, as of other things of moment, ſo eſpecially of the pedigrees, names, and places of our ancient Nobility, Biſhops, Baronets, Gentry, &c. In the ſame preface, he calls the Continuator, 'a perſon of incompetent parts for 'ſo great an undertaking; and obſerves, that many 'paſſages are omitted in the reign of King James, 'which was the time Sir Richard lived in, and had 'been fit for the Continuator to have ſupplied; who 'inſtead thereof, has ſwelled the Continuation into 'ſuch a bulk of indigeſted matter, as is not at all 'ſuitable to the reſt of the Hiſtory.' Notwithſtanding theſe Animadverſions, that Chronicle was reprinted ſince that time, and ſold as well as ever, though no notice was taken of the animadverſions, but all the old faults remained uncorrected, as Mr. Nicolſon complained (7). In 1730, a new edition of this Chronicle was printed at London, fol. with E. Phillip's Continuation; and a 'ſecond Continuation, containing 'the Reigns of King Charles II. from his Reſtoration, 'King James II. King William and Queen Mary II. 'Queen Anne, and King George I.; by an impartial 'Hand.' Many miſtakes are ſaid to be corrected in Sir Richard Baker's part; and E. Phillips's Continuation is contracted, many public pieces, liſts of names, &c. being either omitted, or the ſubſtance of them only given in this edition. But, after all, it is a very mean and jejune performance; and no wiſe to be relied on.

(2) Preface to his Chronicle.

(3) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 72.

(4) Mr. Nicolſon, in his Hiſtorical Library, Part i. p. 196.

(5) See the article BLOUNT (Thomas).

(6) For there was a fifth edition publiſhed in 1671, and ſeveral ſince.

(7) Hiſt. Library, ubi ſupra, p. 197.

[*B*] *After he had ſpent in Hart-Hall about three years in the ſtudy of Logic and Philoſophy, &c.*] He had there for his chamber-fellow the eminent Henry Wotton, Eſq; who was knighted afterwards, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies (8).

(8) Wood, Athen. Vol. i. col. 623.

[*C*] *In May* 1603 *he received the honour of knighthood.*] A. Wood ſays (9), it was May 17; which ſeems to be a miſtake, for King James ſtaid no longer at Theobalds than May the 7th, when he removed to London (10).

(9) Athen. Vol. ii. col. 72.

(10) See Camden's Ann. of King James I. in Compl. Hiſtory, Vol. ii. — and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 822.

[*D*] *Where he compoſed ſeveral books.*] Namely, I. *Cato Variegatus*, or Cato's Moral Diſtichs varied; in verſe. Lond. 1636. II. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the Lord's Prayer. Lond. 1637, 4*to*. The fourth edition of it was publiſhed in 1640, 4*to*. A copy of this book being ſent to Sir Henry Wotton, formerly his chamber-fellow, before it went to the preſs, he returned this teſtimony of it. 'I much 'admire the very character of your ſtile, which 'ſeemeth unto me to have not a little of the African 'idea of St. Auſtin's age, full of ſweet raptures and 'of reſearching conceits; nothing borrowed, nothing 'vulgar, and yet all flowing from you (I know not 'how) with a certain equal facility.' III. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the three laſt Pſalms of David. Lond. 1639. IV. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the fiftieth Pſalm. Lond. 1639. V. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, which are, the 6. 32. 38. 51. 102. 130. 143. Lond. 1639, 4*to*. VI. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the firſt Pſalm. Lond. 1640. 4*to*. VII. Meditations and Diſquiſitions on the ſeven conſolatory Pſalms of David, namely, the 23. 27. 30. 34. 84. 103. and 116. Lond. 1640, 4*to*. VIII. Meditations and Prayers upon the ſeven days of the week. Lond. 1640, 16*to*. which is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with his 'Motive of Prayer on the ſeven days of the week.' IX. Apology for Laymens writing in Divinity. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. X. Short Meditations on the fall of Lucifer ——printed with the Apology. XI. A Soliloquy of the Soul, or a Pillar of Thoughts, &c. Lond. 1641. 12*mo*. XII. *Theatrum Redivivum*: or the Theatre vindicated, in anſwer to Mr. Prynne's *Hiſtrio-maſtrix*, &c. Lond. 1662. 8*vo*. XIII. *Theatrum triumphans*: or a Diſcourſe of Plays, Lond. 1670. 8*vo*. XIV. He tranſlated from Italian into Engliſh, the Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi's 'Diſcourſes on Tacitus,' being 53 in number. Lond. 1642. fol. And from French into Engliſh, the three firſt parts of the 'Letters of Mon-'ſieur Balzac.' Printed at London 1638, 8*vo*. and again in 1654, 4*to*. with additions; and alſo in 8*vo*. The fourth and laſt part ſeem to have been done by another hand; the preface to it being ſubſcribed F. B. Sir Richard wrote alſo his own life, and left it in manuſcript; but it was deſtroyed by one Smith, who married one of his daughters (11).

(11) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 72, 74.

was buried the next day about the middle of the ſouth iſle of St. Bride's church in Fleet-ſtreet (*l*). 'He was a perſon tall and comely, of a good diſpoſition and admirable 'diſcourſe, religious, and well read in various faculties, eſpecially in Divinity and 'Hiſtory (*m*).' By his wife Margaret abovementioned, he had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia, Anne, Margaret, &c. [*E*].

(*l*) Wood, Athen. *ubi ſupra*, col. 74.

(*m*) Ibid. col. 72.

[*E*] *He had iſſue Thomas, Arthur, Cæcilia*, &c.] His family being left in very moderate circumſtances, one of his daughters married —— Bury, a Seedſman at the Frying-pan in Newgate-ſtreet, London; and another one Smith, of Pater-noſter Row (12). M.

(12) Ibid. col. 71, note (s) and col. 74.

[Sir Henry Wotton's encomium upon Sir Richard Baker's meditations and diſquiſitions on the Lord's Prayer, is a ſufficient proof of the bad taſte in which they were written. A judicious author, in the preſent times, would not be highly delighted with being told that his ſtyle had not a little of the African idea of St. Auſtin's age, and that it was full of ſweet raptures, and of reſearching conceits.] K.

BAKER (THOMAS) an eminent Mathematician in the XVIIth century, was the ſon of James Baker of Ilton in Somerſetſhire, Steward to the family of the Strangways of Dorſetſhire (*a*). He was born at Ilton about the year 1625 (*b*), and entered in Magdalen-Hall Oxon, in the beginning of the year 1640. On the 27th of April 1645, he was elected ſcholar of Wadham-College; and did ſome little ſervice to king Charles I. within the garriſon of Oxford. He was admitted Batchelor of Arts April 10, 1647, but left the univerſity without compleating that degree by determination. Afterwards he became Vicar of Biſhop's-Nymmet in Devonſhire, where he lived many years in a moſt retired and ſtudious condition. What he chiefly applied himſelf to, was the ſtudy of the Mathematics, in which he made a very great progreſs. But in his obſcure neighbourhood, he was neither known, nor ſufficiently valued for his eminent ſkill in that uſeful branch of knowledge, till he publiſhed a book entitled, 'The Geometrical 'Key, &c [*A*].' A little before his death, the members of the Royal Society ſent him ſome mathematical queries: to which he returned ſo ſatisfactory an anſwer, that they gave him a medal with an inſcription full of honour and reſpect. He died at Biſhop's-Nymmet aforementioned, on the 5th of June 1690, and was buried in his own church (*c*).

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 850, edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) See Wood, ibid. He was about 15 years old in 1640.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *The Geometrical Key, &c.*] The whole title of the book, is 'The Geometrical Key; or, the 'Gate of Equations unlocked; or, a new Diſcovery 'of the Conſtruction of all Equations, howſoever af-'fected, not exceeding the fourth degree, viz. of 'Linears, Quadratics, Cubics, Biquadratics, and the 'finding of all their Roots, as well falſe as true, with-'out the uſe of Meſolabe, Triſection of Angles, with-'out Reduction, Depreſſion, or any other previous 'Preparations of Equations, by a Circle, and any '(and that one only) Parabole, &c.' London 1684, 4*to*. in Latin and Engliſh. An account is given of this book in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (1). And it is there obſerved, that the author, in order to free us of the trouble of preparing the equation by taking away the ſecond term, ſhews us how to conſtruct all affected equations, not exceeding the fourth power, by the interſection of a circle and parabola, without omiſſion or change of any terms. And a circle and a parabola being the moſt ſimple, it follows, that the way which our author has choſen is the beſt. In the book (to render it intelligible even to thoſe who have read no conics), the author ſhews, how a parabola ariſes from the ſection of a cone, then how to deſcribe it *in plano*, and from that conſtruction demonſtrates, that the ſquares of the ordinates are one to another, as the correſpondent *ſagittæ* or intercepted diameters; then he ſhews, that if a line be inſcribed in a parabola perpendicular to any diameter, a rectangle made of the ſegments of the inſcript, will be equal to a rectangle made of the intercepted diameter and parameter of the axis. From this laſt propriety our author deduces the univerſality of his central rule for the ſolution of all biquadratic and cubic equations, however affected or varied in terms or ſigns. After the ſyntheſis the author ſhews the analyſis or method, by which he found this rule; which, in the opinion of Dr. R. Plot (who was then Secretary to the Royal Society) is ſo good, that nothing can be expected more eaſy, ſimple, or univerſal. M.

(1) Vol. xiv. No. 157. p. 549, 550.

[BAKER (THOMAS), an ingenious Writer, and eminent Antiquary, was born at Lancheſter, in the county palatine of Durham, on the 14th of September, 1656 (*a*). When of a proper age, he was ſent to St. John's college in Cambridge, where he was choſen ſcholar, and afterwards elected into a fellowſhip founded in that college by Dr. Aſhton, dean of York (*b*). He appears to have applied himſelf to his ſtudies with great aſſiduity; and in the year 1699, he publiſhed in 8*vo*. but without his name, "Reflections upon Learning, wherein is ſhewn the inſufficiency thereof, in its ſeveral "particulars; in order to evince the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of Revelation [*A*]." This work

(*a*) Biograph. Britan. firſt edit. art. SMITH (Dr. JOHN) note [*E*], Vid. alſo Maſters's Hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti-college in Cambridge, Appendix, No. LIX. p. 84.

(*b*) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, 4*to*. 1768, p. 102.

[*A*] *He publiſhed,—Reflections upon Learning*, &c.] In this work our author treated of Language, Grammar, Rhetoric and Eloquence, Logic, Moral Philoſophy, Natural Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Metaphyſics, Hiſtory, Chronology, Geography, Civil Law, Canon Law, Phyſic, Critical Learning, Oriental Learning, Jewiſh and Arabian, and Scholaſtical Learning. Mr. Baker ſeems to have regretted, that the Ariſtotelian philoſophy was ſo much out of vogue. 'Since 'Ariſtotle's philoſophy (ſays he) has been exploded in 'the ſchools, under whom we had *more peace*, and 'poſſibly *almoſt as much truth* as we have had ſince, 'we have not been able to fix any where, but have 'been wavering from one opinion to another (1).'

In his *Preface*, he ſays, 'I have treated all men 'with decency and reſpect, except Monſ. Le Clerc, 'who *has not deſerved ſuch treatment*.' But from whence it aroſe, that M. Le Clerc, who was one of the moſt illuſtrious members of the republic of letters in that age, was not entitled to decent and reſpectful treatment, Mr. Baker has not informed us. Le Clerc's obſervations concerning Eraſmus, on which Baker has animadverted, were certainly no ſufficient ground for ſuch an aſſertion. The late learned Dr. Jortin, after obſerving that Le Clerc hath cenſured ſome of the Geographical errors of Eraſmus, ſays, 'Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning*, defended 'Eraſmus; and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence,

(1) Reflections upon Learning, p. 4.

work met with a very favourable reception from the public, paſſed through ſeveral editions, and procured Mr. Baker a conſiderable reputation. In 1708, he reprinted, in 8*vo.* Biſhop Fiſher's "Funeral ſermon of Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond and "Derby, Mother of King Henry VII. and Foundreſs of Chriſt's and St. John's "college in Cambridge:" to which he prefixed, "A Preface, containing ſome further

'which one would not have expected from a man, 'who, as I remember, was accounted, and who de-'ſired to be accounted, a candid, genteel, and po-'lite perſon. But party zeal guided his pen:

'*Tantum religio potuit!*

'Le Clerc gave him a ſhort anſwer, in the *Index* 'to the fourth edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the 'word *Eraſmus*.

'Baker hath one chapter upon *Metaphyſics*, in 'which he hath made no mention of Locke; juſt 'as if a man ſhould write the lives of the Greek 'and Latin poets, and only omit Homer and Vir-'gil!

'He obſerved, c. 16. that there was little or no-'thing left for the ſagacity and induſtry of modern 'critics; and thereby he ſhewed that he was no cri-'tic himſelf, and not at all acquainted with the true 'ſtate of claſſical books, and particularly of Greek 'authors (2).'

(2) Life of Eraſmus, p. 550, 551.

Mr. Baker's ſtrictures on M. Le Clerc were certainly far enough from being liberal: however, Le Clerc's anſwer, as referred to above by Dr. Jortin, is ſufficiently ſevere. It is in the following terms: *Cùm in priore editione* Criticæ, *æquè ac in hacce altera, ſignificaſſem qua editione operum* Eraſmi *uſus eſſem; exortus tamen eſt neſcio quis Anonymus in Anglia, qui* Animadverſionum de Eruditione, *cap.* xvi. *acerbè in me eſt invectus, quaſi malâ fide ſummum virum carpſiſſem. At oportuit ab eo conſuli eam Editionem, quam laudavi; nam eſt intolerandæ audaciæ negare rem, quæ ſub oculos cadit, præſertim cum agitur exiſtimatio hominis honeſti, & qui malæ fidei jure numquam eſt accuſatus. Paullò poſt, poſtquàm me iterum ridiculè conatus eſt ſuſpectum malæ fidei facere, quod ex memoria aliquid de Eraſmo dixiſſem, fatetur tamen eſſe verum; nimirum, eum Mitylenen cum* Melita *miſcuiſſe in notis ad Hieronymi epiſt. ad Oceanum quæ mihi memoriâ exciderat. Hæc inconſtantia, in duabus paginis, an ſit hominis candidi viderit ipſe. Quod mirabilius eſt, hic novus Eraſmi patronus, qui mihi conviciatur, quòd auſus fuerim peccata ejus Geographica retegere, poſtea eum graviter accuſat corrupti Hieronymi, in cujus MSS. legitur* Melita, *pro quo Eraſmus non modò imperitè, ſed & malâ fide, ſubſtituerit* Mitylenen. *Non poterat meliùs confirmari quod dixi de imperitia Eraſmi in Geographicis, ſi verum ſit. Sed quamvis in MSS. Anglicanis ita legeretur, non ſequeretur eandem fuiſſe lectionem eorum, quos habuit Eraſmus. Triumphat Anonymus, quòd inſpexerit MSS. quos non vidi, quaſi res ſit laude digna in Bibliotheca oculis ſuis aliquando eſſe uſum. Cetera quæ habet de Hieronymo nihil ad rem faciunt. Poſtea, pro ſolita audacia ſua, in dubium revocat an Cotelerius vocem* κεφαλαιωδῶς capitulatim *verterit, quod locum non indicarim, in Præfatione ad Patres Apoſtolicos. At non exſtat in primis illis Epiſtolis, ſed alibi, quod quærat; neque enim rationem dictorum meorum reddere volo homini, qui audet negare quod ipſe ſentit, ut vidimus in Eraſmo. Quæ habet in ſequentibus, de Græca lingua ſcriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, perinde ſunt ἀπροσδιόνυσα, produntque hominem qui nihil penſi habet quid dicat. Malim me ad* θηριομαχίαν *damnatum, quàm cum ejuſmodi hominibus certare. Triumphent, ſi libeat, de ſenſu communi, victo ac debellato; non invidebo.* i. e. 'Although in the firſt edition of 'the *Ars Critica*, as well as in this, I have particu-'larly mentioned what edition of the works of Eraſ-'mus I had made uſe of; yet, notwithſtanding this, 'a certain anonymous writer in England, in his *Re-'flections upon Learning*, ch. xvi. hath attacked me ve-'ry acrimoniouſly, as if I had cavilled at that great 'man without regard to truth. But it certainly be-'came him to have conſulted the ſame edition to 'which I referred; for it is intolerable inſolence in 'a man, to deny what he might have ſeen with his 'own eyes, and eſpecially when the character of a 'perſon of integrity was in queſtion, who never yet 'was juſtly charged with want of fidelity. A little 'farther on, he again ridiculouſly endeavours to ren-'der me ſuſpected of citing Eraſmus falſely, be-'cauſe I did it from memory only, and yet at the 'ſame time admits, that Eraſmus has a paſſage to 'the purpoſe that I mentioned; and in which he 'confounds *Mitylene* with *Melita*. This paſſage is in 'his notes to Jerome's epiſtle to Oceanus; but that 'circumſtance had eſcaped my memory. Whether 'in thus attacking me, he has not ſhewn, within the 'compaſs of two pages, an inconſiſtency totally un-'ſuitable to the character of a man of candour, let 'my examiner himſelf determine. But what is more 'admirable, this new patron of Eraſmus, who abuſes 'me becauſe I have ventured to correct his geogra-'phical errors, afterwards very ſeverely accuſes him 'of having corrupted Jerome; in ſome of the manu-'ſcripts of which Father, he ſays, the word *Melita* is 'uſed, and where, he would inſinuate, Eraſmus has 'changed the word to *Mitylene*, not only from want 'of knowledge, but from want of fidelity. He could 'not better have confirmed what I have obſerved 'concerning the unſkilfulneſs of Eraſmus in Geogra-'phy, if what he aſſerts be true. But it does not fol-'low, that becauſe there is ſuch a reading in the 'Engliſh manuſcripts, that therefore there was ſuch 'a reading in thoſe manuſcripts which were in the 'poſſeſſion of Eraſmus. This anonymous writer 'triumphs much, becauſe he hath inſpected ſome 'manuſcripts which I have not ſeen, as if it were a 'thing of great merit, to have ſometimes made uſe of 'his eyes in a library. His other obſervations con-'cerning Jerome are nothing to the purpoſe. After-'wards, with his uſual effrontery, he makes it a mat-'ter of doubt, whether Cotelerius hath rendered the 'word κεφαλαιωδῶς *capitulatim*, as I had ſaid, becauſe 'I have not pointed out the particular place, in my 'Preface to the Apoſtolical Fathers. But it is not to 'be found in the firſt of thoſe epiſtles, though it is in 'another place, which he is at liberty to ſeek; for I 'am not inclined to give a reaſon for my words to a 'man, who has the temerity to deny what he himſelf 'knew, as we have ſeen in the caſe of Eraſmus. What 'follows afterwards, concerning the Greek uſed by 'eccleſiaſtical writers, is little better than mere in-'digeſted effuſions, the obſervations of a man who 'writes without giving himſelf the trouble of think-'ing. I had rather be condemned to *fight with 'wild beaſts*, than contend with ſuch kind of men. 'Let them triumph, if they pleaſe, over common 'ſenſe: I ſhall not envy them the glory of their 'victory.'

The *ſeventh* edition of the Reflections upon Learning was publiſhed in 1738. Mr. Baker's book hath been held in great eſteem, and, for many years after its publication, it was even commended as a ſtandard of fine writing. In this view it was formerly put into our hands by a tutor. But, though the ſtyle is perſpicuous and manly, it can ſcarcely be applauded as riſing to any high degree of elegance. It is undoubtedly, in ſeveral reſpects, a work of very conſiderable merit. No one can deny that it is evidently the production of a man who was poſſeſſed of real erudition, and that the remarks are often acute and ingenious. But the deſign of the author being to ſhew the weakneſs of the human underſtanding, and to decry learning, in order to evince the neceſſity of revelation, this hath led him to an undue diſparagement of the writings of able men, and the diſcoveries of modern ſcience. If he had not been too much prejudiced againſt the new philoſophy, he could never have praiſed Bacon ſo coldly as he did, or entirely have omitted the name of Locke. He ſpeaks contemptouſly and ignorantly of the Copernican ſyſtem. He was not, however, ſo abſolutely devoted to Ariſtotle, but that he could diſcern ſome faults in him; as appears from his juſt cenſure of that philoſopher's phyſics. In the preſent improved ſtate of knowledge, a work ſimilar in kind to that of Mr. Baker, but which ſhould diſplay the progreſs and improvements of ſcience and literature without either exaggeration or diminution, and, at the ſame time, point out the *deſiderata*, would be a very valuable performance. Perhaps it would require almoſt the genius and comprehenſion of a Lord Verulam to execute it in a proper manner.

" account of her charities and foundations, together with a catalogue of her profeſſors " both at Cambridge and Oxford, and of her preachers at Cambridge." This book is grown extremely ſcarce: but a copy of it, with manuſcript notes in Mr. Baker's own hand-writing, is now in the poſſeſſion of the reverend and learned M. Beadon, public orator of the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*).

(*c*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Robinſon, of Cheſterton, near Cambridge, whom Mr. Beadon politely favoured with the inſpection of the book.

Beſides taking the degrees in arts, Mr. Baker alſo took the degree of batchelor in divinity, at Cambridge; but was ejected from his fellowſhip, ſoon after the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, in conſequence of his refuſal to take the oaths to the government (*d*). He retained a lively ſenſe of this deprivation; which he particularly expreſſed, by writing in the blank leaves of all the books he afterwards gave to the college, *Tho. Baker, Coll. Jo. ſocius ejectus.* He was the more offended, becauſe he thought the maſter of the college, Dr. Jenkins, might have ſcreened him by connivance, as he had done in the preceding reign (*e*). We learn from Mr. Whiſton, that after the death of King James II. Mr. Baker had ſome thoughts of taking the oaths to the government [*B*]; but was prevented by the abjuration oath being alſo enjoined, which put an end to his deliberations on the ſubject. After his ejectment, Mr. Baker ſtill kept his chamber in St. John's college, and reſided there as a Commoner-Maſter during the remainder of his life. But though he loſt his fellowſhip, it appears that this was in part made up to him by the generoſity of a friend. The celebrated Matthew Prior, not ſcrupling the oaths, or needing the profits of a fellowſhip, took the oaths, kept his fellowſhip, and gave Mr. Baker the profits of it (*).

(*d*) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Biog. Britan. firſt edit. *ut ſupra.*

* This curious fact was communicated to the Rev. Mr. R. Robinſon, of Cheſterton, by the Rev. Dr. Goddard, Maſter of Clare Hall, Cambridge. The Doctor remembers Mr. Baker well; and ſays, he was one of the beſt men in his moral conduct.

He particularly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of antiquities. This was his favourite purſuit; and he was indefatigable in his inquiries concerning whatever related to the hiſtory of the univerſity of Cambridge. He was alſo very ready to afford information and aſſiſtance to thoſe who were engaged in ſimilar ſtudies; and among others who derived benefit from his communications, was the learned archbiſhop Wake. Beſides tranſmitting to this prelate ſome informations concerning the *Hiſtoriola*, &c. relative to Archbiſhop Parker, which was diſcovered during the correſpondence between Archbiſhop Wake and Father Courayer, in Bennet-college-library, Mr. Baker alſo aſſiſted the archbiſhop in writing his *State of the Church.* After the completion of that work, his grace wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Baker; and, as a farther teſtimony of his ſenſe of the ſervice he had done him, offered to accept his recommendation of a friend (as he could not receive it himſelf) to a benefice worth 200l. a year, then vacant. But this offer Mr. Baker declined; and only requeſted of the archbiſhop, that he would be pleaſed to evidence his favour towards him, by a preſent of a copy of the work before mentioned, with his grace's corrections and additions in his own hand-writing. With this the archbiſhop complied, and ſent beſides many manuſcript evidences bound up with the volume: and this book is now in the public library of the univerſity of Cambridge (*f*).

(*f*) Biograph. Britan. firſt edit. art *Wake*, note [*W*], p. 4096.

Mr. Baker alſo correſponded with Dr. Browne Willis, and Mr. Le Neve (*); and, notwithſtanding their difference of ſentiments, was upon very friendly terms with Biſhop Kennet. He likewiſe communicated to Biſhop Burnet a variety of corrections and obſervations reſpecting his Hiſtory of the Reformation [*C*]. In the preface to the third volume of that work, the biſhop ſpeaks of Mr. Baker under the title of *a learned and worthy perſon*, to whom he expreſſes himſelf much obliged for the care with which he had read his work, and the obſervations that he had communicated concerning it. He adds, 'In ſeveral particulars I do not perfectly agree with theſe corrections; but I ſet 'them down as they were ſent to me, without any remarks on them; and I give my 'hearty thanks in the fulleſt manner I can, to him who was firſt at the pains to make 'this collection, and then had the goodneſs to communicate it to me, in ſo obliging a 'manner: for he gave me a much greater power over theſe papers, than I have thought 'fit to aſſume (*g*).' Mr. Baker's name is not mentioned in this preface; but that he was the perſon referred to, appears from his own manuſcript notes, in his copy of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, which is preſerved in the public library at Cambridge (*h*). And in the third volume Mr. Baker has written as follows: '*Ex dono doctiſſimi Auctoris, ac 'celeberrimi Præſulis Gilberti Epiſcopi Sariſburienſis.*—I ſhall always have an honour 'for the author's memory, who entered all the corrections I had made, at the end of

(*) Some letters from theſe gentlemen to Mr. Baker are preſerved in the public library at Cambridge.

(*g*) Pref. to the third vol. of the Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. iii. p. 10.

(*h*) From the information of the Rev Mr. R. Robinſon.

[*B*] *After the death of King James II. Mr. Baker had ſome thoughts of taking the oaths to the government.*] Mr. Whiſton ſays, 'I remember to have heard him (Biſhop 'Lloyd) once ſay, that after the aſſaſſination plot, 'A. D. 1696, the odium of it was ſo great, that not 'a Jacobite would have remained in the nation, had 'not the extreme rigour of the following act of parliament againſt thoſe that would not ſign an aſſociation, kept up that ſpirit of oppoſition to the government ever afterward; which puts me in mind 'of the like caſe, of two of the non-jurors of St. John's college, Cambridge, Mr. Billers and Mr. Baker, 'who loved their religion and their country as well 'as any jurors whomſoever: but having once taken 'an oath to King James, could not ſatisfy their conſciences in breaking it, while he lived, for any conſideration whatſoever. Theſe two were long my 'particular acquaintance: and I well remember, 'that when king James died, which was in 1701, 'they began to deliberate about taking the oath, and 'coming into the government, till the unhappy abjuration oath, which was made the ſame year, had 'ſuch clauſes as ſtopped all their further deliberations (3).'

(3) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own life and writings, ſecond edit. p. 29.

[*C*] *He communicated to Biſhop Burnet a variety of corrections and obſervations reſpecting his Hiſtory of the Reformation.*] 'Theſe corrections, &c. are in the Appendix to the third volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, No. IV. p. 743—758.

'this

'this volume. If any more are found, they were not ſent: for he ſuppreſſed nothing (*i*).' This teſtimony of Baker, in favour of the candour of Burnet, whoſe principles were ſo different from his own, is certainly worthy of attention; and, indeed, does honour to them both.

(*i*) Communicated by the ſame gentleman.

It appears to have been the deſign of Mr. Baker, to write an hiſtory of the univerſity of Cambridge, and ſome account of the moſt eminent perſons educated there [*D*]; and accordingly he made very large collections for that purpoſe; but did not live to execute his deſign [*E*]. It is much to be regretted, that he did not form his collections into ſuch a work as that which he intended: but he appears to have been extremely ſolicitous to accumulate a large ſtock of materials, and too backward in attempting to methodize and digeſt them. By this means the expectations of the public were in a great degree diſappointed; it being ſuppoſed, that Mr. Baker would have produced a very capital work reſpecting the univerſity of Cambridge, as he was underſtood to poſſeſs all the induſtry of Anthony Wood, at the ſame time that he was maſter of a much better ſtyle, and had a ſuperior degree of taſte and judgment (*k*). The collections which he left behind him are very conſiderable, and very valuable. Twenty-three volumes of theſe in folio, written with his own hand, he gave to his friend Lord Oxford; and being accordingly part of the Harleian collection of manuſcripts, they are now depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum [*F*]. He alſo left fifteen volumes

(*k*) Vid. Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 103.

[*D*] *An Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge, and of the moſt eminent perſons educated there.*] It is obſerved by the author of *Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography*, p. 102. from Tanner, p. 384. that 'Dr. Hatcher, of 'King's college, a phyſician, and able antiquary of 'the 16th century, had compiled ſome Latin me-'moirs of the eminent perſons educated here (the 'univerſity of Cambridge) in two books, in the man-'ner of Bale.' And in the Harleian collection of manuſcripts, No. 7176, 7167, are two volumes of lives of illuſtrious perſons educated at Cambridge, from its foundation to 1715, collected from printed books, by Morris Drake Morris, of Mount Morris, in Kent, Eſq; who was fellow-commoner of Trinity-college (4).

(4) *Vid.* Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, *ubi ſupra*; and the Harleian catalogue.

[*E*] *Did not live to execute his deſign.*] This naturally reminds us of a paſſage in a juſtly celebrated work of Dr. Samuel Johnſon: 'It is lamented by 'Hearne, the learned antiquary of Oxford, that the 'general forgetfulneſs of the fragility of life, has re-'markably infected the ſtudents of monuments and 'records. As their employment conſiſts firſt in col-'lecting, and afterwards in arranging, or abſtracting 'what libraries afford them, they ought to amaſs no 'more than they can digeſt; but when they have un-'dertaken a work, they go on ſearching and tranſ-'ſcribing, call for new ſupplies, when they are alrea-'dy over-burdened, and at laſt leave their work un-'finiſhed. *It is*, ſays he, *the buſineſs of a good anti-'quary, as of a good man, to have mortality always 'before him* (5).'

(5) Rambler, No. 71.

[*F*] *Are now depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum.*] In the *firſt* of theſe volumes is a ſuccinct account of St. John's Houſe and St. John's College, with ſome occaſional and incidental account of the affairs of the univerſity, and of ſuch private colleges, as held communication or intercourſe with the old houſe or college. The *ſecond* volume contains, among other particulars, *Diſciplina eccleſiæ ſacræ ex Dei verbo deſcripta, auctore Tho. Cartwright. Aula Clar. ſive miſcellanea quædam ad Aulam Clarenſ. ſpectantia. De cuſtodibus & Sociis Pembrochianis, authore Math. Wrenn.* Biſhop Overall's opinion of the five points. In the *third* volume is *Vita Joannis Fiſheri Epiſcopi Roffin. ex codice MS. D. Gale Decani Eboracenſis.* Roper's life of Sir Thomas More. An account of Sir Thomas More's life wrote by others, with ſome particulars concerning Dr. Harding, &c. In the *fourth* volume are letters and other particulars concerning King's College, Trinity College, Chriſt's College, Corpus Chriſti College, Trinity Hall, Peter Houſe, Pembroke Hall, Queen's College, Sydney College, Magdalen College, and Caius College, &c. In the *fifth* volume are *Statuta antiqua Academiæ Cantabr. Articuli in ſynodo Lond. an.* 1562. *Collectiones ex MSS. codicibus Coll. Gaio. Gonv. Cant.* &c. The *ſixth* volume contains particulars concerning Corpus Chriſti College, Bennet College, Sidney College, Jeſus College, and Emanuel College. An account of the ſeveral colleges, with the names of the fellows, ſcholars, &c. when Queen Elizabeth was at Cambridge in 1564, together with Dr. Perne's Latin ſermon on that occaſion. An account of the queen's reception at Oxford in 1566. A curious paper relative to irregularities and neglect of diſcipline in the univerſity of Cambridge, in 1636. Letters between Archbiſhop Laud and that univerſity, relative to his claim of a right to a metropolitical viſitation of the univerſity. Account of proceedings againſt ſome perſons at Cambridge, who were deemed factious. An hiſtorical account of the univerſity and colleges of Cambridge, Lat. ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. Fuller.

In the *ſeventh* volume are, *Orationes funebres, epitaphia*, &c. a narrative of Blood's attempt on the crown in the Tower, written by Sir Gilbert Talbot, maſter and treaſurer of the jewel-houſe. Characters of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Daniel earl of Nottingham, Sidney Lord Godolphin, and John Marquis of Normanby, as entered in the heralds office, by the Duke of Norfolk, towards the latter end of the reign of King William. Papers and letters concerning the Earl of Strafford, &c. The *eighth* volume contains, *Literæ et Orationes attingentes Hiſtoriam et Statum Academiæ Oxon. Cartæ nonnullæ Henrici II. de libertatibus Villæ Oxon. P. Candidi Decembris epiſtolæ ad ducem Gloceſtr. ſuper nova traductione totius Platonicæ politiæ.* An account of the death of Walter Earl of Eſſex. Talbot's notes upon the itinerary, as far as concerns Britain. An account of the King of Portugal's expedition in 1578, &c. In the *ninth* volume, are acts and inſtruments taken from the Black Book, *viz.* Decree concerning Lady Margaret's reader and preacher, Henry the Seventh's *Dirige*, &c. and notes concerning God's houſe and Chriſt's college, &c.

The *tenth* volume contains Σχέλετος *Cantabr. una cum Catalogo Epiſcoporum Cantabr.* Account of the ceremonies uſed, and the public acts held at Cambridge, when Queen Elizabeth viſited that univerſity, in 1564. An account of the foundation of the univerſity of Cambridge, with a catalogue of the principal founders and benefactors of the colleges, public ſchool, and library; together with the names of the then maſters and fellows of every particular college, the number of magiſtrates, governors, and officers, and the total number of ſtudents then reſiding in the univerſity: collected in 1619. Particulars relative to the viſitation of the univerſity in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, &c. In the *eleventh* volume are particulars concerning Trinity College, Sidney College, and Jeſus College, and *vita et mors D. Batteman epiſcopi Norwic.* Catalogues of chancellors, profeſſors, heads, fellows, ſcholars, &c.

The *twelfth* volume conſiſts of papers and collections relative to St. John's College, digeſted for the moſt part according to the order of time. Among theſe is a copy of the will of the foundreſs, Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond and Derby, mother to King Henry the Seventh; a letter from that prince to her; & *Carta fundationis collegii S. Johannis Evangeliſtæ.* This volume alſo contains wills of ſeveral perſons benefactors to the college; an indenture relative to ſix exhibitions in the college, to which Mr. Baker himſelf contributed, and had a conſiderable ſhare in their eſtabliſhment; a Latin letter from Roger Aſcham to Cardinal Pole; two letters from Dr. Andrew Pern to Lord Burghley; a ſermon of St. Cyprian, concerning

volumes in folio, of manuſcript collections, entirely written with his own hand, a very few pages excepted, to the public library at Cambridge [*G*]: beſides which he bequeathed

ing the ſupper of our Lord, and the firſt inſtitution of the ſacrament, tranſlated by Dr. Watſon, Biſhop of Lincoln; ſeveral letters to Lord Burleigh, relative to diſputes in the univerſity of Cambridge; ſundry papers relative to a conteſt there between Dr. William Whitaker, and Everard Digby; articles exhibited in parliament againſt Dr. William Beale, maſter of St. John's college, in 1641; an ordinance of parliament for ejecting Dr. Beale from that office, and appointing Mr. Arrowſmith in his room; a ſpeech of Dr. Spencer, vice-chancellor, and maſter of Bennet College, addreſſed to the Duke of Monmouth, chancellor of the univerſity, at his inſtalment at Worceſter-houſe in the Strand, in 1674; and Latin orations addreſſed to King Charles I. and the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

The *thirteenth* volume contains tranſcripts of charters, grants, privileges, exemptions, immunities, &c. In the *fourteenth* volume are particulars concerning the priory at Royſton, the church at Durham, the church of St. Paul at London, the *Epiſcopus Puerorum* Eleemoſynary there, &c. An account of the reception of King James, King Charles, the Prince, and the Palſgrave at Cambridge; with the manner of the funerals of King James, Prince Henry, Dr. Whitaker, Soame, Clayton, &c. A collection of letters to Mr. Abraham Wheelock from Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Thomas Adams, &c. concerning the Saxon and Arabic lecture, with other letters to Mr. Wheelock. A petition of the biſhops to the queen, concerning the articles of 1562, &c. In the *fifteenth* volume, are papers concerning Perry, Udall, Barrow, Greenwood, Cartwright, and other puritans, with ſome original letters from Dr. Bancroft, T. Cartwright, and others. Letters from Lord Burleigh, Sir Robert Cecil and ſeveral other perſons of rank to Sir John Puckering, lord-keeper of the great ſeal. Particulars concerning Mr. Peter Wentworth, &c. in the caſe of the ſucceſſion. Letters, &c. between T. F. and Juſtus Lipſius, &c. And in the *ſixteenth* volume are particulars concerning Biſhop Overall, and memoirs of Mr. Moſes, Dr. Mapletoft, and Dr. Hewyt, with a letter concerning printing at Harlem, &c.

The *ſeventeenth* volume contains a collection of letters relating to the univerſity of Oxford, with various papers concerning the ſtatutes, &c. of the univerſity of Cambridge. In the *eighteenth* volume are particulars concerning Peter Houſe, Caius college, Pembroke-hall, Trinity-hall, King's college, &c. In the *nineteenth* volume, are particulars concerning Bennet college, Jeſus college, and St. John's college. *Computus Academiæ* made by the vice-chancellors and the ſeveral proctors. *Aſſertio de antiquitate Acad. Cant.* Letters tranſcribed out of the orator's book, &c. The *twentieth* volume contains letters from ſeveral perſons to Lord Burleigh; a licence for Dr. Gwent to wear his bonnet in the King's preſence; account of monuments in and about the cathedral at Norwich, by Sir Thomas Brown; an account of the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, by Dr. Lloyd, Biſhop of Worceſter, &c.

In the *twenty-firſt* volume are letters of Mr. Joſeph Mede concerning Cambridge; an account of the foundation and diſſolution of the priory of Higham, and of the annexing and appropriating of it to St. John's college, with the proceedings againſt the nuns for their lewdneſs and incontinence. Letters to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, concerning the diſſolution of monaſteries, reformation, &c. Laſt wills and teſtaments of Biſhop Sanderſon, Biſhop Juxon, and Dr. Buſby, and ſeveral others. Collections from the council-book of Queen Elizabeth in 1573. An account of the effect of the Bartholomew act in the dioceſe of Lincoln. Account of the progreſs of King Henry VII. Ceremonial of the baptiſm of Prince Arthur; of the receiving a cap and ſword from the pope; of the creation of the Prince of Wales, and his being dubbed knight; and of the Queen's taking her chamber, in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry VII. Inſtructions to the abbot of Thorney concerning the confinement of Reginald Peacock. Letters of Mr. Thomas Cartwright, Dr. Peter Baro, Dr. Whitaker, &c. In the *twenty-ſecond* volume, are papers ſent by Dr. Humphreys, Biſhop of Bangor, to Anthony Wood, giving an account of the learned men in Wales. *Inſcriptiones deſumpta ex veteri tabula Acad. et Oppidi Cantabr. Inſcriptiones e veteri tabula Oxon.* Particulars concerning King's-hall, &c. And the *twenty-third* volume contains the ſtatutes of St. John's college, with an account of the private foundations, together with a copy of the univerſity-ſtatutes, interpretations, decrees, &c.

Beſides theſe twenty-three volumes in folio, there is alſo in the Harleian collection of MSS. at the Britiſh Muſeum, a quarto volume of Mr. Baker's, which contains the ſtatutes, and gives ſome account of the foundation of King's college in Cambridge. There are added, at the end, interpretations of ſome doubts in the ſtatutes, by Biſhop Wickham, viſitor in 1604.

It may be proper to obſerve, that the firſt of Mr. Baker's manuſcript volumes in the Muſeum, is numbered No. 7028; and the reſt follow in regular ſucceſſion to 7050. There is the more occaſion to mention this, as there is no reference to theſe manuſcripts of Mr. Baker's, in the Index to the Catalogue of the Harleian collection (6).

(6) This account of ſome of the principal contents of Mr. Baker's manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum, is given partly from the Harleian catalogue, and partly from an inſpection of the manuſcripts themſelves in that valuable repoſitory.

[*G*] *He alſo left fifteen volumes in folio, of manuſcript collections, written with his own hand, to the public library at Cambridge.*] Of theſe manuſcripts of Mr. Baker, we are enabled to give the more ſatisfactory account, in conſequence of the kind aſſiſtance afforded us by the Rev. Mr. Robert Robinſon, of Cheſterton, near Cambridge. This gentleman, who is already known to the literary world by his own ingenious performances, hath obligingly taken the trouble of inſpecting all Mr. Baker's manuſcripts: which he was politely permitted to have the uſe of, by the preſent vice-chancellor, the learned and worthy Dr. Plumtree: and from the account which Mr. Robinſon hath tranſmitted to us, we ſhall ſelect the following particulars of the principal contents of theſe manuſcript volumes.

VOL. I.

[This volume is numbered on the back 24; and the other volumes have the following numbers on the backs in regular ſucceſſion.]

In this volume are contained *Tranſcripta quædam e veteri regiſtr. ab anno* 1488 *ad an.* 1544. An account of the building of St. Mary's church. *Miſſa pro benefactoribus.* The manner of the veſpers in Divinity, &c. Commencement in Divinity, Canon and Civil Law, Arts, Grammar, &c. Order of the Queſtioniſts, &c. The manner of the reception of the French Ambaſſador, Lord Burleigh, Chancellor, and others of the nobility, 1571; and of the univerſity's attending the Queen at Audley-end, 1578. The manner of the univerſity of Oxford, in creating their Chancellor, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton. *Nomina graduatorum, &c. gratiæ conceſſæ, &c. ab anno* 1589 *uſque ad annum* 1620. Letters from Privy-counſellors, &c. to the Vice-chancellor, &c. Tranſcript from the Leidger-book of Waltham-abbey. *Chronicon Monarcharum Angl. &c. cum aliis pertinen. ad Cœnobium S. Edmundi Regis et Mart. &c.* Tranſcript from a Leidger-book of Battel Abbey, &c.

VOL. II. [25]

Burgus Cantabr. ſive liber privilegiorum et libertatum, et rerum memorabilium, burgum et villam Cantabrig. Gratiæ et gradus ab anno 1620 *ad annum* 1639 *e regiſtr. Acad. Cantabr.* Particulars concerning Trinity-hall. *Gradus diplomatici* [Lambeth.] *admiſſi Cantabrigiæ.* Particulars from the regiſter of Queen's college, Cambridge. Privy ſeals, &c. concerning King's college, King's hall, Queen's college, or the univerſity, from originals. Two Latin letters from Limborch to Dr. Oliver D'Oyley, fellow of King's college, &c.

VOL. III. [26]

An account of eminent men in the Welch dioceſſes: ſent by Biſhop Humphreys to Mr. Wood. An account of the interment of biſhops, from their wills. *Collectiones e veteri libro MS. Tho. Markaunt.* Wills, and extracts of wills, from the year 1602 to the year

ed ſeveral other manuſcripts, and ſundry printed books, with notes and obſervations in his own hand-writing, to the ſame library [*H*]. He alſo left ſome manuſcripts to St. John's college.

year 1658. *Orationes et ſcripta quædam Joan. Overall, S. T. P. Epiſc. Norv.* Two letters concerning Biſhop Henſhaw, and Dr. Lowth, Biſhop of Cheſter. *Degradatio, M. Gul. Prinn.* Anecdote of Biſhop Holgate, Biſhop Barlow, &c.

VOL. IV. [27]

Particulars concerning Catharine-hall, and Emanuel-college. Particulars concerning Dr. Andrews, and Jeſus college. Particulars concerning the reforming the ſtatutes of St. John's college, with the commiſſion *ad viſitand.* Account of the proceedings in the caſe of a controverted election to the maſterſhip, between Dr. Lane and Mr. Holdſworth. Account of ſome diſturbances in St. John's college, *an.* 1647. Letters concerning the univerſity, and inſtructions for the clergy. Scargell's recantation, expulſion, abſolution, &c. A catalogue of univerſity-preachers, from the year 1604 to the preſent time; with a catalogue of inceptors and batchelors of arts, from the year 1620, to the year 1639. The biſhop of Ely's return of his clergy to the archbiſhop, in 1560. Letters concerning St. John's college, and the univerſity. The univerſity caſe concerning printing, by Mr. Tabor. Particulars concerning the cardinals Wolſey and Pole, the King's divorce, &c. Particulars concerning Trinity-hall, St. Edward's and St. John's churches, the church of Peterborough, &c. Tho. Earl's note-book, from 1564 to 1600. Ejectments of the parochial Clergy, from the books of the Committee for plundered Miniſters, and the Earl of Mancheſter's books, &c.

VOL. V. [28]

Acta, inſtrumenta, &c. ſtatum eccleſiæ vel dioc. Elien. attingentia. Mr. Worthington's collections of church matters relating to the dioceſe of Ely. Tranſcripts relating to the dioceſe of Ely, from Mr. Tabor's book, in the Regiſter's office, with ſome particulars concerning the Univerſity, &c. Notes from the diary of Dr. Goſtlin, maſter of Caius-college. Notes from Tho. Caius of Oxford, his Examen, &c. Letters to Dr. Chaderton, Maſter of Queen's-college, Biſhop of Cheſter, &c. Letters from Oliver Cromwell, Gen. Harriſon, Capt. Hotham, Sir John Coke, &c. Notes from a manuſcript life of Sir John Packington. The ſtate of the dioceſe of Cheſter, under Biſhop Bridgeman, who was conſecrated in 1619.

VOL. VI. [29]

Subſcriptiones præfectorum, profeſſorum, ſociorum, &c. ab an. 1662 *ad an.* 1719. Particulars concerning Dr. Perne, Maſter of Peter-houſe, Dr. Peter Baro, and Sir Nathan Wright, Lord-Keeper. Copy of a paper left by Mr. John Hampden. Original letters from Mr. Hartlib to Dr. Worthington. *Collectiones e Chartulario Coll. Caii, et Annales Joannis Caii, et D. Goſling.* Copies of letters from Lord Burleigh, Robert Earl of Leiceſter, Archbiſhops Parker, Whitgift, and Bancroft, Lord North, Robert Earl of Saliſbury, Henry Earl of Northampton, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. with mandates from Queen Elizabeth, King James, &c. Biſhop Fiſher's foundation of four Fellowſhips and two Scholarſhips, &c.

VOL. VII. [30]

Memoranda Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant. tempore J. Botwright, magiſt. The remarkable will of William Noy, Attorney-General. The Queen's letters-patent, and confirmation of the Statutes, for the Aſtronomy-Profeſſor, of the foundation of Dr. Plume, with a grant from Trinity-college, of a room and obſervatory for his uſe. A collection of letters mandatory from King Charles, James, William and Mary, with other letters from Chancellors, &c. Mr. Bagford's notes concerning printing, printers, &c. The King's letters-patent for a Profeſſor of modern hiſtory, with the nomination of Samuel Harris, M. A. as firſt Profeſſor. Particulars concerning Magdalen-college, St. John's-college, Caius-college, Emanuel-college, Jeſus-college, and Trinity-hall. Epitaphs and inſcriptions. Genealogies of Biſhop Davenant, Andrew Bing, Hebrew-Profeſſor, and Charles Wright, Arabic-profeſſor. Letter to Lord Townſhend upon receiving King George's ſtatue, &c.

VOL. VIII. [31]

Acts and inſtruments concerning Michael-houſe in Cambridge, with the ſtatutes of that houſe, the firſt that were given to any college in Cambridge. Petitions of the univerſity and town of Cambridge, for relief of grievances from draining of the Fens. Extracts from the Univerſity-regiſter of graces, from the year 1501 to the year 1542, being the firſt regiſter we have. Tranſcripts from Mr. Tabor's book, public regiſter, *viz.* Sir Edw. Sandys's will for a metaphyſical lecture; office of the Beadleſhip; precedency of the Vice-Chancellor; orders at the King's coming to Cambridge; inſtallation of the Duke of Monmouth, Chancellor; *Literæ patentes lectoris juris civilis*; inſtructions how to appeal from the Vice-Chancellor to the delegates; particulars relative to the peſt-houſes, the building of St. Mary's church and ſteeple, &c. Tranſcripts from another book of Mr. Tabor, *viz.* concerning the town to be made a city, objections, anſwers, petition of the town, &c. *De dominio ſoli villæ Cantabr. &c. Inſtrumentum univerſitatis Cantabr. circa privilegia quædam academiæ, an.* 1420. *Hiſtoriola Joſſelini de Matthæo archiep. Cant. MSS. C. C. C.* An account of a book, formerly Mr. Wharton's, afterwards Lord Sunderland's, wherein are inſerted ſeveral original charters, letters, manuſcript notes, &c. which book is a copy of the *Antiq. Brit.* Notes from Sir Roger Twyſden's copy of the ſame book, containing a map of Cambridge, wanting in the other copies. Extracts from a manuſcript, intitled, the Hiſtory or Memoirs of Framlingham. Copies of two papers concerning Archbiſhop Parker's conſecration, &c.

VOL. IX. [32]

Original letters to or from Lord Burleigh. Copies of letters from Queen Elizabeth to foreign princes. Account of the ſickneſs and death of Prince Henry. Count Arundell's apology, being reſtrained, for accepting the honour of *comes imperii*, without the Queen's leave. The forerunner of revenge upon the Duke of Buckingham, for poiſoning King James; by George Egliſham. Collections from a MS. volume, entitled, *Regiſtrum vagum, &c. tempore J. Jegon, epiſc. Norvic. &c.* The firſt plan or proportion of Trinity-college, with the names of the firſt Fellows, their ſtipends, &c. Copies of letters concerning the maſſacre at Paris, written by Sir Francis Walſingham. Particulars concerning Michael-houſe, and Onyng's inn. The roll of Ely, with the hiſtory of the Knights and Monks. *Collect. e veteri chartulario prioratus de Thurgarton.* Extracts of letters from Mr. Joſeph Mede. Ejectments at Trinity-college, in 1649, 1650, &c. *Collectiones circa domum S. Michaelis, e libro Otryngham.* Original letters written to Mr. Anthony Gilby, by Puritans. Letters written to Archbiſhop Whitgift. Particulars concerning the Earls of Oxford, and Lord-Chief-Juſtice Coke. Mr. Richard Smith's Obituary, from the year 1628 to 1675. Letters from or to Mr. Roger Aſcham. Particulars concerning Biſhop Overall, Dr. Robert Scott, Dr. Manwaring, Mr. Edward Elton. The curſe belonging to Sherborne-caſtle, &c. Notes from Mr. Richard Smith's Hiſtory of Printing. Notes concerning Felton, Thomas Scott, &c. A letter from Mr. Roger Aſcham to Dr. John Seton. Mr. Richard Hill's donation of Livings to St. John's-college, with ſome account of the donor. Letters concerning the collection for the city of Geneva in 1603, 1604. Archbiſhop Wake's letter to the Paſtors and Profeſſors of Geneva. More particulars concerning printing, &c.

Mr. Baker lived to a very advanced age, exceedingly reſpected, and died at Cambridge, on the 2d of July, 1740. He was buried in the anti-chapel of the college. In a MS. letter of Dr. Waterland, dated Magdalen-college, Cambridge, July 6, 1740, is the following

VOL. X. [33]

Original letters from Cardinal Wolſey. A ſpecimen of Capgrave's Chronicle, dedicated to King Edward IV. Particulars concerning Corpus Chriſti and Trinity-colleges. A letter from Germany, concerning Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem. A letter concerning Archbiſhop Laud and Mr. Herne. Particulars concerning Biſhop Goodman, the Earl of Eſſex, Merrick, Cuffe, and Biſhop Middleton. A letter from the Univerſity, concerning Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem. Liſt of degrees conferred when King George II. was at Cambridge, April 25, 1728. Notes concerning Godfrey Goodman, Biſhop of Glouceſter, under his own hand. Particulars concerning Dr. Beaumont, and Dr. Bern. Hale. Subſcriptions of graduates from the year 1638, to the year 1725. Letters to and from Archbiſhop Laud, concerning his power of viſitation, with reaſons to prove, that the univerſity of Cambridge is exempt from archiepiſcopal juriſdiction. Letters to and from the Dutcheſs of Buckingham, Archbiſhop Harſnet, Biſhop Andrews, the Earl of Holland, &c. The bill in Star-Chamber againſt Baſtwick, Burton, Prynne, &c. A letter from the Biſhop of Bangor to Mr. Anth. Wood. An obituary of the deprived or non-complying Clergy. An account of a Conſuetudinary of the abbey of Bury, St. Edmund's. Two letters from Lord Clarendon and Biſhop Sanderſon. *Carta fundationis eccleſiæ Elien.* A catalogue of Fellows, Scholars, &c. of Trinity-college. A ſpeech in Parliament in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. A ſpecimen of Biſhop Godwin's firſt Eſſay, in a catalogue of Biſhops of Bath and Wells. Letters from King James I. and King Charles I. Letter from Cardinal De Fleury to Lord Oxford, with his anſwer. A catalogue of Doctors and Maſters of Arts at Oxford, from the year 1565, to the year 1609. An epiſtle dedicatory to John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. Collections from Dr. Brady's manuſcripts. Mr. Abraham Wheelock's life, character, &c.

VOL. XI. [34]

Sundry other papers from Dr. Brady's manuſcripts. Archbiſhop Sancroft's collections, containing letters concerning Cambridge, Durham, Divines in exile, Coſin, Earl, Creighton, &c; conference at Hampton-Court; Caſe between the Biſhop of Ely and Lord Hatton, Hatton-gardens; Dr. Sparrow and Mr. Patrick's caſe; Dr. Board's caſe, letters of King James, and of Bacon; diſpenſations, &c. Life of Lord Burleigh, from a manuſcript at Burleigh. Epitaphs. A catalogue of Cambridge and Cambridgeſhire Worthies. Particulars concerning Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and religious houſes diſſolved in Norfolk. Book of fare and expences of the Duke of Norfolk. An account of the proceedings of the convocation for the years 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, &c. Addreſſes of the Dutch and French Churches, an. 1604. A letter from Archbiſhop Sandys, and two from Robert and Peregrine Bertie, and T. Bell. Collections from *Liber rerum memorabilium*, or Nath. Stokys's book. Original letters from the Archbiſhops Grindal, Whitgift, and Matthews, to Archbiſhop Hutton *penes ejuſdem familiam in agro Ebor. Collectiones e Chartophylacio Regio*, &c. The Duke of Buckingham's will. Biſhop Beveridge's will. Account of the foundation of Michael-houſe, King's hall, &c. Expulſion and degradation of Philip Nichols, LL. D. Original letters from Dr. John Wallis to Mr. Matthew Poole. Letter of Biſhop Atterbury to Mr. Pope, &c.

VOL. XII. [35]

Original letters from King Charles I., the Prince, Prince Rupert, &c. Original letters from the Earls of Eſſex, Warwick, and Mancheſter, Oliver Cromwell, Sir John Hotham, W. Mountagu, Secretary Nicholas, Sir John Strangways, Sir Thomas Fairfax, General Monk, William Lenthall, &c. Treaty at Uxbridge, and at Newport in the iſle of Wight. Two receipts from the Scots for 200,000 l. paid by the Engliſh in 1646. Speaker Lenthall's petition for leave to quit his employment. Mr. Robert Yeoman's caſe. Prince Rupert's diſmiſſion. Invitation of the Parliament to the Prince, concerning the King's remove from Holdenby. Mr. Tutty's caſe, by Dr. Duck. Sir Edward Deering's caſe, and that of the ſeven Prieſts condemned. Proviſion for the King's children. Lord Savile's caſe. Mr. Brydle's caſe condemned at Oxford. Examination of Mr. Hudſon and others concerning the King's eſcape from Oxford. Dr. Baker's ejectment. Mr. Rolfe's and Mr. John Lilburne's caſe. Manner of reception of the Houſe, 1649. The Speaker empowered to confer knighthood. Particulars concerning the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Glouceſter. The King's march out of Scotland, and defeat at Worceſter. Carew Raleigh's caſe. Letters relating to France, Spain, &c. from Aſcham, Blake, &c. Account of the death of Doriſlaus. The King's commiſſion to Oneal. Aſſembly of Divines, their acts, advice, petitions ſigned by the Clergy, their names, ſubſcriptions, their power limited, &c. Petitions of the Counteſs of Leiceſter, the Earl of Derby, Mr. Hotham, Mr. Ryley, James Nayler at Bridewell; of the Biſhops in Parliament, &c. Particulars concerning Mr. Marſden, Dr. Wroe, Mr. Crompton, Sir Thomas Ramſay, Lady Mary Ramſay, &c. Letters from Dr. Hickes out of Scotland, to Dr. Patrick, &c. Letter from Archbiſhop Wake to M. Du Pin. Letters concerning the Church and King of Pruſſia, King James the Second, &c. Materials for writing the life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. Dr. Atterbury's, Speaker Harley's, and Sir George Rooke's ſpeeches. Some particulars concerning the author of the Whole Duty of Man.

VOL. XIII. [36]

Memoirs of the Earl of Mancheſter. Account of the life and death of Wentworth, Earl of Roſcommon, by Dr. Chetwood. An account of Richard Plantagenet, the laſt of that name. Account of Cevalerius, Hebrew reader, and his iſſue. Proclamations of King Edward the Sixth. Particulars concerning Trinity-hall and Pembroke-hall. *De Cantariis fundatis in eccleſia S. Pauli Lond.* The life of Mr. Tho. Hearne, in his own hand. Mr. Anthony Wood's laſt will. Particulars concerning Mary Queen of Scots. The foundation of the college of Dublin, Adam Loftus's ſpeech, &c. Collections from Mr. William Bedford's manuſcripts, in which are particulars relative to Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Burnet, Dr. Baſtwick, Biſhop Coſins, and Archbiſhop Laud; and letters from Hugh Broughton, Edward Pococke, Edmund Caſtell, Biſhop Nicolſon, Biſhop Gibſon, Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, Sir William Cecil, Dr. Perne, &c. A journal of the proceedings of the Aſſembly of Divines. A liſt of the Bailiffs of Shrewſbury, from the year 1372 to 1603, with ſome hiſtorical paſſages concerning the ſaid town. Particulars relative to Biſhop Overall. Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Oxford in 1592, and King James's entertainment there in 1605. Remarkable particulars concerning Charles I., Colonel Hammond, Aſhburnham, &c. *Gul. Grocini epiſtolæ Aldo Manutio Romano.* Lives and characters of Admiral Benbow and Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, &c.

VOL. XIV. [37]

Collectanea e veteri cartulario Eccleſiæ Cath. Lich. Reformation of the univerſity of Cambridge, from the books of the Committee. *D. Thomæ Smith, LL. D. oratio de dignitate legum, &c. ejuſdem altera oratio, de ratione ſtudii juris civilis.* Inſtructions for Sir Thomas Smith, relative to Calais, ſent into France in 1566. Mr. Thomas Hearne's will, &c.

VOL. XV. [38]

Reaſons for the reſtitution of Calais. A letter to the Queen, from Sir Tho. Smith, on that ſubject. A conſultation held, May 1, 1561, about receiving a Nuncio from the Pope. Biſhop White's ſermon, at

following paſſage: 'We have lately here loſt an excellent man, who lived and died 'in that pleaſurable kind of toil, entertaining himſelf, and ſerving diſtant friends, in a 'literary way. I am juſt come from hearing a fine panegyric of him from St. Mary's 'pulpit. Mr. Baker was the perſon I mean, as you would have imagined without my 'naming him. He lived to a great age: but ſo lived, as to make it neceſſary for 'thoſe he leaves behind him, to think he died too ſoon (*l*).' Mr. Walpole informs us, that Mr. George Vertue, the engraver, made a journey to Cambridge, in order to draw Mr. Baker's picture. 'He had been privately engaged,' ſays that gentleman, 'to 'draw by ſtealth the portrait of old Mr. Thomas Baker of St. John's, then an eminent 'antiquary, earlier in his life the modeſt author of that ingenious and poliſhed little 'piece, Reflections on Learning (*m*).' Mr. Baker was nephew to Sir George Baker of Crooke, a gentleman who was eminent for his attachment to the crown, and his gallant defence of Newcaſtle againſt the Scots. He was buried in the chancel of the great church at Kingſton upon Hull, in Yorkſhire, where a monument was erected for him in 1710, by Mr. Baker.

(*l*) Communicated by John Loveday, Eſq; of Caverſham, near Reading, Berks.

(*m*) Life of Mr. George Vertue, annexed to the Catalogue of Engravers, 2d edit. p. 8.

We are informed, that a life of Mr. Baker was prepared by the late Dr. Zachary Grey; and that the manuſcript is now in the poſſeſſion of a reverend gentleman, who has digeſted and improved it: another life of Mr. Baker appears alſo to have been drawn up by a different hand: and one or both of theſe may, perhaps, hereafter be printed. In the mean time, we have laid before the public the moſt ſatisfactory account of this indefatigable Antiquary, which we have been able to collect.] T.

at the funeral of Queen Mary. Lives of George Duke of Buckingham, Dr. Mapletoft, and Sir John King. A memoir concerning Mr. Tobias Ruſtat. An inſtrument concerning Chriſt's college, and God's houſe. Oliver Cromwell's birth and family. Addreſs of the college of Durham to Richard Lord Protector. Catalogue of the honourable perſons ſummoned by writ to ſit in the other houſe. Two letters from Biſhop Bedell. Life of Dr. Sibbs, by Mr. Zach. Catlin. Letters from the Earl of Northampton to Lord Rocheſter, &c.

Beſides theſe *fifteen volumes*, there is another manuſcript volume, in folio, numbered at the back [39], which was given by Mr. Baker to the univerſity library, and which contains a catalogue of Engliſh printed books, by Andrew Maunſell, bookſeller, in two parts, printed at London in 1595. This book is interleaved, and a great number of titles of books, omitted by Maunſell, are inſerted by Baker in the blank leaves. At the end there are eleven leaves written by Mr. Baker, concerning the Bibles of the Engliſh tranſlation, firſt Printers, &c.

[*H*] *He bequeathed ſeveral other manuſcripts, and ſundry printed books, with notes and obſervations in his own hand-writing, to the ſame library.*] Among theſe is a large quarto volume, all in Mr. Baker's own hand-writing, which, among other particulars, contains the following. Notes concerning the coronation-office by the Archbiſhops Laud and Sancroft, with the coronation-office at large uſed by Archbiſhop Sancroft. Particulars concerning the oaths, deprivations, names, qualities, and preferments of perſons deprived. Short memoirs of the Parliament held at Weſtminſter in 1685, by the Biſhop of Norwich. A remembrance of certain matters concerning the Clergy and their juriſdiction, by James Morice, a member of Parliament. Proceedings againſt, and expulſion of, Mr. Ducket, Fellow of Caius-college, for atheiſtical opinions, &c.

Another manuſcript volume given by Mr. Baker to the Univerſity-library, is in folio, and filled with ſermons of Archbiſhop Uſher: but theſe are not in Mr. Baker's hand-writing. There are alſo two other volumes of collections in *4to*; partly written by Mr. Baker, and partly by other hands.

Among the printed books given to the Univerſity by Mr. Baker, is a ſet of Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, with many manuſcript notes; and alſo a ſet of Anſtis's Regiſter of the moſt noble order of the garter, with manuſcript corrections, &c.]

[BAKER (HENRY)*, an ingenious and diligent Naturaliſt, was born in Fleet-ſtreet, London, either near the end of the laſt, or very early in the beginning of the preſent century. We know not what was his father's profeſſion; but his mother was, in her time, a Midwife of great practice. He was brought up to the buſineſs of a Bookſeller, in which, however, he appears not to have engaged at all after his apprenticeſhip; or, if he did, it was ſoon relinquiſhed by him. For Mr. Baker being of a philoſophical turn of mind, and having diligently attended to the methods which might be practicable and uſeful in the cure of ſtammering, and eſpecially in teaching deaf and dumb perſons to ſpeak, he made this the employment of his life. In the proſecution of ſo valuable and difficult an undertaking, he was very ſucceſsful; and ſeveral of his pupils, who are ſtill living, bear teſtimony to the ability and good effect of his inſtructions. He married Sophia, youngeſt daughter of the famous Daniel Defoe, who brought him two ſons, both of whom he ſurvived. On the 29th of January 1740, Mr. Baker was elected a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society (*a*); and, on the twelfth of March following, the ſame honour was conferred upon him by the Royal Society. For nearly thirty years together, he was a conſtant attendant at the meetings of the laſt Society, and was frequently choſen one of the Council. His attendance, as a member of the other learned body, was, we doubt not, equally punctual and regular. In 1744, Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was beſtowed upon him, for having, by his microſcopical experiments on the cryſtallizations and configurations of ſaline particles, produced the moſt extraordinary diſcovery during that year (*b*). This medal was preſented to him by Sir Hans Sloane, late Preſident of the Royal Society, and only ſurviving truſtee of Sir Godfrey Copley's donation, at the recommendation of Sir Hans's worthy ſucceſſor, Martin Folkes, Eſq; and of the Council of the ſaid Society (*c*). Mr. Baker was one of the firſt members of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Having led a very uſeful and honourable life, he died, at his apartments

* Several of the materials of this article have been collected from the information of different perſons: but the writer is the moſt indebted to the friendly communications of Dr. William Watſon.

(*a*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary to the Antiquarian Society.

(*b*) From the Regiſter of the Royal Society, by favour of the Preſident, Sir John Pringle.

(*c*) Employment for the Microſcope, 2d edit. p. 3. note.

in the Strand, on the 25th of November 1774 (*d*), being then above ſeventy years of age. His wife had been dead ſome time before; and he only left one grandſon, to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, which he had acquired by his profeſſion, of teaching deaf and dumb perſons to ſpeak. He gave alſo, by will, a hundred pounds to the Royal Society, for an anatomical or chymical Lecture (*e*), which hitherto hath been drawn up by Mr. Wolfe.

(*d*) Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1774. p. 543.

(*e*) From the information of his executor.

Such are the few circumſtances we have been able to collect concerning Mr. Henry Baker's private life: but we have it in our power to add ſomething farther with regard to his endeavours for advancing natural Knowledge, and promoting the general welfare of mankind. From the time of his belonging to the Royal Society, he was not only a conſtant attendant upon its meetings, but an active and zealous inſtrument in carrying on its laudable purpoſes. He wrote a number of Papers, many of which have been printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. It may be ſufficient to refer to the ſeveral places wherein they may be found (*f*). Mr. Baker was peculiarly attentive to all the new improvements which were made in Natural Science, and very ſolicitous for the proſecution of them. Thus, when the wonderful properties of the Water Polype were made known, he purſued the ſubject with great ardour and ſucceſs; and, as is evident from his writings, extended his curious enquiries to many other minute animals. So, likewiſe, after the extraordinary diſcoveries in electricity, he was one of the firſt to announce to the Public, the apprehended medicinal effects that might ariſe from the application of it, and to relate the experiments of this kind which had been made at Rome and Bologna. Though he was ſo reſpectable a member of the Royal Society, he did not eſcape the ſtrictures of Dr. Hill, in the Doctor's review of the works of that illuſtrious Body (*g*). But a publication, which appeared to be more the reſult of reſentment and ſpleen, than of a regard for true philoſophy, could not greatly injure either the reputation of the Society in general [*A*], or of Mr. Baker in particular. Beſides the papers written by himſelf, he was the means, by his extenſive correſpondence, of conveying to the Society the intelligence and obſervations of other inquiſitive and philoſophical men. From the reſt of his communications, we ſhall ſelect, and inſert, in a note, the extraordinary caſe of Margaret Cutting, a young woman who could ſpeak readily and intelligibly, though ſhe had loſt her tongue [*B*]. Mr. Baker's correſpondence was not confined to his own country. It extended far into foreign parts, and was rendered uſeful to

(*f*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 457. p. 441. Do. p. 448. No. 458. p. 503. No. 459. p. 655. No. 471. p. 616. No. 472. p. 35. Do. p. 77. No. 477. p. 520. No. 482. p. 432. No. 483. p. 557. No. 484. p. 576. No. 486. p. 174. Do. p. 270. No. 491. p. 37. No. 494. p. 334. No. 497. p. 601. Do. p. 617. To which ſome other references might, we believe, be added.

(*g*) Monthly Review, Vol. iv. p. 285—291.

[*A*] *The reputation of the Society in general.*] Should it be allowed that ſome leſs important papers had been admitted into the *Tranſactions*, ſuch a circumſtance could derogate very little from the honour of a Society, which had always numbered among its members the moſt eminent names in the philoſophical and literary world, and had been diſtinguiſhed by the extent and value of its experiments and diſcoveries. If, however, there was formerly any cauſe for blame, that cauſe is now removed, by a greater attention in determining what communications are proper to be publiſhed. The affair was heretofore left to the diſcretion of the Secretaries, who, from the fear of giving offence, or from other reaſons, might, perhaps, ſometimes print too much. But ſince the death of Dr. Mortimer, every paper is read before the whole Council, and the fitneſs for publication is adjudged by the majority of votes. Even ſtill, this muſt always be a work of greater difficulty and delicacy than many people may imagine. Perſons of a lively, but ſuperficial turn of mind, and eſpecially ſuch as are no great adepts in philoſophy, are apt to condemn whatever doth not ſuit their particular taſte. They do not reflect that what is diſliked by themſelves, may be approved of by others, who have equal pretenſions to knowledge and judgment. Neither do they conſider, that even imperfect papers, by furniſhing valuable hints, and leading to better things, may often have great collateral utility. It requires no ſmall degree of diſcernment and diſcretion, to pronounce concerning the merit of thoſe publications which come from a body of men. Such publications muſt neceſſarily partake of the different talents of the contributors. Their deſign, likewiſe, ſhould be taken into conſideration. Where the principal intention is to collect the materials of knowledge, we ought not to be diſpleaſed, ſo long as that intention is properly kept in view. If theſe thoughts had been attended to, much trifling and petulant criticiſm might have been avoided.

[*B*] *A young woman who ſpoke readily and intelligibly, though ſhe had loſt her tongue.*] Her name was Margaret Cutting, and ſhe was born at Turnſtall, a village within four miles of Wickham Market, in Suffolk, where ſhe loſt her tongue by a cancer, being then about four years old. It firſt appeared like a ſmall black ſpeck on the upper ſuperficies of the tongue, and ſoon eat its way quite to the root of it. She was under the care of Mr. Scotchmore, a Surgeon of Saxmundham, who ſoon pronounced the caſe incurable. However, he continued uſing the beſt means he could for her relief. One day when he was ſyringing of it, the tongue dropped out, and they received it into a plate, the girl, to their amazement, ſaying to her mother, 'Don't be frighted, Mamma; it will grow again.' It was near a quarter of a year after, before it was quite cured. Her mouth was afterwards examined, with the greateſt exactneſs, by Mr. Hammond, Apothecary, a gentleman who perfectly underſtood anatomy, the Rev. Mr. William Notcutt, and Mr. Benjamin Boddington, a Turkey merchant, but they found not the leaſt appearance of any remaining part of a tongue, nor was there any *uvula*. Theſe gentlemen ſay, in one of the papers on this caſe tranſmitted to the Royal Society, 'We obſerved a fleſhy 'excreſcence on the under left jaw, extending itſelf 'almoſt to the place where the *uvula* ſhould be, 'about a finger broad: this excreſcence, ſhe ſaid, 'did not begin to grow till ſome years after the 'cure: it is by no means moveable, but quite fixed 'to the parts adjacent. The paſſage down the 'throat, at the place where the *uvula* ſhould be, or 'a little to the right of it, is a circular open hole, 'large enough to admit a ſmall nutmeg. Notwithſtanding the want of ſo neceſſary an organ as the 'tongue was generally ſuppoſed to be, to form a 'great part of our ſpeech, and likewiſe to be aſſiſting in deglutition, to our great admiration ſhe performed the office of deglutition, both in ſwallowing 'ſolids and fluids, as well as we could, and in the ſame 'manner: and as to ſpeech, ſhe diſcourſed as fluently 'and well as other perſons do; though we obſerved 'a ſmall ſound, like what is uſually called ſpeaking 'through the noſe; but, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had then a 'great cold, and ſhe believed that occaſioned it. 'She pronounced letters and ſyllables very articulately; the vowels ſhe pronounced perfectly, as 'alſo thoſe conſonants, ſyllables, and words that 'ſeemed neceſſarily to require the help of the tongue, 'as *d*, *l*, *t*, *n*, *r*, *at*, *al*, *ath*, *aſh*, *cha*, *la*, *ta*, *ja*.

'Thi

to this kingdom. To him we are obliged for a true hiſtory of *the Cóccus Polonicus*, tranſmitted by Dr. Wolfe. It is to Mr. Baker's communications that we owe the *Alpine Strawberry*, of late ſo much cultivated, and approved of, in England. The ſeeds of t were ſent in a letter, from Profeſſor Bruns of Turin, to our Philoſopher, who gave them to ſeveral of his friends, by whoſe care they furniſhed an abundant increaſe. The ſeeds, likewiſe, of the true Rhubarb, or *Rheum Palmatum*, now to be met with in many places of our own country, were firſt tranſmitted to Mr. Baker by Dr. Mounſey,

'*This little dog did not eat bread.*——*Touch the tooth.*——*Try to light the candle.*——*Thrice thirty-three.*——*Let the large cat ſcratch the little dog.*—*The church.*——*Doth.*——*Lilly.*——All theſe ſhe pronounced perfectly. She read to us a book very diſtinctly and plain; only, we obſerved, that ſometimes ſhe pronounced ſome words ending in *ath* as *et*—*end* as *emb*—*ad* as *eib*—; but it required a nice and ſtrict attention, to obſerve even this difference of ſound. She ſings very prettily, and pronounced her words in ſinging as in common. What is ſtill very wonderful, notwithſtanding the loſs of this uſeful organ the tongue, which is generally allowed by Anatomiſts, and Natural Philoſophers, to be the chief, if not the ſole, organ of taſte, ſhe diſtinguiſhes all taſtes very nicely, and can tell the leaſt perceivable difference in either ſmell or taſte (1).'

(1) Philoſ. Tran. No. 464. p. 143, and Abridgment of the ſame, Vol. IX. P. iii. p. 116, 127.

This caſe being thought a very extraordinary one, and the members of the Royal Society being divided in their opinions concerning it, the girl was brought up to town, and attended a meeting of the Society. In conſequence of which the following phyſiological account of her caſe was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 484, by James Parſons, M. D. F. R. S. 'The *apex* and *body* of the tongue (being the only parts that fill the cavity of the mouth) are entirely wanting in this woman, as cloſely to the region of the *os hyoides*, which is the root of the tongue, as can well be conceived; and which is now ſituated too low in the throat to be perceived, even when ſhe opens her mouth at the wideſt. But let any one lay the tops of the finger and thumb to the ſides of her throat, and let her at the ſame time pronounce the letter *k*, he will feel the remaining root of the tongue riſe towards the roof of her mouth, in order to perform it; however, ſhe cannot keep it there any longer than the moment of thruſting it up, for want of the ligament (which was deſtroyed with the tongue) that is deſtined, together with the following muſcles, to keep the whole tongue forwards in its due ſituation. The *genioglóſſi* are a pair of muſcles which ariſe from the fore part of the inſide of the lower jaw, and are inſerted into the body of the tongue by three different directions; the anterior part is carried forwards towards the *apex*: the poſterior runs obliquely backwards towards the root, ſending a narrow ſlip on each ſide to the *cornua* of the *os hyoides*; and the middle part ends about the middle of the tongue. Now there are certain *inequalities* appearing on, and cloſely adhering to the floor of the cavity of the mouth, one of which being the moſt conſiderable, and having a reſemblance in its ſubſtance to that of the ſurface of the tongue, has been, if I am rightly informed, inadvertently miſtaken for a tongue, by a gentleman profeſſing ſurgery in the country; and which he thought for want of a careful examination, performed the offices proper to the *apex*; but a little care and circumſpection would have informed him, that thoſe appearances are only fragments of the *genioglóſſi* mentioned before, and that upon the ſeparation of the ſound parts from thoſe mortified, ſuch fragments, as had eſcaped, were retracted, and cicatrized down into their preſent ſtate; nor is it difficult to conceive how the root of the tongue muſt of neceſſity ſink lower down into the throat, by the loſs of theſe muſcles and the proper ligament; which, as I have obſerved before, naturally kept it higher than it could remain ever ſince their deſtruction. If the mortification had reached the *os hyoides*, it muſt have reached, and deſtroyed the muſcles of the *larynx*, and then the voice would have been deſtroyed; and alſo thoſe of the *pharynx*, and then deglutition could never have been performed; the dreadful conſequences of which need not be enumerated here; but ſhe ſwallows well, and her voice is perfect, and therefore it is not very extraordinary ſhe ſhould command her voice by the proper muſcles which remain untouched. The naſal opening is quite expoſed, becauſe the *uvula* which covered it was alſo deſtroyed; for one pair of its muſcles (*the gloſſoſtaphilini*) ariſe from the tongue; by which, no doubt, the diſtemper was communicated to this part alſo. She has her taſte perfectly, which is hereafter accounted for. The tongue is a fleſhy ſubſtance, chiefly made up of muſcles: and conſiſts of a *baſis*, or root, a *body*, and an *apex*; the baſis is the thickeſt and moſt ſubſtantial part, contains the *os hyoides*, and is naturally ſituated very low in the throat: from which the body riſes upwards and forwards, and is terminated by the anterior part or *apex*; proceeding under the *uvula* and roof, and lying upon the floor (if I may ſo call it) of the mouth. As to its uſes, it is ſaid to be the inſtrument of *ſpeaking* and *taſting*; as to the latter, experience ſhews us that the very *apex* of the tongue is leſs capable of diſcerning taſtes than the next part to it, and this than the parts yet farther back, all along the *body* to the root; ſo that although the taſte of any thing is firſt perceived by the *apex*, yet the guſt increaſes, the more the morſel approaches to deglutition, until it is quite protruded into the *gula*; becauſe as the tongue grows more thick backwards, it contains more of the nervous *papillæ* than the ſmaller part, and alſo becauſe there is a capacity of taſting in the membranes of the back part of the roof to the root; as if nature intended to increaſe the guſt, that deglutition may be the better and more eagerly performed for the ſervice of the animal: hence, although the *apex* and *body* of the tongue be gone, yet there is not a deprivation of taſte, which is the caſe of the perſon now under your conſideration. As to *ſpeech*, which is only *ſound* or *voice* articulated into expreſſion, the tongue is not the *ſole* organ for ſuch articulation; the *lips*, *teeth*, and *roof* of the mouth, are inſtruments for the ſame purpoſe; the two latter for the neceſſary reſiſtance to the *apex* of the tongue, and the lips for the abſolute articulation, and pronunciation of many letters; however, the following ſhort examination of the letters of the alphabet, as expreſſed by theſe organs will demonſtrate it. The tongue expreſſes ſome letters with its *apex* and ſome with its root. Thoſe abſolutely proper to the *apex* are only five, *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *t*; and thoſe to which it aſſiſts are the following letters, as *c*, *g*, *ſ*, *x*, *z*; all which can be performed by the teeth alone, and which this perſon does very well. Now the lip letters, and thoſe expreſſed by the root of the tongue, ſhe alſo performs as well as any perſon; the former are *b*, *f*, *m*, *p*; and the latter are, *k*, *q*, *x*; and as to the vowels, and the aſpiration *h*, ſince they are chiefly ſounded by the exahlation of the voice, commanded partly by the lips in widening or ſtraitening the capacity of the mouth, theſe ſhe can alſo expreſs: ſo that there is no letter ſhe cannot pronounce but the five *apex* letters; and thoſe ſhe manages ſo well by bringing the under lip to her upper teeth, in the courſe of her converſation, that any one can inſtantly apprehend every word ſhe ſays; and ſhe further plainly proves the lips are a better *ſuccedaneum* to the *apex*, than that could be to the lips if they were wanting. Indeed it is natural enough for thoſe who make the tongue the abſolute and ſole inſtrument of ſpeech, to imagine it as abſurd to ſay a woman ſpoke without a tongue, as that ſhe ſaw without an eye; but when we conſider the proviſional aſſiſting organs ordained by the wiſe AUTHOR of PROVIDENCE, ſerving to this neceſſary and expreſſive accompliſhment, I hope it will not ſeem ſo extremely marvellous, that ſhe ſpeaks without the *body* and *apex* of her tongue, as to create any farther doubt of the matter.'

Phyſician

Phyſician to the Empreſs of Ruſſia. Theſe, like the former, were diſtributed to his various acquaintance, and ſome of the ſeeds vegetated very kindly. It is apprehended that all the plants of the *true Rhubarb* now in Great Britain, were propagated from this ſource.

Though Mr. Henry Baker communicated ſome papers to the Antiquarian Society, we do not meet with any of them in the four Volumes of the Archæologia. The reaſon of this probably is, that it is but a few years ſince the Society of Antiquaries began to publiſh their Memoirs. Two or three of Mr. Baker's Papers, which relate to Antiquities, may be found in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*b*).

(*b*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 477. p. 520. No. 483. p. 557.

The Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, is under ſingular obligations to our worthy Naturaliſt. As he was one of the earlieſt members of it, ſo he contributed in no ſmall degree to its riſe and eſtabliſhment. At its firſt inſtitution, he officiated for ſome time, gratis, as Secretary. He was many years Chairman of the Committee of Accounts: and he took an active part in the general deliberations of the Society. In his attendance he was almoſt unfailing, and there were few queſtions, of any moment, upon which he did not deliver his opinion. Though, from the weakneſs of his voice, his manner of ſpeaking was not powerful, it was clear, ſenſible, and convincing. What he ſaid being uſually much to the purpoſe, and always proceeding from the beſt intentions, had often the good effect of contributing to bring the Society to rational determinations, when many of the members ſeemed to have loſt themſelves in the intricacies of debate. He drew up a ſhort account of the original of this Society, and of the concern he himſelf had in forming it; a ſight of which account, if it be ſtill preſerved, we have not been able to obtain.

Mr. Baker's principal writings are, 'The Microſcope made Eaſy,' and 'Employment 'for the Microſcope.' The firſt of theſe, which was originally publiſhed in 1742, or 1743, hath gone through five editions. The ſecond edition of the other, which, to ſay the leaſt of it, is equally pleaſing and inſtructive, appeared in 1764. Theſe Treatiſes, and eſpecially the latter, contain the moſt curious and important of the Obſervations and Experiments which Mr. Baker either laid before the Royal Society, or ſeparately publiſhed [*C*]. Perſons of leiſure may hence learn to employ themſelves in a very innocent, agreeable, and uſeful manner. The author always takes care to lead his readers to right views concerning the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Supreme Being. It has been ſaid of Mr. Baker, that he was a Philoſopher in little things. If it was intended by this language to leſſen his reputation, there is no propriety in the ſtricture. For the minute productions of Nature diſplay the great firſt cauſe as much as the largeſt. Whoever will peruſe the two laſt chapters of 'The Microſcope made Eaſy,' will be fully ſatisfied of the wiſdom and utility of Mr. Baker's enquiries and purſuits. To conclude, he was an intelligent, upright, benevolent man, much reſpected by thoſe who knew him beſt. His friends were the friends of Science and Virtue: and it will always be remembered by his contemporaries, that no one was more ready than himſelf to aſſiſt thoſe with whom he was converſant, in their various reſearches and endeavours for the advancement of knowledge, and the benefit of Society.] K.

[*C*] *Theſe Treatiſes contain*, &c.] The titles of them are as follows: I. The Microſcope made Eaſy: or, 1. The Nature, Uſes, and Magnifying Powers of the beſt Kinds of Microſcopes Deſcribed, Calculated, and Explained: For the Inſtruction of ſuch, particularly, as deſire to ſearch into the Wonders of the Minute Creation, though they are not acquainted with Optics. Together with full Directions how to prepare, apply, examine, and preſerve, all Sorts of Objects; and proper Cautions to be obſerved in viewing them. 2. An Account of what ſurpriſing Diſcoveries have been already made by the Microſcope: with uſeful Reflections on them. And alſo, A great Variety of new Experiments and Obſervations, pointing out many uncommon Subjects for the Examination of the Curious. II. Employment for the Microſcope. In two Parts. 1. An Examination of Salts and Saline Subſtances, their amazing Configurations and Cryſtals, as formed under the Eye of the Obſerver: with plain Directions how to prepare ſuch Subſtances, and preſerve them in conſtant Readineſs for Inſpection; whereby the Curious may always be furniſhed with numberleſs Objects hitherto little known. Alſo, Occaſional Conſiderations on Gems, Poiſons, the Vegetation of Metals, the Reſuſcitation of Plants, the Formation of Amber, Corals, and many other Subjects. 2. An Account of various Animalcules never before deſcribed, and of many other Microſcopical Diſcoveries: with Obſervations and Remarks. Likewiſe, A Deſcription of the Microſcope uſed in theſe Experiments, and of a new Micrometer ſerving to ſhew the Size of magnified Objects. Together with Inſtructions for printing off any Medal or Coin.]

BALDOCK (RALPH DE), Biſhop of London in the reigns of Edward I and II. (*a*), was educated at Merton-College in Oxford (*b*), became Archdeacon of Middleſex, and, in 1294, Dean of St. Paul's (*c*). The See of London being vacant by the death of Richard de Graveſend, Baldock was unanimouſly choſen, September the 20th, 1304 (*d*). But, his election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome [*A*], and, having obtained the Pope's confirmation, was conſecrated at Lyons by Peter Hiſpanus, Cardinal of

(*a*) Hen. Wharton, Hiſtor. de Epiſc. Londinenſ. p. 108. *edit.* 1695.

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſc. Lond. *an.* 1305.

(*c*) Cave, Hiſt. Literar. *Sæc. Wicklev.* an. 1304.

(*d*) Wharton, *ibid.*

[*A*] *His election being controverted, he was obliged to repair to Rome.*] During the vacancy of the See, the Archbiſhop had viſited the church of St. Paul's, and ſuſpended three of the Canons, one of whom was Peter de Dene. Afterwards, when the Chapter met for the choice of a Biſhop, the three deprived Canons demanded their ſeat among the reſt; but being refuſed it, they proteſted againſt the election, and appealed to the Pope. The chapter nevertheleſs proceeded in their choice; after which Peter de Dene,

of Alba, January the 30th, 1306 (*e*). Being returned into England, he made profeſſion of canonical obedience to the Archbiſhop in the church of Canterbury, March the 29th, 1306 (*f*), and was inthroned, the 27th of July, in St. Paul's church (*g*). The ſame year, he was appointed by the Pope one of the Commiſſioners for examination of the articles alledged againſt the Knights Templars (*h*). The year following, he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England: but, Edward I. dying ſoon after, he held that poſt ſcarcely a year (*i*). December the 2d, 1308, this Prelate, with the approbation of the Chapter, ſettled a ſtipend on the Chancellor of St. Paul's for reading lectures in Divinity in that Church, according to a conſtitution of his predeceſſor Richard de Graveſend (*k*). He contributed two hundred merks towards building the chapel of St. Mary [*B*] on the eaſt ſide of St. Paul's. He founded alſo a chantry of two prieſts in the ſaid church, near the altar of St. Erkenwald (*l*). He was a perſon of a very amiable character [*C*] both for morals and learning, and deſerved well of his country by his writings, which were; I. *Hiſtoria Anglica*, or 'An Hiſtory of the Britiſh Affairs down to his 'own Time.' It is not now extant, though Leland ſays (*m*) he ſaw it at London [*D*]: II. A Collection of the *Statutes* and *Conſtitutions* of the church of St. Paul's, extant in the library of that church in 1559 (*n*). Biſhop Baldock died at Stepney, July the 24th, 1313, having ſat from his conſecration a little more than ſeven years, and was buried under a marble monument in the chapel of St. Mary (*o*).

There was about the ſame time a ROBERT DE BALDOCK, a Canon of London, and Archdeacon of Middleſex, who, upon the vacancy of the See of London by the death of Biſhop Baldock, was (together with John Colcheſter, another Canon) preſented by the Chapter of London to the Chapter of Canterbury (that See being likewiſe vacant) for the choice of one of them to be official of the dioceſe of London (*p*). This Robert Baldock was in great favour with King Edward II., who made him his Chancellor, and nominated him to the Biſhopric of Norwich, into which he was elected about the middle of the year 1325, and confirmed by the Archbiſhop in the month of Auguſt. But he could not obtain the See, by reaſon of a Papal proviſion in favour of William de Ayremin. Soon after, he loſt his liberty and life by the national commotions, which deprived King Edward of his crown: for, being ſeized by the enraged populace, he was dragged to the priſon of Newgate, where he died in a moſt wretched condition, and was buried, May the 8th, in St. Paul's church (*q*). B.

(*e*) Epiſtola Clementis Papæ, *in* Regiſtr. Cant. *data* Febr. 1, 1306.

(*f*) Regiſtr. Cranborn.

(*g*) Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 109.

(*h*) Th. Stubbs, Act. Pontiff. Ebor. *apud* X. Scriptores, col. 1730.

(*i*) Adam Murimuth. *Continuat.* Matth. Weſtm. *ap.* Wharton, ii. p. 110.

(*k*) Regiſtr. Baldock.

(*l*) Adam Murim. ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Comment. de Script. Brit. n. 333.

(*n*) Dugdale's Monaſt. Angl. T. iii. p. 365.

(*o*) Adam Murim. ubi ſupra, p. 111.

(*p*) *Ex* Inſtrum. Autograph.

(*q*) Adam Murim. ubi ſupra.

in the name of the three Canons, appealed a ſecond time againſt the election and confirmation, and obtained from the Pope a citation to the Biſhop elect, to appear on a certain day at Rome, before Landulph Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, who was appointed to hear and determine the cauſe. Accordingly the new Biſhop ſet out for Rome the 8th of September (1); but Pope Benedict dying in the interim, Cardinal Landulph referred the cauſe to his ſucceſſor Pope Clement. In ſhort, Baldock and Peter appeared on the day aſſigned; but, Peter renouncing his appeal, and dropping the cauſe, the Pope ratified Baldock's election and confirmation, and ordered him to be conſecrated (2).

(1) Matth. Weſt. Flor. Hiſtor. *ap.* Hent. Wharton, Hiſtor. de Epiſc. Londinenſ. &c. p. 108, 109. *edit.* 1695.

(2) Epiſtola Clementis Papæ *in* Regiſtr. Cant. *data* Lugduni, Feb. 1. 1306.

[*B*] *The chapel of St. Mary.*] It was called *the New Work* *, and in 1312 was paved with marble. Three years after, a great part of the ſpire, being decayed with age, was taken down, and rebuilt with greater magnificence; and on the top was fixed a very large croſs, in which were placed the relics of ſeveral ſaints (3). As the magnificent cathedral of St. PAUL'S was now finiſhed by the building this chapel, it will not be improper in this place to mention the conjecture of our great Antiquarian Mr. Camden, that a temple of *Diana* formerly ſtood upon the ſame ſpot. But take it in his own words, as tranſlated by his learned editor (4). 'Some have fancied that the 'temple of Diana formerly ſtood here; and there 'are circumſtances that ſtrengthen their conjecture; 'as the old adjacent buildings being called in their 'records *Dianæ Camera*; i. e. the chamber of Diana; 'the digging up in the church-yard in Edward the 'Firſt's reign (as we find by our annals) an incredible 'number of ox-heads; which the common people 'at that time, not without great admiration, looked 'upon to have been Gentile-ſacrifices; and the learned 'know, that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in honour of Diana. And when I was a boy, I have 'ſeen a ſtag's head fixed upon a ſpear (agreeable enough to the ſacrifices of Diana) and carried about in the very church with great ſolemnity and ſounding of horns. And I have heard, 'that the ſtag, which the family of *Baud* in Eſſex 'were bound to pay for certain lands, was uſed to 'be received at the ſteps of the choir by the members 'of this church, in their ſacerdotal robes, and with 'garlands of flowers about their heads. Whether 'this was the cuſtom before the Bauds were obliged 'to the payment of this ſtag, I know not; but certain it is, this ceremony ſavours more of the worſhip of Diana and the Gentile errors, than of the 'Chriſtian religion. And it is beyond all doubt, 'that ſome of theſe ſtrange rites did creep into the 'Chriſtian religion; which the primitive Chriſtians 'either cloſed with, out of that natural inclination 'mankind has to ſuperſtition, or bore with them 'in the beginning, with deſign to draw over the 'Gentiles by little and little to the worſhip of the 'true God.' Whether theſe arguments are ſufficient to ſupport Mr. Camden's conjecture, is not our buſineſs here to enquire.

(*) Novum Opus.

(3) Adam Murimuth. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 111.

(4) *See* Camden's *Britannia* by Biſhop Gibſon, 2d *edit.* Vol. i. col. 377.

[*C*] *He was a perſon of a very amiable character.*] Pits tells us (5), he was a man of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, a wonderful affability, and incredible ſweetneſs of manners; which qualifications of mind, joined with an extraordinary piety, and no leſs learning, recommended him to the favour of great men and Princes, eſpecially the Kings Edward I and II. *Vir miti placidoque ingenio, mira affabilitate, incredibili morum ſuavitate. Propter quas animi dotes cum ſingulari pietate et eruditione pari conjunctas magnatum et principum benevolentiam gratiamque mirifice conciliavit. Imprimis eum magno in pretio habuerunt Reges Edwardus primus, ejuſque filius Edwardus ſecundus.*

(5) De illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *an.* 1313. n. 459.

[*D*] *Leland ſays, he ſaw it at London.*] That writer tells us (6), that, carefully peruſing John Abbot of Burgh's *Annals of the Engliſh Affairs*, and coming to the year 1292, he met with a paſſage, in which honourable mention was made of Baldock's hiſtory. This put our Antiquarian upon enquiring after the book, which at length he found in the library of St. Paul's church, and read it through. *Nuper enim cum ſtudioſe legerem Joannis, Abbatis Burgenſis*, Annales de rebus Anglicis, *et pervenirem ad annum* D. 1292, *incidi in locum, ubi honeſtam mentionem fecit hiſtoriæ* Radulphi Baldochii. *Hinc ego, juſtam nactus occaſionem, quæſivi librum non contemnendum, et tandem Londini in fano Pauli inveni et perlegi.*

(6) De Script. Brit. c. 333.

[It appears that Ralph de Baldock was not conſtituted Lord-High-Chancellor of England in 1307, as is aſſerted by Wharton and other writers, but in 1306 (7). In that caſe, he might continue in the office more than a year.] K.

(7) Richardſon's Edition of Godwin de præſulibus, p. 284. Note, m.

BALDWIN, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., was born of obſcure parents at Exeter, where he received a liberal education, and in his younger years taught ſchool (*a*). Afterwards, entering into Holy Orders, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter. But ſoon quitting that dignity and the world together, he took the habit of the Ciſtertian order in the monaſtery of Ford in Devonſhire, and in a few years became Abbot thereof (*b*). From thence he was promoted to the See of Worceſter and conſecrated Auguſt the 10th, 1180 (*c*). Upon the death of Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury in 1184 (*d*), he was tranſlated to that See, not without ſome difficulties in the way of his election [*A*], being the firſt of his order in England, that was ever advanced to the archiepiſcopal dignity (*e*). He was inthroned at Canterbury the 19th of May 1185, and the ſame day received the pall from Pope Lucius III. (*f*), whoſe ſucceſſor Urban III. appointed him his Legate for the dioceſe of Canterbury (*g*). Soon after he was ſettled in his See, he began to build a church and monaſtery at Hackington near Canterbury, in honour of St. Thomas Becket, for the reception of ſecular Prieſts: but, being violently oppoſed by the Monks of Canterbury, ſupported by the Pope's authority, he was obliged to deſiſt [*B*]. The 3d of September 1189, he ſolemnly performed the ceremony

(*a*) Bale de Script. Brit. Centur. III. n. 27.

(*b*) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675.

(*c*) Annal. Eccleſ. Wigorn. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. i. p. 477.

(*d*) Canon. Lichfield. de ſucceſſ. arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, p. 113.

(*e*) Parker, de Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. *edit.* S. Drake, 1729. p. 214.

(*f*) Gervaſ. ubi ſupra, col. 1676.

(*g*) Rad. de Diceto, de arch. Cant. *apud* Wharton, ubi ſupra, Vol. ii. p. 692.

[*A*] *Some difficulties in the way of his election.*] The See of Canterbury being vacant, the King came to Reading, and ſummoned thither the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury, in order to proceed to an election. And here there happened a conteſt between the Monks and the Biſhops. The Monks pretended to the privilege of voting firſt, and the greateſt intereſt in the election; for which they produced the King's charter. The Biſhops, on the other ſide, argued againſt the authority of the charter; that it was a grant againſt common right, and made in prejudice of the Church of England; inſiſting at the ſame time, that Suffragans ought to have the liberty of chuſing their Metropolitan. The diſpute running high, the aſſembly broke up without effect. But not long after, the King convened the Biſhops and Monks of Canterbury at London for the ſame purpoſe. Here the Monks reviving the diſpute, Gilbert, Biſhop of London, who, in right of his See, had the privilege of voting firſt, choſe Baldwin, Biſhop of Worceſter. All the reſt of the Biſhops concurred in this election; but the Monks of Canterbury refuſing to comply, appealed to the Pope, and went off. The Biſhops preſented their elect of Canterbury to the King, who received him as Archbiſhop; and he was ſaluted as ſuch by Richard, Geoffry, and John, the King's ſons. Soon after, the King came to Canterbury, to ſatisfy the peeviſhneſs of the Monks, and put an end to the conteſt. And, at laſt, giving them the formality of a new choice, he prevailed with them to pitch upon Baldwin. Whereupon Alan, Prior of Chriſt-church, with a ſelect number of the Chapter, came to London, with letters of deputation from the whole houſe; and meeting in the Chapter-houſe at Weſtminſter, choſe Baldwin Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And that they might not ſeem to own any thing done already, or aſſent to the Biſhop's election, they ſung *Te Deum*, led the Archbiſhop to the altar, and, ſaluting him on the cheek, preſented him to the King and his ſons, when the ſame ceremony was repeated to him (1).

(1) Gervaſ. Act. Pontif. Cant. *ap.* X. Scriptor. col. 1675, 1676. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. *apud* Scriptor. poſt Bedam. Francof. 1601, p. 623, & M. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. *edit.* S. Drake. 1729. p. 214, 215.

[*B*] *He was obliged to deſiſt from building the church and monaſtery of Hackington.*] The circumſtances of this affair merit a particular detail. The Monks of Canterbury having been troubleſome at the late election, the King and the Archbiſhop projected an expedient to check their influence, and render them leſs offenſive for the future. This was by founding a ſociety of ſecular Canons, and building a college upon St. Stephen's church-yard at Hackington, about half a mile from Canterbury. This college was to conſiſt of twenty Canonries, one of which was to be endowed by the King, and the reſt by each of the ſuffragans of the province. Theſe benefices, as they became vacant, were to be filled up by the reſpective founders. The Archbiſhop's part was to build the church and the college, for which he had drawn a very magnificent model. The foundation was to be in honour of Archbiſhop Becket, whoſe memory and martyrdom made ſo great a blaze in Chriſtendom; and the King's eſtabliſhing a Prebend was to be, as it were, a perpetual penance upon the Crown for the death of that Prelate. Theſe appearances gave ſo honourable a colour to the undertaking, that the Pope gave Baldwin a commiſſion to purſue his model, and granted him a fourth part af the offerings made from that day forward at Becket's tomb. But, in truth, the ſecret of the project was, to draw the election of the Archbiſhop from the convent of Chriſt-church to this new foundation; it being reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Canons would prove more manageable upon ſuch occaſions than the Monks, and be influenced by the directions of their reſpective patrons. In ſhort, there were great preparations of materials; the building was begun, and carried on with great diligence; and ſeveral eſtates were ſettled for the maintenance of the Canons. But the Monks at laſt penetrated the deſign, and, perceiving how prejudicial it would be to their convent, made a heavy complaint to the Pope upon that ſubject, ſetting forth that the Archbiſhop deſigned to ſtrip them of their ancient privileges, that his intention in building this collegiate church was, to make the holy Chriſm, and conſecrate Biſhops there, to injure their convent in its authority and revenues, and to remove the archiepiſcopal See to this new foundation. To give this remonſtrance the greater force, they complained, that Baldwin was in a manner forced upon them by the over-bearing influence of the Court; that he had ſhewn himſelf diſaffected to their ſociety; that he had ſeized the cuſtomary preſents made to them, deprived them of their advowſons, expelled ſome of their members, and excommunicated others. The Archbiſhop, it ſeems, had ſent agents to Rome, to complain of the ſtubborn and intractable behaviour of the Monks, and particularly their intolerable pride and perverſeneſs in reſpect to the late election. Theſe commiſſioners repreſented, that Baldwin was both their Metropolitan and Abbot; that the Archbiſhops, in this double character, had all along had the diſpoſal of every thing belonging to the See of Canterbury; that the placing and diſplacing the Prior, Sub-Prior, and all other officers and members of the ſociety, belonged to them; whence they argued *à fortiori*, that, if the Archbiſhop could make and unmake the Prior, other buſineſs of leſs conſequence muſt, of courſe, fall within his juriſdiction. But, to return to the remonſtrance of the Monks. They informed the Pope farther, that the Archbiſhop had ſuſpended their Prior, and ſome others of their members, who were ſent to his Holineſs with their appeal; that he had publiſhed an order to forbid the Monks going out of the cloiſter upon any occaſion whatever; that he had ſent Clerks into all parts of the kingdom, to preach up a contribution for the new church; that he had brought the Crown into his intereſts, and was become irreſiſtible in his encroachments; that he endeavoured to make the King and the Biſhops the judges of the controverſy; and that by this means the convent would be brought under this dilemma, either to incur the diſpleaſure of the King and kingdom, or be forced to betray their ſociety, and put a contempt upon his Holineſs. But, notwithſtanding this application to Rome, the Archbiſhop went on with his ſtructure, conſecrated the church, and inſtalled ſeveral Prebendaries. Whereupon the Prior Honorius poſted to Rome with all ſpeed imaginable. The King being willing to put an end to the conteſt, and underſtanding that the Monks refuſed to refer the difference to himſelf and the Biſhops, went down to Canterbury, in hopes to bring the con-

ceremony of crowning King Richard I. at Weſtminſter (*b*). The ſame year, the King having given the See of York to his baſtard brother Geoffry Biſhop of Lincoln, Archbiſhop Baldwin took this occaſion to aſſert the pre-eminence of the See of Canterbury, forbidding the Biſhops of England to receive conſecration from any other than the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*i*). The next year deſigning to follow King Richard to the Holy Land [*C*], he made a progreſs into Wales [*D*], where he performed maſs pontifically in all the cathedral churches, and induced ſeveral of the Welſh to join the Cruſade (*k*). Afterwards embarking at Dover, with Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury, he arrived at the King's army in Syria; where being ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, he died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais [*E*], and was buried there (*l*). His character [*F*], and works [*G*], are taken notice of in the remarks.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

(*k*) Girald. Cambrenſ. de reb. à ſe geſt. c. 17, &c. *apud* Wharton, *ib.* p. 490.

(*l*) Gervaſ. *ibid.* col. 1678.

vent off from their obſtinacy. But the Monks rejected the King's mediation, and alledged in excuſe, that the matter lay before the Pope, and could not be referred to any other deciſion. An accommodation being thus impracticable, the King and the Archbiſhop ſent their agents to Rome; who, beſides their inſtructions, were charged with letters to the Pope from each of the Biſhops of the province of Canterbury. The Pope, upon the hearing of both parties, gave judgment in favour of the Prior and Monks, and ordered the Archbiſhop to reſtore the religious he had diſplaced. Baldwin took little notice of this order, and, inſtead of reſtoring the Monks, gave the convent a new provocation by conſecrating the Chriſm at London. The Monks addreſs his Holineſs for relief, and Baldwin receives a menacing order from the Pope to pull down the new church, and proceed no farther in the undertaking. And thus the King, the Archbiſhop, and his ſuffragans, were over-ruled by the Pope's authority, and ſuffered themſelves to be baffled by the Monks. Not long after, Pope Urban III. being dead, and Gregory VIII. advanced to the Papal chair, the Archbiſhop, expecting more favourable treatment from this Pope, attempted to carry his point another way. To this end he purchaſed, of the Biſhop and convent of Rocheſter, a manor at Lambeth in Surrey, and ordered all the timber and materials, prepared for the college at Hackington, to be brought thither. And here, where the palace of the Archbiſhops now ſtands, he began to build upon the old plan; but did not live long enough to carry it on (2).

(2) Gervaſ. de Diſcord. inter monach. et Baldw. *apud* X Scriptor. col. 1303, &c. *Id.* Act. Pontif. Cant. *ibid.* col. 1676. M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 216, 217, 218.

[*C*] —*Deſigning to follow the King to the Holy Land.*] The Chriſtians in Paleſtine being hard preſſed by the Mahommedan Prince Saladin, and deſpairing to reſtore their affairs by their own ſtrength, Baldwin King of Jeruſalem ſent Heraclius the Patriarch, and the Maſters of the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, embaſſadors to the King of England, to entreat him to ſend ſpeedy relief to the Holy Land, and to preſent him with a Royal Standard, and the keys of our Saviour's Sepulchre, of the Tower of David, and of the City of Jeruſalem. They had an audience of King Henry at Reading, where they delivered a very preſſing letter from Pope Lucius III. The King promiſed to let them know his intentions upon the firſt Sunday in Lent; at which time the Lords ſpiritual and temporal being convened, the convention came to a reſolution, that Philip King of France ſhould be conſulted, and ſo broke up. As for the King of England, he gave all his ſubjects, both Clergy and Laity, leave to undertake the Cruſade. Upon which permiſſion, a great number of Earls, Barons, and gentlemen of note, and, among the reſt, our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, engaged in the undertaking. The next year, the Kings of England and France had an interview; at which time, my author ſays, the ſign of the croſs was plainly ſeen in the ſky by all the company; which miraculous appearance encouraged great numbers to the expedition; and, the undertaking being reſolved upon, the Kings took leave of each other to prepare for the ſervice (3). But King Henry dying ſoon after, his ſon and heir Richard I. took upon him the execution of this deſign, and accordingly tranſported an army into Paleſtine (4).

(3) R. Hoveden, ubi ſupra, p. 628, 629, 630.

(4) *Id. ib.* p. 664.

[*D*] *He made a progreſs into Wales.*] The Archbiſhop was accompanied in this journey by Giraldus Cambrenſis, who has deſcribed it at large (5), with a plentiful mixture of miracles, prodigies, and other ſuperſtitious accounts, too tedious and ridiculous to be ſet down in this place. After his return, he held a council at Weſtminſter, in which he pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould invade or diſturb the rights of the See of Canterbury, during his abſence (6).

(5) De Reb. a ſe geſtis. *Apud* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. i.

(6) M. Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 119.

[*E*] *He died at the ſiege of Acres or Ptolemais.*] At his arrival in the Holy Land, he found the affairs of the Chriſtians in an ill ſituation, and the army much diſtreſſed by ſickneſs and famine. He was not at all wanting to the cauſe, but endeavoured to encourage the troops both by his preaching and his purſe. Finding himſelf near death, he made Hubert Biſhop of Saliſbury his executor, and ordered him to diſtribute his effects among the ſoldiers at his own diſcretion; which office that Prelate faithfully and exactly performed (7).

(7) Rad. de Diceto, Imag. Hiſtoriar. *apud* X. Script. col. 658. M Parker, ubi ſupra, p. 219.

[*F*] *His character.*] Giraldus Cambrenſis, who accompanied this Prelate, both in his progreſs through Wales, and in his expedition to the Holy Land, tells us (8), he was of a dark complexion, an open and pleaſing aſpect, a middling ſtature, and a ſpare, but healthful, conſtitution of body; modeſt and ſober, of great abſtinence, of few words, and not eaſily provoked to anger. The only fault he charges him with, is, a remiſſneſs in the execution of his paſtoral office, ariſing from an innate lenity of temper; whence Pope Urban III., in a letter addreſſed to our Archbiſhop, began thus, *Urbanus Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, Monacho ferventiſſimo, Abbati calido, Epiſcopo tepido, Archiepiſcopo remiſſo*; *i. e.* 'Urban, &c. to the moſt 'fervent Monk, warm Abbot, lukewarm Biſhop, 'and remiſs Archbiſhop;' plainly intimating, that he behaved better as a Monk than as an Abbot, and as a Biſhop than as an Archbiſhop. With reſpect to his temperance, he is ſaid never to have eaten fleſh from the time he became a Monk to his death: concerning which particular, Brompton relates (9), that, once on a journey, he was met by a very lean and ſkinny old woman; who aſking him, if it was true, that he had never eaten fleſh, he anſwered, it was. It is falſe, replied the old woman, for you have eaten my fleſh to the very bones. The Archbiſhop demanding what ſhe meant, ſhe acquainted him, that ſome of his officers had taken from her a cow, which was her only ſupport. The Archbiſhop, not offended at her freedom, promiſed to repair her loſs with as good a cow. I ſhall ſubjoin four verſes by Joſeph of Exeter, (the beſt Poet of that age, whoſe book paſſes under the name of *Cornelius Nepos*) addreſſed to Archbiſhop Baldwin (10).

(8) De Vit. ſex Epiſc. coætan. *ap.* Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. ii. p. 429, 430. Idem, de jure et ſtatu Menev. Eccleſ. *ibid.* p. 523.

(9) Chron. J. Br. *apud* X. Scriptor. col. 1143.

In numerum jam creſcit honor, te tertia poſcit
Inſula, jam meminit *Wigornia, Cantia* diſcit,
Romanus meditatur apex, et naufraga *Petri*
Ductorem in mediis expectat Cymba procellis.

(10) *Apud* Camd. *Britannia*, by Biſhop Gibſon, fol. Vol. i. col. 622.

Now thy vaſt honours with thy virtues grow,
Now a third mitre waits thy ſacred brow.
Deſerted Wigorn *mourns that thou art gone,*
And Kent's *glad ſons thy happy conduct own.*
Now Rome *deſires thee*; Peter *wants thy hand,*
To guide his leaky veſſel ſafe to land.

[*G*] *His works.*] He wrote ſeveral Tracts; particularly, I. *De Sacramento Altaris*; *i. e.* 'Of the 'Sacrament of the Altar.' II. *De commendatione Fidei*; *i. e.* 'Faith recommended.' III. *De Orthodoxis Dogmatibus*; *i. e.* 'Of Orthodox Opinions.' IV. *De Sectis Hereticorum*; *i. e.* 'Of Heretical Sects.' V. *De Unitate Charitatis*; *i. e.* 'Of the Unity of Charity.' VI. *De Amore*; *i. e.* 'Of Love.' VII. *De Sacerdotio Joannis Hircani*; *i. e.* 'Of the Prieſthood of John 'Hircanus.' VIII. *De Eruditione Giraldi*; *i. e.* 'Of 'the Learning of Giraldus.' IX. Thirty-three Sermons. X. *De Hiſtoriis Regum*; *i. e.* 'Concerning the 'Hiſtories of Kings.' XI. *Contra Henricum Wintonienſem*; *i. e.* 'Againſt Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter.' XII. *De*

XII. *De Commendatione Virginitatis*; *i. e.* 'In Praiſe 'of Virginity.' XIII. *De Angeli Nuntio*; *i. e.* 'Concerning the Meſſage of the Angel.' XIV. *De Cruce*; *i. e.* 'Of the Croſs.' XV. *De Mythologia*; *i. e.* 'Concerning Mythology.' XVI. *Carmen Devotionis*; *i. e.* 'A Devotionary Poem.' XVII. *Epiſtolæ*; *i. e.* 'Letters (11).' Our author's works were collected and publiſhed by Bertrand Tiſſier (12), in 1662. B.

[Tanner hath mentioned ſeveral other tracts of Archbiſhop Baldwin; moſt of which have been publiſhed by Tiſſier (13).] K.

(11) Bale, de Script. Brit. Cent. III. c. 27. Pits, de illuſtr. Angl. Script. *an.* 1193, n. 270.

(12) *Apud* Script. Biblioth. Ceſtercienſ. Tom. V.

(13) Biblioth. Brit. Hibern. p. 67, 68.

BALE (JOHN), in Latin *Baleus* or *Balæus*, Biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland, about the middle of the XVIth century, was born the 21ſt of November 1495, at Cove, a ſmall village in Suffolk, near Dunwich. His parents, whoſe names were Henry and Margaret, being incumbered with a large family, young Bale was entered, at twelve years of age, in the monaſtery of Carmelites at Norwich (*a*); and from thence was ſent to Jeſus College in Oxford (*b*). He was educated in the Romiſh religion; but, afterwards, at the inſtigation of the Lord Wentworth, turned Proteſtant [*A*]. This expoſed him to the perſecution of the Romiſh Clergy, againſt whom he was protected by Lord Cromwell, favourite of King Henry VIII. But, that Lord being dead, Bale was forced to retire into the Low-Countries, where he reſided eight years; during which time he wrote ſeveral pieces in the Engliſh tongue (*c*). He was recalled into England by King Edward VI. (*d*), and obtained the living of Biſhop's Stocke in the county of Southampton (*e*). The 15th of Auguſt 1552, he was nominated by King Edward, then at Southampton, to the See of Oſſory [*B*]; and, the 25th of March following (*f*), was conſecrated, at Dublin, by the Archbiſhop of Dublin (*g*) [*C*]. He underwent a variety of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland [*D*]; till at length having intimations given

(*a*) Baleus, de ſeipſo, *apud* Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. c. ult. *See alſo* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 502.

(*b*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 60.

(*c*) See the remark [*I*].

(*d*) Baleus, ubi ſupra, & Abel Redivivus, ubi ſupra, p. 503—506.

(*e*) See an old piece intitled *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande*, &c. Rome, 1533, fol. 16.

(*f*) Not the 2d of February, as Jac. Waræus (*de Script. Hibern.* l. ii. c. 5.) ſays.

(*g*) *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, &c. fol. 16—18.

[*A*] *He turned Proteſtant.*] Let us hear his own account of his converſion. 'In omni literarum barbarie ac mentis cœcitate illic et Cantabrigiæ pervagabar, nullum habens tutorem aut Mecænatem; donec, lucente Dei verbo, eccleſiæ revocari cœpiſſent ad veræ theologiæ puriſſimos fontes. In eo autem ſplendore ortus novi Hieruſalem, non à monacho aut ſacrifico vocatus, ſed ab illuſtri domino Wenfordo, tanquam a Centurione illo qui Chriſtum Dei filium eſſe dicebat, ſerio excitatus, deformitatem meam quam primum vidi et agnovi. Protinuſque divina bonitate ab arido monte in floridam ac fœcundum Evangelii vallem transferebar; ubi omnia reperi non in arena, ſed ſupra ſolidam petram ædificata. Unde ſceleſtiſſimi Antichriſti characterem illico abraſi, jugaque ejus omnia à me longe projeci, ut eſſem in ſortem et libertatem datus filiorum Dei. Et ne deinceps in aliquo eſſem tam execrabilis beſtiæ creatura, uxorem accepi Dorotheam fidelem, divinæ huic voci auſcultans, Qui non continet, nubat (1). ——— *I wandered in utter ignorance and blindneſs of mind both there* (at Norwich) *and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; till, the word of God ſhining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright riſing of the New Jeruſalem, being not called by any Monk or Prieſt, but ſeriouſly ſtirred up by the illuſtrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that Centurion who declared Chriſt to be the ſon of God, I preſently ſaw and acknowledged my own deformity. And immediately through the divine goodneſs, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowery and fertile valley of the Goſpel, where I found all things built, not on the ſand, but on a ſolid rock. Hence I made haſte to deface the mark of wicked Antichriſt, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the ſons of God. And that I might never more ſerve ſo execrable a beaſt, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry.*' Biſhop Nicolſon would inſinuate, that a diſlike of celibacy was the grand motive of Bale's converſion. 'He was converted (ſays he) by 'the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth; 'though (in truth) his wife Dorothy ſeems to have 'had a great hand in that happy work (2).'

(1) Baleus, *de ſeipſo*, apud *Script. Brit.* Centur. VIII. c. ult.

(2) Nicolſon's *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, Part ii. c. 8.

[*B*] *He was nominated —— to the See of Oſſory.*] We have a very particular account of our author's advancement to this biſhopric, his ſufferings in Ireland, and his eſcape from thence, in a piece written by himſelf, intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande, his perſecutions in the ſame, and final delyverance.* Printed in 1553, in a black letter, 12*mo*. Here we are told (3), that our author, who had lived retired at Biſhop's Stocke, waited upon the King, who was then at Southampton, about five miles from his living. His Majeſty, who had been informed that he was dead, was ſurprized to ſee him, and, the biſhopric of Oſſory being then vacant, ſummoned his Privy Council, and appointed him to that See: whereupon the Lords preſent wrote the following letter to our author:

(3) The Vocacyon, &c. fol. 16.

To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After our hartye commendacyons. For as much as the Kinges Majeſtie is minded in conſideracyon of your learninge, wyſdome, and other vertuouſe qualityes, to beſtowe upon yow the biſhopricke of Oſſorie in Irelande preſently voyde, we have thought mete both to give yow knowledge thereof, and therwithall to lete you underſtande, that his Majeſtie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte as ſoon as convenientley ye may, to thende that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his Highneſſe may at your comynge give ſuch ordre for the farther procedings with yow herin, as ſhall be convenient. And thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton the 16 daye of Auguſt 1552. Your lovinge frendes, W. Wincheſtre, J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton, T. Darcy, T. Cheine, J. Gate, W. Cecill.

Our author tells us (4), he refuſed this offer at firſt, alledging his poverty, age, and want of health. But the King not admitting this excuſe, Dr. Bale went to London about ſix weeks after, where every thing relating to his election and confirmation were diſpatched in a few days, without any manner of charge or expence. On the 19th of December he ſet out, with his books and other effects, and arrived at Briſtol, where he waited 26 days for a paſſage to Ireland. On the 21ſt of January, he embarked, with his wife and one ſervant, and in two days arrived at Waterford; and from thence went by land to Dublin.

(4) *Ib.* fol. 17.

[*C*] *He was conſecrated — by the Archbiſhop of Dublin.*] The Archbiſhop was aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Kildare and Down; and at the ſame time Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of our author's, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Armagh. There was ſome diſpute about the form of conſecration. The Dean of the Church, Dr. Lockwood (*), deſired the Lord Chancellor, that he would not permit the form, in the Book of Common Prayer lately ſet forth in England by Act of Parliament, to be uſed on this occaſion, alledging that it would cauſe a tumult, and that it was not as yet conſented to by the Parliament of Ireland. The Lord Chancellor propoſed the affair to the Archbiſhop and the Biſhops, who agreed in opinion with the Dean. Dr. Goodacre wiſhed it might be otherwiſe, but was unwilling to diſpute the matter with them. But our author poſitively refuſed being conſecrated according to the old Popiſh form, alledging, that, as England and Ireland were under one King, they were both bound to the obſervance of the ſame laws. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor ordered the ceremony to be performed according to the new book, and afterwards entertained the Biſhops at dinner (5).

(*) *Blackheade he myght well be called*, ſays our author.

(5) *Ib.* fol. 18, 19.

[*D*] *He underwent a variety of perſecutions from the Popiſh party in Ireland.*] The reader may ſee a full account of them in our author's own narrative

†

given him, that the Romiſh Prieſts were conſpiring his death, he withdrew from his See; and lay concealed in Dublin (*h*). Afterwards, endeavouring to make his eſcape in a ſmall trading veſſel in that port, he was taken priſoner by the Captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel, and effects. This ſhip was driven by ſtreſs of weather into St. Ives in Cornwall, where our Prelate was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged (*i*) [*E*]. From thence, after a cruize of ſeveral days, the ſhip arrived in Dover Road, where the poor Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation [*F*]. Arriving afterwards in Holland, he was kept a priſoner three weeks, and then obtained his liberty on the payment of thirty pounds (*k*) [*G*]. From Holland he retired to Baſil in Switzerland; and continued abroad during the ſhort reign of Queen Mary. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, he returned to England, but not to his biſhopric in Ireland, contenting himſelf with a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury (*l*), to which he was promoted the 15th of January, 1560 (*m*). This Prelate is author of a celebrated work, containing the *Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great Britain* in Latin [*H*], beſides ſeveral other pieces mentioned in the remark

(*h*) *Ib.* fol. 31.

(*i*) *Ib.* fol. 33—36.

(*k*) *Ib.* p. 37—41.

(*l*) Baleus & Waræus, ubi ſupra. *See alſo* Abel Redivivus, p. 506, 507.

(*m*) Rymer. Fœd. T. xv. p. 563.

tive (6), which it would be tedious here to tranſcribe. We ſhall only obſerve, that all his endeavours to reform the manners of his dioceſe, to correct the lewd practices and debaucheries of the Prieſts, to aboliſh the Maſs, and to eſtabliſh the uſe of the New Book of Common Prayer ſet forth in England, were not only rendered abortive by the death of King Edward, and acceſſion of Queen Mary, but expoſed him ſo much to the fury of the Papiſts, that his life was frequently endangered thereby. Once in particular (7), they murdered five of his domeſtics, who were making hay in a meadow near his houſe, and would probably have done the ſame by him, if the Sovereign of Kilkenny, hearing of it, had not come to his defence, with an hundred horſemen and three hundred footmen.

(6) *Ib.* fol. 20.

(7) *Ib.* fol. 28.

[*E*] *He was taken up on ſuſpicion of treaſon, but was ſoon diſcharged.*] The accuſation was brought againſt the Biſhop by one Walter an Iriſhman, who was Pilot of the Dutch ſhip, in hopes of coming in for a ſhare of the Biſhop's money, which was in the Captain's hands. When our author was brought to his examination before one of the Bailiffs of the town, he deſired the Bailiff to aſk Walter, How long he had known him, and what treaſon he (the Biſhop) had committed. Walter replied, he had never heard of, nor ſeen him, till he was brought into that ſhip. Then ſaid the Bailiff, What treaſon have you known by this honeſt gentleman ſince? For I promiſe you he looks like an honeſt man. Marry, ſaid Walter, he would have fled into Scotland (*). Why, ſaid the Bailiff, know you any impediment why he ſhould not have gone into Scotland? If it be treaſon for a man, having buſineſs in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. Walter was ſo confounded by what the Bailiff ſaid, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the Captain and Purſer coming in depoſed in favour of the Biſhop, aſſuring the Bailiff that he was a very honeſt man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, and deſerved no credit. For the Captain, our author obſerves, was afraid leſt the money he had ſtripped him of ſhould be taken out of his hands. Thus he was diſcharged (8).

(*) The veſſel, in which our author embarked in the port of Dublin, was bound for Scotland.

(8) *Ib.* fol. 34, 35.

[*F*] *The Biſhop was again put in danger by a falſe accuſation.*] One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but an Engliſh Pirate, perſuaded the Dutch Captain and his crew, that our author had been the principal inſtrument in putting down the maſs in England, and in keeping the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr. Gardiner, ſo long in the Tower; and that he had poiſoned the King. With this information the Captain and Purſer went aſhore, carrying with them our author's epiſcopal ſeal, and two letters ſent him from Conrad Geſner, and Alexander Aleſius, with commendations from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philip Melanchthon, Joachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, who were deſirous to inform themſelves in the doctrines and antiquities of the Engliſh Church. They had likewiſe taken from him the letter from the Council (9), concerning his appointment to the biſhopric of Oſſory. Theſe things aggravated the charge againſt him. For the epiſcopal ſeal was conſtrued to be a counterfeiting of the King's ſeal, the two letters were heretical, and the Council's letter a conſpiracy againſt the Queen. When the Captain returned to the ſhip, it was propoſed to carry the Biſhop to London: But at length they reſolved to ſend the Purſer and one more, with a meſſage to the Council in relation to the affair. However this reſolution was dropped upon our author's ſtrong remonſtrances to the Captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ranſom, on his arrival in Holland.

(9) See the remark [*B*].

[*G*] *He obtained his liberty, on the payment of thirty pounds.*] He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the houſe of one of the four owners of the ſhip, who treated the Biſhop with great civility and kindneſs. He had but twenty-ſix days allowed him for raiſing the money agreed upon for his ranſom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time he was ſometimes threatened to be thrown into the common gaol, ſometimes to be brought before the magiſtrates, ſometimes to be left to the examination of the Clergy, at other times to be ſent to London, or elſe to be delivered to the Queen's embaſſador at Bruſſels. At laſt his kind hoſt interpoſed in his behalf, and deſired the Captain to conſider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commiſſion, in miſuſing a ſubject of England, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the deſired effect, and the Captain was perſuaded to take only thirty pounds for the Biſhop's ranſom, as he ſhould be able to pay it, and ſo to diſcharge him (10).

(10) *Ib.* fol. 40. 41.

[*H*] *Author of a celebrated work, containing* the Lives of the moſt eminent Writers of Great-Britain *in Latin.*] This work was not publiſhed complete at firſt, but came out at three different times. The author publiſhed, firſt, his *Summarium illuſtrium Majoris Brytanniæ Scriptorum*, in *quarto*. *Weſel*, 1549. This performance was addreſſed to King Edward VI., and contained only *five centuries* of writers. Afterwards he added to theſe four more, and made ſeveral additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book, thus enlarged, is as follows: *Scriptorum illuſtrium majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus; à Japheto per* 3618 *annos uſque ad annum hunc Domini* 1557, *ex Beroſo, Gennadio, Beda, Honorio, Boſtono Burienſi, Frumentario, Capgravo, Boſtio, Burello, Triſſa, Tritemio, Geſnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et IX Centurias continens: In quo Antiquitates, Origines, Annales, Loca, Succeſſus, celebriora-que cujuſque Scriptoris facta, dicta, conſilia, ſcripta, obitus, et alia ſcitu non indigna recenſentur; recta ubique annorum ſupputatione ſervata, ut inde tam reproborum quam electorum eccleſiæ miniſtrorum facta, myſteriis in S. Joannis Apocalypſi deſcriptis, in ſtellis, angelis, equis, tubis, tonitruis, capitibus, coronis, montibus, phialis, et plagis, per ætates ejuſdem eccleſiæ ſingulas, hiſtoricè et aptè reſpondeant. Autore* JOANNE BALEO *Sudovolgio Anglo, Oſſorienſi apud Hybernos jam pridem epiſcopo, nunc apud Germanos pro Chriſti profeſſione peregrino. Accedunt his Appendices, una cum actis Romanorum Pontificum, quæ eorum Adulatores Carſulanus, Platina, Stella, et ſimiles omiſerunt. Accedunt et filiorum monachorum ſuorum facta, præcipuè fraterculorum mendicantium, quos in quarta tertiæ claſſis ſectione locuſtæ adumbrant. Atque hæ Appendices adjunctam habent tam piorum patrum, quam Antichriſtorum in eccleſiis quaſi perpetuam ſucceſſionem, cum rariſſimis diverſarum terrarum ac gentium hiſtoriis et exemplis; ex quibus apparebunt eorum adulteria, ſtupra, contentiones, ſeditiones, ſectæ, invidiæ, fallaciæ, veneficia, homicidia, ac principum proditiones, cum innumerabilibus impoſturis.* Baſil, apud Joannem Oporinum. —— I have ſet down the title at length, becauſe it is the beſt

remark [*I*]. Biſhop Bale died in November 1563, in the 68th year of his age, at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral of that place (*n*). No character has been more variouſly repreſented than our author's, as will be ſeen in the *Teſtimonies* of authors concerning him [*K*].

(*n*) Waræus, 162.

Analyſis of the author's deſign in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whoſe lives are there treated of, are thoſe of the *Greater Britain*, namely, England and Scotland; that the work commences from Japhet, one of the ſons of Noah, and is carried down through a ſeries of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the author was an exile for religion in Germany; that it is collected from a great variety of authors, as Beroſus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boſton of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Boſtius, Burellus, Trithemius, Geſner, and our great Antiquarian John Leland; that it conſiſts of *nine* Centuries, compriſing the antiquity, origin, annals, places, ſucceſſes, the more remarkable actions, ſayings, and writings of each author; in all which a due regard is had to Chronology: the whole with this particular view, *that the actions of the Reprobate as well as the Elect Miniſters of the Church may hiſtorically and aptly correſpond with the myſteries deſcribed in the* Revelation, *the ſtars, angels, horſes, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, through every age of the ſame Church*. There are *Appendixes* to many of the articles; alſo an account of ſuch actions of the contemporary Popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carſulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the Monks, particularly thoſe of the mendicant order, who (he pretends) are meant by the *locuſts* in the *Revelation*, ch. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To theſe *Appendixes* is added a perpetual ſucceſſion both of the Holy Fathers and the Antichriſts of the Church, with curious inſtances from the hiſtories of various nations and countries; in order to expoſe their adulteries, debaucheries, ſtrifes, ſeditions, ſects, deceits, poiſonings, murders, treaſons, and innumerable impoſtures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of both the Bavarias, and Elector of the Roman Empire; and the epiſtle dedicatory is dated from Baſil in September, 1557. On the back of the title page is a print of the author, and under it the following diſtich and tetraſtich:

DISTICHON ÆGIDII SYNEGORI.
Germani in effigiem Joannis Balei.
Hæc eſt effigies Docti genuina Balei,
Quem ſtudiis natum terra Brytanna dedit.
Ætatis ſuæ 62.

IN EANDEM TETRASTICHON.
Cur ſic attentus pictum mirare Baleum?
Οὐκ ἀνθρωπω ὁλω δερκεαι, ἀλλα μέρος.
Sculptor non animum finxit, ſed tu cape librum;
Ες. γαρ ουκ εἰκων σωματος, αλλα ψυχῆς.

In February 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Chriſt, with a deſcription of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This volume is dedicated to Count Zkradin, and Dr. Paul Scalichius of Lika.

[*I*] *He wrote ſeveral other pieces.*] Namely, firſt, thoſe he compiled while he was yet a Papiſt: viz. 1. *A Bundle of Things worth knowing*. 2. *The Writers from Elias*. 3. *The Writers from Berthold*. 4. *Additions to Trithemius*. 5. *German Collections*. 6. *French Collections*. 7. *Engliſh Collections*. 8. *Divers Writings of divers learned Men*. 9. *A Catalogue of Generals*. 10. *The Spiritual War*. 11. *The Caſtle of Peace*. 12. *Sermons for Children*. 13. *To the Synod at Hull*. 14. *An anſwer to certain Queſtions*. 15. *Addition to* Palaonydorus. 16. *The Hiſtory of Patronage*. 17. *The Story of Simon the Engliſhman*. 18. *The Story of Francus Senenſis*. 19. *The Story of St. Brocard*. 20. *A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Faſti*. Secondly, thoſe he wrote after he had renounced Popery; Firſt, in Latin: viz. 1. *The Heliades of the Engliſh*. 2. *Notes on the three Tomes of Walden*. 3. *On his Bundle of Tares*. 4. *On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus*. 5. *On Textor's Officina*. 6. *On Capgrave's Catalogue*. 7. *On Barnes's Lives of the Popes*. 8. *The Acts of the Popes of Rome*. 9. *A Tranſlation of Thorp's Examination into Latin*. Secondly, in Engliſh; Firſt in Engliſh metre, and divers ſorts of verſe: viz. 1. *The Life of John Baptiſt*. 2. *Of John Baptiſt's Preaching*. 3. *Of Chriſt's Temptation*. 4. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Baptiſm and Temptations*. 5. *A Comedy of Chriſt at twelve Years old*. 6. *A Comedy of the raiſing of Lazarus*. 7. *A Comedy of the High Prieſt's Council*. 8. *A Comedy of Simon the Leper*. 9. *A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Waſhing of the Diſciples Feet*. 10. *Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Chriſt's Paſſion*. 11. *Two Comedies of Chriſt's Burial and Reſurrection*. 12. *A Poem of God's Promiſes*. 13. *Againſt thoſe that pervert God's Word*. 14. *Of the corrupting of God's Laws*. 15. *Againſt Carpers and Traducers*. 16. *A Defence of King John*. 17. *Of King Henry's two Marriages*. 18. *Of Popiſh Sects*. 19. *Of Popiſh Treacheries*. 20. *Of Thomas Becket's Impoſtures*. 21. *The Image of Love*. 22. *Pamachius's Tragedies, tranſlated into Engliſh*. 23. *Chriſtian Sonnets*. Secondly, in Engliſh proſe: viz. 1. *A Commentary on St. John's Apocalypſe*. 2. *A Locupletation of the Apocalypſe*. 3. *Wickliffe's War with the Papiſts*. 4. *Sir John Oldcaſtle's Trials*. 5. *An Apology for Bernes*. 6. *A Defence of Grey againſt Smith*. 7. *John Lambert's Confeſſion*. 8. *Anne Aſkew's Martyrdom*. 9. *Of Luther's deceaſe*. 10. *The Biſhops Alcoran*. 11. *The Man of Sin*. 12. *The Myſtery of Iniquity*. 13. *Againſt Antichriſts, or falſe Chriſts*. 14. *Againſt Baal's Prieſts, or Baalamites*. 15. *Againſt the Clergy's ſingle Life*. 16. *A Diſpatch of Popiſh Vows and Prieſthood*. 17. *The Acts of Engliſh Votaries, in two parts*. 18. *Of Heretics indeed*. 19. *Againſt the Popiſh Maſs*. 20. *The Drunkards Maſs*. 21. *Againſt Popiſh Perſuaſions*. 22. *Againſt Standiſh the Impoſtor*. 23. *Againſt Bonner's Articles*. 24. *Certain Dialogues*. 25. *To Elizabeth the King's Daughter*. 26. *Againſt Cuſtomary Swearing*. 27. *On Mantuan of Death*. 28. *A Week before God*. 29. *Of his Calling to a Biſhopric*. 30. *Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgement of Leland, with Additions*. 31. *A Tranſlation of Sebald Heyden's Apology againſt Salve Regina*. 32. *A Tranſlation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epiſtle before it with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader* (11). In this catalogue of John Bale's works, taken from the author cited in the margin, we have not the titles of each piece at length, but merely the ſubject, briefly expreſſed. For example, in the laſt claſs, N° 16, the title at length is; *The Apology of Johan Bayle agaynſte a ranke Papiſt, aunſwering both hym and hys Doctours, that neyther their Vowes nor yet their Prieſthode are of the Goſpell, but of Antichriſt*. And N° 29 is intitled, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Biſhopric of Oſſorie in Irelande, his perſecutions in the ſame, and finall Delyverance*. But, as our author's pieces are very ſcarce, it was impoſſible to ſupply all the titles.

(11) Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 509, 510.

[*K*] *The Teſtimonies of authors concerning him.*] I ſhall throw together the praiſes and cenſures beſtowed on Biſhop Bale, as they ariſe. Geſner, in his *Bibliotheca*, calls him *vir diligentiſſimus*, 'a writer of the 'greateſt diligence;' and Biſhop Godwin, in his treatiſe *of the Converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity*, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into the Britiſh antiquities; *Antiquitatum Britannicarum diligentiſſimus perſcrutator*. The reverend Laurence Humphrey, in his *Vaticinium de Roma*, has this diſtich on our author:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Baleus habet.

i. e. *Luther and Platina diſcovered many things, and Vergerius ſome; but Bale detected them all*; viz. *the errors and frauds of the Papiſts*. Valentine Henry Vogler, in his *Introduct. Univerſal. in notit. Scriptor.* c. 22. thinks, 'it will be leſs matter of wonder, that Bale 'inveighs with ſo much aſperity againſt the power of 'the Pope, when it is conſidered, that England was 'more grievouſly oppreſſed, by the tyranny of the 'Holy See, than any other kingdom.' *Quod vehementius in Pontificium Dominatum invehatur Baleus, tanto*

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tanto minus forte quiſpiam mirabitur, quanto gravius præ aliis regnis ſacram tyrannidem Anglia fuit experta. But he adds, that, notwithſtanding our author had rendered himſelf ſo odious to the Papiſts, yet his very enemies could not help praiſing his Catalogue of Engliſh Writers. *Tametſi vero Baleus adeo inviſus fuerit Pontificiis, tamen ipſimet Catalogum ejus de Anglicis ſcriptoribus coguntur commendare.* Biſhop Montague, in his *Apparat prim. Sect.* 83. though he cenſures our author for his unjuſtifiable freedom in writing and ſpeaking, yet thinks him of credit and weight in many things. *Impotentis linguæ et calami ſcriptor, ſed in multis non rejectitius.* Valerius Andreas, in his *Pref. Biblioth. Belgic.* calls him an impious wretch and a wicked apoſtate; but at the ſame time allows him his merit as a writer. *Joannes Balæus, homo impius quidem et infamis apoſtata; nominari tamen hoc loco vel ideo potuit, ut quis è ſordibus gemmas legat* (12). Voſſius charges him with diſingenuity in his accounts of antient writers. *Unum ſcio, in priorum ſæculorum ſcriptoribus non raro Balei fidem claudicare* (13). But of all the writers, who have cenſured Bale, no one has fallen upon him with greater ſeverity than his follower John Pits. Here are a few of thoſe invenomed arrows he has ſhot at him. *Hic Lelandi Catalogum non tam prolixè auxit, quam prodigioſè depravavit. Omnia namque fœdiſſimis mendaciis et calumniis replevit, et opus Lelandi pollutiſſimo ſtylo turpiter conſpurcavit. Multa habet ille digna quidem hæretico ſpiritu et ore, ſed ab omni urbanitate et morali honeſtate prorſus aliena, et Chriſtianis auribus nonnulla plane indigna.—Ille miſer homuncio, præter calumnias in homines, et blaſphemias in Deum et ſanctos, nihil habet ſuum, quod notatu dignum judico.—In illo ſterquilinio ſperabam ſaltem aliquam antiquitatis gemmam me inventurum. Sed Eſopico Gallo infortunatior, ſpe mea fruſtratus ſum* (14). *i. e.* 'This writer did 'not ſo much enlarge Leland's catalogue, as corrupt it 'in a monſtrous manner. For he has ſtuffed it full of 'lies and calumnies, and ſpoiled Leland's work, by 'his own barbarous ſtyle. He ſays many things worthy 'indeed of the mind and mouth of an heretic, but 'abſolutely void of all civility and moral honeſty, 'ſome things plainly unworthy of a Chriſtian ear.— 'If we except his ſlanders againſt men, and his blaſ-'phemies againſt God, the poor wretch has nothing 'of his own, which deſerves our notice.—I hoped 'to have found at leaſt ſome gem of antiquity in that 'dunghil: But, more unlucky than Eſop's cock, I was 'diſappointed in my expectation.' He gives us ſome inſtances of the ſeverity and injuſtice, with which Bale treats the moſt famous Doctors of the Church, ſuch as Venerable Bede and St. Aldhelm; and of the ſcurrility, which he uſes towards Biſhops, Monks, and Prieſts, whom he accuſes of hypocriſy, ſuperſtition, and the worſt of crimes (15). He brands him with the name of *Bal* or *Baal*, and calls him an apoſtate Carmelite Monk, and a married prieſt. *Idolum apud ſimpliciores Anglos Joannes Bal, qui ſe Latinè Balæum cognominat, fuit hæreticus Anglus, ab ordine Carmelitarum apoſtata Monachus, et Sacerdos (ſalva Lectoris reverentia) maritatus* (16). But it will take off from the edge of this author's ſatire, if we recollect, that he was a zealous Papiſt, and an exile for his religion; and that he is here declaiming againſt a writer, who was a furious enemy to the Papiſts, by whom he had been ill treated, and who never ſpoke of their religion but with peculiar bitterneſs and aſperity. But to go on with our *Teſtimonies*. Dr. Fuller ſays: 'One 'may wonder, that being ſo learned a man, who had 'done and ſuffered ſo much for religion, higher pro-'motion was not forced upon him; ſeeing about the 'beginning of Queen Elizabeth, biſhoprics went 'about begging able men to receive them. But pro-'bably he was a perſon more learned than diſcreet, 'fitter to *write* than to *govern*, as unable to command 'his own paſſion; and *Bilioſus Balæus* paſſes for his 'true character (17).' Wharton, in the preface to his *Anglia Sacra* (18), tells us, Bale paid very little regard to truth, provided he could increaſe the number of the enemies of the Romiſh Church. *Veritas Balæo parum curæ erat, dummodo Romanæ eccleſiæ numerum augere poſſet.* And again (19): *Clauſis vero plerumque oculis Scriptorum Anglicorum ætates Balæus deſinivit*; i. e. 'Bale for the moſt part ſettled the Chro-'nology of the Engliſh writers with his eyes ſhut.' Biſhop Nicolſon ſays: 'The ground-plot of this 'work (the *Script. Brit.*) was borrowed from Le-'land; and the chief of his own ſuperſtructure is ma-'licious and bitter invectives againſt the Papiſts.—— 'Some have thought his making of books of ſome 'little Saxon epiſtles excuſable, and what would ad-'mit of an apology. But if we mark him well, he 'is continually multiplying the writings of all his au-'thors at a very unſufferable and unjuſtifiable rate (20).' Laſtly, Mr. Harrington of Chriſt-church in Oxford, in his preface to the firſt volume of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, paſſes this cenſure on both Bale and Pits: 'All good Antiquaries, men of enlarged ſouls, and 'of an even temper, however of divers profeſſions, 'have always been of the ſame principle: they all 'equally ſacrificed to truth and learning, and ſuffered 'not their private opinions to put a biaſs on their 'hiſtory. And whoever will compare the *Centos* of 'Bale and Pits with the excellent works of Leland and 'Camden, muſt neceſſarily diſcern, how near an 'alliance there is between zeal and ignorance, and 'between learning and moderation.' And again, in the introduction to the ſecond volume: 'Before this 'age, and ſomewhat within it, Leland, who, by the 'command of King Henry VIII., had undertaken to 'ſurvey and perpetuate books of the antient mona-'ſteries, after the diſſolution thereof, hath compleated 'that work with ſo great exactneſs, that Bale and Pits, 'who have ſince attempted the ſame, have only made 'uſe herein of the Gorgon's common eye, and have 'reflected that ſingle light only upon poſterity.' Our author's books are prohibited by the Church of Rome, among thoſe of the firſt claſs of Heretical books; and the *Index Expurgatorius*, publiſhed at Madrid in 1667, calls him a moſt impudent and ſcurrilous writer againſt the See of Rome, the Maſs, and the Euchariſt, and one that is perpetually breathing out poiſon; for which reaſon, it forbids the reading any of his works for ever. *Scriptor impudentiſſimus ac maledicentiſſimus adverſus Romanam Sedem, Miſſam, et Euchariſtiam, virus nunquam non ſpirans; nihil propterea ex ejus operibus unquam permittendum* (21). B.

[Of all the accuſations brought againſt Bale, the moſt ſevere one, if true, is, that, after he had tranſcribed the titles of the volumes of Engliſh writers which fell into his hands, he either burnt them or tore them to pieces. This charge is to be met with in Struvius's Acta Literaria, upon the authority of Barthius; who ſays, 'J. Piccandus in notis ad G. 'Nebrigenſem, Paris, 1610. 8*vo*. p. 771, tradit J. 'Baleum, referente viro perdocto Baleoque notum, 'quotquot vidiſſet volumina ſcriptorum Anglicorum, 'ut exſcripſerat titulos, aut igne aut ungue diſper-'diſſe.' We have no doubt of this being a mere calumny (22).

Dr. Leland is far from being favourable to the memory of our Prelate. After calling him the violent and acrimonious impugner of popery, and relating his rigid and uncomplying conduct at his conſecration, the Doctor adds, that 'Bale inſulted the pre-'judices of his flock without reſerve, or caution. 'They were provoked; and not ſo reſtrained, or 'awed by the civil power, as to diſſemble their 'reſentments. During the ſhort period of his reſi-'dence in Ireland, he lived in a continual ſtate of 'fear and perſecution. On his firſt preaching of the 'reformed doctrines, his Clergy forſook him, or 'oppoſed him; and to ſuch violence were the popu-'lace ſpirited againſt him, that five of his domeſtics 'were ſlain before his face; and his own life ſaved 'only by the vigorous interpoſition of the civil 'magiſtrate. Theſe outrages are pathetically relat-'ed; but we are not informed what imprudencies 'provoked them, or what was the intemperate con-'duct which his adverſaries retorted with ſuch ſhock-'ing barbarity (23).'

Mr. Walter Harris thinks that Biſhop Bale's ſufferings from the Roman party may be ſome apology for his ſevere treatment of them; and ſays, that the obſervation, made by the editor of the laſt edition of Bale's account of the condemnation of Sir John Oldcaſtle, may with equal juſtice be applied to ſome of his other works, *viz.* that he wrote his narrative with all the warmth of one that had eſcaped the flames (24). Though we entirely agree with Mr. Granger, in his Biographical Hiſtory of England (25), that the intemperate zeal of our Prelate often carries him beyond the bounds of decency and candour in his accounts of the Papiſts; yet, perhaps, ſome allowance is to be made not only for his own reſentment of what he had ſuffered, but for the age in

(12) Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, *Cenſura celebriorum Authorum*, Lond. 1690, p. 481, 482.

(13) De Hiſtor. Lat. l. iii. c. 16.

(14) Jo. Pits, Relat. de reb. Angl. edit. Pariſ. 1619, p. 53.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(17) *Worthies of England*, Suffolk, p. 61.

(18) Vol. i. p. 31.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 47.

(20) *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, ubi ſupra.

(21) *Apud* Sir Thomas Pope-Blount, ubi ſupra.

(22) From a learned correſpondent.

(23) Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

(24) Harris's edit. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 417.

(25) Vol. i. p. 139. 8*vo* edit.

in which he lived. His induſtry as a writer is commendable; and it would be doing him great injuſtice, to form our ideas of him from the Roman Catholic authors, many of whom were exceedingly exaſperated againſt him, on account of the vehemence with which he had attacked the errors and ſuperſtitions that were ſupported by the Papal See.

Bale's 'Comedy or Interlude, of Johan Baptyſt's 'Preachynge in the Wilderneſſe, opening the Crafts 'of Hypocrytes,' is printed in the 'Harleian Miſcellany.' 'There was a time, ſays Mr. Granger, 'when the lamentable Comedies of Bale were acted 'with applauſe. He tells us, in the account of his 'vocation to the biſhopric of Oſſory, that his Comedy 'of John Baptiſt's Preaching, and his Tragedy of 'God's Promiſes, were acted by young men at the 'market-croſs of Kilkenny, upon a Sunday. Surely 'this Tragedy muſt be as extraordinary a compoſi-'tion, in its kind, as his Comedies (26).' A new edition of Bale's Chronicle, &c. concerning Sir John Oldcaſtle, was publiſhed in 1729. Before this, the firſt edition, in conſequence of its rarity, has been known to ſell for three guineas (27). Biſhop Tanner hath given an account of Bale's Collectanea, preſerved among the Cotton Manuſcripts, and in the library of Sir Hans Sloane; and, which, therefore, muſt now be in the Britiſh Muſeum (28).

H. Holland affirms that Bale died in Ireland, in 1558, in the 67th year of his age. But this relation is by no means probable (29).] K.

(26) *Ibid.*

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) Bibliotheca Brit. Hibern. p. 69.

(29) Harris apud Ware, ubi ſupra, Vol. i. p. 417.

BALES (Peter), the moſt famous maſter in the art of Penmanſhip, or Fair Writing, and all its relative branches, of his time, in our country. He was born in 1547, and he is ſtiled by Anthony Wood, 'a moſt dextrous perſon in his profeſſion, 'to the great wonder of ſcholars and others:' who adds, 'That he ſpent ſeveral years 'in ſciences among the Oxonians; particularly, as it ſeems, in Glouceſter-Hall: but 'that ſtudy which he uſed for a diverſion only, proved at length an employment of 'profit (*a*).' Nevertheleſs it ſeems more likely, that he reſided not at that univerſity, ſo much to attain ſciences, as to teach his own art; and that he uſed it rather for profit than diverſion [*A*]. The earlieſt account we have of his perfection therein, takes notice of a Micrographical performance, in which the writing was ſo wonderfully ſmall, yet ſo very legible, that it ſurprized all who ſaw it, and honourably advanced his name into the moſt noted Chronicle of the times (*b*). This delicate ſpecimen of his art, is alſo thus celebrated by Mr. Evelyn. 'Adrian Junius ſpeaks of that perſon as a miracle [*B*], 'who wrote the Apoſtles Creed, and beginning of St. John's Goſpel, in the compaſs of a 'farthing: What would he have thought of our famous Bales, ſays he, who, in 1557, 'wrote the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Decalogue, with two ſhort Latin Prayers, his own 'name, motto, day of the month, year of our Lord, and of the Queen's reign, to 'whom he preſented it at Hampton-Court, all within the circle of a ſingle penny; 'enchaſed in a ring and border of gold, and covered with cryſtal! ſo nicely wrote as to 'be plainly legible, to the admiration of her Majeſty, her Privy-Council, and ſeveral 'Ambaſſadors who then ſaw it (*c*).' He was alſo well ſkilled in many other excellencies of the pen, beſides ſuch matters of mere curioſity in miniature, which ſeem to have recommended him to ſome employment, upon certain particular emergencies, under the Secretary of State, about the year 1586, when the conſpiracies of Mary Queen of Scots with the Popiſh faction, were diſcovered. And as Sir Francis Walſingham had other able inſtruments to unveil the diſguiſed correſpondence which paſſed between them; ſuch as Arthur Gregory, who could *unſeal* a letter, and ſo dextrouſly *cloſe* it again, under the ſame impreſſion, that no eye could diſcern its having ever been opened; and likewiſe Thomas

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. the laſt edit. Vol. i. col. 289.

(*b*) Holinſhed's Chron. anno 1575.

(*c*) Evelyn's Numiſmata, &c. fol. 1697, p. 268.

[*A*] *For profit rather than diverſion.*] As A. Wood affirms not poſitively, that Bales was a regular ſtudent in any college, but only that he ſeems to have been in Glouceſter-hall; we may give the greater regard to a tradition which has paſſed among our old Writing-maſters, that it was uſual for the beſt of their profeſſion, in Queen Elizabeth's days, and afterwards, to repair to the univerſities; and that they reſided, or were employed in the colleges and ſchools, to inſtruct the younger ſtudents in the arts of Writing and Arithmetic: In which light, Bales will appear rather a teacher, than a ſcholar at Oxford; not one who ſpent ſeveral years in ſciences there, or practiſed writing for his diverſion only, but only for his profit. Not but there might be a mutuality of inſtruction or improvement, by ſuch his reſidence at that ſeat of the Muſes: And as he improved the hands of ſeveral in the art of fair writing; ſo ſome of them might improve his head with learning, and a taſte of ſome ſciences, and more viſibly that of Poetry; which we find in his works ſo often interſperſed. In the like obſcure manner A. Wood intimates, that John Davies of Hereford was afterwards alſo ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, as if to be a ſtudent there; though he knows not in what houſe of learning (1): Whereas it plainly appears, in his own works, that he went for no other end, but to teach the arts of writing and accompts there; and he tells us, that he thrived by it, as one of his brothers named James did alſo after him, in the ſame Univerſity; to whom, and his brother Richard, likewiſe maſter in the ſame faculty, he has addreſſed two of his poems (2).

[*B*] —— *Speaks of that perſon as a miracle.*] This perſon ſeems to have been Francis Alumnus, who wrote the Apoſtles creed, and the firſt fourteen verſes of St. John's Goſpel in the compaſs of a penny, and in full words, which he did in the preſence of the Emperor Charles V., and Pope Clement the VIIth, as Genebrand relates (3), and Simon Mayolus out of him; who had in his own poſſeſſion, ſuch a miracle, as he calls it, or the very ſame; *Nos domi idem miraculum ſervamus*, being his words (4). Such examples render Pliny's account more credible, of the penman who wrote all Homer's Iliad, ſo very ſmall and cloſe, that it was contained in a nut ſhell; which Cicero, and others alſo mention, though Lancelotti puts it among his *Farfalloni*, and reckons it one of the popular errors of Pliny; as a learned author has obſerved (5): Which he might not ſo readily have done, had he ſeen the performances in this kind of Micrography, by thoſe two late famous Scots, John Dundaſs the father and the ſon; 'The latter of whom wrote, 'in the compaſs of a guinea, the *Lord's Prayer*, *Creed*, '*Ten Commandments*, *Pſalms* 117. 120. 131. *and* '134. *Collect* for the 10th *Sunday after Trinity*, *Pre-'vent us*, *O Lord*; *Prayers* for the Royal Family, 'Clergy, Gentry, and Commonalty; with vacant 'ſpace for much more.' This curioſity a late eminent Writing-maſter ſays he was poſſeſſed of (6); which we take to be the ſame that we have alſo ſeen afterwards in other hands, and is ſtill to be ſeen; the ſaid writing being preſerved in a locket of gold, covered with chryſtal, and ſet round with pearls; and was deſigned as a preſent to the late Princeſs Sophia.

[Huetius, in the account of his own life, ſays, that he himſelf wrote a line in ſo ſmall a hand, that if all Homer's Iliad had been written as ſmall, it would, without any difficulty, have been contained in a nutſhell. This experiment he made in the preſence of the Dauphin, ſon of Louis XIV. (*)]

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 444.

(2) In his *Scourge of Folly*, conſiſting of ſatirical Epigrams, and others, in honour of many noble and worthy perſons of our Land, &c. 8vo, without date, p. 218.

(3) In *Chron.*

(4) In *Colloq.* 23.

(5) *Human Induſtry*: or, a Hiſtory of moſt *Manual Arts*, &c. 8vo, 1661. p. 49. 50.

(6) See an Eſſay of the Firſt *Invention of Writing*, &c. by Mr. *Robert Mave* before his *Copy Book*, printed in oblong fol. 1716. 1725. p. 5.

(*) From a learned correſpondent.

Thomas Philips, whoſe buſineſs was to *tranſcribe* and *decypher* ſuch letters as were written in ſecret characters; of which that Queen had no leſs than threeſcore tables or alphabets (*d*): ſo had the ſaid Secretary alſo, occaſionally, need of ſome one who was expert in the *imitation* of hands; and could add, according to inſtruction, any poſtſcript, or continuation of one, in the very form and turn of letters wherein the reſt of the epiſtle was written, to draw out ſuch farther intelligence as was wanted for a compleat diſcovery, from the traitors themſelves, of their treaſonable intercourſe. And as we ſhall preſently obſerve alſo from Camden, that Mr. Bales was famous for this talent, on another extraordinary occaſion, which hereafter happened, ſo it ſeems he was now employed to exerciſe the ſame, ſometimes, for the ſervice of the State, in the dangerous machinations aforeſaid againſt it. For ſome few years after, that is, in 1589, and not long before the death of the ſaid Secretary, Bales, by a friend, got it remonſtrated to Mr. Randolph the Ambaſſador, who was intimate with the Secretary, that ſome preferment which Bales had been led in expectation of, had not been ſettled upon him, for what he had formerly performed in behalf of the government before the ſaid Queen's death (*e*). And we ſhall farther perceive, that he was ſeveral years after in queſt of a place at Court, though we cannot find that he ever obtained it. The death of that Secretary might weaken his intereſt, or make way for other competitors. It appears alſo, that he had ſome occaſion given him to write or ſpeak ſomething in defence of accurate penmen, or thoſe who were maſters in the art of writing, againſt the unreaſonable and illiberal inſinuations of ſome ſupercilious or malignant courtier, who would have objected his profeſſion againſt his promotion; as if *Writing* were but a mechanic art, and the maſters of it, fitter to guide the hands of boys than the heads of men; and though ſome perſons might have been advanced for the dexterity and readineſs of their pens, to places of eminence and even titles of honour, yet afterwards they uſually affected an inability of exerciſing that inſtrument with any degree of elegance, leſt, as a French author has obſerved, they ſhould be ſuſpected to owe their advancement to ſuch an ordinary acquiſition (*f*). Bales did, it ſeems, ſufficiently confute theſe ſophiſtical objections in that Defence; though his arguments, as well as his adverſary's, are but lightly touched upon in the letter aforeſaid, and ſo, as rather to deſcribe their way of thinking in general, than to repeat their particular words [*C*]. However, that application for ſome convenient preferment, did not ſlacken his induſtry, or avert him from the purſuit of his buſineſs; for he taught the ſons and daughters of many perſons of diſtinction, ſome at their own houſes, others at his ſchool, ſituated at the upper end of the Old Bailey; where alſo ſome of the beſt citizens ſent their children. Here we find him in the year 1590, and then he ſet forth in print, the firſt fruits of his pen, as he obſerves in his epiſtle, which he communicated to the Public, his *Writing Schoolmaſter*, in *three parts* [*D*]: From the firſt of which, ſhewing how by the contraction of words into literal abbreviations, the pen of a writer ſhould

(*d*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1580, & W. Udall's Hiſt. of the Life and Death of Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland, Lond. 8vo. 1636, p. 342. 350.

(*e*) Copy of Mr. P. Ferriman's Letter to T. Randolph, Eſq; among the MS. collections of Nat. Boothe, Eſq; late of Gray's-Inn.

(*f*) Montaigne's Eſſays.

[*C*] *Their way of thinking in general, than their particular words.*] As for Mr. Bales's thoughts in general, they appear to have been, that he conceived, it became every body, who could write, to ſhew their gratitude, rather than detraction, towards an art, of which they were ſo conſtantly in need, and from which, only their own indiſcretion could hinder their deriving the greateſt advantages; that thoſe who are but meanly accompliſhed with it, would be worſe without it; that a bad hand might be affected by ſome men, more out of policy to conceal bad ſenſe, than ſhame of getting good preferment by a good pen; it being leſs diſgrace to ſuch, that they be not underſtood through the badneſs of their hands, than of their heads. He alſo thought, that Fame's higheſt flights were made with thoſe plumes, which have been lent her by good writers; and that the greateſt Miniſters of ſtate have ſprung even out of their own inkhorns. Of which our own hiſtory is not wanting to furniſh, among others, a very conſpicuous example. For there was in the reign of King Henry III., one Manſel, an inferior Clerk, or Prieſt, who beſides fifty promotions, with the cure of ſouls, roſe to expend an annual revenue of four thouſand merks; how much more becoming ſoever, more moderate profits may have been thought, for a penman, no better qualified than with the ordinary fruits of a writing-ſchool (7). Yet ſuch a Penman, whoſe qualifications, perhaps, at this diſtance, ſhould not be ſeverely judged of; ſince he appears to be the ſame Manſel, whoſe merits made him a companion for Kings, Queens, and Nobles; and whoſe hoſpitality was ſuch, that he once entertained an illuſtrious aſſembly of them, with 700 diſhes of meat, in the year 1256 (8); and ſince he appears to be the ſame perſon with that Sir John Manſell, who is deſcribed to have been about the ſame time a faithful Counſellor to the ſaid King (9). In ſhort, after Bales had hinted many inconveniences which have happened, through the want of fair, diſtinct, and legible writing, eſpecially to the works of the learned; many having been ſpoiled at the preſs, becauſe they could not be read, or tranſcribed; and more turned to waſte paper, for the ſame reaſon: he concludes with much the ſame way of conſidering this qualification, as another late profeſſor of the art has done; who, in his excellent copy-book, has theſe words: 'To write a good hand is a fine accompliſhment; 'and is as uſeful to the gentleman and ſcholar, as to 'the man of buſineſs: for as a graceful manner of 'ſpeaking, gives a luſtre to good ſenſe; ſo a bad 'hand, like a ſtammering tongue, very often ob-'ſcures it (10).'

[*D*] *In three parts.*] It is more particularly intitled, *The Writing School-Maſter; containing Three Books in One.* The *firſt*, teaching *ſwift writing*; the *ſecond*, *true writing*; the *third*, *fair writing*: The *firſt* book intitled, the *Art* of *Brachygraphy*; that is, to write as faſt as a man ſpeaketh treatably, writing one letter for one word, &c. The *knowledge* whereof may eaſily be attained, by one month's ſtudy; and the *performance*, by one month's practice; the proof alreadie made, by divers ſchollars therein. The *ſecond* book, named the *Order* of *Orthographie*; ſhewing the perfect method to write true *Orthographie* in our *Engliſh* tongue, as it is now generally printed, &c. to be attained by the right uſe of this booke without a ſchool-maſter, in a ſhort time, &c. The *third* book is, the *Key* of *Calligraphie*; opening the ready way to write fair, in a very ſhort time, &c. invented by *Peter Bales*; the firſt of January, 1590; imprinted at London by T. Orwin, &c. in *quarto*. After this title, follows our author's dedication to the Lord Chancellor Hatton: there are Latin verſes before it,

(9) Dr. Hakewill, in his Anſwer to the Biſhop, in his *Apology* of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, folio, third edit. Oxon. 1635, l. v. p. 178.

(10) Writing Improved: or, Penmanſhip made Eaſy, in its uſeful and Ornamental Parts, &c. by John Clark, fol. 1714, oblong. plate 12.

(7) Sir Robert Cotton's Short View of the Long Life and Reign of Henry the Third King of England, 4to, 1627, p. 24.

(8) Dr. G. Goodman, Biſhop of Gloucester; Touching the Decay of the World; in Dr. Hakewill's Apology, &c. lib. v. p. 177.

ſhould ſoon learn to keep pace with the tongue of a moderate ſpeaker, Mr. Evelyn, as aforeſaid, thinks he was the inventor of thoſe *Short-Hand* cyphers, and other *notæ furtivæ*, ſo much in uſe among us [*E*]; And whereby, as a learned foreigner has obſerved, we Engliſhmen have the reputation abroad, of being the moſt expert Short-Hand writers in the

it, by T. Newton, of Cheſhire; alſo in Engliſh and Latin, by P. Hunſdon of Cambridge, and in Engliſh, by Tho. Lodge. His rules in the laſt part, or Key of *Calligraphy*, are written in verſe as well as proſe: and indeed we may obſerve ſeveral of his fraternity ſince addicted to poetry; which may be naturally accounted for, from their being ſo converſant with the Poets; by tranſcribing their moral ſentences, ſhort maxims, and diſtichs, to ſet their ſcholars as copies; which is certainly laudable, to ſeaſon their youthful minds with elegant admonitions, at the ſame time that they are forming their hands to buſineſs; beſides the precepts of any art are well known to be moſt ſucceſsfully communicated in verſe; which, beſides the pleaſure of rhime, is alſo even thereby, not to mention other advantages, rendered more engaging to the memory, which rhime ſo knits up, by the affinity of ſounds, that in remembering the laſt word of one line, we often call to mind both verſes; as the critics have judiciouſly obſerved (11). Our author concludes his whole work with one epigram, from the book to the reader; and another, from himſelf to his countrymen. The former is as follows:

Swift, True, and Fair, good Reader, I preſent;
Art, Pen, and Hand, have played their parts in me:
Mind, Wit, and Eye, do yield their free conſent;
Skill, Rule, and Grace, give all their gains to thee:
Swift Art, true Pen, fair Hand, together meet;
Mind, Wit, and Eye, Skill, Rule, and Grace to greet.

The ſecond edition of this work was publiſhed in twelves, ſeven years after the former. Among the many verſes in our author's praiſe before it, four copies, or more, were compoſed by the ſcholars at Glouceſter-Hall; among whom, Edward Michelbourne, a noted Poet of his time, hath two: and there are three or more copies by the Students of St. John's College, as A. Wood has obſerved (12).

[*E*] *Inventor of thoſe Short-Hand cyphers, &c. ſo much in uſe among us.*] A learned author, who lived at the time that this art of Short-Hand was firſt invented, or newly revived among us, ſpeaks of it after this manner: 'In this cittie, be taught the arts of 'Calligraphie, or faire writing of divers handes, and 'characters; and of ciphering, and *algoriſme*; and '(which is much to be regarded) the art of *Brachygraphie*; which is an art newly diſcovered, or newly 'recovered; and is of very good and neceſſarie 'uſe, being well and honeſtly exerciſed: for by 'the meanes and helpe thereof (they which know 'it) can readily take a ſermon, oration, play, or 'any long ſpeech; as they are ſpoken, dictated, 'acted, and uttered, in the inſtant: it hath a good 'part in the art of *Steganographie*, and is a principall 'member thereof (13).' Mr. Bales may in effect be called the firſt inventor among us, of this art, as Mr. Evelyn thought him to be; ſince he was the firſt who made it practicable, the firſt who made it commodious, and comprehenſible even to children; the firſt who publicly taught it, and whoſe method firſt induced others to build improvements upon his foundation. But his ſcheme was not indeed the firſt that appeared in print, by two years; for a learned Phyſician of Cambridge, Dr. Timothy Bright, ſet forth, ſo long before him, a little treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject (14), which he dedicated to the Queen; and obſerves to her Majeſty therein, that Cicero accounted it worthy of his pains, and profitable to the public, to invent a more expeditious kind of *character*, as we may read in Plutarch's life of Cato the younger. His invention, as he alſo informs her, was mere Engliſh; without precept, or imitation: but it has, in the judgment of ingenious men, been thought difficult to be underſtood, much more to be put in practice. The improvement made by Bales in his book aforeſaid, was to write after the Doctor's charactery words, divided into dozens, by the Roman letter, with certain commas and other periods or ſhort marks, to be ſet about each letter in twelve ſeveral places, for the diſtinction of every word. But the love of variety, or ambition after perfection, would not let the art reſt here; for about the time of the Queen's death, or ſoon after, Mr. John Willis, a Divine, publiſhed a new *Art of Stenography, or ſhort Writing, by Spelling Characterie*; and he promoted it to many editions; but that greater ſimplicity from which he had deviated, and the greater multiplicity of which he compounded and perplexed his character, brought it, after a courſe of years, into total diſuſe, notwithſtanding his high opinion of it, and the advantages he imagined others drew from it; notwithſtanding that he publiſhed it in Latin (15), as well as Engliſh; and ſet forth a *ſchoolmaſter* beſides, to his own art (16). His ſucceſſor upon this topic, Mr. Edmund Willis, a man leſs conceited of his own offspring, and of clearer conceptions for ſuch a work, produced a neater, and more conſpicuous *Abbreviation of Writing by Character* (17); but not without regard to, and ſome directions from, Mr. Bales's invention. Yet much more popular became the method of Theophilus Metcalfe, whoſe Eſſay paſſed thirty-five editions, or more (18); notwithſtanding he alſo thought it neceſſary to publiſh another, which he called a *School-Maſter*, to explain it. Thomas Shelton became famous after him for his Tachygraphy; or eaſy, exact, and ſpeedy ſhort writing: and ſome years after, he publiſhed his Zeiglography; or New Art of Short Writing; the former was tranſlated into Latin (19), for the benefit of foreigners. The acute and comprehenſive *Jeremiah Rich*, had a diſtinguiſhed genius for this ſort of contractions, and was ſo expert in executing his own rules, that John Lilburne would have acknowledged under his hand, had it been permitted him, that he had minuted down his trial at the Old-Bailey with the utmoſt exactneſs. We have the *Pſalms* in his ſhort-hand; his *Semigraphy*; or *Arts Rarity* (20), recommended by ſeveral hands; and his *Pen's Dexterity*; approved by both Univerſities. Some have attempted to improve upon him, who ſtill want improvement; and others, by enlarging his *Short-Hand*, have been thought to prolong it. The chief excellence in him, and his followers, conſiſts in *contracting ſentences*, by points and marks placed about the characters; ſtill preſerving, we ſee, ſome traces of Mr. Bales's device. But others ſtill found room for alterations, and ſome for amendments. Mr. Everard publiſhed a *Short-Hand* not long after (21). Mr. Noah Bridges ſet forth his *Art of Short and Secret Writing* within a twelvemonth after him (22); and Thomas Heath appeared not long after the Reſtoration (*). But William Maſon's improvements in the art for above twenty years, has advanced his reputation perhaps above them all. He firſt grounded himſelf upon Mr. Rich's ſcheme, in his *Pen plucked from an Eagle's Wing*; but built more ſucceſsfully upon a new plan, in his *Art's Advancement; or exact Method of Short-Hand*, and his *Table of Natural Contractions, by Perſons, Moods, and Tenſes, &c.* and eſpecially in his laſt treatiſe, intitled, *La Plume Volante*; in which he has brought the art nearer to perfection than others who had taken that, or the like path to it. Yet is not Mr. *Steel*, a School-maſter of Briſtol, to be overlooked, who has ſeveral particulars new and conſiderable in his *Short Writing begun by Nature, completed by Art*; manifeſting the *irregularity* of placing the *artificial* before the *natural*, or *ſymbolical* contractions, &c. The book conſiſts of three parts; firſt, the emblems; ſecond, the expreſſion of words conciſely, that are not to be emblematically expreſſed; and third, the contraction of ſentences like words. Mr. Eliſha Coles, who was a Schoolmaſter in Ruſſel-ſtreet, near Covent-Garden, and author of two moſt compendious and well known Dictionaries, publiſhed alſo upon this ſubject (23) a book which has been deſervedly well received; for his brief *Account of the Short-Hands extant; his method leſs burthenſome than others to the memory*; and his new *inventions, for contracting of words and ſentences*; with other ingenious devices, pleaſant and profitable. He propoſes by a *variety* of *letters*, in *variety* of *places*, ſuppoſe a threefold

(11) Sir *Philip Sidney*'s Defence of Poeſie; and Mr. *Dryden*'s Dedic. of his Rival Ladies to the Earl of *Orrery*.

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 289.

(13) Sir *George Buc's Third Univerſitie of England*: or, A Treatiſe of the Foundations of all the Colleges, Ancient Schools of Privilege, and of Houſes of Liberal Arts, within and about the City of *London*, fol. 1615, annexed to *E. Howe*'s edit. of *Stowe's Annals*, p. 984.

(14) Entitled, *Characterie*: An Art of ſhort, ſwift, and ſecret Writing, by *Character*. Printed by J. Windet, *&c.* 12mo, 1588.

(15) *Stenographia*: ſ. Ars Compendioſa ſcribendi, 8vo. Lond. 1618.

(16) Octavo, 1628.

(17) Octavo, London, 1618; and with enlargements, 8vo. 1627.

(18) Entit. Radio Stenography; the moſt eaſy, exact, lineal, and ſpeedy Method that hath ever been attained or taught, 8vo. one edit. 1635.

(19) Tachygraphia, five exactiſſima & compendioſiſſima breviter ſcribendi Modus, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1671.

(20) Octavo, Lond. 1654.

(21) Octavo, London. 1658.

(22) Octavo, Oxon. 1659.

(*) Stenography: or the Art of Short-Writing, &c. 8vo. 1664.

(23) The neweſt, plaineſt, and ſhorteſt Short-Hand, 8vo. 1674.

the world (*g*). In, or not long after the year 1592, he was employed in writing for, or to, Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal; whoſe ſervant, as I remember, he ſomewhere ſtiles himſelf: and it is certain there were ſeveral petitions, letters, *&c.* about that time, written in the fine ſmall Secretary and Italian hands, by this Bales, among that Lord-Keeper's papers; many of which are ſtill in being (*b*). Among the reſt, there are ſeveral letters written by one Topcliffe, who was much employed about the country, in ferreting out the Popiſh Prieſts and their plots, in thoſe times, and he made ſome diſcoveries, which he wanted to communicate in a ſecret manner; but diſliking the uſe of multiplied alphabets, as a method too tedious, preferred an invention of Bales's, which is called his *Lineal* Alphabet, or Character of *Daſhes*, as the ſhorteſt and ſimpleſt he had heard of; wherein every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtraight ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places [*F*]. We are informed alſo, by ſome of our beſt Antiquaries in the profeſſion, and thoſe who have been moſt converſant in

(*g*) Monſ. Bayle, in his Dictionary, under the article *Quinctilian*, has the following remark: 'There were at 'that time (*i. e.* 'in the firſt century) ſome men 'at Rome (thoſe 'men were called *Notarii*), 'who could 'write a whole 'ſpeech in *Short-hand*, though 'the Orator 'ſpoke ever ſo 'faſt. That art 'is, at preſent, 'better known 'and practiſed in England, than in any other country.'

(*b*) In the Harleian Library of Manuſcripts.

threefold ſituation, above, upon, or under a line, real or imaginary, wherein ſomething of Bales is ſtill diſcernible, to comprehend monoſyllables of every ſort; has given us ſome judicious obſervations upon the ſchemes of others, and made ſeveral commendable advancements of the art in his own. After him Mr. William Addy publiſhed another Short-Hand with applauſe (24), and choſe rather to improve upon the principles of the ingenious Mr. Rich, than to raiſe a fabric *de novo*. He alſo publiſhed the *Bible*, and, if we miſtake not, the *Teſtament*, in a beautiful little character, engraved by the curious hand of John Sturt, and bound in a ſmall pocket volume. We ſhould be too extenſive upon this ſubject of brevity, were we to mention all who have refined upon it; ſeeing that an author who offered a new character, moſt ſimple and ſuccinct, above thirty years ſince, acknowledged he had conſulted above thirty ſhort-hand writers then in print, to compoſe it (25). We ſhall therefore only mention Mr. J. Weſton's book, called *Stenography completed*, or the Art of *Short-Hand* brought to *Perfection*, which is now in ſome vogue; and Mr. John Byrom's *Univerſal Engliſh Short-Hand*; and conclude with the obſervation of a learned gentleman, who has alſo publiſhed *An Eſſay towards a farther Improvement of Short-Hand*; and prefixed to it a diſcourſe, whereby we have been much enabled to deduce the ſhort *Succeſſion* aforeſaid of our Short-Hand writers; and wherein are theſe words: 'I think, that, both 'with reſpect to the cultivation, and practice of ſuch 'a way of writing, no people upon earth can juſtly 'pretend to diſpute the pre-eminence with the Engliſh. 'The neighbouring nations, indeed even the moſt 'celebrated for ſkill in *other* arts, muſt be reckoned 'ſtrangers to *Short-Hand*; if not abſolutely, yet in 'compariſon with *us*. Accordingly, Mr. *Locke* ſays 'he has been told, that this was an art known *only* in '*England* (26). And the author of the *Eſſay on* '*Literature* declares, that he ſcarce ever met with 'any who underſtood it in *France* or *Spain* (27): 'Though as to the French, I am aſſured, they have 'got a Short-Hand book, which was publiſhed a good 'while ago, and is intitled, *Tachygraphie, ou l'Art* 'd'ecrire auſſi vit qu'on parle, 12mo. But not-'withſtanding ſo many of the *Engliſh* have laboured 'and done worthily in cultivating *Short-Hand*; and 'it is now certainly far improved among us, beyond 'what it was at the beginning; I cannot agree that 'this art has been yet *completed*, much leſs can I 'agree that it has been brought to the *utmoſt per-*'*fection* it *is capable of* (28).'

(24) Stenographia, *&c.* 8*vo.* 1695.

(25) The plaineſt, eaſieſt, and prettieſt Method of writing Short-Hand, ever yet publiſhed, by F. T. 12*mo.* 1712. In Pref.

(26) Locke's Eſſay on Education, p. 72.

(27) Printed for T. Bowles, 8*vo.* Lond. 1726, p. 108.

(28) An Hiſtorical Account of compendious and ſwift Writing, by Philip Gibbs, 8*vo.* Lond. 1736, p. 56.

[Several other perſons have publiſhed books of Short-Hand, ſince this article was originally written; particularly Macaulay, Annet, and Gurney. The latter was for many years writer of the *Seſſions-Paper*; and his *Brachygraphy, or Short-writing, made eaſy to the meaneſt Capacity*, has been well received, and paſſed through eight editions. In 1771, was publiſhed, in 8*vo.* 'Natural Short-Hand. Wherein the 'Nature of Speech, and the Manner of Pronuncia-'tion, are briefly explained, and a natural Reaſon 'aſſigned from thence for the particular Form of every 'Stroke, every ſingle Articulation, whether Vowel 'or Conſonant, is marked by a diſtinct ſingle line. 'All the ſimple Characters are as analogous to each 'other as the Sounds they repreſent; alſo their Con-'veniencies for joining is commenſurate to the Fre-'quency of their Uſe; the Number of aſcending and 'deſcending Lines are duly proportioned to each 'other, and the Rules for writing and contracting 'are few, plain, and familiar. To which is annexed, 'a Short-Hand Character for expreſſing muſical or 'inarticulate Sounds without the Uſe of ruled Lines. 'By Holdſworth and Aldridge, of the Bank of Eng-'land.' Concerning which, the authors of the *Monthly Review obſerve* (*), that 'the deſign of this 'publication is, to obviate thoſe difficulties with 'which this uſeful art is encumbered—" to bring it " nearer to perfection, to render its utility more ex-" tenſive, to make the learning of it more eaſy, and " the practice more pleaſant and familiar."—And 'though the authors may not have ſucceeded to the 'degree they might wiſh, the ingenuity and pains 'diſcovered in their performance, entitle them to 'juſt commendation.' After ſome farther obſerva-tions, theſe critics add, that 'the curious will be 'entertained by the peruſal of this work, and will 'have reaſon to commend the ingenuity and induſtry 'of the authors. But, upon the whole, we cannot 'help remarking, that the performance is more in-'genious than uſeful—that it is better calculated for 'amuſement than profit—that though the method of 'Stenography here propoſed be more natural than 'many others, it is not entirely what we could wiſh 'in point of eaſe and expedition.' The Chevalier Ramſey, the writer of the Travels of Cyrus, publiſhed, when he firſt went abroad, a little treatiſe of Short-Hand, which is ſuppoſed to have been taken from ſome of the Engliſh authors (*). Within theſe few years, a new method of Short-Hand hath appeared, by the Rev. Mr. Palmer, a diſſenting Clergyman, at Macclesfield, in Cheſhire.] T.

(*) Vol. xliv. p. 69—72.

(*) From the Correſpondent before referred to.

[*F*] *Every letter was expreſſed by a ſingle ſtraight ſtroke, only in different poſtures and places.*] We are left to gueſs at the ſcheme itſelf of this improvement in *Cryptography*, or *Stenography*, or both, from what has deſcended to our ſight, through very eminent hands, of the like nature, or anſwering much to the ſaid deſcription. This invention ſeems to have regarded a double improvement; a ſhort, as well as ſecret way of writing, at once; and more ſpeedy than any ordinary alphabet: however, it may not ſeem to have been fully intended to anſwer the deſign of *Short-Hand*; the uſe of daſhes, or ſingle ſtraight ſtrokes for every letter, as in the deſcription of that cypher, implying an inconnection of them, and no abbreviation of words or ſyllables; no ſuch contraction and concurrence, as we find in thoſe compendious and expeditious characters, which will beſt hold any pace with the voice. The other part of the deſcription, calling it a *Lineal* Alphabet, might partly intend to deſcribe the *marks* uſed for the letters themſelves, ſtraight ſtrokes being lines of what continuance ſoever; but might chiefly import, that thoſe ſubſtituted marks, which have no diſtinction of ſhape, though they may of height and diſpoſition, to anſwer the remainder of the deſcription, as to their poſture and place, ſhould be principally diſtinguiſhed by their vicinity, inclination, and contiguity to, or tranſciſſion of, ſome *one* or *more lines*, running quite *through*, or between them. For example, if you draw an *horizontal line* as far as it will conveniently receive over it half the alphabet, and diſpoſe of four *perpendicular* ſtrokes, or daſhes, each under a letter; ſo as one ſtroke ſhall be ſome ſpace *above* the line; another, come down *near* it; a third, *touch* it; and the fourth, paſs

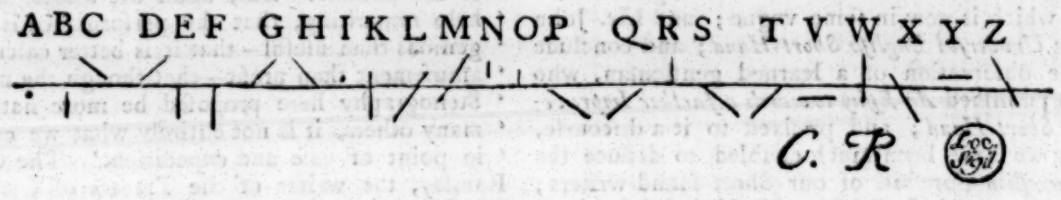
in the works of our ancient *Calligraphers*, that he was one of the earlieſt Writing Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven upon copper-plates [*G*], and printed off at the rolling-

paſs ſomewhat *through* it; they will ſufficiently diſtinguiſh any four of the letters; then the eight remaining, may be as diſtinctly ſignified, by ſo many ſtraight ſtrokes *diagonally* diſpoſed, after the ſame manner; four, ſloping to the right, and four, to the left. Thus half the alphabet is accounted for; and it is but doing the like, *beneath* the line, as you have done *above*, and you have a moſt ſimple, or unperplexed, and compendious ſupply for the whole. This cypher is ſo obvious to the eye, ſo familiar to the hand, and eaſy to the memory, that a child may learn it without a maſter. We cannot ſay poſitively, that this was exactly Mr Bales's ſcheme, though it may anſwer the deſcription of it abovementioned in the text; and therefore we do not offer to give any diagram, or figure of it; for he might uſe more horizontal lines than one; or fewer daſhes, and in more varied poſitions; ſo approach nearer the ſcale of Muſic; which alſo, by the way, has been propoſed to perform the offices of any, or all alphabets, with great advantage; ſo that the words of a Pſalm, or a ſonnet, might be couched in the notes of it; ſeeing that two of them only, upon the five bars, will expreſs all the neceſſary letters; by the uſe of which, the inſtruments of muſic would become the inſtruments of ſpeech; and all practitioners might *parley* with, in *playing* to one another. All lawyers, termagants, and other ſtrife-mongers, might then wrangle and ſcold melodiouſly; and all inſtructions, intelligence, conference, and correſpondence, vocal or inſtrumental, might be carried on to ſome tune. For the learned have preſumed, that muſical *ſounds* and *ſigns* might not only ſignify and communicate all *letters* and *words*, but all *things* and *notions*; that the uttering of them would ſerve for an *univerſal language*, as the writing of them would for an *univerſal character* (29); and ſo the whole globe being turned into an *orcheſtra*, we ſhould all live and die in *univerſal harmony*. But to return; that ſcheme which we have ſeen, as was beforeſaid, ſo much correſponding with the explanation above attempted of that we have not ſeen, we ſhall here produce to the reader's ſight; as what may not only conduce to the better comprehenſion, and perhaps to the recovery of that of Mr. Bales, but it may be with improvements. We muſt firſt obſerve this more modern ſcheme differs from that, already propoſed to anſwer the foregoing, not only in one point, which is indifferent, the extending of all the alphabet above the line; but in others, which are material; as varying the poſition of the ſignatures, in two inſtances, and augmenting them in two more: the *variations* are in having but one diſtance from the line, and two degrees of perpendiculars that touch it; and the *augmentations* are, of two parallel lines, and two dots, or full points; which is more complex, leſs uniform, and deviates more from the name of a *lineal character*; if the propriety of that expreſſion is to be preſerved in the ſubſtitutes for the letters themſelves, as well as the tranſverſe line which is the rule of direction to them. However, this character has a diſtinct brevity, and beautiful ſimplicity in it: it is moſt eaſily learnt, readily written, and not readily diſcovered. The ſaid cypher, in its original, with its alphabetical key over it, is ſtill to be ſeen, under the hand and ſeal of King Charles I., as he incloſed it in one of his letters to Edward Somerſet, Earl of Glamorgan, dated at Oxford, April the 5th, 1646 (30). In which letter, the concluſion is written in this *character*, interpretable by the ſaid *key*; which are as follow:

(29) Biſhop Wilkins's *Mercury: or Secret and Swift Meſſenger*, &c. edit. 1694, cap. xviii.

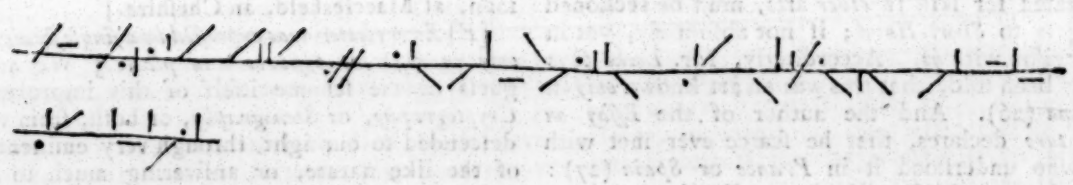
(30) And preſerved in the *Collection of Royal Letters* in the *Harleian* Library of Manuſcripts.

ABC DEF GHIKLMNOP QRS TVWXYZ



C. R

Thus, when you read, in this cypher, his Majeſty's aſſurance, to that Earl, in the ſaid letter, of



You will more eaſily decypher it by that key, than by all the rules in Mr. Falconer's *Cryptomenyſis Pateſacta* (31). That Earl of Glamorgan, ſoon after Marquis of Worceſter, publiſhed, not long after the Reſtoration, an ingenious little book, full of rare improvements in art; and among his ſecret ways of writing, or communication, he has undoubtedly deſcribed this in the following words: — 'A cypher 'and character, ſo contrived, that one line, without 'returns, and circumflexes, ſtands for each, and every 'of the twenty four letters; and as ready to be made 'for one, as the other.' And the title he gives it, in his table of contents, is, *A One Line Cypher* (32).'

(31) Or the *Art of Secret Information diſcloſed, without a Key*: containing plain and demonſtrative Rules, for decyphering all Manner of Secret Writing &c. by *John Falconer*, 8vo. 1685.

(32) See his *Century* of *Names*, and *Scantlings* of *Inventions*, &c. 24to. 1663, No. 3. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miſcellany*, Vol. iv. p. 493.

[*G*] *He was one of the earlieſt Writing-Maſters among us, who had his pieces engraven on copper-plates.*] When Jodocus Hondius, who was a fine Penman himſelf, as well as Deſigner, and Engraver, undertook to collect and engrave ſeveral copies from his own writings, and thoſe of the moſt celebrated maſters of the pen in Europe, he ſeems to have invited Mr. Bales, among the reſt, to communicate ſome ſpecimen of his performance, in a ſize propoſed, to make a regular and uniform copy-book; and we are informed by a late famous Profeſſor of the art, who was very curious in his inquiries after our ancient improvers of it, that thoſe copies of the ſeveral maſters engraven by Hondius, appeared in 1594 (33). The ſame author, in that Eſſay from which we receive this intelligence, having ranked Mr. Bales, as earlieſt in time, at the head of the Engliſh maſters, who publiſhed their works at the rolling-preſs, ſays again, 'That his, with Mr. Mar-'tyn's, and other pieces, made part of a copy-book 'engraven by Hondius; one of which, with many 'valuable fragments in it, I have, ſays he, in my 'collection (34).' The edition of Hondius's book which we have ſeen, was publiſhed twenty years after that date above (35), and among other copies written by the admired J. Vauden Velde, Hondius himſelf, J. Honthuſius, Solomon Henrix, one of whoſe pieces is dated 1594; beſides Fælix Van Sambix, E. Goos, Il Curione in Roma, J. Beau Cheſne of Paris, and M. Martyn, our countryman; there is alſo one piece ſubſcribed with the name of Peter Bales: it is written in the Latin tongue, and in the Engliſh character; but it is very probable that there were more of his copies engraven and printed in that manner; and we have read, that many ſuch valuable pieces of his writing were publiſhed by Hondius as aforeſaid. However, when fame had found a channel through his example, for this kind of publication, other artiſts of his own country, by their labours kept it open, for the ſtream to refine in, as it rolled down to us. It has been thought, that the reaſon our

(33) Mr. *Robert More's Eſſay* on the *Invention* of *Writing*, &c. prefixed to his *Copy Book*, entitled, The *General Penman*, in its laſt edition. fol. oblong. 1725, p. 4.

(34) *Ibid.* p. 5.

(35) With this title: *Theatrum Artis Scribendi, varia ſumm rum n ſtri ſeculi, Artificum Exemplaria comp ectens N vem diverſis Lineis exarata. Jodoco Hondio* cæ atore. Amſt. apud Joan. Janſon. *fol. oblong*, 1614.

rolling-press; and, therefore, he is ranked the foremost amongst those English masters of the pen, who have, by such publications, rendered themselves capable of being marshalled according

our countrymen did not appear earlier in public, with their writings, by this means of letter-graving on copper, was their not having the Rolling-press in England, until it was introduced from Antwerp, by Mr. John Speed, about the year 1610; as a late author has surmised (36). But we certainly had the custom by some engine or other, to print off copper-plates, though not in Calligraphy, long before that time, and even before Justus Lipsius is reported to have invented it; though the use of it might not be so common in England as abroad. Among those who followed the steps of Mr. Bales, Mr. John Davies of Hereford was not the least conspicuous, who has been celebrated for his fast, fair, close, and various writing, of the Secretary, Roman, Court, and Text hands, by Dr. Fuller (37), who says, he could also flourish matter, as well as letters; and with his fancy, as well as with his pen: indeed he published several books of Poetry, as may be seen elsewhere (38); and some few of penmanship (39); something also *In Laudem Artis Scriptoriæ*. The praise he sought as a Poet, obstructed his acquiring much profit by his practice as a Penman, though he had taught his art successfully at Oxford; where Magdalen College was his best beloved patroness; as in one of his poems, addressed thereto, he confesses (40): he was also some time tutor in his art to Prince Henry, as he writes before one of his copy-books; and elsewhere, calls the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere his good Lord and Master (41). He certainly envied Mr. Bales the credit of that golden pen, we shall hereafter mention him to have won from one, or more competitors in the art; but in divulging his malignity, Mr. Davies has exposed his own Disposition, more than the other's Reputation; by not only falsely traducing him in the character of a fair writer, but against all laws of humanity, made his inculpable exigencies the subject of lampoon; and in many other instances, justified the epigram that was composed by another Poet upon him; wherein it is said, he would make a good author, if he could *pen* as well as he could *write* (42); as he has recorded himself, against himself; and in his *Scourge of Folly*, shewed the scourging of his own. He died about the year 1618, and was buried in St. Giles's in the Fields. His countryman, J. Gethinge, was a man of more modesty, and brought the art to greater perfection; some of his plates were graved in the year 1615. And Martin Billingsley, another eminent hand, whose works were also well received (43), is commonly joined with him in the applauses which were paid to the art, or those who excelled in it, by some noted Poets of their time. Not long after, William Comley of Henley, published his *Copy-Book of the most useful English Hands; with an Alphabet of the Capital Text Letters:* to which is joined, *A new Alphabet of the Capital, Roman, Knotted Letters; fit* and *ready* to set any manner of *hand* to: and there is further joined, *A Book of the Secretary and Round Hands; with another Alphabet of Capital Antique Letters* (44), as he calls them; being composed of human postures; afterwards imitated by succeeding publishers, in a smaller size; that youth might, with writing, learn drawing at the same time. Speedily after, Mr. David Browne, an ingenious Scotchman, addressed his Examples of Fair Writing to King James (45), whose Scribe, he stiles himself. His work is said to have been printed at the letter-press, but more probably was from wooden blocks, like the foregoing author's; whose method also he seems to follow, in leaving blanks for learners to fill up. Afterwards Mr. Goodere, Richard Weston, and Peter Gery (46), kept up the art in its various excellencies with good commendation; and it was carried on in this flourishing state till the death of that great ornament of it, Mr. Thomas Fayle, who had a curious felicity in all his performances, but could not be induced to make them public. Edward Cocker, on the contrary, was thought too general a publisher; he was the engraver of his own writings; and some of them on silver plates: he first published in the early part of his life; and before Oliver Cromwell died. We have at least fourteen or fifteen copy-books of his in print (47); for he kept writing and printing himself off, till the time of his death, which was about the year 1677. Mr. Evelyn having mentioned Mr. Gethinge, Billingsley, Gery, and Cocker, says of them, 'That what they published of letters and flourishes, 'are comparable to any of those masters whom we 'have so much celebrated among the Italians and 'French, for Calligraphy, and fair writing (48).' But then followed such an incontinency of publication and piracy, that the very press groaned under the prostitution of the art. Passing over therefore Mr. Watson, James Seamer, J. Hodder, J. Fisher, Louis Hughes, M. Johnson, besides others; who indulged their pens so much in *sprigging* of capitals, *knotting* of figures, *pencilling* of flourishes; in twirling and tangling the heads and tails of letters together, with such extravagance; and in hunting a single line through such unnatural, perplexing, and tedious labyrinths, as no eye could follow without pain; we shall only mention those who retrieved the art from these exorbitant fancies, and attired it in that most unaffected and becoming dress it now wears. Among the first, appears to be Colonel John Ayres, who introduced the plain, neat, Bastard-Italian-hand, and by the assistance of Mr. John Sturt, that excellent letter-graver, carried the glory of English penmanship far beyond those who went before him (49). [It is said, that Mr. Ayres's business, as a writing-master, when it was in its most flourishing condition, brought him in near 800 *l. per annum* (*).] Then also Mr. Eleazar Wigan charmed his readers with boldness and volubility in command of hand: Mr. John Seddon (50), with the choice variety of his fruitful fancy, and neatness in his compositures: Mr. Booting, who excelled most, when he copied most: Mr. Peter Story, an universal artist, but peculiarly eminent for his masculine and beautiful disposition of large and elaborate pieces; as were the Dundasses, for the marvellous minuteness of their writings, before taken notice of. These were followed by the late Mr. Charles Snell, George Shelly, John Clarke, and Robert More, to whose Essay, before quoted, we have been much indebted for several parts of this brief Descent of his famous predecessors. The former of these, Mr. Snell, published several pieces (51), and so rigidly opposed all moderate use of those decorations, even under due propriety and regulation, in his rules, though he retained them in his practice, that the others, his contemporaries, therein opposed him; and restored the use of judicious embellishments upon proper occasions. For Mr. More admonishes the Ornamentator to be upon his guard, lest he merit the character of a fancy-monger; and says, he must have regard to time, place, and circumstances; that the *sportive* faculty must be banished the court of *business*, and he must neither *ludere cum seriis*, nor *paratragœdiare* in *trifles* (52). Mr. Shelley having made a glance at engrossers of reputation, says of ornaments in fine Penmanship, as the divine Herbert does of Poetry, with some alteration,

A *knot* may take him, who from *letters* flies,
And turn *delight* into an *exercise* (53).

Agreeable to whom, Mr. Clarke was rather for correcting the false taste of ornament, than abolishing a true one; and has given good directions for conduct, in his arguments, as well as good improvements of the more essential part, fine writing itself, in his own copies of it (54). Under these masters, and one or two more, whose works gained them a character of supremacy in their profession, in the reigns of Queen Anne, and his late Majesty (55), the fair *Italian*, and especially, the free *Round-text*, and the *Round-hand*, those two genuine parents of the freest, most commodious, and most expeditious hand of business, which we call a *Running-hand*, prevailed over all others, and were brought to that perfection they are still preserved, or even improved in, by those masters who are the ornament of the art at this day; above twenty of whom have permitted many curious pieces of their writing to be engraved and published, not many years since, in a fair and elegant volume together (56); which being written and printed, from the top of the pages to the bottom, like the generality of other books, and not from end to end of the leaf, or in the oblong form, as the practice of our Writing-Masters, from

(36) *John Bagford*, in his Account of his Collections for an History of Printing, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, anno 1707, No. 312.

(37) Worthies of England, in Herefordshire.

(38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 444.

(39) *The Writing Schole-Master*: or The Anatomie of Fair Writing; wherein is exactly expressed each several character. Together with other Rules and Documents coincident to the Art of Fair and Speedy Writing. By *John Davies of Hereford*, 4to, oblong, the latter editions dated 1663—1669. In the 15th plate the Engraver's name appears to have been *John Ingbeenram*.

(40) Davies his Scourge of Folly, p. 221.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 184.

(42) By J. Heath, *idem*. p. 120.

(43) His *Pen's Perfection*. And his *Copy-Book*, containing Variety of Examples of all the most curious Hands written; with the Breaks of each Letter: With the three usual and most necessary Hands of our Nation, &c. 4to, oblong.

(44) All printed together in fol. oblong, May 22, 1622, and dedic. to Robert Earl of Sussex.

(45) Entitled, *Calligraphia, &c.* fol. oblong, 1622.

(46) His Copy Book, containing 42 Copies of all the Hands in Use; performed according to the natural Freeness of the pen, fol.

(47) As his *Introduction to Writing*. His *England's Penman*. His *Penna Volans. Magnum in Parvo. Multum in Parvo. Youth's Directions. Pen's Facility. London* Writing Master. *Lawyers* Writing-Master. Country School-Master, &c. &c.

(48) Evelyn's *Sculptura*: or the History and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving on Copper, &c. 8vo, 1662, p. 99.

(49) See his Book of *Arithmetic and Writing*, fol. &c.

(*) Massey's Origin and Progress of Letters, &c. Part ii. p. 13.

(50) His Penman's Magazine perfected by Geo. Shelley, and published by T. Read, fol. 1705, &c.

(51) The *Art of Writing*, in its Theory and Practice, fol. also —The *Standard Rules* of the *Round*, and *Round Text* Hands, &c. *necessary* to be *known* by all *Writing-Masters*, &c. —The *Penman's Treasury* opened, &c. Done by *Command of Hand*, &c.

(52) His Essay on the *Invention of Writing*, &c. before his Copy Book, as above, *fol.* 6. First printed before Mr. *Shelley's* Book of *Natural Writing*, afterwards with his own Copy-Book, about 1716 and lastly in 1725. He also published a *Striking Book*.

(53) *G. Shelley's* second Part of *Natural Writing*, &c. fol. 1714, in the Introduction. He also published a new *Striking-Book*, and a new Book of Alphabets for the Use of Christ's Hospital, where he was Master, &c.

(54) J. Clarke's Writing Improved, or Penmanship made easy in its Useful and Ornamental Parts, &c. fol. oblong, 1714, in 31 Plates. He also published The Penman's Diversion, &c.

(55) See *A Poem on Writing*; printed on a Sheet, Broadside; with the Effigies of *Six* of the most celebrated *Writing-Masters of London*, engraved by G. Bickham, about the year 1714.

(56) The Universal Penman: engraved by Geo. Bickham, folio, 1733, &c. This is one of the most capital works of the kind ever published; and is still held in great esteem by the admirers of fine penmanship.

according to their ſeniority, and judged of according to their merits, by thoſe of their ſucceſſors, who have gratefully undertaken to preſerve their memory. On Michaelmas-day, in 1595, he being then forty-eight years of age, had a great trial of ſkill in the Black-Fryers, with one Daniel Johnſon, for a Golden Pen, of twenty pounds value; and won it, though his antagoniſt was a younger man by above eighteen years (*i*), and was therefore expected to have the advantage of a greater ſteadineſs, or other command of hand. We are further told by a contemporary author, that he had alſo the *Arms* of *Calligraphy* given him, which are, *Azure, a Pen, Or*, at a prize, where ſolemn trial was made for maſtery in this art, among the beſt pen-men in London (*k*), which being a trial among more opponents than one, this, wherein the ſaid arms were given to him, ſhould ſeem different from that, wherein he won the golden pen of Daniel Johnſon aforeſaid. That is the firſt contention we meet with for the golden pen, though other memorable ones have ſince occurred [*H*]. In 1597, when he republiſhed his *Writing School-Maſter*, he was in ſuch high

(*i*) An *Account* of this *Trial of Skill*, written by *Bales* himſelf, was preſerved in a MS. Vol. in Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s Library, No. 216, as the late Biſhop *Tanner* has remarked in one of his MS. *Note Books*, now in the Hands of Mr. *Joſeph Ames*, Secretary to the *Soc. of Antiquaries*.

(*k*) Sir *George Buc*'s Third Univerſity of England, fol. 1615, at the end of Stowe's Annals, as before, p 984.

from the example of the old foreigners, has before been; and there being alſo enough of the leaves in that collection to gain them the preſervation of binding, the impreſſion will not be ſo liable to be loſt, or ſoiled, and torn, as the works of our beſt Penmen uſually in a few years are, through the publication of them in the manner aforeſaid, moſt liable to all the caſualties of deſtruction.

[Beſides the eminent maſters in the art of Penmanſhip mentioned in the preceding note, the following may deſerve to be enumerated.

John Bland was remarkable for his neat manner of writing, and curious improvements in the practical hands, for mercantile buſineſs. His 'Eſſay in Writ-'ing, exemplified in Forms of Buſineſs,' contains twenty-one folio plates, engraved by George Bickham. This work is executed with great neatneſs, as well as judiciouſly adapted to the uſes of trade, and mercantile affairs. He publiſhed alſo ſome ſmaller pieces.

William Brooks publiſhed, in 1717, his 'Delight-'ful Recreation for the Induſtrious.' It contains twenty-one plates in an oblong folio of plain and practical writing, very neat and true, with his picture in the front, agreeably to a very common practice among Writing-Maſters, who ſeem, generally, to have had a very ſufficient idea of their own importance. 'Our author, in the dedication of this book 'to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. informs us, 'that a young Indian Prince brought from South-'Carolina, whoſe name was George Forcenza, was 'committed to his care, by the Society for the pro-'pagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, to be 'inſtructed in Writing, Arithmetic, and the prin-'ciples of the Chriſtian religion; who, in about ſix 'months time, he ſays, by his aſſiduous application, 'could read the Bible, and made ſuch a progreſs in 'Writing and Arithmetic, as was ſcarcely to be 'paralleled, in ſo ſhort a time (*).'

(*) Maſſey's Origin and Progreſs of Letters, comprehending a compendious account of the moſt celebrated Engliſh Penmen, &c. 8vo, 1763, p. 31.

William Chinnery had alſo conſiderable merit in his profeſſion, but does not appear to have publiſhed much. Zachary Chambers, Eſq; Deputy-ſurveyor of the royal lands to King George II. and Regiſter of all his Majeſty's manors, meſſuages, woods, parks, foreſts, chaces, &c. has alſo been much celebrated for his Penmanſhip.

But one of the modern maſters of the greateſt merit in this way is Mr. Joſeph Champion. Mr. Maſſey ſays, 'In the account that I give of ſome of our 'Penmen, I am obliged to ſpeak with a ſort of cold-'neſs and reſerve. But in deſcribing the works of 'this gentleman, I am under no apprehenſion of 'letting my pen run too faſt, in the tract of pane-'gyric. So many beauties, in every part of his 'Chirographic performances appear; ſuch a maſterly 'command in the execution of them, that they merit 'a general indiſcriminate applauſe (57).' His principal works are, 1. The Parallel, or Comparative Penmanſhip, exemplified in four of the greateſt original foreign maſters, viz. L. Materot, L. Barbedor, J. V. Velde, and Amb. Perlingh. It contains twenty-four oblong folio plates. It was publiſhed in 1750, and engraved by Mr. Thorowgood, one of the beſt Writing-Engravers in the kingdom. But this artiſt declared, that 'no graver could fully come up to 'the neatneſs, ſpirit, and freedom, that there was 'in Mr. Champion's hand.' 2. New and complete Alphabets, with the Hebrew, Greek, and German Characters. It contains twenty-one plates, in an oblong folio, engraved by Geo. Bickham, and publiſhed in 1754. 3. The Tutor's Aſſiſtant in teaching Arithmetic, forty plates, in 4*to*. 1747. 4. The living Hands, above forty plates, in 4*to*. 'Our author 'was likewiſe a great encourager of, and contributor 'to, that very large and elaborate work, Mr. George 'Bickham's Univerſal Penman; for which he de-'ſigned and wrote forty-ſeven folio pieces; wherein 'is exhibited, a delightful and exquiſite variety of 'Penmanſhip both for uſe and ornament (58).'

(57) Maſſey, ubi ſupra, p. 37.

(58) Maſſey, ubi ſupra, p. 40.

Solomon Cook was alſo an eminent Writing-Maſter, and publiſhed, about the year 1730, in folio, The Modiſh Round-hand, in twenty-ſix plates, engraved by W. Fryer. Mr. Maſſey ſays, 'The ex-'amples are all in the *Round-hand*, which now prin-'cipally obtains, and is happily practiſed in almoſt 'all ſorts of pen-buſineſs; ſo that a remark of our 'late celebrated engraver, Mr. George Bickham, in 'his Britiſh Youth's Inſtructor, is very juſt and 'pertinent. "Our forefathers, ſays he (properly "ſpeaking, about fourſcore years ago), practiſed a "ſmall running *Secretary-hand*; and it was as great "a rarity to meet with a perſon, who had not been "ſo taught, as it is now to meet with one that is. "To talk then of *Round-hand*, and perſuade the "practice of it, was the ſame thing, as it would be "now to introduce a new character, unknown to "the generality of mankind. But at length, the "excellency and uſefulneſs of the *Round-hand* pre-"vailing with many eminent Penmen to ſhew the "delicacy of it, and its natural tendency to facilitate "and diſpatch buſineſs, being conſidered, it is uni-"verſally received, and practiſed by all degrees of "men, in all employments, *the law* only excepted "(59)."

(59) Maſſey, ubi ſupra, p. 66.

As we are on the ſubject of hands, and the different methods of writing at different periods, it may not be improper to add another extract from Mr. Maſſey's book, as before referred to, relative to the ſeveral kinds of hand uſed by ſome of our Princes: And there is the greater propriety in our inſerting theſe obſervations here, becauſe they appear to have been written by Mr. Oldys, the original author of this article. Mr. Maſſey ſays, 'I copied theſe obſerva-'tions from the MS. *Adverſaria* of my friend William 'Oldys, Eſq; of the Heralds Office, *viz.*

"King Henry VIII. wrote a ſtrong hand, but as "if he had ſeldom a good pen.

"King Edward VI. wrote a fair legible hand.

"Queen Elizabeth wrote an upright hand, like "the baſtard Italian.

"King James I. wrote a poor ungainly character, "all awry, and not in a ſtraight line.

"King Charles I. wrote a fair open Italian hand, "and more correctly perhaps than any Prince we "ever had.

"King Charles II. wrote a little fair running "hand, as if he were in haſte, or uneaſy till he had "done.

"King James II. wrote a large fair hand.

"King William had a cloſe and ſlender free "hand.

"Queen Anne wrote a fair round-hand (60)."] T. [*H*] *Other memorable ones have ſince occurred.*] Among which none was perhaps more remarkable than that trial for a golden pen, made within the memory of many living, between one Mr. *German*, a Writing-Maſter of note in Queen *Anne*'s reign, and one of the ſix, at that time moſt celebrated for the art; but whether it was Mr. *Snell*, or Mr. *More*, we cannot now poſitively recollect. It ſeems there was a competition

(60) Maſſey, Part. i. p. 100.

high reputation for it, that no leſs than eighteen copies of commendatory verſes, compoſed by learned and ingenious men of that time, were printed before it, as A. Wood has obſerved (*l*). He alſo, by other exerciſes of his pen, recommended himſelf to many other perſons of knowledge and diſtinction; particularly by making fair tranſcripts of the learned and ingenious compoſitions of ſome honourable authors, which they deſigned as preſentation-books to the Queen, or others their friends or patrons, of high dignity: ſome of which Manuſcripts have been, for the beauty of them, as well as for their inſtructive contents, preſerved as curioſities to theſe times. ['Among the Harleian 'MSS. (now in the Britiſh Muſeum) No. 2368, there is a thin vellum book in ſmall 'quarto, called *Archeion*. At the end of that treatiſe is a neat flouriſh, done by com-'mand of hand; wherein are the letters, *P. B.* which ſhews (ſays a note in that book), 'that this copy was written by the hand of Peter Bales, the then famous Writing-Maſter 'of London (*).'] We know not very particularly, what other branches of the art he cultivated, more than that we ſhall, in our future obſervation, find him diſtinguiſhed alſo with the title of a Scrivener, as if he had ſome time profeſſed the buſineſs of writing contracts, or drawing deeds, or other inſtruments; unleſs the ſignification of that word was not then ſo confined as it is now, to that particular buſineſs, but was uſed in a general ſenſe, as the word Scribe ſometimes is, to ſignify a practitioner in any branch or degree of penmanſhip. A. Wood was not ſufficiently acquainted with the matter of fact, to repreſent it with due diſtinction, when he ſaid that Bales was engaged in the Earl of Eſſex's treaſons in the year 1600 (*m*), as if he were an adherent to that unfortunate nobleman, or inſtrumental in promoting his tumultuous inſurrection. The truth is, he was innocently engaged, in ſerving the treacherous purpoſes of one of the Earl's mercenary dependants, named John Danyell of Dereſburie, Eſq; as he ſtyles himſelf. This man, reſolving out of the diſtreſſes of his Lord, to raiſe a conſiderable addition to his own ſubſtance, already ſufficient, being worth, by his own confeſſion, above twenty thouſand pounds (*n*), contrived, in compaſſing the ſame, through his deceitful procurement of Bales to imitate ſome of that Earl's letters, which he would have ſold to his Lordſhip's enemies, as he did the copies to his friends for a large ſum of money, contrived, I ſay, the abſolute loſs of his own eſtate, liberty, and reputation, the complete ruin of himſelf and his family; being ſentenced in the Star-Chamber, upon the evidence of Bales, and other witneſſes, in June 1601, to pay a fine of three thouſand pounds, for which his whole effects were extented, alſo to be expoſed on the pillory, and endure perpetual impriſonment beſides, for his ſaid forgery, fraud, and extortion. As this will appear a notable example, how a comfortable and creditable competency may be deſtroyed, by covetous and diſhonourable courſes to augment it, it will deſerve a more ample Memorial than has been hitherto divulged in print; not only to deter others from the guilt of any ſuch like impoſition, but to clear Mr. Bales from having any guilty hand in this. He was indeed, for a ſhort time, under ſome confinement, that they might be certain of his evidence at the trial; and we find alſo, that Bales wrote a large *Declaration* to the Counteſs of Eſſex, and, it ſeems, at her requeſt or command, wherein he ſet forth the whole manner of his engagement, and the juſtification of his conduct in this buſineſs; which narrative would no doubt have laid open this black contrivance to our full ſatisfaction. But though we ſhall be chiefly obliged for the particulars thereof, to another *Declaration* alſo in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf [*I*], this cunning contriver of his own ruin; yet were he calmly to have reviſed,

(*l*) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 287.

(*) Maſſey, *ubi ſupra*, p. 7.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Danyell's Dyſaſters*, 4to, MS. fol. 2. Dedicated to Sir *Thomas Houlcroft*, and annexed to his *Declaration*, hereafter more particularly cited.

petition between *German* and *More*; and the former inſiſted that the latter ſhould ſet the copy, which *More* did in theſe words:

As more and *More* our underſtanding clears,
So more and more our ignorance appears.

German fell ſhort of the art, as well as the wit of his antagoniſt; but in the judgment given for the golden pen, it was ſaid, that the umpires found ſuch an equality of excellence in the two copies, that they could not, for ſome time pronounce a determination, till one of them eſpying in Mr. *German*'s piece, the omiſſion of one ſingle point, only the tittle of an *i*, they gave their verdict againſt him, and ſo he loſt the prize. The ſaid Mr. More has made ſome ingenious reflexions upon ſuch like vain and impotent oppoſitions, as are made againſt thoſe who have approved themſelves maſters of their Art, upon the occaſion of what was firſt begun by that Daniel Johnſon againſt Bales; where he ſays, 'Art with me is of 'no Party.' A noble emulation I would cheriſh, while 'it proceeded neither from, nor to, malevolence. 'Bales had his Johnſon, Norman his Maſon, Ayres 'his (61) Matlock and his Shelley; yet art the while 'was no ſufferer. The buſy-body, who officiouſly 'employs himſelf in creating miſunderſtandings be-'tween artiſts, may be compared to a turn-ſtile, 'which ſtands in every man's way, yet hinders no-'body; and he is the ſlanderer, that gives ear to 'the ſlander.'

(61) So in the laſt edit. of Mr. More's *Eſſay on the Invention of Writing*, &c. p. 5. In the firſt edit. before his friend Mr. Shelley's ſecond Part of *Natural Writing*, it is only *A— had his S—*, which ſeems rather to be meant for Mr. Snell. *Quære*, How is it in the ſecond edition? when we know Mr. More was alive, and whether he died not before the Third?

[*I*] *We ſhall be obliged for the particulars thereof, to another Declaration in manuſcript, written by that criminal himſelf.*] The ſaid author, John Danyell, was a different perſon from that John Daniel, who was a Maſter of Arts at Oxford, in the beginning of King James the Firſt's reign, and a publiſher of ſome muſical compoſitions; alſo different from that John Daniel, who was brother to Samuel Daniel, the noted Poet and Hiſtorian; and publiſher of ſome of his poetical works, after his death, towards the latter end of the ſame reign; nor yet the ſame with that John Daniel contemporary with this laſt, who publiſhed ſeveral ſea-charts, or maps of the coaſts of England, and other countries. But this John Danyell of Dereſbury (62), whereof we are farther to ſpeak, having ſerved the Earl of Ormond in Ireland above twenty years, procured to be recommended by him to the Earl of Eſſex, for ſome employment under his Lordſhip, or in the court. He mentions a preferment or two, which he expected through the Earl's means, but failed of; and appears to have been very diligent in procuring advantageous leaſes, or purchaſes of ſeveral parſonages in Cheſhire: He cites two letters, he ſays the Earl wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt Church in Oxford, the one in May 1594, to favour him in renewing a leaſe of the rectory of Runcorne in

(62) There is a Book in print, entitled, The Birth, Life, and Death, of the Jewiſh Unction, by John Daniel of Dereſbury, Eſq; Lond. 8vo, 1651.

revised, and at sufficient distance of time had thought maturely on it, he might have perceived enough therein, under his own hand, to account for his sufferings; like that bird

in that county, and the other in July following, wherein the Earl appears to recommend his servant T. Brook to the same, adding,—'I understand that one 'Danyell, pretending a desire to take a lease of certain 'concealed tithes, hath, under that colour, got certain 'hamlets, which were before demised in my servant's 'lease, and now seeketh to take advantage against 'him, upon some words mistaken; wherein my ser-'vant is chiefly to be holpen and relieved.' He pretends also the Countess had written several letters against him to the Lord-Keeper about that lease; and that for these disappointments, his expences, and loss of time, in service and attendance upon them, he looked upon the Earl and his Lady to be greatly indebted to him. The first step he took to make himself reparation, was to marry the Countess's gentlewoman, with whom, as he insinuates, he received hopes of an handsome portion: He cites the release, which the Countess gave his wife for eight thousand pounds, and all other accounts that had passed between them, dated in May 1596. And in 1598 appears to have solicited the Earl for a commission, or company of soldiers in Ireland, through the mediation of Sir Edward Dyer; who, by his answer, seemed not very forward to espouse his pretensions. But through the interest of his father-in-law, Sir Guyllyam Merrycke, his Lordship was persuaded to stand godfather at the christening of one of his children, which was termed the first badge of his Lordship's favour or reconciliation. But he never received further countenance or confidence of trust, in any negociations of importance; nor recompence for his services, or preferment with his wife, as he says, except some plate at their marriage, and at the christening of two of his children. But when the fatal impetuosity in that Earl's disposition, gave way to further inflammations by his parasites and incendiaries; till at last he made that turbulent eruption, in order to remove an opposite party at the court, which proved the cause of his untimely end; Danyell found an opportunity to throw his angle into the troubled stream; resolved to raise himself a profit upon the Earl's ruin; and that, out of some letters written by his Lordship to his Lady, which fell into his hands. Some of those letters, were eight or nine years old; mentioning matters of affection, and perhaps courtship; some expressed his dislike of divers persons; others treated of some solicitations made to, and transactions with, or for him; some contemning the time he spent at court, and shewing his desire of a private life; others describing his loathsome and unpleasant employments; and in many of them, a continual impatience and disquiet of mind. Danyell pretends he could not read any of these letters, till Bales had copied them; to serve a purpose which will hereafter appear. Indeed the Earl, like many others who write in great hurry, was apt to make his pen, in some syllables, or terminations of a word, dwindle away oftentimes into a scrawl, or strait line; but nothing so illegibly as is here pretended, by a man who had been conversant with him at least six years, and could give us the purport of his letters above, and make quotations from two of them, written to his Lady from Ireland, in August 1599; from the one, as follows:—
'The Queene's commandment in her servyces may 'breake my necke; but my enemyes practyces shall 'never trouble my hearte.' And these words from the other,—'I trust, (*) or longe, to reduce Ireland to a 'peaceable government; if the traytors of England 'be not confederates with the traytors of Ireland.' And yet there was nothing in these letters that the Law took exceptions at, to the Earl's detriment at his trial; though Danyell, to terrify his afflicted Lady into a compliance with his barbarous extortions for them, falsely threatened her he could sell them to his Lordship's enemies, the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, for three thousand pounds (63); and the counterfeits he imposed upon her, for which she gave him more than half that money, might aggravate the Earl's rashness, and consequently his guilt; therefore the covetous impostor escaped no kind of reproach when his deeds were detected, and suffered the censure for them without any compassion. Thus much was thought necessary to be premised of this story, that our readers might not be misled by his palliated representation of it. They may therefore now behold the juggle in the shape and colours he has transformed it into, for want of Master Bales' more ingenuous discovery; and these are Danyell's words:——'About the '20th of October 1599, I found bie chance, under 'my bed, in my house, then at Charing Crosse, a 'verie fayre caskett covered with purple velvett and 'laced with gould lace, which I thought strange in 'that place; and fynding the same easye to be opened, 'I satysfyed my desyre; wherein appeared letters, 'sent from the late Earle to his Ladie, wrytten in 'such *a hand* as *I coulde not reade*. But whyleft I 'was thus perusing these letters, my wyffe, being 'abroade came suddenlie into the howse; so that I 'tooke onlie one bundle of those letters hastilie owt 'of the caskett, and sett the caskett under the bed 'agayne, locked with the ffall of the cover, for it 'was a spring locke; which bundle of letters I carried into my studie, where yt remained careleslie above three monethes, before I dyd any thynge 'with them, for I could not understand the contents 'of any of them. Besydes I havinge, as many thousands 'then had, an absolute opynyon of the Earle's fidelitie 'and allegeance to her Majestie, state, and countrie, 'could not be brought to ymagyne that hys Lordship 'had any evell thought to any of these, untyll, by 'some specyall intelligence, I had notyce that hee 'was very dyssyrous to accept of any condycions, to 'have friendshipp with some, whom before he termed 'hys enemyes. Which thinge I thought could hardlie 'proceede from hym, unleste there were greatter cause 'then was generally conceyvid, or I before could 'ymagyne. Thereupon I began to feare the event, 'and a lyttle to looke about me, whether there were 'matter in the letters that myght endanger mee; and 'having taken the sayde bundle of letters as aforesayd, I revewed the same, and styll fynding that I 'could not reade them, was much trobled how to 'understand the effect of them. In this tyme of 'delyberacion, the Countess sent for her caskett; 'which was delyvered to her kynswoman, and Gentleman-Usher, beinge both sent for them, to my wyffe, 'in a coache, about the 7 of Januarie, 1599. But 'the next day after, the Countesse of Essex came to 'my house herselfe, and demanded her letters mysling, 'which I purposelie concealed, both from the Countesse, and from my wyffe; for I was resolved to 'use meanes to understand the contents of them, before they were delyvered to the Countesse, or to any 'other. But when the Countesse perceyvid that I 'denyed her letters, then sayd she, I must tell my 'Lord of them, if it were my owne mother that 'had them; ffor he hath dyssyred to have a sight of 'them, and I tould hym, they were in your wyffe's 'keepynge; therefore, now they are gone, I must 'tell hym how the matter ys; otherwyse, I shall be 'condempned; although *I know there ys noe bad matter in the letters*, neither against her Majestie, nor 'State; but onlie, because my Lord hath alreadie 'dyssyred to have a syght of them; therefore, I pray 'make diligent search for them among your servants: 'And soe departed, not then very much dyspleased, 'as yt seemed to me. But the next day, both I and 'my wyffe, were dyverslie solycyted from the Countesse: and at the last, *in some sortte*, there was *a 'thousand pounds offred* for the letters mysslyng; which 'I feared to accept, or to be knowen of having any of 'the letters. For bie thys large offer I had cause more 'and more to suspect the Earle's doing; whereof, after 'some consyderation had in that behalfe, aboute the 'tenth of *February* then next following, I took four 'or syve of those letters owt of the bundle, and went 'with them to Mr. *Peter Bales*, ye Scryvener; who, 'perceyving that I could not reade them, endevored, 'by all menes, to make me understand the contents 'of them. But then, I was to devyce, in what manner I should *remove all susspycyon*, either *how* I came 'bie those letters, or els, to *what purpose* I mente 'to converte them. Therefore, to colour the same 'from *Bales*; I tould hym, That *thys employment was 'done by the Counttesse of Essex*; and bye that meanes, 'I *kept from hym my intent* and purpose; which was, 'that yf there hapned matter of state, or tytt matter to be dyscovered out of any of the letters, I 'would

(*) *i. e.* e'er long.

(63) Danyell's Letter to the Countess of Essex, MS. in the Vol. hereafter quoted.

bird of prey, who ſaw the fatal feathers which had dropped from his own wings, upon the arrow that ſhot him. In 1607, there being one thouſand pounds of the aforeſaid fine paid

'would have manyfeſted the ſame to her Majeſtie. 'But then I was to travell a little further, and to 'devyſe in what manner I ſhould underſtand the reſt 'of the letters, which were aboute twenty-ſix in 'number; and thoſe, I was unwilling that *Bales* 'ſhould be acquainted withall; for then hee myght 'have endangered mee, bie makyng the fyrſt dyſ-'covery, and ſo have reaped the fruytes of my 'travell, yf there had chanced any matter of State 'in the reſt of the letters. So that I willed *Bales* to '*ymytate the ſayd Earl's hand-wrytinge* as neare as 'he could, both in the lynes, letters and ſuperſcryp-'tyon; which I did, to *obſcure* my *ſecret determi-'nacion* from hym: And hee willinglie performed all 'my dyſſyre, in wryting thoſe letters dyvers tymes, 'as I appoynted hym; eſpecyallie one letter. But 'lett me here remember the opynyon of *ſome*, that '*have condempned mee*, for that I dyd not cauſe *Bales*, 'at the fyrſt, to *wryte* the Earle's letters *playnlie*, 'which they thynke had been better and redyar 'to teach mee to *reade* the letters I brought to hym, 'and that therefore thys my longe deſcryption of 'learnyng to reade the ſayd letters ſhould be idle and 'vayne; whych cannot be denyed, as ſome under-'ſtand yt to bee in the letters which I brought to '*Bales*. But I would gladlie know how you can de-'vyſe to learne the reading of thoſe letters which 'I dyd not bringe to hym, for the cauſes before re-'membred: Therefore, for my parte, I could fynd 'noe better meanes than to have *Bales* ymytate the 'Earles hand-wrytynge, which brought me to thys 'perfectyon, that by takyng the beſt of *Bales*, imy-'tations, and uſing them as *carectors* to the reſt of the 'letters, I found theſe benefytts; fyrſt, bie peruſing '*Bales*, in wrytinge the ſayd letters often over, I was 'reaſonable perfect in making the letters knowen to 'me. Then before he left mee, I could reade thoſe 'fyve letters ſoe perfect, that I did dyctate ſome 'letters as he wrote them. Thirdlie, being afterward 'at *Ritchmond*; I uſed the beſt of *Bales*, ymytations as 'carectors to the reſt of the letters; whereof *I wrote* 'four or five *copyes*, with ſtoppes (*), which *I ſent to* '*the Counteſſe*. Fourthlie, and before that tyme, I 'found matter which ſerved my turne, to prove '*Bales, meanyng towards mee*, in the tyme of his 'wryting thoſe letters; and therebie freed myſelf from 'the *Cunſtable*, bie uſing *theſe words* in one of 'the letters before remembred, *viz. The Quene's* '*commandment*, &c. which *wordes*, for my remem-'brance, I wrote forth with *my owne hand*, and cauſed '*Bales* to incert thoſe wordes into dyvers of hys 'copyes, becauſe I myght, at one tyme or other, 'take occatyon to prove *Bales* meanyng towards me; 'which I did, not for any doubte I made of *the words* 'to be *matter of State*, but to prove from tyme to 'tyme how *Bales* was diſpoſed towards me; for he 'gave me greate *cauſe to ſuſpecte hym*, in ſpeakyng 'one tyme to me very particularlie, ſaying, That if 'he had found matter of ſtate in the letters, *hee would* '*have ſent for a Cunſtable and areſted me*. Then 'he aſked mee what I ment, to have him copy thoſe 'letters? I ſayd, That the *Counteſſe of Eſſex* willed 'mee. But why doe you cauſe mee to wryte *one* '*letter ſoe often*, ſaid hee, and ſo lyke *a hand you* '*cannot reade?* I anſwered, That I ment to geve 'ſome a *gull*; ffor *I gulled hym*, in that *hee beleeved* '*mee*, tuching the Counteſſe *commandment*; which 'fyctyon I made, for feare of a Cunſtable; for at 'that tyme I had all the bundle of letters about 'mee. But when he tould me, that Mr. *Wyſeman* 'ſolycyted the Earle of *Eſſex*, to have a Clarke's 'place in the Courte *for hym*; as I take yt, to be 'Clarke to her Majeſtie, *of her Highnes bills to be* '*ſigned*, yf I be not deceyved; for theſe cauſes, I 'had ſome reaſon to doubt his delinge; otherwiſe, 'I had uſed hys help in reading ſome part of the 'letters concealed. But fynding hys affectyon, and 'ſeeing his dyſpoſytion, I had more reaſon to ſeeke 'meanes to eſcape the Cunſtable, then to haſſard my 'eſtate, by engaging myſelfe into the danger of ſoe 'craftie a perſon; which might eaſelie have hapned 'dailie, yf he had found matter of ſtate in any of the 'letters. Nevertheleſs, *yt ys fallen more heavelie* '*upon mee*, in another kynd, then I dreamed of; 'not onlie bie *Bales* meanes, but unfortunatly 'wrought by ſundrie devyces, beyond my expecta-'tion: I being more carefull, to preſerve the credyt 'and reputations of others, then to preſerve the 'eſtate of mee, my wyffe and chyldren, am taken 'in a ſnare, bie comytting my tonge to ſylence; and 'bie ſuffering one halfe of my determynation to be 'obſcured: much lyke the man that alleadged theſe 'words of the Pſalme, *Non eſt Deus*, but omytting 'the preceding words, *Dixit inſipiens, in corde ſuo:* 'As the Nun did, bie readinge *Omnia probati*, but 'never turned the leaffe.

'So that, henceforth, I never uſed *Bales* further, 'in thys buſyneſs; nor, ſythence that tyme, had I 'any dealing with him; untyll he, and one *Peter* '*Ferriman*, aboute the laſt of March 1600, made 'meanes to borrow twentie pounds of mee for ſix 'monethes; which motyon, at the fyrſt, I enter-'tayned; but when I heard Ferriman's (64) bond was 'lyttle worth then I refuſed to deale further with 'them; but yf I had knowen, or ſuſpected myſelfe 'to be in eyther of theyre dangers, yt had been a 'ſmale matter for mee, at that tyme, to have lent 'them 20 pounds, wherebie I had eſcaped theyr con-'ſpyrycies; which I little eſteemed, becauſe I could 'not ymagyne, that theſe matters would, bie any 'meanes, have growen to ſoe high a poynte; con-'ſydering that neyther my intent, act, nor any part 'of my meanynge, could, bie any meanes, worke in 'the *Earle* any ſuch cauſe of *dyſcontment*, or any 'ſuch cauſe of *offence* to the *lawes* of this land, as 'is now conceaved and devulged, bie ſome to be 'agaynſt her Highnes lawes, as matter of ſtate, 'and the *cheffe cauſe* of the *Earle's overthrowe*; 'which I will labour to manyfeſt heareafter. But 'when *Bales* was denyed twentie poundes, hee pre-'ſentlie combined with *Ferriman*, and deviſed a '*Declaration*; conteynyng, and amplyfying the *man-'ner of my dealing with hym*, about the ſayd letters, 'and delyvered the ſame to her Ladiſhip, about the '2d of *Aprill*; which came not to my knowledge, 'tyll about the Earle's arraignment: So that thys '*Declaration* comyng then to the late Earle hys hands, 'was never publyſhed, but kept ſecrett, from the 'ſecond of *Aprill* 1600 till the eight of *Febrarie* 'followinge; at which tyme, the Earle, being at '*Eſſex-houſe* the day of hys pretended action, before 'the Lords, and a greate multytude there aſſembled, 'pronounced theſe words (65); viz. *That hys lyffe was* '*ſought*; *that he ſhould have ben murthered in his* '*bedd*; *that hee had ben perfydyouſlie delte with*; 'that *hys hand had ben* counterfeyted, *and* letters '*wrytten in hys nume*; and that *therefore* they were 'there *aſſembled* to defend their *lyves*; with moch other 'ſpeech to the lyke effect: Hereupon the Lord 'Cheffe Juſtyce ſayd unto the Earle, that yf hee 'had any ſuch matter of greyffe, or yf any ſuch 'matter were attempted, or purpoſed agaynſt hym, 'hee willed the ſayd Earl to declare yt; aſſuring hym 'that yt ſhould be trulie related to her Majeſtie, and 'that yt ſhould be indifferentlie heard; and juſtyce 'ſhould be done, whoſoever yt concerned. Thys 'offer of the Lord Cheyffe Juſtice, dyd not then 'agree with hys Lordſhip's purpoſes; for he ment 'to endevour another matter, as hath ben ſpread 'abroade; and knew the truth to bee otherwyſe, as 'hys Devynes have ſett forth, that hymſelfe verie 'honourablie confeſſed at hys laſt breath, in hys 'humbled mynd, which ſhall appeare more at large 'in another place. But to returne to my purpoſe, 'after I had made this end with *Bales*, about the '20th of Februarie 1599, I determined by way 'of *petytion* to have *delyvered the* ſayd bundle of '*letters to the Queene's Majeſtie*, then being at *Rytch-'mond*; whither I repayred, and ſtayed there ſix 'days together for that purpoſe: But although I had 'greate dyſſyre to performe the ſame, and, for the 'cauſes afforeſayd, was before that tyme, retyred from 'the late Earl, yeat, being ſtyll eſteemed to be one 'of his followers, I was ſtayed from approchinge her 'Majeſties preſence; ſo that yt greeved mee greatlie, 'conſydering I had followed and ſerved in the Court 'ſoe many yeares, and alwayes mayntayned myſelfe 'in ſtate of a gentleman; and then, to be kept from preſentinge

(*) Deſigned to intimate, that where he made them, he had re-ſerved ſome mat-ters of import-ance.

(64) This is the ſame P. Ferri-manwhoſeLetter is before quoted; and the ſame, to whom *J. Davies* in his *Scourge of Folly*, p. 200, directs an epi-gram; declaring, that, through love, this *Peter* keeps the *Keys* of his Heart's *Heaven*, and yet is *locked* in.

(65) See alſo a Declaration of the Treaſons of the late Earl of Eſſex and his Complices, &c. 4to, 1601, *Sign.* F. 2, &c.

paid into the Exchequer, King James granted, by his letters patent, to the relict of the ſaid Earl, then Counteſs of Clanrickard, the remaining two thouſand pounds, to be paid in

‘ preſentinge myſelfe to her Majeſtie, and altogether ‘ *rejected, in delyvering the ſayd petytion* and *letters* ‘ as I would; bie reaſon whereof I was dyſcoraged, ‘ and alſoe croſſed in performyng my dutie and deter- ‘ mynation in that behalfe; whereupon enſued, that ‘ through the ymportant *requeſt*, and pytyfull *mone* ‘ made bie the Counteſſe, and others at her requeſt, ‘ at the laſt I yealded to come and ſpeake with her ‘ honour in *York-houſe*, where the Earl of Eſſex ‘ was then comytted to the cuſtodie of the Lord- ‘ Keeper; and her Ladiſhip, at my comyng thether, ‘ uſed many urgent and vehement *perſwatyons*, viz. ‘ That ſhe lyttle thoughte I had any ſuch letters, as ‘ thoſe I ſent her copyes of, from the Court. For, ‘ ſaid ſhe, I proteſt I thought thoſe letters had been ‘ burnt longe ſynce; and now I perceyve you have ‘ them, and meane to delyver them to the Quene, ‘ to the undowing of my Lord and mee: If you will ‘ delyver mee my letters, I will procure my Lord to ‘ bee better to you than hee hath ben, and beſydes, ‘ you ſhall have full recompence for all your loſſes.’ After all this courtſhip, all theſe promiſes, as he pretends, and a great deal more, he was ſtruck with compaſſion; and prevailed on to part with the letters, for a ſum of money, agreed upon in the following manner. When he came from *Richmond*, he had a great deal of diſcourſe with the Counteſs, at *York-houſe*; who expreſſed abundance of remorſe at the obſtructions that had been made to the improvement of his fortune, and their neglect of allowing ſome handſcme proviſion with his wife, all which ſtopped his return to the Court; expecting the effect of theſe fair words, which, ſays he, ſeemed then as ſweet as *honey*, but in the end as bitter as *gall*. To go on in his own ſtile, ‘ The next day the Counteſs ſent a Knight, Sir ‘ Edward Dyer, to my houſe at Charing-Croſs; who ‘ told mee, that hee had not, as yeat, any warrant ‘ to deale with me; but ſayd, he hard of ſome matter ‘ betwene me and the Counteſſe of Eſſex; therefore ‘ dyſſyred I would come to his lodgings the next ‘ morning, which I dyd; and then he confeſſed, that ‘ the Counteſſe had entreated hym to take order with ‘ mee; and ſoe wyſhed that I ſhould ſett downe ‘ the cauſe of my greyffes, and the effect of my ‘ demand; to which I anſwered, that non knew better ‘ then hymſelf, what wronge, loſſe, and hynderance, ‘ I receyved bie followinge the ſaid Earl.’ So repeats his Lordſhip’s failing to prefer him to the Queen’s ſervice? recommending another to the parſonage of *Runcorne*; and the not having received any fortune with his wife: ‘ Then the Knight took pen and inke, ‘ ſaying, he would ſett downe *a thouſand pounds* for ‘ my *recompence*; and I tould hym, that *three thou-* ‘ *ſand pounds* would hardlie anſwere my loſſes. Then ‘ he offred mee *ſeventeen hundred pounds*; to which ‘ I anſwered, that I was worthie of a 1000 *l.* with a ‘ wyffe in marryage, and a 1000 *l.* more, in recom- ‘ pence of my ſervices, and other loſſes; and then he ‘ charged me with my promys, becauſe I had before ‘ referred myſelfe to his judgment, and therefore ſayd, ‘ that *twentie* pounds more ys all I can geve; which, ‘ by his perſwaſion, I *yealded* to accept; whereupon ‘ he willed me to write the cauſe of my demand, ‘ and ſubſcribe my name under this ſumme of 1720 ‘ pounds; which ſumme he had before written in ‘ figures upon a whole ſheet of paper; under which ‘ ſumme, I wrote theſe words; *The ſaid ſumme of* ‘ 1720 *l. I dyſſyre to have, in conſyderation of my* ‘ *wyve’s marriage, and our ſervyces*; and then ſub- ‘ ſcribed my name, *John Danyell:* Which he ac- ‘ cepted on the Counteſſe’s behalf; and the next ‘ day, being the third of *March* 1599; hee, and ‘ others, brought to my houſe at Charing-Croſſe, ‘ 1720 pounds. Thys money being receyvid, the ‘ letters myſſing, were called for; I went with that ‘ money to my cloſett, and brought down all the ‘ bundle of letters; and then, thoſe *four* or *five* ‘ *letters* whereof I had ent *copyes* from *Rytchmond*, ‘ as afforeſayd, were ſpecyallie dyſſyred; which ‘ copyes they had brought, to conferre together with ‘ the orygynalls; for which orygynalls I made ſearech, ‘ in the bundle of letters; but being ſtyll very un- ‘ readie in the hand-writing, I was longe in ſeekyng ‘ for them. Then one of them who was more per- ‘ fect in reading the Earle’s hand-wryting, tooke the ‘ bundle out of my hands, and *found the orygynals* ‘ *preſentlie*; and in examining, began to reade them ‘ openlie; but the other blamed hym, and bade hym ‘ reade to hymſelfe; which being donne, the petycyon ‘ to her Majeſtie, and my letter to the Counteſſe from ‘ *Rytchmond*, were brought forth, and in peruſing ‘ the ſayd petycyon, one ſhaked hys head, and ſayd, ‘ thys matter was neare broching: And ſoe they both ‘ dyſſyred, that the Counteſſe letter to my wyffe, ‘ the petycyon to her Majeſtie, and my ſaid letter to ‘ the Counteſſe, with *all the copies* of the ſaid let- ‘ ters, might be burned; all which was performed ‘ accordinglie. And after thys, I was demanded, yf ‘ I had made any acquynted with the ſayd letters: ‘ I tould them, I had the help of one *Bales*, to teache ‘ me to reade ſome of them. Then they entreated ‘ mee to ſwere upon a booke, that I had delyvered ‘ *all the letters, and copyes*, which came to my hands. ‘ I anſwered, that I had either delyvered them, or ‘ burned them, before their face: And thereupon ‘ they both departed, very well pleaſed: For within ‘ two days after, the Counteſſe ſent me word, ſhe ‘ was ſatyſfyed in every reſpect, and then wyſhed me ‘ as much good of her money, as ſhe had comfort ‘ in receyving her letters.’

In moſt other parts of his book, whence we have tranſcribed this moſt material circumſtance, he is inceſſantly upon his juſtification; and is for convincing us of his ſincerity and innocence throughout this tranſaction, by telling us that, ‘ Yff I had not holden ‘ myſelfe free from all *danger of law*, I would ‘ never have reſumed the inherytance of the par- ‘ ſonage of *Mynſhull*, in my own name, paying for ‘ the ſame 520 *l.* nor have bought the ſtate of the ‘ parſonage of *Hackney*; which coſt me above 700 *l.* ‘ with reparations, new buylding, and making the ‘ aſſurances with other charges. Beſydes, I delyvered ‘ out plate, to the value of 300 *l.* in guylte and ‘ ſylver; with many oxen, kyne, horſes and geldings; ‘ together with apparel; which I made, to attend ‘ in the court, and other goods; for which I had ‘ bonds, ſtatutes and judgments, with other aſſurances ‘ from ſeverall perſons, to the value of 1600 *l.* in ‘ good debt, all which parſonages, debtes, and the ‘ aſſurances for the ſame, I paſſed in my own ‘ name, after I receyved the ſayd ſumme of 1720 *l.* ‘ which may ſatisffie every reaſonable man, that *I* ‘ *helde myſelfe* free from all danger of the law; al- ‘ though the contrarie hath hapned agaynſt me.’ After the Counteſſe of Eſſex had thus finiſhed with Danyell, ſhe cauſed *Bales* to draw up a *Declaration* of his whole engagement in this affair; which he did in the beginning of April 1600, and it appears, that beſides his own name, there were thoſe alſo ſigned to it, of *Peter Ferriman*, and *George Lylle* as parties, ‘ or witneſſes to the matter of fact contained therein; which *Danyell* never heard of, though he had often been with the Counteſs at *York-houſe*, and at the Lady *Walſingham*’s, at *Barn-Elms*, ſince he received the money aforeſaid; till Bales himſelf told him of it, as they were going together to *Weſtminſter*, the day of the Earl’s arraignment; at which, as well as before, at *Eſſex-houſe*, his Lordſhip objected, out of that *Declaration*, the *counterfeiting* his *hand*, and other indirect practices uſed upon his letters. At the *Earl’s Trial*, as appears in a manuſcript account of it, Mr. Attorney took occaſion of entering into the matter of *counterfeiting* his Lordſhip’s *letters*, and declared it was performed by his Lordſhip’s direction, that others might be charged with it: But the Earl ſaid, he was ſo far from employing Danyell to procure ſuch copies, that he earneſtly deſired his puniſhment; yet the robbery of his Lady’s caſket, and extortion from her of ſo much money, was then overlooked; the letters being acknowledged in court, to have nothing of moment in them againſt the ſaid Earl (66). But in little more than a twelvemonth after the writing of the ſaid *Declaration*, both that, and the evidence of its author, were made uſe of, at the conviction of *John Danyell* in the *Star-Chamber*, for forgery and coſenage; and he was fined, pilloried, and impriſoned, as was before declared. He ſpent his time in the Fleet much in writing Apologies, Petitions, Letters, and Dedica-

(66) The *Arraignment* of *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex* and *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, in the Great Hall of Pleas at *Weſtminſter*, her Majeſty then lying at *Whitehall*, fol. MS.

in the ſame annual proportions as the other had been; to reimburſe her loſſes by the ſaid fraudulent extortioner. A true abſtract of that grant is here ſubjoined, for the better underſtanding of this affair [*K*]. After the aforeſaid cenſure of John Danyell, and what he has ſaid of Mr. Bales, little more occurs to us of this our famous Penman. Whether he ever hurt himſelf, by any ſuch improvident generoſity, as to be eaſily drawn into ſuretyſhip by his acquaintance, for any conſiderable ſums of money; or it is only a mere alluſion to his name, we are not certain; but we have met with it, uſed in a manner proverbially, in ſome humorous diſplay of characters publiſhed in the beginning of King James's reign, where ſome extravagant ſpendthrifts are deſcribed to have been reduced to ſuch a ſituation, as *To need the friendſhip of Peter Bales*; which may indeed ſignify no more, than that they were, or likely to be, arreſted for debt, and wanted ſome friends who would be their *Bails* (*o*). However that be, an oblique and invidious

(*o*) His name is applied to ſuch like ſenſe, as we remember, in a ſcarce old tract, entitled, *The Black Book*, 4*to*, 1604.

Dedications of them, to King James, Queen Anne, &c. All which may be ſeen in his MS. volume before us (67), from whence we have above recited every paſſage in which he mentions Mr. *Bales*. We find him further by this book, to have been in the Fleet at leaſt four years; where himſelf, his wife, and three or four children, were reduced to the extremity of having nothing to live upon, but the profits of certain artificial flowers; ſome of them froſted, ſome of needle work, and others called ſattin flowers; which ſhe invented and diſpoſed of for three of thoſe years together; as appears by the petition of the ſaid *Jane* his wife, to the King; wherein ſhe prays, that ſhe may have the ſole privilege of vending her ſaid inventions. There is a Tract at the end of this book, alſo of his writing, called *Danyell's Dyſaſters*; in the dedication whereof, to Sir T. Houlcrofte, he tells him, that he here preſents to his diſcreet patience, the firſt fruits of his travail, ſince his liberty. But if he could have borrowed that patience he celebrates in his patron, he would not have turmoiled his brains with ſuch unſatisfying repetitions of his caſe; from whence it were eaſy to fill two or three ſheets more, with the ebullitions of his corroding inquietude; and all to the ſame purpoſe already mentioned, though in different words; ſo true it is, that *He who will not take Conſcience for his Conductor, ſhall have her for his Tormentor.* But that no future reader of the extracts above, from this MS., may be perverted by the ſpecious pretences therein, of Danyell's procuring copies of the Earl's letters, only to find offences in them, for which the ſtate might condemn him juſtly, and not to ſell them, as well as the originals; we ſhall conclude, with Mr. *Camden*'s account of the matter in theſe words: 'To this cauſe '(Eſſex's) alſo belongeth a *cenſure* given at this time 'in the *Star-Chamber*; and therefore is not to be 'paſſed over in ſilence. I ſaid before, that the Earl 'complained of his letters being counterfeited; hereof 'a diligent enquiry was made, and a *notable impoſture* 'diſcovered. The Counteſs, his wife, miſdoubting 'ſome miſchief to her huſband and herſelf in this 'troubleſome time, put certain *love-letters*, which 'ſhe had received from him, into a cabinet, and 'intruſted them in the keeping of a *Dutch* woman 'named *Rihove*; this *Dutch* woman hid them at her 'houſe: By chance, *John Danyell* her huſband (68), 'lighted upon them, read them, and obſerving that 'there was ſomewhat in them which might endanger 'the Earl, and incenſe the Queen, cauſed them to be 'tranſcribed by one that was expert in imitating hands 'very like the original: And when the fearful Counteſs 'was ready to lie-in, he told her, that he would preſently deliver them into the hands of the Earl's enemies, unleſs ſhe would forthwith give him 3000 'pounds. She, to avoid the danger, gave him preſently 1720 pounds (69), and yet for that great ſum, 'ſhe received not the original letters, but the copies 'from the *impoſtor*; who purpoſed to wipe the Earl's 'adverſaries alſo of a great ſumme of money for the 'originals. For this impoſture he was condemned to 'perpetual impriſonment, fined three thouſand pounds, 'whereof the Counteſs was to have 2000, and to 'ſtand with his ears nailed to the pillory, with this 'inſcription, a wicked Forger and Impoſtor (70).' All that we know further of this *John Danyell*, may be read in the next note.

(67) Which may be entitled: A *Declaration* of the *Suffrings* of *John Danyell* of *Dereſburit*, E'q; for his Practiſes with the Earl of *Eſſex* his *Letters*, 4*to*, dated from the Fleet, 1602, &c.

(68) There muſt be a miſtake here; for *Danyell* himſelf calls the daughter of Sir *Gilly Merrick* his wife, as we before obſerved.

(69) This ſum is erroneouſly printed in the edition before us, which ſhould be corrected as we have done here.

(70) Annals of Queen Elizabeth, fol. 1688, p. 630.

[*K*] *For the better underſtanding of this affair.*] The ſaid letters patent ſet forth: That King James, in the fifth year of his reign, made a grant to the aforeſaid Counteſs, now of Clanrickard; in which it appears, that it having been decreed on the 17th of *June*, in the 43d year of the late Queen's reign, by her counſel in the *Star-Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*, that *John Daniell* of *Derſhurie* in the county of *Cheſter*, Eſq; for divers great offences by him committed, in couſining, and indamaging of the ſaid *Frances*, then Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and now wife to *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*; and for divers other wrongs, and abuſes offered unto her, ſhould pay to the ſaid late Queen *Elizabeth*, her heirs, &c. the ſum of *three thouſand pounds* for a fine. And it is in the ſaid decree alſo expreſſed, that the meaning of the Lords of the Councell was, to be ſuitors to her Majeſty, that ſhe would allow the ſaid Counteſs *two thouſand pounds* for her damage, and loſs out of the ſaid fine; for the ſatisfaction whereof, an *inquiſition* was taken the 14th day of *September* in the 43d year of the reign aforeſaid, by *Thomas Aſton*, Sheriffe of *Cheſter*, of ſuch lands, and goods, whereof the ſaid *John Daniell* was then ſeized; and they were extended to the yearly value of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* and the ſaid extent was duely returned. Afterwards the Queen, by her letters patent, under the great ſeal, dated 26th of *January* in the 44th year of her reign, demiſed, granted, and to farm let, unto the ſaid Counteſs, all the lands and hereditaments of the ſaid *John Daniell*, mentioned in that *inquiſition*; to have, and to hold, ſo long as they ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the crown, for payment of that fine. In which ſaid letters patents there is reſerved the rent of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* yearly to be paid into the Exchequer. And whereas, by the payment of that rent, and by the ſale of certain goods of the ſaid *John Daniell*, there has been paid towards the ſaid fine 1024 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* as by a certificate under the hand of *Edward Wardour*, Clerk of the Pells, appears (being 24 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* more than was intended to the crown by that decree). Therefore his ſaid Majeſty, inclining to accord with that intention, grants, by theſe preſents, to *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*, and the ſaid Lady *Frances*, now his wife, the remains of the ſaid ſum, or fine, of 3000 pounds as yet unpaid; and all his intereſt in the ſaid extent, and in the ſaid rent of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* till they ſhall receive the remains of the ſaid fine. And that they may have, hold, and enjoy all the lands, meſſuages, and tenements expreſſed in the ſaid letters patent, and apply to their own uſe, and behoof, all the profits and benefits that may ariſe from the ſaid premiſes, till the fine be fully ſatisfied: And for the better keeping account how the ſame is paid, the ſaid Earl and Counteſs, ſhall, according to the times appointed, pay yearly, into the Exchequer, the ſaid ſum of 68 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 *d.* And the officers thereof, are thereupon hereby authoriſed and commanded forthwith to repay them the ſaid yearly rent. For the doing whereof, theſe letters patents, or the inrollments of them, ſhall be ſufficient warrant and diſcharge to the Treaſurer, Chancellor, &c. and all officers of the Exchequer, &c. *Dat.* Weſtminſter, the third day of November, in the fifth year of his reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the one and fortieth. *Clapham.*

Per Breve de Privat. Sigillo.

Irrot' in Theſaurar' Recept. Sccii Dm. Regis Jacobi, 28 Die Novembris 1607. *An' Regni ſui Angliæ, ac Franc. et Hibnie, quinto, et Scotie* 41*mo.*

Will. Skynner.

Irrot' per Edw. Wardour, Clericum Pellien' { 28 *Die Decembr' Anno Quinto Regis Jacobi* 1607.

Examinat' per me Thomam Martin, &c.

reflection,

reflection, that ſeems ſome few years after to have been publickly made on his circumſtances, repreſenting him obliged to remove from place to place to avoid his creditors, might favour the former conjecture. This reflection we have in an epigram, compoſed with prejudice perceivable enough, by one of his own profeſſion, as we obſerved before; who has therein traduced his abilities, through envy of the ſucceſs which they procured him; and has perhaps therefore as unjuſtly traduced his circumſtances: For writers, and eſpecially poets, the title of which they both claimed, would envy one another, as well as potters, blackſmiths, and even beggars; the brighteſt authors, as well as the dirtieſt artizans, being ſubject to that mean and beggarly paſſion towards one another, ſo long ſince as the days of Heſiod (*p*). The epigram aforeſaid, which we take to have been impoſed upon his character, in his ſeemingly decayed, or declining condition, was publiſhed, as we compute, in 1610, and though he therein appears to have been alive when it was written, it is poſſible he might not have been long dead when it was printed: But this is ſubmitted, by a tranſcript here given of it [*L*], to the judgment of our readers.

(*p*) In *Op. Dies.*

[*L*] *By a tranſcript here given of it.*] Our reaſon that the book wherein the ſaid epigram is printed, was publiſhed in the year 1610, is drawn from the 170th page of it, where there is an epigram addreſſed to Dr. *Geo. Abbot* Biſhop of *London*; he being in that See but that one year. But the epigram which we take to have been written againſt Maſter Bales, is as follows:

Of a Pen *for a* Running-Hand.

The *Hand*, and *Golden Pen*, *Clophonian*
Sets on his *Sign*; to ſhew, O proud, poor Soul,
Both where he wonnes, and how the ſame he wan,
From Writers fair, though he writ ever foul:
But by that Hand, that Pen ſo borne hath been,
From Place to Place, that for *this laſt half Year*,
It ſcarce a ſen'night at a place is ſeen,
That Hand ſo plies that Pen, though neer the neare:
For when men ſeek it elſe-where it is ſent;
Or there ſhut up, as for the Plague, for Rent:
Without which *ſtay*, it never *ſtill* could *ſtand*,
Becauſe the *Pen* is for *a Running-Hand* (71).

O.

(71) J. Davies his Scourge of Folly, 8*vo*, p. 104.

BALEY or BAILEY (WALTER), author of ſome treatiſes mentioned below [*A*], was ſon of Henry Baley of Warnwell in Dorſetſhire, and born at Portſham in that county. He was educated at Wincheſter-ſchool, and admitted perpetual Fellow of New College in Oxford, in the year 1550, after having ſerved two years of probation. Having taken the degrees of Batchelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded upon the Phyſic line, and was admitted to practiſe in that Faculty, in 1558, being at that time Proctor of the univerſity, and Prebendary of Dultingcote or Dulcot in the church of Wells, which preferment he reſigned in 1579. In 1561, he was appointed the Queen's Profeſſor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Oxford. Two years after, he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty, and at laſt was appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to her Majeſty. He was eſteemed to be very ſkilful in his profeſſion, and was much followed for his practice. He died March the 3d 1592, at 63 years of age, and was buried in the Inner Chapel of New College in Oxford. His poſterity, Mr. Wood tells us, ſubſiſted at Ducklington near Whitney in Oxfordſhire, and ſome of them had been Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid county (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 255.

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Treatiſes.*] I. *A Diſcourſe of three Kinds of Pepper in common Uſe.* This piece was printed in 1558, in 8*vo*, and dedicated to Sir John Horſey. II. *A brief Treatiſe of the Preſervation of the Eye-ſight*; printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign in 12*mo*, and at Oxford in 1616, and 1654 in 8*vo*. In the edition of 1616 there is added another *Treatiſe of the Eye-ſight*, collected from Fernelius and Riolanus; but by what hand, we are not told. They both paſs under Dr. Baley's name. III. *Directions for Health, natural and artificial, with Medicines for all Diſeaſes of the Eye*, 1626, 4*to*. IV. *Explicatio Galeni de potu convaleſcentium et ſenum, et præcipue de noſtræ alæ et biriæ paratione*, &c. i. e. 'An Explication of Galen 'concerning the drink of thoſe who are recovering 'from a fit of ſickneſs, and the aged; and particu-'larly concerning the preparation of Engliſh Ale and 'Beer, &c.' This piece was in Manuſcript, in 4*to*, in the library of Robert Earl of Ayleſbury (1). B.

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 255.

* For the materials of this article we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Balguy.

[BALGUY (JOHN)*, an eminent divine of the Church of England, in the preſent century, was born on the 12th of Auguſt, 1686, at Sheffield in Yorkſhire. His father, Thomas Balguy, was Maſter of the free grammar-ſchool in that place [*A*]; and from him he received the firſt rudiments of his grammatical education. After his father's death, he was put under the inſtruction of Mr. Daubuz, who ſucceeded to the Maſterſhip of the ſame ſchool, Sept. 23, 1696, for whom he always profeſſed a great reſpect (*a*). In 1702, he was admitted of St. John's college Cambridge, under the care of Dr.

(*a*) Mr. Daubuz was the author of a Commentary on the Revelations, which is held in good eſteem, and is particularly recommended by Dr. Newton (the preſent learned Biſhop of Briſtol) in his Diſſertations on the Prophecies, Vol. iii. p. 8. 1ſt edit.

[*A*] *His father, Thomas Balguy*, &c.] The grandfather of Mr. John Balguy, was Thomas Balguy, a Clergyman in Northamptonſhire, who lived at or near Oundle, and ſeems to have died between the years 1656 and 1659. Thomas Balguy, his ſon, was born in Middleſex, about the year 1643; and, in 1656, was put to ſchool at Oundle, where he remained till 1659; when he was removed to St. John's-college, Cambridge. In 1663 he was admitted to the degree of B. A.; and is believed to have taken afterwards that of M. A. At Lady-day, 1664, he became Maſter of the free-ſchool at Sheffield; where he ſeems to have continued for more than 30 years. He died in 1696, at which time his ſon John was in the 10th year of his age. By the mother's ſide, Mr. John Balguy deſcended from Dr. Weſtfield, Biſhop of Briſtol (1).

(1) A ſhort account of Biſhop Weſtfield may be ſeen in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. i. Faſti, p. 190.

Edmondſon, and of Dr. Lambert, afterwards Maſter of that college. He frequently lamented, in the ſucceeding part of his life, that he had waſted nearly two years of his reſidence there in reading romances [*B*]. But, at the end of that time, he had the good fortune to meet with Livy, went through him with great delight, and from thence forward applied himſelf to ſerious ſtudies. In 1705-6, he was admitted to the degree of B. A. and to that of M. A. in the year 1726. Soon after he had taken his Bachelor's degree, he quitted the Univerſity, and was engaged, for a while, in teaching the free ſchool at Sheffield. But whether he was ever choſen Maſter, or only employed during a vacancy, does not appear. On the 15th of July, 1708, he was taken into the family of Mr. Banks (*b*), as private tutor to his ſon, Joſeph Banks, Eſq; afterwards of Reresby in the county of Lincoln, and grandfather of the preſent Joſeph Banks, Eſq; ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill in Natural Hiſtory, and the expences, labours, and voyages, he has undergone to promote that part of ſcience. Mr. Balguy, in 1710, was admitted to Deacon's orders, by Dr. Sharp, Archbiſhop of York; and in 1711 he was ordained a Prieſt by the ſame eminent Prelate. By Mr. Banks's means, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Mr. Bright of Badſworth, in the county of York; and was by him recommended to his father (*c*), Sir Henry Liddel, grandfather to the preſent Lord Ravenſworth. In 1711, this gentleman, who lived at Ravenſworth Caſtle, in the county of Durham, took Mr. Balguy into his family; and beſtowed upon him the donative of Lameſly and Tanfield in that county (*d*). For the firſt four years after he had obtained this ſmall preferment, he did not intermit one week without writing a new ſermon; and all his ſermons were of his own compoſition. Being deſirous that ſo excellent an example ſhould be followed by his ſon, he deſtroyed almoſt his whole ſtock; and committed, at one time, two hundred and fifty to the flames; moſt of which deſerved to have been uſed in the very beſt congregations. In July, 1715, he married Sarah, daughter of Chriſtopher and Sarah Broomhead of Sheffield. She was born in 1686, and by her he had only a ſon, the preſent Dr. Thomas Balguy, Archdeacon of Winchester (*e*), who owes his Archdeaconry, and all his other preferments, to the favour and friendſhip of Biſhop Hoadly. After his marriage, he left Sir Henry Liddel's family, and lived at a houſe not far diſtant, called Cox-cloſe; where he enjoyed, for many years, the friendſhip of George Liddel, Eſq; member for Berwick upon Tweed (*f*), a younger ſon of Sir Henry, who uſually reſided at Ravenſworth Caſtle. The firſt occaſion of Mr. Balguy's appearance as an author, was afforded by the Bangorian controverſy. In 1718, he publiſhed, without his name, 'Silvius's Examination of certain Doctrines 'lately taught and defended by the Rev. Mr. Stebbing;' and, in the following year, 'Silvius's Letter to the Rev. Dr. Sherlock [*C*].' Both of theſe performances were written in vindication of Biſhop Hoadly. Mr. Stebbing having written againſt theſe pamphlets, Mr.

(*b*) Mr. Banks then lived at Scofton in Nottinghamſhire.

(*c*) Mr. Bright had taken that name inſtead of Liddel. He was grandfather of the preſent Marchioneſs of Rockingham.

(*d*) Sir Henry's own houſe was in the Chapelry of Lameſly.

(*e*) Born Sept. 27th, 1716.

(*f*) This gentleman paid him the compliment of leaving ten pounds a year to his ſon, for life.

[*B*] *Waſted nearly two years, &c. in reading romances.*] If Mr. Balguy had continued to read romances with the ſame avidity which he had done for the two firſt years of his reſidence at Cambridge, the conſequences might have been very fatal to his future improvement. But, as he had the good fortune to recover himſelf early, and to apply to a more regular and important courſe of ſtudies, perhaps his time was not ſo greatly waſted as he himſelf apprehended. A moderate peruſal of the beſt romances may be indulged in youth, as they have ſome tendency to invigorate the fancy. It is well known that Spenſer, Milton, and other Poets, ſtrengthened their imaginations by the reading of them; and it is poſſible that proſe writers may have hence acquired a greater livelineſs of compoſition. We ſhould remember, that the romances of the period we are ſpeaking of, though very unnatural, had, ſeveral of them, much invention; and that they abounded with high and heroic ſentiments of purity, generoſity, and honour. As to the common run of novels, which, of late years, have been poured in ſuch ſhoals upon the public, and which have infatuated ſo many young minds, eſpecially of the female ſex, they are unhappily calculated both to pervert the underſtanding and to corrupt the heart.

[*C*] *Silvius's letter to Dr. Sherlock.*] In the courſe of the controverſy, Dr. Sherlock was treated with ſome degree of perſonal ſeverity; ſo far, at leaſt, as was conſiſtent with good manners, which Mr. Balguy never tranſgreſſed. Notwithſtanding this, Dr. Sherlock, when he became a Biſhop, not only ſpoke of Mr. Balguy in the moſt handſome terms, but recommended him to Queen Caroline as worthy of farther promotion. A conduct ſo generous occaſioned, as it deſerved, a genteel letter from Mr. Balguy to the Biſhop, at the time when he was upon the point of being tranſlated from Bangor to Saliſbury. The letter is unfortunately loſt or miſlaid. But Dr. Sherlock's anſwer is preſerved; and we have here inſerted it, as it does great honour to the good-ſenſe, liberality, and candour of that eminent Prelate.

'SIR, Temple, Nov. 2d, 1734.

'I Am very much obliged to you for the favour of 'your's, and for your congratulation upon my re-'moval to Saliſbury. If the relation I ſtand in to you 'ſhould hereafter afford me any opportunity of being 'better known to you, it will be very acceptable and 'agreeable to me. If I have wiſhed you well, and 'that I have, you have been rightly informed; it 'was owing to your merit and great abilities, and 'the opinion I conceived of you from your late 'writings. When I ſay *late* writings, I have no 'intention to find fault with your former writings; 'leaſt of all with what may more immediately con-'cern myſelf; in regard to which I can truly ſay, that 'I never had a moment's reſentment againſt you in 'my life. We differ in opinion upon ſome points; 'but that is ſo far from leſſening the eſteem I have 'for your judgment, that there is no body I would 'more readily deſire to converſe with on theſe points 'than yourſelf. Surely I ſhould ſee, or you would 'ſee, ſomething that was obſcured by the warmth 'of the controverſy. Give me leave, Sir, to thank 'you for having ſo good an opinion of me as to give 'credit to the report made to you by ſome friend 'of yours. I eſteem it a mark of your goodneſs; 'for I find it hard for perſons unconcerned to think 'that there can be any good will between thoſe who 'have differed publickly in opinion. But I am per-'ſuaded, that oftentimes the imputation of want of 'charity in writers, is more owing to the malignity 'of thoſe who judge, than of thoſe who write. I

Mr. Balguy, in 1720, again appeared from the preſs, in the cauſe of the Biſhop, in a tract, entitled, 'Silvius's Defence of a Dialogue between a Papiſt and a Proteſtant, in 'anſwer to the Rev. Mr. Stebbing: to which are added ſeveral remarks and obſervations 'upon that author's manner of writing.' This alſo being anſwered by Mr. Stebbing, Mr. Balguy had prepared a farther defence: but Dr. Hoadly prevailed upon him to ſuppreſs it, on account of the public's having grown weary of the controverſy (*g*), and the unwillingneſs of the bookſellers to venture upon any new works relating to it, at their own riſque. For a different reaſon the Biſhop perſuaded him, though with difficulty, to abſtain from printing another piece which he had written, called, a Letter to Dr. Clarke; of whom, through his whole life, he was a great admirer [*D*]. In 1726, he publiſhed—'A Letter to a Deiſt, concerning the beauty and excellence of moral 'virtue; and the ſupport and improvement which it receives from the Chriſtian revela-'tion.' In this treatiſe, he has attacked, with the greateſt politeneſs, and with equal ſtrength of reaſon, ſome of the principles advanced by the noble and celebrated writer of the Characteriſtics, in his Enquiry concerning Virtue. On the 25th of January, 1727-8, Mr. Balguy was collated, by Biſhop Hoadly, to a prebend in the church of Saliſbury; among the advantages of which preferment was the right of preſenting to four livings, and of preſenting alternately to two others. The beſt of them did not fall in his life-time. But two ſmall livings were diſpoſed of by him; one to Mr. Robinſon (*b*), who married his wife's ſiſter; the other to his own ſon. In the year 1727, or 1728, he preached an aſſize ſermon at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, the ſubject of which was party ſpirit. It was printed by order of the Judges, and either inſcribed or dedicated to Dr. Talbot, Biſhop of Durham (*i*). 'The Foundation of moral Goodneſs, or a farther Enquiry into the 'Original of our Idea of Virtue,' was publiſhed by him in 1728. This performance, which is written in a very maſterly and candid manner, was in anſwer to Mr. Hutcheſon's Enquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; and the deſign of it is to ſhew, that moral goodneſs doth not depend ſolely upon inſtincts and affections; but is grounded on the unalterable reaſon of things. Mr. Balguy acquired, about this time, the friendſhip of Dr. Talbot, Biſhop of Durham; for which he was chiefly indebted to Dr. Rundle, afterwards Biſhop of Derry: though ſomething, perhaps, might be due to his acquaintance with Dr. Benſon [*E*], Dr. Secker, and Dr. Butler. Through the aſſiſtance of his friends in the Chapter of Durham, ſupported by the good offices of Biſhop Talbot [*F*], he obtained, on the 12th of Auguſt 1729, the vicarage of North-Allerton, in Yorkſhire, at that time worth only two hundred and ſeventy pounds a year, on which preferment he continued to his death. This was, in ſome meaſure, his own fault: for he neglected all the uſual methods of recommending himſelf to his ſuperiors. He had many invitations from Dr. Blackburne, Archbiſhop of York, and Dr. Chandler, Biſhop of Durham; but he conſtantly refuſed to accept of them. In the ſame year (*k*), he publiſhed, 'The ſecond part of the Foundation of moral Goodneſs; illuſtrating and

(*g*) It ſhould ſeem, too, that the Court, as well as the public, was grown weary of the controverſy.

(*b*) This was Chriſtopher Robinſon, M.A. author of ſome Diſcourſes in Defence of the Chriſtian Revelation.

(*i*) It was afterwards reprinted, together with five others, and again, at the end of his Collection of Sermons, publiſhed by himſelf, in an 8*vo* vol.

(*k*) 1729.

'enforcing

'heartily wiſh you health and happineſs, and I pray 'God to have you in his good keeping.

'I am, Sir,

'your very humble ſervant,

'Tho. Bangor.'

[*D*] *Another piece which he had written, called, a Letter to Dr. Clarke; of whom, &c.*] From two letters of Biſhop Hoadly to Mr. Balguy, it appears that both the Biſhop and Dr. Clarke were exceedingly fearful of any thing's being publiſhed which might be prejudicial to the Doctor's intereſt; ſo that he could not *then* (1720) have come to the reſolution which he afterwards formed, of declining farther preferment, rather than repeat his ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles. The ſolicitude of Dr. Hoadly and Dr. Clarke to prevent Mr. Balguy's intended publication, was the more remarkable, as it did not relate to the Trinity, or to any obnoxious point in theology; but to the natural immortality of the ſoul, and ſuch philoſophical queſtions as might have been deemed of an innocent and indifferent nature.

[*E*] *But he was acquainted alſo with Dr. Benſon, &c.*] How great the regard was which this excellent Prelate had for Mr. Balguy, will be apparent from a letter he wrote to him upon receiving from him a preſent of his volume of ſermons.

'Berry-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, March 3, 1747-8.

'Dear Sir,

'I Received laſt night from Mr. Pemberton the 'valuable preſent you have ſo obligingly favoured 'me with, for which I think myſelf obliged to re-'turn you my earlieſt thanks. I may ſafely return 'thanks for whatever you write before I read it. I 'am ſure to be highly entertained, and it muſt be 'my own fault, if I am not improved too. I am 'able to eſtimate the pleaſure I muſt have in reading 'the diſcourſes now firſt printed, from what I had 'in reading the ſix which were printed before. 'Theſe, in proportion as they are more in number, 'muſt give me ſtill more pleaſure. With my thanks, 'my good wiſhes of all kinds wait upon you, and 'with much regard

'I am,

'your faithful obliged ſervant

'and affectionate brother,

'M. Gloceſter.'

[*F*] *Supported by the good offices of Biſhop Talbot, &c.*] To the letter of thanks, which was written by Mr. Balguy to Dr. Talbot on this occaſion, the good Biſhop, who was a diſtinguiſhed patron of eminent and worthy men, returned the following anſwer.

'Newſtead near Epſom, Dec. 1, 1729.

'I Received yours of the 25th of Nov. in which you 'make too great acknowledgments of the little 'ſervice I did you. I do aſſure you, you cannot 'enjoy greater ſatisfaction in your new cure, than I 'do in having been inſtrumental in promoting ſo 'worthy a perſon to that poſt. I pray God preſerve 'your health, and give ſucceſs to your labours 'for his glory, and the good of the ſouls committed 'to your care.

'I am,

'your very affectionate friend

'and brother,

'W. Dureſme.'

'enforcing the principles and reaſonings contained in the former: Being an anſwer to 'certain remarks communicated by a gentleman to the author.' The writer of theſe remarks was Lord Darcy. Mr. Balguy has inſerted, at length, every article of his Lordſhip's obſervations, and affixed to each of them a diſtinct reply. His next publi-
(l) 1730. cation (*l*) was, 'Divine Rectitude: or, A brief Enquiry concerning the moral Perfections 'of the Deity; particularly, in reſpect of Creation and Providence [*G*].' A queſtion then much agitated was, concerning the firſt ſpring of action in the Deity. This is aſſert-
(m) *Vid.* the article, Grove. ed by our author to be rectitude; while Mr. Grove (*m*) contended that it is wiſdom, and
(n) A diſſenting miniſter at Tunbridge Wells. Mr. Bayes (*n*) that it is benevolence. The difference between Mr. Grove and Mr. Balguy was chiefly verbal; and it is generally underſtood that the latter had the advantage in point of perſpicuity and propriety both of ſentiment and expreſſion. Mr. Balguy and Mr. Grove differed materially from Mr. Bayes, as they ſuppoſed that God might have ends in view, diſtinct from, and ſometimes interfering with, the happineſs of his creatures. How far they were right in their opinion, is not the buſineſs of this place to determine; but it muſt be acknowledged, that Mr. Bayes's ſcheme was more ſimple and intelligible. The Eſſay on Divine Rectitude was followed by 'A ſecond Letter to a 'Deiſt, concerning a late book, entitled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation; more par-'ticularly that chapter which relates to Dr. Clarke.' To this ſucceeded, 'The Law of 'Truth, or the Obligations of Reaſon eſſential to all Religion, to which are prefixed 'ſome remarks ſupplemental to a late tract; entitled, Divine Rectitude.' All the treatiſes that have been mentioned (excepting the aſſize ſermon, and the pieces which were written in the Bangorian controverſy) were collected, after having gone through ſeveral ſeparate editions, by Mr. Balguy, into one volume, and publiſhed with a dedication to Biſhop Hoadly. This dedication hath been reprinted in the late edition of the works of that Prelate, together with two letters of the Biſhop relating to it, one to Mr. Balguy, and the other to Lady Sundon. The greateſt regard for our author is expreſſed by Dr. Hoadly in both theſe letters, and he acknowledges the pleaſure it gave him to receive the ſincere praiſes of a man whom he ſo highly eſteemed. 'I have prevented,' ſays he, 'multitudes of dedications to myſelf; and hitherto diſcouraged every one that hath 'offered itſelf; but there are ſome perſons, at leaſt one, from whom ſuch things cannot be 'diſagreeable. I cannot think it a blameable vanity, even to be proud of a public mark 'of eſteem from thoſe who deſerve the higheſt themſelves; and ſomething as different 'from being tickled with the common nauſeous panegyric, as any thing can be.' In the letter to Lady Sundon, the Biſhop obſerves, 'I remember in Don Quixote a ſaying, —"Though I know this man to be a coxcomb, yet how ſweet is flattery even from "him!" What muſt I ſay, when it comes from a man of great and uncommon ſenſe, who
(*) Life of Biſhop Hoadly prefixed to the firſt vol. of his works, p. 39, 40. 'believes every word of it to be true (*).' In 1741, appeared Mr. Balguy's Eſſay on Redemption [*H*]. This, and his volume of ſermons, including ſix which had been publiſhed before, were the laſt pieces committed by him to the preſs. A poſthumous volume was afterwards printed, which contained almoſt the whole of the ſermons he left behind him: Mr. Balguy may juſtly be reckoned among the divines and writers who rank with the great names of Clarke and of Hoadly. He was the friend of theſe illuſtrious men, and was aſſociated with them in maintaining the cauſe of rational religion and Chriſtian liberty. His tracts will be allowed to be maſterly in their kind, by thoſe who may not entirely agree with the philoſophical principles advanced in them; and his ſermons will long be held in eſteem, as ſome of the beſt in the Engliſh language. He was remarkable for his moderation to Diſſenters of every denomination; not excepting even Roman Catholics; though no man had a greater abhorrence of Popery. Among the Preſbyterians and Quakers he had a number of friends, whom he loved and valued; and with ſeveral of them he kept up a correſpondence of letters as well as viſits. Among other Diſſenters of note, he was acquainted with the late Lord Barrington, and Philips Glover, Eſq; of Lincolnſhire, author of an Enquiry concerning Virtue and Happineſs, publiſhed after his deceaſe, in 1751 (§). With the laſt gentleman, Mr. Balguy had a philoſophical

(§) Mr. Glover printed, when living, two pamphlets, one on Sincerity; the other, on the Diſtinction between Virtue and Religion.

[*G*] *Divine rectitude*, &c.] This tract was deſigned originally to explain the divine diſpenſations, on the ſubjects of creation, providence, redemption, and a future ſtate. The author meant to ſhew, that each of theſe might be better explained on the principle of rectitude, than on that of benevolence. The *two firſt* heads only were conſidered in the pamphlet now mentioned. The *third* we have in his Eſſay on Redemption. The *fourth* was never executed.

[*H*] *In* 1741, *appeared Mr. Balguy's Eſſay on Redemption.*] In this Eſſay, he explains the doctrine of atonement in a manner ſomething ſimilar to that which was afterwards adopted by Dr. John Taylor of Norwich. Biſhop Hoadly, though highly pleaſed with the work, did not think that Mr. Balguy had entirely ſucceeded in the poſitive part. 'I thank you, 'ſays that Prelate,' in a letter dated March 6, 1741-2, 'for the moſt ingenious little book you ſent 'me ſome time ago. You have done honour to 'Chriſtianity, by ridding it of ſome abſurd doctrines 'which have been long made almoſt eſſential to it: 'or at leaſt by making ſo ſtrong an effort to this end '—too ſtrong, in my opinion, for any to withſtand, 'or render ineffectual; however diſpleaſed they may 'be. The other part was exceedingly agreeable to 'me; but I cannot yet ſay, ſo convincing. I dare 'ſay you receive from many hands objections againſt 'both parts. I hope you will reconſider the poſitive 'part again and again, and any arguments you may 'have heard againſt it. Some, who are very glad 'of the demoliſhing part of it, and who think there 'is nothing in the other, but what every good man 'might wiſh to be the truth, are not yet perſuaded 'that what you have writ is the whole of that branch 'of the Goſpel-ſcheme which you handle; or that 'the evidence produced from the New Teſtament 'itſelf is ſufficient to eſtabliſh it.'

correſpondence. Having always had a weakly conſtitution, his want of health induced him, in the decline of life, to withdraw almoſt totally from company, excepting what he found at Harrogate; a place which he conſtantly frequented every ſeaſon, and where, at laſt, he died, on the 21ſt of September, 1748, in the 63d year of his age.] K.

BALIOL or BALLIOL (JOHN DE), [*A*] founder of Balliol-College in Oxford, was the ſon of Hugh de Balliol [*B*] of Bernard's-caſtle in the dioceſe of Durham (*a*). He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knights fees [*C*], a conſiderable eſtate in thoſe times. But he received a great addition thereto, by his marriage with Dervorgille [*D*], one of the three daughters and coheireſſes of Alan of Galloway (a great Baron in Scotland) by Margaret the eldeſt ſiſter of John Scot, the laſt Earl of Cheſter, and one of the heirs to David, ſome time earl of Huntingdon (*b*). From the year 1248 to 1254 he was Sheriff of the county of Cumberland (*c*); and in 1248 was conſtituted Governor of the caſtle of Carliſle (*d*). Upon the marriage of Margaret daughter of King Henry III. to Alexander III. King of Scotland, the guardianſhip of them both, and of that kingdom, was committed to our Sir John de Balliol (*e*), and to another Lord (*f*); but, about three years after, they were ſo grievouſly accuſed of abuſing their truſt, that the king marched towards Scotland with an army, to chaſtiſe them. However, in conſideration of the many important ſervices performed, in the moſt difficult times, to K. John the King's father's, by Hugh our John Balliol's father; and eſpecially by a ſum of money, of which he had great plenty, he ſoon made his peace (*g*). In the year 1258, he had orders to attend the King at Cheſter, with horſe and arms, to oppoſe the incurſions of Lhewelyn Prince of Wales (*h*). And, two years after, in recompence of his ſervice to King Henry, as well in France as in England, he had a grant of two hundred marks; for diſcharging which, the King gave him the wardſhip of William de Waſſingle (*i*). In part of the years 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, and 1264, he was ſheriff for the counties of Nottingham and Derby (*k*): and in 1261, was appointed keeper of the honour of Peverell (*l*). In 1263 he began the foundation and endowment of Balliol-college in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow (*m*) [*E*]. During

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 523, 524.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 524. & p. 526. & 609.

(*c*) Rot. Pip. 32 Hen. III. Cumb.

(*d*) Pat. 32. Hen. III. m. 8.

(*e*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1252. p. 350.

(*f*) Robert de Roſs of Werke.

(*g*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1255. p. 362. et Mat. Paris Hiſt. Angl. Edit. 1640. p. 908, 909.

(*h*) Clauſ. 42 Hen. III. m. 11.

(*i*) Clauſ. 44. Hen. III. m. 5.

(*k*) Rot. Pip. Nott. & Derb.

(*l*) Pat. 46. Hen. III. m. 20.

(*m*) H. Savage's Ballio-fergus, as above p. 6.

[*A*] BALLIOL (JOHN DE). So his name is commonly written (1). But it is found otherwiſe in different authors: As, for inſtance, in M. Paris, *de Bailliol* (2), *de Bailloil* (3), *de Baillol* (4), and *de Baliol* (5). In Matthew of Weſtminſter, *de Baliolo* (6), *de Bailol* (7), and *de Baillol* (8). And in Henry de Knyghton, *de Balliolo* (9). Modern authors commonly write it *Baliol*.

[*B*] *Was the ſon of* Hugh de Balliol.] *N—— de Balliol*, Lord of the Manors or Seigneuries, of Baillol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France (10), came in with William the Conqueror.——His ſon *Guy*, as is ſuppoſed, was made Lord of the Foreſt of Teeſdale and Marwood by William Rufus, who gave him alſo the manors of Middleton and Gainsford in Northumberland (11).—— He was ſucceeded in theſe eſtates by his ſon *Bernard de Baillol*, who built that ſtrong caſtle on the banks of the river Teeſe, called from him *Bernard-caſtle*.———— His ſon was named *Euſtace*;——whoſe ſon *Hugh de Baillol* was father of *John*, who is the ſubject of this article. This is the pedigree of that noble family, as traced by Sir W. Dugdale (12). Dr. James Anderſon ſets it down thus (13), *Guy—Guy—Hugh—Bernard—John*. And Dr. Henry Savage, in a manner different from both, *viz. Bernard Balliol—John—Edward—Bernard—John* founder of Balliol college (14). Which is the trueſt, we cannot poſſibly determine, at ſo great a diſtance of time.

[*C*] *He was a perſon very eminent for power and riches, being poſſeſſed of thirty Knight's fees.*] That he was eminent for power and riches, we learn from Matt. Paris; who calls him —— *magnæ virum potentiæ & auctoritatis* (15), and —— *Miles dives & potens* (16). ———— And that he was poſſeſſed of thirty Knights fees appears from hence: becauſe in the twenty-ninth of King Henry III. he paid thirty pounds upon levying the aid for marying the King's eldeſt daughter, for the *thirty Knights fees* he held (17). And again, in the fortieth year of the ſaid King, he paid ſixty pounds for the ſame, upon levying the aid for making the King's eldeſt ſon a Knight (18). ———— To ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, we ſhall give a ſhort account of what a *Knight's fee* was. It was then ſo much inheritance in land as was ſufficient to maintain a Knight; and this was *fifteen pounds* a year in the time of King Henry III. (19): but by the Statute 1 Edw. II. c. i. a Knight's fee was *twenty pounds* a year. Sir Tho. Smith rates it at *forty pounds per ann.* (20) According to Sir Edw. Coke, a Knight's fee contained four hundred and eighty acres of land (21): but, according to others (22), ſix hundred and eighty, or eight hundred, acres. So that, allowing for the difference in the preſent value of money from what it was in the reign of King Henry III. a Knight's fee of twenty pounds *per ann.* then, would be now worth near 400 *l.* a year.

[*D*] *Dervorgille*] Her name is variouſly written, *Dervorgille*, *Dervorgulle*, *Dervorguille*, *Dervorguilla*, *Devorgoyle*, and *Devorgulla* (23). She was, in her own right, Counteſs of Huntingdon, Lady of Galloway, and alſo coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter. The two former titles, of *Counteſs of Huntingdon*, and *Lady of Galloway*, ſhe obtained, as being one of the three daughters and heirs of *Alan* Baron of Galloway, by his wife Margaret, eldeſt daughter of *David* Earl of Angus, Galloway, and Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, King of Scotland (24). But it is a queſtion, whether this Earldom was ſuffered actually to devolve unto her, inaſmuch as ſhe is in no record whatſoever, ſtiled Counteſs or Lady of Huntingdon, nor her huſband John de Balliol Earl thereof, though they enjoyed the lands and caſtle of Fodringhay in Northamptonſhire thereunto belonging; only ſhe gave the arms of the Earl of Huntingdon in her ſeal (25). She was alſo, as I have ſaid, *coheireſs to the Earldom of Cheſter*; becauſe her Mother, Margaret, was the eldeſt ſiſter of John (ſurnamed Scot) Earl of Cheſter, who died without iſſue in the year 1244. But King Henry would not ſuffer ſo great an honour, as that County-Palatine was, to be divided among women: Therefore he took it into his own hands, and annexed it to the Crown for ever; giving the laſt Earl's ſiſter ſome lordſhips and eſtates by way of compenſation: And to the Lady Dervorgille, in particular, the manors of Luddingland and Torkeſey in Lincolnſhire, and Yarmouth in Norfolk (26). Her two ſiſters were, Helen, married to Robert de Quincy hereditary Conſtable of Scotland; and Chriſtiana wife of William de Fortibus Earl of Albemarle, who dying without iſſue, her eſtates in the counties of Northampton and Lincoln, fell to John de Balliol and his wife (27).

[*E*] *In* 1263 *he began the foundation and endowment of* Balliol-*college, in Oxford, which was perfected afterwards by his widow.*] I follow Dr. Savage (28), in placing this foundation under the year 1263. But Mr.

(1) See A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii p. 69, &c.

(2) Page 430.

(3) Page 639, 909.

(4) Page 907.

(5) Page 993.

(6) Edit. Francof. 1601, p. 350.

(7) Page 385.

(8) Page 387.

(9) Inter Decem Scriptores, edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2447.

(10) Hector. Boëthius, Hiſt. Scot.

(11) Royal Genealogies, by Ja. Anderſon, *D. D.* Lond. 1732, fol. p. 759.

(12) Ubi ſupra, p. 523, 524.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

(14) Ballio-fergus, or a Commentary upon the Foundation, Founders, and affairs of Balliol College, &c. Oxford, 1668, 4to. p. 6.

(15) Hiſt. Angl. edit. ut ſupra, ad ann. 1255. p. 908.

(16) Page 909.

(17) Rot. Pip. 29 Hen. III. Northumb.

(18) *Ibid.* 40 Hen. III.

(19) See M. Paris as above, p. 926.

(20) De Republica Anglorum, c. xvii.

(21) 2 Inſtit. p. 596.

(22) Camden's Britannia, in *The Degrees of England*, Vol. i. edit. 1722, p. 246.

(23) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(24) Anderſon, ubi ſupra, p. 758.

(25) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 3.

(26) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 45, 46.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 524 See alſo Anderſon, p. 758.

(28) Ballio-fergus, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

During the conteſts and wars between King Henry III. and his Barons, he firmly adhered to the King; on which account his lands were ſeized and detained by the Barons, but reſtored again through one of his ſons interpoſition (*n*). In 1264, he attended the King at the battle of Northampton, wherein the Barons were defeated (*o*): but, the year following, he was taken priſoner, with many others, after the King's fatal overthrow at Lewes (*p*). However, it ſeems he ſoon after made his eſcape, and endeavoured to keep the northern parts of England in King Henry's obedience (*q*). Moreover, having obtained authority from Prince Edward, he joined with other of the northern Barons, and raiſed all the force he could to reſcue the King from his confinement (*r*). He died a little before Whitſuntide, in the year 1269 (*s*): leaving three ſons behind him, Hugh, and Alexander, who both died without iſſue: and *John*, afterwards choſen King of Scotland. See the next article.

(*n*) Clauſ. 47. Hen. III. m. 3.

(*o*) Guliel. Riſhanger Continuat. M. Pariſ. p. 993, &c. and Hen. de Knyghton ubi ſupra, col. 2447, 2448.

(*p*) M. Weſtm. ad ann. 1264. p. 387.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 390.

(*r*) Clauſ. 50. Hen. III in dorſo m. 9.

(*s*) Dugdale, ubi ſupra, p. 524.

Mr. A. Wood, without aſſigning any reaſons for it, brings it as low as the year 1267, or 1268: which undoubtedly was done on purpoſe to make it later than that of his college of Merton (29); for which he hath been ſeverely animadverted upon by Mr. W. Smith, in his Annals of University-college. —— All that our founder John de Balliol did, was to ſettle yearly exhibitions upon ſixteen ſcholars (30), till he ſhould provide them a fit houſe and other accommodations. His allowance to them was only *eight pence* a week each *ad communem eorum menſam* (31); now equal to ten or twelve ſhillings. At his death he recommended this pious deſign to his wife and executors. In purſuance of which, the Lady Dervorgille ſettled thoſe ſcholars in a tenement ſhe hired of the Univerſity, in Horſemongers-ſtreet (32), in St. Mary Magdalen's pariſh, now part of the upper end of the preſent quadrangle of the College (33), and preſcribed ſtatutes for their government in the year 1282 (34). Two years after, ſhe purchaſed another tenement near the former, called Mary's-Hall; and when ſhe had repaired it, the ſociety were here ſettled by her charter; confirmed by her ſon Sir John de Balliol, afterward King of Scots, and by Oliver, Biſhop of Lincoln (35). By which confirmation it appears, that this new foundation was ſtiled *Domus Scholarium de Balliolo*; and dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, St. Catherine, and the whole court of Heaven (36). Her endowment of the ſame conſiſted in *ſome houſes* in Oxford; which, together with the ſite of the College, coſt her fourſcore marks (37); and lands in *Stamfordham*, and *the Howgh*, in the county of Northumberland; but moſt of theſe were afterwards loſt (38). However, by the ſubſequent benefactions of Sir Philip de Somervyle, Kt. who founded ſix ſcholarſhips; of Peter Blundell, &c. and eſpecially of John Warner, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who gave fourſcore pounds a year, for the maintenance of four ſcholars born in Scotland; the revenues of that College are now able to maintain twelve fellows, and fourteen ſcholars. M.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 69. 85.

(30) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 11.

(31) Chronica de Mailros, inter Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum, Tom. i. Oxon. 1684, fol. p. 241.

(32) Now called Canditch.

(33) Savage, ubi ſupra, p. 8.

(34) *Ibid.* p. 15. &c.

(35) *Ibid.* p. 18. &c. 23, 24, 25.

(36) See p. 18. 23.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(38) *Ibid.* p. 23. 24. 27. See alſo A. Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. as above, p. 69. 70.

BALIOL, BALLIOL, BOILLIOL, BOYLLOL, or BAILLOL (JOHN DE), King of Scotland, was deſcended from a moſt illuſtrious family, and poſſeſſed of very large eſtates in Scotland and France, as well as England, though he chiefly reſided here (*a*). The particulars of his hiſtory, ſo far as they can be with any certainty collected, either from the writings of hiſtorians or records, are of infinite conſequence to the right underſtanding of the Engliſh and Scottiſh hiſtories, during that period in which he flouriſhed; and for want of having a life of this Prince written with care, and from the authority of original authors, both Engliſh and Scottiſh writers have run into great confuſion, often abuſing each other for involuntary miſtakes, and charging thoſe things on a ſpirit of falſehood and partiality, which were, in reality, owing to miſapprehenſion or want of due intelligence (*b*). As the clearing up of theſe difficulties in our hiſtory, is the great point aimed at by compiling this life, and as it is indeed a point of far greater conſequence, than the aſſembling the ſcattered memoirs of a perſon ſo long deceaſed would otherwiſe be; it is requiſite for this purpoſe, that we ſhould introduce this article, by giving a diſtinct view both of the ſtate of England and Scotland, at the time to which it relates (*c*). The great point of policy purſued by King Edward the firſt, was attaining the abſolute ſovereignty of this whole iſland, which he began by the conqueſt of Wales, and had well nigh finiſhed by that of Scotland; which, indeed, he more than once conquered, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in this article. But firſt we are to obſerve, how things ſtood in that kingdom before the extinction of the male line of the Royal family, which gave occaſion to that controverſy, by which John Balliol mounted the throne of Scotland (*d*). Alexander the third, King of Scots, a Prince equally renowned for his great and good qualities, married, when very young, Margaret, the daughter of Henry the third, King of England, and ſiſter to Edward the firſt, which alliance brought him to have a greater intercourſe with the court of England than moſt of his predeceſſors; and he was ſo happy, as to ſpend his whole life in the ſame intimacy and friendſhip with his father and brother-in-law, notwithſtanding the high dignities they all poſſeſſed, as if they had been private perſons; inſomuch, that he made ſeveral viſits with his Queen to the Engliſh court: and, on the other hand, both her brothers and her nephew Edward, while Prince of Wales, viſited the Queen of Scots in her own kingdom (*e*). In the midſt however, of all this friendſhip and affection, King Alexander was very careful to avoid doing any thing that might prejudice the rights of his crown, or fortify that claim which the Kings of England had ſet up, as Lords Paramount of the Kingdom of Scotland. Thus, for inſtance, when he went with his Queen to aſſiſt at the coronation of her brother King Edward, who ſucceeded his father King Henry III. in 1272, he took a very extraordinary precaution: for he previouſly obtained from that Monarch a ſolemn act, by which he declared, that the preſence of the King of Scots upon this occaſion, ſhould be no way prejudicial to him or to his kingdom (*f*). *A. D.* 1278, we find him again at Weſtminſter,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 524.

(*b*) See for the proof of this, almoſt all the Engliſh and Scots Hiſtorians; but particularly Speed and Tyrrel, among the former, and Abercromby among the latter.

(*c*) Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. i. p. 336.

(*d*) Fordun Schotichron. edit. T. Hearne, p. 953.

(*e*) Buchan. in Vit. Alex. III. Hector. Boëth. Scotorum Hiſt. lib. xiii. Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 231.

(*f*) Appendix to Mr. Anderſon's Eſſay, No. 26.

minſter, where he was preſent in a parliament held by King Edward, in which he did homage to that Monarch by Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, for his lands in England (*g*). This King Alexander having had long wars and great controverſies with the Monarchs of Norway, at length compromiſed them all, and by a treaty of marriage which is ſtill extant, gave his daughter Margaret, who was alſo niece to King Edward I. to Eric, King of that country. By the ſixteenth article of this treaty, which was concluded in 1281, it was ſtipulated, that the iſſue of this marriage, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of Scotland, in caſe the King died without heirs male, of whom he had then two hopeful Princes Alexander and David, even though the iſſue of that marriage ſhould be daughters only (*b*). This proviſion came very ſoon after to take place, the King loſing firſt his ſon David, and then Alexander Prince of Scotland, who had married the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, but died nevertheleſs without iſſue (*i*). In this melancholy ſituation of his affairs, King Alexander, to provide in the beſt manner poſſible for the ſucceſſion in his own family, and for the peace of his dominions, engaged the nobility of Scotland, by a ſolemn act, to promiſe allegiance to Margaret the daughter of Eric, King of Norway by Margaret his daughter, which act was dated *A. D.* 1284, in the thirty-fifth year of that Monarch's reign (*k*). But he, being at that time a widower, married, in hopes of having male iſſue, a French Lady, daughter to the Earl of Dreux, ſoon after which he moſt unhappily broke his neck by a fall from his horſe, on the 19th of March 1286. Upon his demiſe Buchanan tells us, that the States of Scotland met at Scoon in order to elect a new King (*l*), which, as we have ſeen, was not in their power to do; neither is it probable, that King Edward of England would have borne with ſuch an attempt as this, to the prejudice of their lawful Sovereign Queen Margaret, the grand daughter of his own ſiſter. The truth of the matter is, that on the 11th of April, *A. D.* 1286, the nobility of Scotland met at the place before-mentioned, in order to provide for the ſecurity of the government and the execution of the laws, which they did by chooſing ſix guardians or regents, accountable to their Queen when ſhe ſhould be at home and of full age (*m*). This, however, proved a ſlender ſecurity; for in a ſhort time after theſe guardians fell out among themſelves, and inſtead of preſerving the peace of the kingdom, created therein by theſe unſeaſonable diſputes a civil war, which laſted between two and three years, to the deſtruction of ſeveral of them, as well as to the endangering of their country (*n*). All this while it ſeems, little notice was taken of the young and abſent Queen Margaret. Her father Eric, King of Norway, at whoſe court ſhe ſtill continued, beheld the growing diſtractions of her ſubjects from afar; but being unable to remedy them by himſelf, had at length recourſe to a friendly mediation of Edward I. King of England, whom, by reaſon of his great power, his neighbourhood to Scotland, the long friendſhip entertained between the two nations, his influence over the guardians, and more particularly, by reaſon of his near relation to the Queen, he thought the fitteſt man in the world to ſee that quick juſtice ſhould be done her. In hopes of this, he commiſſioned his Plenipotentiaries at Bergen on the firſt day of April, *A. D.* 1289, to go over to the King of England, and in his preſence, to treat with the Scots about affairs relating to the honour and intereſt of himſelf and his daughter (*o*). Theſe Ambaſſadors were very kindly received by that great Monarch to whom they were ſent, and who had not as yet, at leaſt ſo far as appears from hiſtory, formed any deſigns to the prejudice of Scotland; but, on the contrary, was very aſſiduous in his endeavours to promote the intereſt of its inhabitants, as appears by his letter dated at Clarendon, November 6, 1289, directed to the Prelates, Nobility, and other principal perſons in the kingdom of Scotland, by which he very pathetically exhorts them to a peaceable, ſteady, and faithful obedience to their lawful Sovereign, Queen Margaret, and teſtifies his intention to ſend very ſpeedily ſome of his principal Nobility to enquire into the ſtate of things in their country (*p*). He did accordingly ſoon after ſend ſuch Commiſſioners, not barely to look into the affairs of Scotland, but upon an affair of far greater importance; for he had now formed a deſign of uniting the two kingdoms, by a marriage between his eldeſt ſon, Edward of Caernarvon, ſtiled afterwards, Prince of Wales, and the young Queen Margaret, which he was deſirous might be accompliſhed with the conſent of the States of Scotland (*q*). His ambaſſadors accordingly propoſed it in an aſſembly convened for that purpoſe, and ſet forth all the advantages that would attend this marriage with the utmoſt eloquence. There are very different accounts given, of the reception this propoſition met with from the States of that kingdom; for ſome ſay, that it was univerſally applauded; and others, that it was but very coldly entertained (*r*): The latter ſeems to be the more probable account of the two, becauſe it is certain, that though the point was carried and a treaty agreed on, by which the two kingdoms were to be united, yet the very articles themſelves ſhew, that the Scots obtained all they could aſk, which makes it plainly appear, that they were not over ready to come into this agreement. As they are certainly very curious in every reſpect, but chiefly as they appear to be the firſt plan that was ever drawn for ſuch a coalition, the reader therefore may very probably be inclined to ſee them [*A*]. That there was a great party formed againſt this meaſure is alſo certain; for Robert

(*g*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. ii. p. 126.

(*b*) Leſleus de Rebus Geſtis Scotorum, p. 232. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. ii. p. 1079.

(*i*) Joan. Major. de Geſtis Scotorum, lib. iv.

(*k*) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. ii. p. 266.

(*l*) Hiſtoria Scotiæ ad init. l. viii.

(*m*) Hector. Boeth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*n*) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii.

(*o*) Hector. Boeth. Scotorum Hiſtor. l. xiv.

(*p*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. ii. p. 245.

(*q*) Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967.

(*r*) See the Biſhop of St. Andrew's Letter to King Edward, in which this point is fully cleared up, in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. ii. p. 1092.

[*A*] *The Reader therefore may very probably be inclined to ſee them.*] The Commiſſioners or Ambaſſadors mentioned in the text, were Anthony, Biſhop of Durham, and Ralph, Biſhop of Carliſle, John, Earl of

Robert Bruce, and ſeveral others, declined taking their ſeats there, though afterwards they came to the aſſembly on the report of the young Queen's death (s). It muſt be admitted notwithſtanding, that King Edward had a very ſtrong party in Scotland, at the head of which was the Biſhop of St. Andrews, whom the King had lately made his Chaplain, and our John Balliol, who had always adhered to the Engliſh intereſt, as indeed moſt of his family had done, and had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves (t) [B]. Some writers

(s) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. ad init.

(t) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 523.

of Warren, and Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Sir William de Veſey, Knight, and Henry Newarke, Dean of York: And in the preamble to the articles it is expreſsly ſaid, that they, as procurators, or perſons impowered by their maſter, King Edward of England, negociated this treaty of marriage with the Guardians of the kingdom, and the reſt of the Biſhops, Abbots, and Clergy, as well as with the nobility, Earls, Barons, and the whole Community of Scotland (1); ſo that nothing was omitted that could render this union ſolemn and binding on all parties; and it fully appears, by the penning of the articles, that it was intended to give all manner of ſatisfaction to the Scots, in doing which, the King ran no ſort of hazard: for if there was iſſue of this marriage, all he granted came to his grand-children, and if there was none, he was left to the meaſures he had before concerted. The ſubſtance of theſe articles were as follows:

(1) Rymer. Fœd. Tom. ii. p. 482.

I. That the rights, laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of Scotland, ſhall for ever remain entire and unalterable, and the kingdom continue ſeparated, divided, and free in itſelf from the kingdom of England without any ſubjection, by it's true bounds and limits as it had been before; ſaving the right of the King of England, or of any other perſon whatever, which he or they might have either to the marches or elſewhere, which before this treaty belonged to them, or might juſtly belong to them in time to come.

Mr. Abercromby ſuppoſes, that this ſalvo was inſerted for certain dark and ſecret purpoſes, to which I can by no means agree, becauſe I think the words may be very fairly interpreted of the rights, which either he or ſome of his ſubjects might have to lands within the boundaries of the kingdom of Scotland, as aſſigned by this treaty (2).

(2) Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. i. p. 460.

II. That if Edward and Margaret ſhall die without iſſue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom ſhall revert entire, free, abſolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

III. That in caſe of the death of Prince Edward, without iſſue of the body of Margaret, her Majeſty's perſon ſhall be remitted in like manner free and independent to Scotland.

IV. That no perſons either eccleſiaſtick or laick, ſhall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to aſk leave either to elect or preſent their elects, nor to do their homage, fealty, and ſervices, nor to proſecute law-ſuits, nor, in a word, to perform ought uſual performed in Scotland.

V. That the kingdom of Scotland ſhall have it's Chancellor, officers of State, courts of judicature, &c. as before, and that a new ſeal ſhall be made and kept by the Chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the Queen of Scotland be engraven upon it.

VI. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhall be lodged in ſome ſecure place within the kingdom, at the ſight of the Nobility, whoſe ſeals ſhall be appended to them, and there kept till either the queen ſhall return to her own kingdom, or ſhall have heirs to ſucceed her.

VII. That parliaments when called to treat of matter concerning the State or inhabitants of Scotland, ſhall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

VIII. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. ſhall be exacted in Scotland, but ſuch as being uſual in former times ſhall conſiſt with the common intereſt and good of the nation.

IX. That the King of England ſhall oblige himſelf and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, payable to the Church of Rome, in aid of the Holy-Land, to make reſtitution of the kingdom, in the caſes aforeſaid, and that he ſhall conſent that the Pope reſtrain him and his heirs by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the aforeſaid reſtriction, and payment of the ſaid ſum of money, if he or they do not ſtand to the premiſes. And,

X. Laſtly, that King Edward, at his own charges, ſhall procure the Pope to confirm theſe articles, within a year after the conſummation of the marriage; and that within the ſame time, the Bull of his Holineſs ſhall be delivered to the community of the kingdom of Scotland.

Theſe articles and conceſſions were ſealed by the Commiſſioners on Tueſday next before the feaſt of St. Margaret, that is, on the 18th of July, *A. D.* 1290: And the letters patent for confirmation of this agreement, which was word for word repeated in them, were ſealed with the King's ſeal at Northampton on the 28th of Auguſt following (3); and on the ſame day, the King appointed, by ſpecial commiſſion, the Biſhop of Durham to be Lieutenant to Queen Margaret, and his ſon Prince Edward in Scotland, for preſerving the peace and government of that kingdom, with the advice of the Guardians, Prelates, and great men, according to their own laws and cuſtoms (4); and the Guardians and Nobility of Scotland, with the Governors and Captains of the caſtles and fortreſſes, engaged themſelves by an inſtrument to deliver them up, when their Queen and her huſband ſhould come into that kingdom (5): So that every precaution poſſible was taken for the mutual ſatisfaction of both nations, in caſe this marriage had taken effect, which, as it is ſaid in the text, was defeated by the death of Queen Margaret in the autumn of the year 1291, in the iſland of Orkney, whither ſhe had been conducted by Sir Michael Scott, and Sir David Weems, as Commiſſioners from the States of Scotland to bring her home to her dominions.

(3) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. ii. p. 487. 489.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 487.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 488.

[B] *And had thereby gained great advantages to themſelves.*] It will be proper here to ſhew how this illuſtrious family of Balliol came to have ſuch large eſtates, and ſo great an intereſt, as at this time it plainly appears they had in the kingdom of England. The firſt then of this family whom we find mentioned in the Engliſh hiſtory, is, Guy de Balliol, to whom King William II. gave the manor of Biwell in Northumberland (6): His ſon Bernard de Balliol adhered ſteadily to King Stephen, and is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of Bernard caſtle upon the bank of Teiſe (7): His ſon Euſtace flouriſhed in the reign of King John (8), and his ſon Hugh de Balliol did great ſervice againſt the Scots in the ſame reign (9). In the reign of Henry the third we find ſeveral Balliols ſerving with great fidelity in the worſt of times, and always true to the royal family. It was owing to the various branches of this great family, that ſome confuſion appears in their genealogy: but it is very certain, that John Balliol, ſon to Hugh de Balliol, married Dervorguill, or, as ſhe is ſometimes called, Darvorgilla, daughter to Alan of Galway, in whoſe right he was ſeized of Galway or Galloway in Scotland, and of many large eſtates in England (10), ſhe being co-heireſs of John Scott, the laſt Earl of Cheſter. This John de Balliol, upon the marriage of Margaret, daughter of King Henry III. to Alexander the third King of Scotland, was conſtituted one of the Governors of that kingdom, in which office he is ſaid to have miſbehaved, which expoſed him to ſome trouble (11); but however, he recovered the King's favour, and did him great ſervice againſt the rebels, maintaining all the northern parts of the kingdom firm in his intereſt, by the aſſiſtance of the King of Scots (12). He died in the year 1269, but his wife ſurvived him; and from records it ſeems that he left three ſons. Hugh, the eldeſt, was at that time twenty-eight years of age, but he did not long ſurvive him, dying in the year 1272 (13): he was ſucceeded by his brother Alexander Balliol (14), who died in 1278, or thereabouts, and was ſucceeded by the third brother, John Balliol, who is the ſubject of this article, and who ſeems to have been under age at this time, ſince, upon the demiſe of his brother, the cuſtody of his lands was committed to Robert de Evre (15): but in the 10th year of the reign of Edward I. he appears to have had ſcutage of his tenants, being then abroad in the King's ſervice in an expedition into

(6) Teſta de Nevil, Northum. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. i. p. 388, 11, 10.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 523.

(8) Clauſ. 17 Jac. m. 8. Matth. Pariſ. p. 276.

(9) Teſta de Nevil. Northumb.

(10) Math. Pariſ. p. 433, 11, 30. Clauſ. 22 Hen. III. m. 22. Pat. 22 H. III. m. 10.

(11) Matth. Pariſ. p. 407, 11, 10. *Ibid.* p. 909, 11, 10.

(12) H. Knyghton, p. 2447, 2448.

(13) Rot. Fin. 53 H. III. m. 12.

(14) Eſc. 56 H. III. m. 26.

(15) Rot. Fin. 7 E. m. 14.

writers ſay, that he had great promiſes made him for the ſervice he did the Engliſh court upon this occaſion, which is not at all improbable; and perhaps he might have in view either the ſole government, or a large ſhare in the regency, in caſe this marriage had taken effect: but this was ſoon rendered impracticable by the death of the young Queen Margaret, which happened in her paſſage from Norway, her native country, to her hereditary kingdom of Scotland. This opened a new ſcene of affairs: for the direct line of the royal family being in her extinct, a great diſpute aroſe about the right of ſucceſſion in the collateral branches (*u*). The two chief competitors were John Baliol and Robert Bruce, both claiming under their common anceſtor David, Earl of Huntington, both having fair pretences, but neither, as the law of that kingdom then ſtood, a clear or indiſputable right [*C*]. But beſides theſe, there ſtarted up no leſs than eight other pretenders, whether moved by their own ambition, or ſecretly incited thereto by the arts of King Edward, is a point, which, at this diſtance of time, cannot well be determined: but, however, this is very certain, that none of them could well be ſaid, to have ſo much as a colour of right (*w*) [*D*]. The Barons of Scotland aſſumed to themſelves the quality of Judges, and were afterwards declared to be the only legal and proper Judges of a point, in which, except the competitors, none were ſo nearly concerned as themſelves. But conſidering the great and extenſive intereſt of Baliol and Bruce, it was foreſeen, that theſe Judges would not eaſily come to a determination; and beſides, there very ſoon appeared good grounds to doubt, whether, if they did, the claimants would readily ſubmit to their deciſion (*x*). It was therefore agreed, from a mixture of policy, fear, and irreſolution, that the whole matter ſhould be left to the arbitration of King Edward, who, no doubt, very readily accepted a truſt, which he had been ſo long endeavouring, by all the arts a great politician could uſe, to have repoſed in his hands: nor was it long, before he diſcovered to the world, what uſe it was he intended to make of it (*y*). In this, however, as well as in every thing elſe, he proceeded with great caution and dexterity. The firſt ſtep taken, was the aſſembling of the States of Scotland at Norham, a town on the borders, at the requeſt of King Edward, to which he repaired in perſon,

(*u*) Major, Leſlæus, Buchan. &c.

(*w*) Thom. Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*x*) Robert de Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249.

(*y*) Vide T. Walſingh. H. Knyghton, W. Hemingford, &c.

into Wales (16); ſo that it is probable, he might be born about the year 1260, or perhaps ſomewhat earlier.

(16) Rot. Scutag. Wall. 10 E. I. m. 3.

[*C*] *Then ſtood, a clear and indiſputable right.*] In the former note, we have given as clear an account as could be collected from our Records of the family of Baliol in England, which account agrees perfectly well with that, which in this note we are to give of the claim, ſet up by this John Baliol to the crown of Scotland, in default of the direct line of the royal family (17). In the firſt place, however, it will be requiſite to ſhew, when, how, and whence the collateral branches ſprung. In few words then, the fact ſtood thus: Henry, Prince of Scotland, ſon to King David the firſt, who died before his father, left three ſons, Malcolm, ſurnamed the *Maiden*; William, ſurnamed the *Lion*, from his great courage; and David, Earl of Huntington. King William had but one ſon, called Alexander the Second, and who was father of Alexander the Third, his only ſurviving iſſue, who married Margaret, daughter to King Henry III. of England, and ſiſter to Edward I.: by her he had two ſons, viz. Alexander, and David, who died without iſſue, and one daughter, named Margaret, married to Eric, King of Norway, by whom ſhe had one only daughter, named alſo Margaret, late Queen of Scotland, who dying without iſſue, the whole line of William the *Lion* failing, the right of the crown remained in one of the deſcendants of the ſaid David, Earl of Huntington; but to which of them it belonged was a difficulty ſomewhat hard to be decided. This David, Earl of Huntington, had three ſons, viz. Henry, Robert, and John: the two firſt died young: the laſt took the ſurname of *Scot*, and was Earl of Cheſter. He dying alſo without iſſue, his ſucceſſion fell to the heirs female of his father David, who left three daughters, the eldeſt of which was Margaret, who married Allan, Lord of Galloway, by whom ſhe had an only daughter, Dervorgilla, or, as ſome write it, Dergovilla, who married John Baliol, the founder of Baliol college in Oxford, and father to John Baliol of whom we are ſpeaking; and who, in his mother's right, claimed the kingdom of Scotland (18). The ſecond daughter of David Earl of Huntington was Iſabella, who married Robert Bruce, by whom ſhe had Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the other claimant (19). According to this account it is very clear, that Baliol repreſented the eldeſt daughter of David Earl of Huntington, and Robert Bruce, the ſecond daughter: but then Baliol was one degree more remote, as being the great-grandſon of the ſaid David Earl of Huntington, whereas Robert Bruce was only his grandſon, ſo that the one was of the elder line, the other, neareſt in degree; which, in few words, expreſſes clearly the point in debate between them.

(17) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 960.

(18) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 578.

(19) Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*D*] *Could well be ſaid to have ſo much as a colour of right.*] We will ſtate the claims of the reſt of the pretenders to the crown of Scotland, in the order in which their petitions lie in the great roll of proceedings before King Edward (20); which leads us to ſpeak, 1. Of Florence, Earl of Flanders, who ſet forth, that his great-grandmother was Ada, eldeſt ſiſter of William, King of Scotland, but then it is to be conſidered, that this Lady was ſiſter likewiſe to David Earl of Huntington; who, conſequently, had a prior right to the crown, and the claimants beforementioned derived their right from him. 2. Patrick Dombar, Earl of March, ſet forth a much ſhorter and clearer right, as being deſcended from Ilda, the daughter of King William; but then ſhe was a natural daughter, of which he takes no notice in his petition. 3. William de Veſcy claimed under Margery, another daughter; that is, alſo another natural daughter of King William. 4. William de Ros claimed under Iſabella, the eldeſt natural daughter of King William. 5. Robert de Pynkeney ſet forth that he was deſcended by the mother's ſide from Margery, the ſiſter of William King of Scotland. 6. Nicholas de Soules claimed under Margery, ſiſter to King Alexander III. 7. Patrick Gallythly conceived he had a claim from his father Henry Gallythly, who was a baſtard-ſon of King William's. 8. Roger de Mandeville was deſcended from a baſtard-daughter of the ſame King. 9. John Cumine had quite another title; for he claimed under King Donald, that is Donald Bane, or, Donald the White, an uſurper about two hundred years before; but he was willing to lay by his pretenſion in favour of John Baliol. He might alſo have added of Robert Bruce and John Haſtings; for to ſay the truth, none but theſe three had colourable pretenſions; nay, that of Haſtings was ſcarcely ſuch, when balanced with that of Bruce. Both were the immediate ſons of the lawful daughters of Earl David, the brother of Malcolm the Maiden, and of King William; but Ada, the mother of Haſtings, was the younger ſiſter, who muſt therefore yield to Iſabella the mother of Bruce; but then both Iſabel and Ada were younger than Margaret, who was the grandmother of John Baliol, ſo that, as we before obſerved, the queſtion was; who repreſented David, Earl of Huntington (21).

(20) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 542—600. It is from this Record our beſt hiſtorians ſpeak; and farther than they agree with this Record, neither Engliſh nor Scots Hiſtorians are to be regarded.

(21) See Brady, Tyrrel, and Abercromby.

and on the tenth of May, 1291, opened himſelf to that Aſſembly in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner, declaring, That he looked upon himſelf as the ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, and that he expected in the firſt place, that the States ſhould acknowledge him as ſuch (z). They expreſſed a very great ſurprize at ſo ſtrange a demand; but the anſwer they made was very ſenſible and judicious. They ſaid, That they were very unhappy in being at preſent without a head, and that this unhappineſs was increaſed, by the demanding of them an acknowledgment of a right, of which, till then, they had never heard; and that they had bound themſelves by an oath, to acknowledge no Prince or Superior, but the perſon who ſhould be declared heir to their late King Alexander III., and this under pain of excommunication (a). King Edward having received this anſwer, adjourned the Aſſembly to the next day, when the States met again and deſired farther time, that, in a matter of ſuch importance, they might have leiſure to conſult their countrymen. This could not decently be refuſed; and therefore the King very readily granted them a reſpite for three weeks; and this was the end of that Aſſembly, and of its proceeding (b) [E]. They met again about the appointed time, and on the ſecond of June following, the Biſhop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor of England, declared to them, that ſince nothing was offered in bar to the right his maſter claimed, the King took his ſovereignty to be acknowledged, and that he expected the competitors, the Guardians of the Kingdom, together with the Prelates and Barons, ſtiling themſelves the Community of Scotland, to recognize him as their Superior and direct Lord, which was accordingly done by ſuch as were preſent, and, amongſt the reſt, by Robert Bruce, as the record ſtill extant witneſſes, though the Scots Hiſtorians abſolutely deny it (c) [F]. John Baliol was not there, and very probably his abſence was premeditated, that he might have the example of others to plead in excuſe of his own behaviour:

(z) Rot. de ſuperioritate Regis in Scotiam 18 E. I., penes Cuſtod. Record. in Turre London. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 525. Prynne's Collections, tom. iii. p. 488, 489.

(a) Chron. Abingdon, Thom. Walſingham, p. 56.

(b) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 543. Robert Brunne's Chron. p. 248, 249. Johan. Roſſi, Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189.

(c) Hect. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. p. 273. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. Hiſtor. lib. viii.

[E] *And this was the end of that Aſſembly, and of its proceedings.*] Whoever conſults that great record concerning this important tranſaction, which ſtill remains in being, will find that every thing was conducted therein with the greateſt ſhew of juſtice. Yet Mr. Tyrrel ſeems to have gone a little too far, in aſſerting this Aſſembly at Norham to have been a Parliament of Scotland, called by King Edward I., as ſupreme and direct Lord thereof (22), which, to ſpeak the truth, neither agrees with the record, with the matter of fact, or, indeed, with common ſenſe: not with the record, for therein it is expreſsly ſaid, that they aſſembled there at the requeſt of King Edward, to hear what he had to ſay to them, which, conſidering their ſubmitting to his arbitration, was very juſt and reaſonable; not reconcileable to fact, for if the King had called them in right of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, they could not have pretended any ſurprize on his aſſuming that title; and, laſtly, this is not reconcileable to common ſenſe; ſince if he had ſummoned this Aſſembly, as Superior Lord of Scotland, he muſt have ſummoned them upon the oddeſt occaſion in the world, ſince all he pretended to on that occaſion, was to get this right of his acknowledged, as will more clearly appear by conſidering the ſteps that were taken. It was not the King himſelf, but the King's Juſtice, who opened his Majeſty's claim to the Aſſembly in French, who adjourned them to the eleventh of May, to give their anſwer to this claim, and met them for this purpoſe at the pariſh church of Norham, when, as the record tells us, they earneſtly preſſed the King to give them longer time to conſult with ſuch as were abſent, and to anſwer his demands concerning their recognition of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, which he ſaid was his right: then upon further deliberation, he gave them time until the ſecond of June next coming, and on that day preciſely they were to anſwer his demands, and if they had any evidences, writings, or antiquities, to produce, which might exclude him from the right and exerciſe of his ſaid ſuperiority, or direct dominion, or overthrow his reaſons and arguments for it, they were then to exhibit and ſhew them; proteſting he was ready to allow them what the law permitted, and to do what was juſt; and that they might better underſtand his title, and make their objections againſt it if they pleaſed, the Biſhop of Durham was appointed to ſet it forth to all the Nobles and Prelates there preſent. It is true, the declaration he then made, and arguments he uſed, were wholly hiſtorical, and had been ſearched for, and taken out of the chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmſbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry de Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, and the Chronicle of St. Albans, Matt. Paris, that lay then in ſeveral of the abbies of England, being to this effect: That the Scots had been conquered by ſeveral of our Saxon Kings, that many of their Kings had ſubmitted and ſworn fealty to them, done homage, and received the crown and kingdom from them, and that the Scots had alſo ſubmitted and been governed by ſuch Kings, as the Engliſh Saxon Kings had placed in that kingdom: That after the Conqueſt, the very ſame things had been done, ſubmitted to, and complied with, in the reigns of William I. and II., Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., King John, and Henry III (23). Mr. Tyrrel's remarks on all this, appears equally juſt and impartial. 'This is the ſub-'ſtance of that declaration, which you may find more 'at large in the hiſtories of Matth. Weſtminſter, and 'Tho. Walſingham, and which the King cauſed to 'be ſet forth, to ſatisfy the Clergy and Nobility of 'Scotland. But to ſpeak the truth, though the mat-'ters of fact, which are therein cited, are rightly 'enough ſet down, yet there is no mention made of 'any homage or fealty done by the Scottiſh Kings. 'For the whole kingdom of Scotland, properly ſo call-'ed: which extended anciently no farther than the 'bridge of Sterling, which, in the time of King Ed-'gar, was the boundary between the Scottiſh and the 'Northumbrian kingdoms (24).' This clears up the whole matter, and very plainly ſhews, 1ſt, What right King Edward really had to homage from the King of Scots; and, ſecond, What, laying hold of this opportunity, he had a mind (under colour of this right) to exact from them for the future.

(22) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 62.

(23) This deduction of his rights from old Hiſtories and Abbey Chronicles, is to be found at large, inſerted in the Great Record of theſe tranſactions. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. P. 559.

(24) General Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 63.

[F] *Though the Scots hiſtorians abſolutely deny it.*] It is a very natural thing, and one may almoſt pronounce it excuſable, for an hiſtorian to have ſome inclination to heighten the honour, and palliate the diſgraces of his country (25). But then this ſhould be done with judgment and addreſs, rather by reconciling than varying of facts, never at the expence of truth. Buchanan, whoſe pride made him zealous for the honour of the Scots, tells us, upon this occaſion, a very fine ſtory of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, for which however he gives us no authority, and, to ſay the truth, there was none to be had; becauſe the ſtory is founded on a falſe fact, or rather upon a multitude of falſe facts. But ſince we have accuſed him, let us hear what he ſays: 'There, *that is*, at Norham, 'Edward, by very fit inſtruments, tried by ſoft me-'thods to perſuade the Scots to ſubmit to him as he 'pretended their anceſtors had often done before. 'But when they all conſtantly refuſed, he practiſed 'upon the competitors for the crown whom he him-'ſelf had ſet up; and by large promiſes drew them to 'come into his propoſal, perſuading the reſt to tranſ-'fer the Aſſembly from Norham to Berwick, as to a 'more proper place. There ſelecting twenty-four 'Judges he ſhut them up in a church, with orders to 'decide this controverſy, forbidding any to reſort to 'them. As he found the thing go on very ſlowly, he 'went

(25) See Abercromby's remarks on this ſubject.

behaviour: but, however, he came the next day, and ſubmitted to make the ſame acknowledgment (*d*). This great point carried, pleaſed King Edward extremely; for he was no leſs ſatisfied with acquiring a Kingdom by art, than if he had obtained it by conqueſt, and he took care to publiſh this ſufficiently to the world, as a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was [*G*]. The ſeveral claims to the crown came next to be conſidered; and as it was not at all King Edward's intereſt to come to a haſty deciſion, he conſented to a commiſſion, which was thus compoſed; Robert Bruce was to name forty Commiſſioners, John Baliol, and John Comin, Lord of Badenoch, were to name forty more between them, to whom King Edward, if he thought fit, might add twenty-four (*e*). Theſe Commiſſioners were to meet, and accordingly did meet, at Berwick, on the ſecond of Auguſt, 1292. But they fell out about the preliminary Queſtion; *viz.* by what law or rule they would conduct themſelves in the deciſion of this queſtion; and this making an adjournment neceſſary, the King gave them till the next day, the third of June, to be in the pariſh church of Norham, when he gave the ſame anſwer to the third queſtion. This was very ſtrong and full, without doubt; and yet it did not abſolutely ſatisfy King Edward, who inſiſted upon having letters patents in the French tongue from all the claimants, expreſſing their full ſatisfaction as to the right he claimed, of being ſuperior Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, promiſing to ſubmit to his deciſion of their title, and that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom, to whom King Edward adjudged it (27). We may add to all this, with reſpect to Robert Bruce, that in the very preamble of his petition, wherein he ſets forth his right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Scotland, he gives King Edward the title of Superior and direct Lord (28). So that there can be nothing more contrary to truth, than what is aſſerted by Buchanan, and the only excuſe that can be made for him is, that he has followed Boëthius (29).

(*d*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 549.

(*e*) Thom. Walſingham, Matth. Weſtm. *&c.*

' went however in to them himſelf, and by conferring with them he found, that though Baliol had the better right, yet Bruce had more friends. He therefore firſt applied to him, ſuppoſing, that as his right was but indifferent, he would the more readily come into his meaſures: he therefore promiſed him the kingdom of Scotland, if he would accept it from the King of England, and hold it of him as of his Superior. Bruce anſwered clearly, that his deſire of reigning was not ſo ſtrong, as that, to gratify it, he ſhould in any degree leſſen that liberty which the Scottiſh nation derived from their anceſtors (26).' Thus has Buchanan raiſed the credit of his country, weakened Bruce's title, and, to make him amends, beſtowed upon him a magnanimity to which he had no claim. To ſhew the falſehood of all this, to place ſo material a point of hiſtory in its true light, and to avoid as much as poſſible that dryneſs which naturally attends all criticiſm, we will proceed from the record, and reſume the proceedings of the Aſſembly on their next meeting, as they are there ſtated. On the ſecond of June, the Biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtic Prelates, together with the Earls, Barons, and other Nobles of the community of the ſaid kingdom of Scotland, met right over againſt Norham caſtle, where King Edward then was, in a green, on the other ſide of the river Tweed, as did alſo all the Princes and Noblemen that claimed the kingdom. Then the Biſhop of Bath and Wells was ſent to demand, in the King's name, what they had done ſince their laſt meeting, and whether they would ſhew, propound, or ſay any thing, that could, or ought to, exclude the King of England from the right and exerciſe of his ſuperiority, and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, that they would produce and exhibit it, if they believed it expedient for them; proteſting in the name of the King of England, that he would favourably hear them, and allow what was juſt, and report what they ſaid to him and his council, that upon deliberation they might do what juſtice required: but ſince they had anſwered nothing, neither propounded nor exhibited any thing againſt it, therefore the Biſhop recapitulating what had been ſaid and urged for the King's title, and what had been done at theſe ſeveral meetings, in all which they had offered nothing conſiderable againſt it, declared to them, the Biſhops, Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others of the Community of Scotland, that the King would make uſe of his right of ſuperiority and direct dominion in Scotland, in deciding the controverſy between the ſeveral competitors for that kingdom. Then the Biſhop beginning with Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, being one of the chiefeſt competitors for the kingdom of Scotland, he demanded of him in the preſence of all the eſtates of the kingdom laſt mentioned, whether, in claiming the ſaid right, he would anſwer and receive juſtice before the King of England, as Superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, who openly and expreſsly, in the preſence of all there preſent, anſwered, That he did acknowledge the King of England Superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, and that he would before and from him, as Superior and direct Lord of the kingdom of Scotland, anſwer and receive juſtice. Then all the other competitors there preſent, viz. Florence, Earl of Holland, the Lord John Haſtings, Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, William Veſcy, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeney, and Nicholas de Soules, had the ſame queſtion put to them, and made the ſame anſwer. John Baliol was then abſent; but upon his Proctor's requeſt, the meeting was continued until the

(26) Rer. Scoticar. Hiſt. l. viii.

(27) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 579. N. Trivet. Annal. p. 273.

(28) Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 544, 545.

(29) Hector. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. p. 273.

[*G*] *As a proof of his great policy, which undoubtedly it was.*] There cannot be a ſtronger inſtance given of the folly and danger of an ambitious diſpoſition in a Prince of great abilities, than what is contained in the hiſtory of the conduct of this Monarch, who was ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with, in the proſecution of this ſcheme of his to annex a whole kingdom to his dominions, by the exerciſe of his wit rather than his ſword; that the very day after he had obtained the letters patent beforementioned, he took a much ſtronger ſtep, inſiſting, that as they had now granted him a right, they ſhould next give him the land. Yet ſtill he proceeded with a colour of juſtice, and took care that thoſe he practiſed upon ſhould do ſo too; for having inſinuated, that in order to make a King he muſt have a kingdom to give him, he prevailed upon the claimants of the crown to grant him under their hands and ſeals another charter, by which they conſent, that he ſhould have poſſeſſion given him of the kingdom, in truſt for the perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged (30). When he had got this, he thought he had got all; and therefore, not only took upon him the title of Superior and direct Lord of Scotland, but endeavoured all he could to eſtabliſh a general opinion of his right in the minds of the Engliſh nation, by which he entailed long wars upon his poſterity, infuſed ſeeds of diſſenſion between the inhabitants of the two kingdoms, and thereby provided, as if he had done it on purpoſe, for the weakening the force of this iſland, and leſſening the power of both nations with reſpect to foreign Princes and States. Nay, ſo much was he poſſeſſed with the notion of the right given him by theſe charters, that he ſent authentic copies of them under his privy-ſeal to all the chief monaſteries in England, with orders, that they ſhould be entered in the Chronicles and Leidger-Books of their reſpective houſes, divers of which are ſtill extant in the Cottonian library, where they that doubt the truth of it may conſult them; and our authors have been ſo exact, as to give us a copy of the writs whereby the Abbots and Priors of thoſe religious houſes were enjoined to perform it (31). It bears date the 9th of July, in the 19th year of his reign, *A. D.* 1297, being about ſeven years after the grant of that charter, and ſeems to have been done about the time when the Pope began to queſtion the King's ſuperiority over Scotland: and that none may queſtion the truth of it, the very original of the charter of recognition is ſtill preſerved, with the ſeals of the competitors appendant to it, in the ſame library, that great repoſitory of rarities of this kind (32).

(30) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 573.

(31) Trivet. Chr.

(32) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 66.

four-

fourteenth of October following: for after all they were not to judge in the laſt reſort, but barely to report their opinion, as to the rights of the two principal competitors, to King Edward, and this without prejudice to the other claimants. The truth of the matter ſeems to have been, that King Edward himſelf was not as yet perfect in the part he was to act: for when they met again, he had quite changed, or at leaſt new modelled, the preliminaries, to which the Commiſſioners, at their next meeting, which was on the fourteenth of October following, tamely agreed *(f)* [*H*]. All this being ſettled, the King ſent for Baliol and Bruce, demanding of them, if they had any farther reaſons to allege than thoſe which they had ſet forth, in the papers which they had delivered to the Commiſſioners, and they anſwering in the affirmative, thoſe farther allegations were with great formality heard, after which, King Edward took upon himſelf to put the main queſtion upon which the whole affair turned, and which he worded in the following manner, *viz.* 'Whether the more remote by one degree in ſucceſſion, coming from the 'eldeſt ſiſter, ought, according to the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe kingdoms, to exclude the 'nearer by a degree, coming from the ſecond ſiſter? or, Whether the nearer by one 'degree deſcending from the ſecond ſiſter, ought, by the laws and cuſtoms of thoſe 'kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the elder ſiſter?' to which, when preſſed, they unanimouſly anſwered, That he who deſcended from the elder ſiſter, though in the more remote degree, was to be preferred, which, as the reader will perceive, was a very explicit declaration in favour of Baliol (*g*). There is one circumſtance more in relation to this great proceſs, which deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it is particularly inſiſted upon by the Scotch hiſtorians, which is, that, to keep up a greater ſhew of juſtice and moderation, King Edward cauſed this caſe, under fictitious names, to be propoſed to the ableſt Lawyers abroad, who all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, declared in favour of Baliol, to which it is ſuggeſted they were drawn, by the method uſed in ſtating the caſe (*b*) [*I*]. This great point being fully determined, with reſpect to the preference due to Baliol againſt Bruce, the King, according to his promiſe, proceeded

(f) Brunne's Chronicle, p. 249. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 36. J. Roſſi, Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 189, 190.

(g) Nic. Triveti Annal. p. 273.

(b) Hect. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſtor. lib. xiv. p. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*H*] *The Commiſſioners tamely agreed.*] The great length into which theſe proceedings were drawn by the art and contrivance of King Edward, joined to ſome other circumſtances, ſuch as that Baliol and Bruce (previous and notwithſtanding their claim to the kingdom of Scotland) were his ſubjects, and had very large eſtates in England, put all things abſolutely in his power; ſo that he was able to direct what he pleaſed, and to provide that whatever he directed ſhould be complied with readily, and without being afterwards called in queſtion (33). Things being thus circumſtanced, he demanded, firſt, by what laws and cuſtoms this queſtion was to be determined; next, if the laws and cuſtoms in the kingdoms of England and Scotland were different, how judgment was to be given, and whether the right to the kingdom of Scotland was to be adjudged, as if the queſtion was of earldoms, baronies, and other ſuch like tenures. The Commiſſioners were very clear and unanimous, that by the laws and cuſtoms of the two kingdoms, in caſe there were any ſuch, the queſtion was to be decided; that in caſe there were no ſuch laws and cuſtoms, then the King, by the advice of his peers and great men, might, and ought to, eſtabliſh a new law; and they farther ſaid, that the rule with regard to the kingdom, ought to be the ſame that took place in reſpect to the ſucceſſion to earldoms, baronies, and other indiviſible tenures. Theſe anſwers being given, the King heard Bruce and Baliol at large upon their reſpective claims, till ſuch time as they themſelves declared that they had not any thing farther to offer, and all this with a view, that no ſtep might be taken, which did not, in appearance, agree with, and none omitted, that it might be thought was required by the ſtricteſt and moſt exact regard to juſtice (34).

(33) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, Vol. iii. p. 67.

(34) See the Record before cited.

[*I*] *By the method uſed in ſtating the caſe.*] It is a little ſingular, that the Engliſh and Scots hiſtorians are ſo ſilent about this circumſtance, in a tranſaction which they have affected to examine with ſo much care. Hector Boëthius does indeed tell us the fact in few words, affirming, that the greateſt part of the foreign Lawyers gave their opinion in favour of Robert Bruce, in regard to his high birth, and his being the neareſt heir male (35). This I take to be a clear and full authority as to the thing; but Buchanan relates it very largely and circumſtantially; for he tells us, 'That the King being willing to ſhew that he 'did not act raſhly, in an affair ſo great and ſo 'weighty, reſolved to conſult thoſe men in France, 'who were eſteemed the moſt pious and wiſe, and 'to have the greateſt knowledge in the Law; and 'as theſe ſort of men are never of the ſame opinion, he did not doubt but that ſome of them 'would give ſuch an anſwer as would ſuit with his 'deſign. An Engliſhman therefore, who had the 'whole management of this affair in France, propoſed the queſtion to the French Civilians in this captious manner: "A certain King, who is neither "crowned nor anointed, but only placed in a certain "ſeat, and proclaimed King, and yet is not ſo independent as not to be under the protection of another "King, whoſe feudatory he acknowledges himſelf to "be, died without children: two relations deſcended "from Sempronius, the late King's great uncle, claim "the inheritance; namely, Titus, great-grandſon of "Sempronius's eldeſt daughter, and Sejus, grandſon "of the younger daughter, which of them two is "to be preferred to an inheritance which cannot be "divided?" The queſtion having been propoſed in 'this manner, moſt of the Civilians anſwered, that 'if there was any law or cuſtom concerning this in 'the kingdom which was claimed, it ought to be obſerved; if not, it was uſual to follow the cuſtom of 'that kingdom of which the other was a fief; that in 'determining queſtions relating to fiefs, the cuſtom 'did not aſcend, but deſcend, that is, that the cuſtom of the ſuperior ought to be a law to the inferior. It would be too long to relate all the opinions 'of the Civilians; but, to ſum up the whole in a word, 'almoſt all of them diſputing concerning the right, 'gave undetermined and contradictory anſwers, agreeing only in this, that they all allowed Edward a 'ſovereign power to determine the matter, being impoſed upon by the falſe light in which the queſtion 'had been put to them (36).' It is very evident from hence, that when men of great parts are conſcious to themſelves of deſigns that are not juſt, they take more care to preſerve appearances, and to keep up the forms of juſtice, than men of the greateſt integrity, who, as they deſire to hide nothing from the eye of the world that paſſes in their hearts, are leſs concerned about the circumſtances attending their actions. But beſides ſatisfying the world, or at leaſt, the Engliſh nation, as to the purity of his intentions, King Edward had viſibly another deſign, in applying as he did to the Lawyers of other nations, for by this means he at all events eſtabliſhed his right of deciding the queſtion, in virtue of his ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland; and upon this I muſt beg leave to hint an obſervation of my own, that he might firſt engage all the competitors for the crown to acknowledge his ſuperiority, by ſhewing them, that nothing but

(35) Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. p. 293.

(36) Rerum Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

proceeded to hear what could be ſaid in favour of the other claimants, among whom there was, by this time, a new one, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, who pretended, that as heir to his daughter Margaret, he ought to ſucceed to the crown of Scotland. But, however, neither his nor the reſt of the claimants titles were found to contain any thing that deſerved much conſideration; and it is very likely, that King Edward would then have proceeded to the laſt act in this great affair, if he had not been retarded by two new petitions from Bruce and Haſtings, ſetting forth, that they were deſcended from the daughters of David Earl of Huntington, as well as John Baliol, and therefore praying that each might enjoy his third part of the kingdom, which they alledged, ought to be equally divided among the coheireſſes, which is a dreadful blow to the Scots hiſtorians, who take ſo much pains to magnify the public ſpirit of Bruce (*i*). Now although the Engliſh writers concur with them alſo in this opinion, and condemn Bruce for preferring this new petition, yet at the bottom there was nothing foul or unjuſt in his behaviour, but, on the contrary, it was from the very beginning very uniform, and in this particular perfectly juſt. At preſent we will proceed in the very words of the record, and ſhew how this great controverſy was brought to an end. The King, willing to deliberate with his Council upon this new matter, demanded whether the kingdom of Scotland was partible among females, who all anſwered it was not. Upon which anſwer the King appointed Monday next after the feaſt of St. Martin, as the peremptory day, for all the competitors to hear their judgments in his Parliament at Berwick, intending in the mean time, farther to deliberate on, and examine theſe matters, with knowing men of both kingdoms, beſides the auditors and others of his Council, that ſo he might be fully informed, what in juſtice ought to be done (*k*). On the ſeventeenth of November, 1292, which was the Monday after the feaſt aforeſaid, the Nobles and Prelates of both kingdoms, the auditors, other great men, and a vaſt number of the people, being met in the hall of the caſtle of Berwick, with the Publick Notary, who ſigned the acts of the Court, all the other competitors claiming the kingdom, *viz.* Eric King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, William de Veſcy, Patrick Earl of Marche, William de Roſs, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicholas de Soules, and Patrick Galightly, though they had ſufficient notice and ſummons to be there, had withdrawn themſelves, becauſe they found they were excluded, by the better titles of the two laſt abovementioned competitors. Whereupon it was then adjudged, and judicially pronounced by the King, with the conſent of the Noblemen and Prelates of both kingdoms, that all theſe laſt competitors ſhould obtain nothing by their petitions: and becauſe John Cumin, and Roger de Mandeville, did not proſecute their petitions, they had the ſame judgment. But as to the laſt petition of Robert de Bruce, whereby he claimed the third part of the kingdom for his ſhare, as of a partible inheritance, becauſe it appeared by his firſt petition before the King, that he demanded the whole kingdom of Scotland, he therefore did by that acknowledge and grant that the kingdom was impartible, and one entire inheritance, which recognition and confeſſion he could not then deny; and for that it had been agreed and adjudged by the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Nobles, great men, and the whole Council of both kingdoms, that the kingdom ought to be poſſeſſed by one heir alone, becauſe of its own nature it was impartible, as other kingdoms; for theſe reaſons therefore it was adjudged, and judicially declared by the King, that he ſhould gain nothing by what was ſet forth in his petition. The ſame judgment was given againſt John Haſtings, for the ſame reaſons. As to the petition of John Baliol, it was found and agreed by all the Noblemen, Prelates, *&c.* of both nations, that the kingdom of Scotland was impartible, and ought to remain to one heir; and becauſe the King was judge of the right of his ſubjects, by the laws and cuſtoms of both the kingdoms, which was approved and affirmed by all the Noblemen and Prelates of both kingdoms, and by the ſame laws and cuſtoms in the caſe before them, it was agreed, and judicially declared in favour of John Baliol, That the more remote by deſcent in the firſt line, was to be preferred to a nearer in the ſecond line, in the ſucceſſion of an impartible inheritance; and ſince none of the competitors denied him to be heir of the firſt line, therefore he was to be preferred before all others, as next heir to the kingdom of Scotland, by hereditary ſucceſſion. Whereupon the King of England, as ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, adjudged, that *The ſaid* John Baliol *ſhould recover and have ſeiſin of that kingdom, with all its appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he ſhall rightly and juſtly govern the people ſubject to him, that none might have occaſion to complain for want of juſtice, nor the King, as ſuperior Lord of that kingdom, upon the ſuit of the parties, be hindered to interpoſe his authority and direction* (*l*): a right, which the King of England and his heirs always reſerved in ſuch caſes, when he would make uſe of it. In purſuance of this judgment, he granted his writ to the Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, to put him in poſſeſſion thereof, as alſo to the Captains and Guardians of the ſeveral caſtles and fortreſſes in that country, for the

(*i*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 587.

(*k*) Thom. Walſingham. Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 588. Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Ed. I. p. 37. Hen. Knyghton de Event. Angl. col. 2469. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 275.

(*l*) Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250. Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 275. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 598.

but owning this right in him, could enable him to do juſtice to any of them; though when the ſtep was once taken, he turned the argument againſt the competitor for whom he declared, by profeſſing, that his right to the ſuperiority over Scotland, and Baliol's title to the throne, were equally clear, and that if he preſumed to queſtion the former, it muſt neceſſarily deſtroy the latter.

ſame purpoſe. The next day, being the twentieth of November, 1292, John Baliol did homage to King Edward, at his caſtle of Norham, and then ſet out for Scotland, where, on St. Andrew's day, he was placed on the royal throne by John de St. Johnſtown, appointed to that office by King Edward, becauſe Duncan Earl of Fife was at that time under age. He did not remain long at home, or in poſſeſſion of that ſhadow of royalty, which with ſo much difficulty he had gained; for upon St. Stephen's day we find him again in England, and at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to King Edward for his kingdom, in the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed (*m*) [*K*]. He had now ſome hopes of being quiet, as having, at leaſt in his own judgment, performed all that the King of England could either deſire or expect. But he was very ſoon made ſenſible of his miſtake. For upon the complaint, of no higher perſon than a Burgeſs of Berwick, againſt him, the King thought fit to appoint Judges, by a ſpecial commiſſion, to hear and determine it. This appeared to King John a direct infringement of King Edward's promiſes; and therefore that he might be at a certainty, he preferred a petition to theſe Judges, ſetting forth, that the King of England, Superior Lord of Scotland, had promiſed to the Prelates and Nobility of that kingdom, that he would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms thereof, and that pleas of things done there, might not be drawn out of it; wherefore it was prayed, that he would obſerve this promiſe, and direct his Juſtices accordingly. To this petition, Roger Brabazon, Chief-Juſtice of England, anſwered, 'That if the King of England had made any ſuch temporary promiſes when there was 'no King in Scotland, he had performed them, and that by ſuch promiſes he would not 'now be reſtrained or bound.' King Edward went even farther than this: for in the preſence of the Prelates and Nobility of both kingdoms, he declared, 'That he 'meant, in virtue of his ſuperiority, to receive all complaints touching the kingdom of 'Scotland, and its inhabitants, and to uſe and exerciſe his ſuperiority and direct dominion, 'and to call the King of Scotland himſelf, if it was neceſſary, and the quality of the 'cauſe required it, to appear before him in his kingdom of England (*n*).' He even puſhed this matter to a much greater length; and not ſatisfied with releaſing himſelf from his promiſes, he inſiſted upon King John's releaſing them alſo, and to this purpoſe he cauſed a releaſe or acquittance to be drawn, ſetting forth all his grants and promiſes, and acknowledging, that they were all performed and fully determined, when he adjudged the kingdom to John Baliol, which releaſe, dated the ſecond day of January, 1293, in the twenty-firſt of King Edward, and in the firſt year of King John's reign, was ſealed with the King of Scotland's own ſeal, and with the ſeals of ſuch of the Biſhops, Earls, and Barons of his kingdom, as attended him in this Journey (*o*). But whether this act of theirs was performed willingly, or only becauſe ſuch as gave their aſſent to it durſt do no otherwiſe, is a point, as one of our beſt hiſtorians obſerves, very much to be doubted (*p*).

(*m*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 967. Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Nic. Trivet Annal. p. 273, 274. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 593.

(*n*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 597.

(*o*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 597—600.

(*p*) Tyrell's General Hiſtory of England, p. 75.

[*K*] *In the fulleſt and cleareſt terms that could be deviſed.*] It is very evident from what is ſaid in the text, that from the very moment John Baliol received the crown of Scotland from the hands of King Edward, it proved to him rather a burthen than an honour (37). In ſome things indeed, Edward acted as if he intended to treat him with kindneſs, but even in theſe there was ſuch a mixture of haughtineſs and ſelf-intereſt, as greatly diminiſhed, if it did not totally deſtroy, thoſe favours. As for example, on the 19th of November, 1292, King Edward cauſed the broad ſeal, which had been uſed in the time of the regency, to be brought before the great men of both nations, and there broken in pieces, becauſe the King's broad ſeal was now to be uſed in that country: but at the ſame time he directed the broken pieces of the ſeal to be laid up in his treaſury, as a perpetual monument unto poſterity of his right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland (38). He was ſo fond of this title, and of having a King attend upon him, that he obliged King John to appear on St. Stephen's day at Newcaſtle, where he did homage to the King in theſe words: 'My Lord Edward, 'King of England, Superior Lord of the kingdom of 'Scotland: I John, King of Scotland, become your 'liege man for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with 'its appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and 'hold, and ought of right to hold, for me and my 'heirs Kings of Scotland, hereditary of you and your 'heirs, Kings of England, and ſhall bear faith to 'you and your heirs, Kings of England, of life and 'limb, and terene honour, againſt all men that may 'live and die (39).' It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that upon his doing this homage, King Edward's Chamberlain demanded a fee; but, as is very juſtly obſerved by Rapin (40), this very demand was a very ſtrong proof againſt his maſter's right, becauſe, though peremptorily made, the Chamberlain, whoſe name was Peter de Chaunecent, could not tell what it was to be, for which he had never been at a loſs, if there had been ſo much as a ſingle inſtance of any ſuch homage done before. King Edward, however, did not conſider it in this light; but in his next Parliament held at Weſtminſter ſettled the point, and declared, that Baliol ſhould give his Chamberlain twenty pounds for his homage-fee, being double to what was paid by an Earl on the like occaſion (41). To make Baliol ſome amends, in appearance at leaſt, he, by his charter, dated the 4th of January 1293, was graciouſly pleaſed to renounce for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all other rights over the kingdom of Scotland, ſave that of homage, and to declare that they pretended not to the wardſhips, or right of giving in marriage the heirs or heireſſes of noble families in Scotland (42). He likewiſe ordered the records of that kingdom to be delivered to King John, and, by theſe ſmall gratifications, endeavoured to ſend him away ſatisfied from this interview at Newcaſtle, which, in all probability, might have taken effect, if he had behaved towards him for the future, with the ſame ſpirit of kindneſs and decency. But, as we have ſhewn in the text, King John was ſcarcely got home to Scotland, and begun to take upon him the exerciſe of the government, before he found himſelf treated with as little regard as any other feudatory, of what rank ſoever: which, at the ſame time, that it muſt in other reſpects have made him uneaſy, could not fail of leſſening his reputation and credit among his own ſubjects, of which they gave him immediate proof, by declining his court and preſence, and treating his deciſions, even in Parliament, with the utmoſt contempt. Things ſtanding thus, the Lords of his party failed not to inſinuate to him, that, as this was the effects of his dependance on the King of England, the only remedy of which theſe miſchiefs were capable, was his thinking of ſome way to throw it off. His liſtening to their council, inſtead of enabling him to do this, plunged him into a new ſeries of miſfortunes, which ended only with his life.

(37) See Abercromby, and the Scots hiſtorians in general.

(38) Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 591.

(39) Nic. Trivet. Annales, p. 273. Robert Brunne's Chronicle, p. 250, 251. Rymer's Fœdera, tom ii. p. 593.

(40) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre à la Haye 1724, 4to tom. iii. 50.

(41) Rot. Clauſ. 21 E. I. m. 8. d.

(42) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 5.

If this matter lay heavy on King John's mind, and he began to foreſee on what hard terms he was like to hold his new dignity, he was very ſoon confirmed in that ſenſe of things, by repeated inſtances of King Edward's reſolution, to draw all the affairs of Scotland that were of any importance, before himſelf in England. It was with this view, that ſummons after ſummons was ſent to King John, requiring him to appear and anſwer before the King of England in his Parliament, to complaints exhibited againſt him, for denying, or not doing, juſtice in Scotland; every one of which caſes, as it aggravated his uneaſineſs, ſo it put him under freſh difficulties with reſpect to his own ſubjects, who imputed all theſe unlucky accidents, to his having accepted the crown upon ſuch hard terms; whereas in truth, if Robert Bruce had ſucceeded, he could have held it upon no better (*q*). It is highly probable, that theſe repeated citations were intended by King Edward to eſtabliſh, beyond all controverſy, his title to the direct dominion over Scotland, and for this reaſon were carefully preſerved upon record [*L*]. There was, however, but one of the complaints againſt King John that was proſecuted with remarkable effect, and that perhaps with a deſign to eſtabliſh it as a precedent. This was the complaint of Macduff, who had been impriſoned by judgment given by the King of Scots in full Parliament, from which he appealed to King Edward, as the Superior Lord, and not without ſome colour of juſtice (*r*) [*M*]. The citation upon this appeal was delivered to the King of Scots at Sterling, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1293, requiring him to appear before

(*q*) Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. p. 970. Hector. Boëth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 293. Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. viii. p. 256.

(*r*) Prynne's Collections, Vol. iii. p. 531—551.

[*L*] *And for this reaſon, were carefully preſerved upon record.*] In this note it may contribute extremely to the perfect underſtanding of the ſubject of this article, which, without doubt, is one of the moſt curious and important in reference to Engliſh hiſtory, that will occur in this work, if we give a diſtinct account of theſe citations, and of the grounds upon which they were founded; ſince they will make two things abſolutely manifeſt, as to which all our hiſtorians have written very darkly and confuſedly; and yet they are the only two points upon which all the controverſies, between King Edward and King John, conſtantly turned (43). The *firſt* is, what thoſe rights of ſuperiority were, which King Edward claimed, and meant to exerciſe over the kingdom of Scotland? The *next*, what were thoſe hardſhips that King John thought ſo intolerable, as, rather to riſk his life and crown, his family and his kingdom, than ſit down tamely under them; though otherwiſe he was far from being a warm man, and farther ſtill, from having a high ſpirit? An account of theſe ſeveral citations, in the order in which they ſtand on our records, will put theſe matters out of all doubt.

(43) Theſe citations are frequently mentioned by Tyrrel and Abercromby in their hiſtories, but are ſet forth by neither.

The firſt citation is dated the 8th of March 1293, and it ſets forth, That Alexander III. late King of Scotland, ſtood indebted to John Maſon, a merchant of Gaſcony, in the ſum of two thouſand one hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds, eight ſhillings, which ſum, though often requeſted, John King of Scots had denied to pay; for which delay and refuſal of juſtice, the ſaid John Maſon found himſelf obliged to apply for remedy to the moſt gracious Prince Edward, King of England, and Superior Lord of Scotland; whereupon he commands King John to be and appear before him in his Parliament held at Weſtminſter, on the morrow of the Aſcenſion, there to anſwer this complaint, for delaying or denying juſtice (44).

(44) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

The ſecond citation was dated the 25th of March in the ſame year, from Canterbury, at the ſuit of Macduff, for cauſes that will be ſet forth more largely in the ſucceeding note, but amounting in the whole, as in the former caſe, to a delay or denial of juſtice, for which King John is required to anſwer before King Edward, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, whereever he ſhould then be in his kingdom of England; and the Sheriff of Northumberland is commanded to deliver the ſaid writ to King John in his proper perſon, which he accordingly did, and made a return thereof, upon which all the ſubſequent proceedings were founded, as will be ſhewn hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of this ſuit (45).

(45) Ryley Placit. Parliam. fol. 154, 155. Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 4.

The third citation was dated at Weſtminſter, the 15th of June in the ſame year; the occaſion this. While both the Kings were at Newcaſtle, King Edward had directed his letters to Walter de Huntercomb, his Governor of the iſland of Man, to give poſſeſſion thereof to King John, which was accordingly done. After this comes a Lady, whoſe name was Auſtrica, ſetting herſelf forth to be the couſin and heireſs of Magnus, formerly King of Man, and demands of King John to be put in poſſeſſion of the ſaid iſland, offering to make out her juſt claim thereto; to which, little or no regard being had by that Prince, ſhe appeals to King Edward, as the Superior and direct Lord of Scotland; who, for this delay and denial of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him within fourteen days next after the feaſt of St. Michael, whereever he ſhould then be in England. Theſe letters, as well as the former, are directed to the Sheriff of Northumberland, with this particular inſtruction, that he ſhould deliver them to the King in perſon, before ſufficient witneſſes, and ſhould likewiſe certify this ſervice to King Edward, on the day and at the place before mentioned, on the return of the writ (46).

(46) Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 608.

The fourth is dated the ſecond of September in the ſame year, and therein it is ſet forth, That David, late King of Scotland, had heretofore beſtowed on the Royal Abbey of Reading in England, a priory dependant on the Biſhop of St. Andrews. This priory was afterwards alienated by the Abbot of Reading, in favour of the Biſhop of St. Andrews. The ſucceſſor of that Abbot, being willing to recover the priory, ſet forth, that this alienation was contrary to the will of the major part of the Monks, in a petition to King John. The Biſhop of St. Andrews appeals from that King to the Pope, and this appeal the King received and admitted. The Abbot, upon this, appeals himſelf to King Edward, as Superior Lord of Scotland; who, upon this ſuggeſtion of denial and delay of juſtice, requires the ſaid King to appear before him, to anſwer the ſame within fifteen days next after the feaſt of St. Martin, whereever he ſhould then be in England (47).

(47) Rot. Scot. 21 E. I. m. 3.

The fifth citation is dated the 20th of April 1294, and recites, That the reverend Father Anthony, Lord Biſhop of Durham, had claimed before King John, his right of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction over the towns of Berwick and Haddington, as belonging to his Biſhopric of Durham, but without effect; of which, having complained to King Edward, as the Superior Lord of Scotland, he, for this denial, and delay of juſtice, requires King John to appear before him, on the morrow of St. John the Baptiſt, whereever he might then be in England. The Sheriff of Northumberland had the ſame directions in reſpect to this as in regard to the third citation (48).

(48) Rot. Scot. 22 E. I. m. 3.

[*M*] *Not without ſome juſtice.*] This remark is made to ſhew the wiſdom of King Edward, who very prudently inforced his proceſs on that appeal, which, being beſt grounded, gave ſome degree of credit, even to that warmth and rigour with which it was purſued (49). The caſe then of Macduff (who, by a very groſs miſtake, our hiſtorians ſtyle Earl of Fife) was this. He was ſon of Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and by his grant, had a title to the lands of Bereys and Crey; but was turned out of the poſſeſſion, by William Biſhop of St. Andrews, as guardian of the county of Fife, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland, upon which he applied himſelf to King Edward, who by his writ directed the Guardians of Scotland to do him juſtice (50). In conſequence of this, he was again put into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, and held them till after King John was in poſſeſſion of the crown

(49) See Abercromby, &c.

(50) Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 604.

fore the King of England in his Parliament, to be held after Michaelmas in the ſame year; where accordingly he was preſent; and being urged to anſwer the matter of that complaint, he replied, That he was a King, and that he could not anſwer without the advice of his ſubjects (*s*). He was told that this was altogether inſufficient, that he had done homage to the King of England for his crown, and was therefore bound to anſwer. He perſiſted, however, in adhering to his former declaration, adding, that it was a matter which concerned his kingdom, and therefore he would do nothing without the aſſent of his people. Upon this Macduff demanded judgment, which the Parliament was ready to give with reſpect to the contempt; and it was, That three of King John's principal caſtles ſhould be ſeized till he made ſatisfaction, upon which he ſubmitted, which being all King Edward wanted, was received, and he had farther time given him (*t*) [*N*]. There happened about this time ſome diſputes between the Kings of France and England, which afforded ſome hopes to Baliol, of being delivered from that uneaſy ſituation he had been in ever ſince he attained the kingdom. Some of our old hiſtorians ſay, that he quitted England privately, which ſo enraged King Edward, that he ſeized all his eſtates there; and they likewiſe add, that the reaſon he gave ſuch an anſwer, and avoided pleading directly to Macduff's complaint, was becauſe the Scots had already appointed twelve Commiſſioners, *viz.* four of the Clergy, four Earls, and four Barons, to whom he was to account for his actions after his return home (*u*). I cannot help thinking, however, that they are miſtaken in this, or rather, that they confound the times in which theſe events happened; ſince it is evident enough from our records, that King John did not break with King Edward either this year or the next; but, on the contrary, appeared again in the Engliſh Parliament, when the plea between him and Macduff was continued, and King John at the ſame time granted an aid out of his Engliſh eſtates, for the recovery of Gaſcony, which King Philip of France had ſeized into his own hands (*w*). It is however certain, that King John was privately taking the beſt methods he could, to put himſelf into a condition to throw off his dependance upon England. But he was ſo far from having thrown it off already, that when King Edward was determined to recover Gaſcony by force of arms, he not only directed his letters to King John, which were dated from Portſmouth, the twenty-ninth of June 1294, but alſo to the principal nobility of Scotland, requiring him to ſend men, and then to come in perſon, with military ſupplies to London, ſo as to be ready to paſs with him on the firſt of September into France, for the recovery of Gaſcony (*x*); and a little before this, he had required the King of Scots to lay an embargo on all the ſhipping of his ſubjects, for the ſame reaſon (*y*). How far he complied with any of theſe demands does not appear; but it is very certain, that at this time, and a little after, King John was treating with Philip the Fair, King of France, about an alliance againſt England, and this he did not only with the privity, but with the abſolute conſent of his ſubjects; and things being now far advanced, he granted full powers, by virtue of an inſtrument, dated at Sterling the fifth of July 1295, to his Ambaſſadors, William, Biſhop of St. Andrews; Matthew, Biſhop of Dunkel; Sir John Soules; and Sir Ingeram Umfraville, to negociate and conclude a treaty with the Crown of France, which was accordingly ſigned and ſealed, on the twenty-

(*s*) Ryley Placit. Parliam. f. 159.

(*t*) Rot. de Super. Scotiæ.

(*u*) Chron. Abingd. MS.

(*w*) Rot. de ſuperior. Scotiæ.

(*x*) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 11. d.

(*y*) Rot. Vaſcon. 22 E. I. m. 13. d.

crown of Scotland, when in a parliament held at Scone, in the Octave of the Purification of our Lady, he was attached to anſwer for his entering into poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, which were in the poſſeſſion of the late King Alexander III. at the time of his deceaſe, on account of the nonage of Coalbanus, Earl of Fife, who dying, left his ſon Duncan a minor; and he dying likewiſe ſeized of the ſame lands, left his ſon Duncan a minor and the King's ward. To this Macduff pleaded, that theſe lands were granted to him by his father Malcolm, Earl of Fife, which grant was confirmed by the late King Alexander III., whoſe charter he produced. Notwithſtanding this he was impriſoned, and judgment given againſt him, ſaving to him, however, his right of ſuit againſt Duncan the ſon of Duncan, when he ſhould come to full age (51). After he was diſcharged from this impriſonment, which it was ſurmiſed he underwent, for having addreſſed himſelf during the vacancy of the throne to King Edward; he applied again to that Prince, who thereupon directed his writ, or letter miſſive, as we have ſhewn in the former note; but King John not appearing, another writ was directed to the Sheriff, returnable fifteen days after Michaelmas, upon which he did attend, and not being allowed an Attorney, was obliged to plead in perſon, as is ſhewn above in the text (52).

(51) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 606.

(52) Ryley Placit. Parliam. p. 154, 155.

[*N*] *Was received, and he had time given him.*] The King of Scots was under very uneaſy circumſtances in this affair; for what he had done in the caſe of Macduff was in full Parliament, and very probably it was on this account he preſſed ſo ſtrongly his not anſwering, until he had conſulted his ſubjects. But this would not ſerve King Edward's turn, who clearly ſhewed him what he wanted, and what he was reſolved to have from him, which was a new acknowledgment of his ſuperiority; in default of which, he was to ſeize three of his beſt caſtles in Scotland. But before the pronouncing of the ſentence, he came before the King and his Council, and made ſupplication to the King with his own mouth, and delivered it unto him with his own hand in writing to this effect: 'Sir, I am your liege-man for the realm 'of Scotland, and pray you as to what I am come 'hither, and for which concerns the people of my 'kingdom as well as myſelf, that you will forbear 'while I ſpeak with them, that I may not be ſurprized for want of advice; for that thoſe that are 'with me will not, nor aught to adviſe me without 'others of the realm; and when I have advice from 'them, I will anſwer at your firſt Parliament after 'Eaſter, and will behave myſelf towards you as I 'ought to do (53).' The King adviſing hereupon, at the inſtance of the great men of his Council, and with the conſent of Macduff himſelf, granted his petition, and gave him a longer day, until his next Parliament after Eaſter, that ſhould be holden on the morrow of the Holy Trinity. He appeared accordingly in that Parliament, and the cauſe was again adjourned at his requeſt; but he ſtill continued to feel in his heart, the deep wound that had been given to his honour, by the uſage he had met with in the former Parliament at Weſtminſter, which, it ſeems, he could not either forget or forgive (54): beſides the time ſeemed favourable, and the quarrel which had lately broken out between the Kings of France and England, gave him a proſpect of ſhaking off that yoke which he could no longer bear.

(53) Rot. Scot.

(54) Walter Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 43.

third

third of October following (z) [O]. It was not long that a tranſaction of this nature could be concealed from a Prince of ſo great penetration as King Edward, and yet he diſſembled his diſcovery of it for ſeveral reaſons, and continued to treat King John as formerly, or rather with greater civility; but, in the mean time, he laboured two points with equal vigour and ſecrecy; the one was to ſettle the terms of a foreign alliance, that might enable him to oblige the French to do him juſtice; the other to engage the Court of France to conſent to a truce which he propoſed, till the former had taken effect, in both of which he fully ſucceeded (a). He then directed his letters to the King of Scots, demanding the caſtle and town of Berwick upon Tweed, the caſtle and town of Roxburgh, and the caſtle and town of Jedburgh, to be put into his hands, until ſuch time as the war with France was over, promiſing then to reſtore them. Theſe letters were dated at Weſtminſter, the ſixteenth of October 1295 (b); but they met with a very cool reception from King John, who thought himſelf by this time in a condition to defend his own cauſe; and therefore inſtead of appearing as formerly in the Engliſh Parliament, he ſent the Abbot of Aberbrothock to excuſe him, which King Edward ſeemingly took patiently enough; but in the mean time he was preparing to reduce him by force, reſolving while the truce beforementioned laſted, to employ that army which he had levied againſt the French, in conquering the Scots (c). King John gave him fair opportunity to do it, by taking a very extraordinary ſtep, which was baniſhing all Engliſhmen out of his dominions: for he now thought himſelf under no obligation to temporize longer with this Monarch, ſince he was ſure of the aſſiſtance of France, and had been abſolved from his oaths by the Pope (d). In the ſpring of the year 1296, King Edward began to move northwards, and coming to Newcaſtle, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, requiring King John to appear there on the firſt of March, to which he neither paid obedience, nor ſent, as he had done before, any perſon to excuſe him (e). While King Edward was at Newcaſtle, the war began both by ſea and land; for the Engliſh fleet having orders to block up Berwick, the Scots, who were not then it ſeems totally deſtitute of a naval force, attacked that fleet with ſo much ſucceſs, that eighteen ſhips were ſunk, and the reſt diſperſed. About the ſame time, Sir Robert de Roſs, Captain of the caſtle of Werk, for the love of a Scots lady, baſely betrayed his truſt, and deſerted to King John. His brother William gave notice of this to King Edward, and deſired that a body of troops might be ſent him, with which he undertook to ſecure the caſtle. Accordingly, one thouſand men were detached for that ſervice, who, when they were come to a place called Preſtfen, were ſurprized by the traitor Sir Robert, and the Scots under his command, by whom they were totally cut off (f). King Edward, when he heard this, ſaid no more, than that he was glad that hoſtilities were begun by the Scots. Soon after this, the Earls of Montieth, Strathern, Athol, and Mar, with a body of five thouſand men, entered the county of Cumberland, and advanced as far as Carliſle, the ſuburbs of which city they burnt, but were not able to take the place. It was not long before King Edward ſeverely revenged theſe loſſes; for coming before Berwick on the twenty-ninth of March, and finding a ſtrong garriſon therein, capable and reſolved to make a long defence, he put in practice a ſtratagem extremely well contrived, and attended with all the ſucceſs he could deſire or expect. For pretending to raiſe the ſiege, and withdrawing his forces ſome diſtance from the town, he cauſed it to be reported, that King John with a numerous army was come to their relief, and was advanced within a mile of the place. The townſmen, and many of the officers, running out to meet theſe ſuppoſed ſuccours,

(z) Rymer's Fœd. Tom. ii. p 680, 681. 695. Prynne's Collect. tom. iii. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, Recueil des Roys de France, &c. P. ii. p. 195.

(a) Nic. Trivet. T. Walſingh. W. Hemingford, &c.

(b) Rot. Scotiæ 23 E. I. m. 2.

(c) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 287, 288. Fordun. Boëth. Buchan.

(d) Rapin Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tom. iii. p. 56.

(e) Walt. Hemingford Hiſtor. Edw. I. Vol. i. p. 84.

(f) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 288.

[O] *Signed and ſealed on the twenty-third of October following.*] It is very remarkable, that we find the full powers granted by John Balliol to his Ambaſſadors, and the treaty or alliance concluded by them with the Crown of France, entered on the Engliſh records, and tranſcribed from thence by ſome of the old monkiſh hiſtorians, which plainly ſhews, that they were more careful in thoſe days as to penning their Chronicles, than has been commonly imagined. As this alliance was the ſource of thoſe wars, of which we are to give ſome account in this article, it will be requiſite to give the reader a ſhort ſketch of the principal points which were ſettled in that treaty, and which may be reduced to the following ſeven (55).

(55) Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 695, & ſeq. Prynne's Collect. tom. iii. p. 602, 603. Du Tillet, P. ii. p. 195.

I. That Edward, King John's ſon, ſhall marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, Earl of Anjou, the King of France's brother; that Prince Edward ſhall receive with the ſaid Lady, twenty-five thouſand livres de Tournois current money, and that ſhe ſhall be aſſigned a dowry of one thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling of yearly rent, of which, one thouſand pounds to be paid out of King John's lands of Balliol, Dampeir, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of thoſe of Lanerk, Cadiou, Cunningham, Haddington, and the Caſtellany of Dundee in Scotland.

II. That King John and his ſucceſſors ſhall, with all their power, by ſea and land, be aſſiſting to King Philip, and his ſucceſſors, in the proſecution of the preſent war, againſt the King of England and his Allies, as well the King of Almaign as others.

III. That he ſhould, at his own charge, make war againſt the King of England, when he was employed in, or diverted by war in other places.

IV. That King John ſhall prevail with the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Noblemen, and the Communities of all the cities in Scotland, ſo far as of right they may, to teſtify their aſſent to this agreement, by tranſmitting their letters patents under their ſeals to France.

V. That in like manner, if the King of England ſhall invade Scotland, the King of France ſhall make war upon him in other parts by way of diverſion, and, if required, ſhall ſend auxiliary forces at his own charges, till they come thither.

VI. That if the King of England went out of his kingdom, or ſent many forces abroad, the Commiſſioners promiſed, that the King of Scotland ſhould enter England with his whole power as far as he could, making war in the field, beſieging towns, waſting the countries, and by all poſſible ways deſtroying England.

VII. That they ſhould not make peace on either ſide without the conſent of the other.

were

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were ſurprized by part of the Engliſh army, who on that occaſion had Scots enſigns, the better to deceive them, and who purſuing them cloſely, entered the town with them, ſeized the gates, and let in all the reſt of the troops, by whom the whole Scots garriſon was totally cut off, to the number of ſeven thouſand (*g*), as their writers report, or of about ten thouſand (*h*), as the Engliſh hiſtorians agree. Upon receiving an account of two ſuch loſſes, as that of this important fortreſs, and the flower of his army that was in it, King John, who was not a very warm man, was ſo much provoked, that he drew up a ſolemn inſtrument, renouncing his homage and fealty to King Edward, and breathing, in the ſtrongeſt terms, defiance, which he ſent by one of the Friar Minors of Roxburgh, to the King, then at Berwick; who, according to his uſual cuſtom, in regard to every thing relating to the affairs of Scotland, cauſed it to be recorded, and as it is a very ſingular and extraordinary piece, we thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes (*i*) [*P*]. King John followed this declaration of his, with as great an army as he could raiſe; for at that time his ſubjects were much divided, the Bruces and their party, with the Earls of March and Angus, and others of the nobility, adhering to King Edward, and beſides this, part of his forces were then in Northumberland, ſo that it was a kind of infatuation in him, to place all as he did upon the event of a battle; in which he ſhewed as much raſhneſs now, as he had done weakneſs and timidity in his former conduct. King Edward having laid ſiege to Dunbar, and King John marching to its relief, the armies ſoon met, and came to a deciſive action near that place, ſome time in the month of April, in which the Scots were totally defeated, with the loſs, ſome ſay of ten, others of twenty thouſand men (*k*). But the former account is the more likely to be true, ſince only Sir Patrick Graham of the King's Council of perſons of diſtinction, fell there. We are indebted to one of our old hiſtorians for ſome particulars of this action, which are not mentioned in any of the reſt. He ſays, that King John's army conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe and forty thouſand foot, that they had the advantage of ground, and that after their defeat, they fled to the foreſt of Selkirk (*l*). But ſeveral of the principal nobility took ſhelter in the caſtle of Dunbar, where, however, they found themſelves preſently beſieged by the Engliſh army, and either through the treachery of the Governor, or for want of proviſions, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The chief perſons taken there were, William Earl of Roſs, William Earl of Athol, Alexander Earl of Montieth, four Barons, thirty-one Knights, an hundred Eſquires, and about three hundred private men. The Scotch hiſtorians ſay, that King Edward treated the perſons of rank that fell into his hands here, with great ſeverity; but I find, that he only ſent them priſoners into England, and cauſed them to be kept in different caſtles, twelve or fifteen in a place. But all writers agree, that as to the private men, they were uſed with all poſſible tenderneſs, the King cauſing them to be ſet at liberty, on their taking an oath that they would not take up arms againſt him any more (*m*). Upon the loſs of the battle, and the taking the caſtle of Dunbar, King John and his army retired beyond the Frith of the Forth, and for any thing that appears, made no farther reſiſtance, which ſome of their own writers, not without great appearance of truth, attribute to the diviſions in their Councils, occaſioned by the Bruces, father and ſon, that is, ſon and grandſon to the competitor, adhering to King Edward; and as they had made many friends in King John's army, they doubtleſs did him a great deal of miſchief, both by giving him bad advice, and by betraying to the King of England, what better advice he received from other hands (*n*). King Edward, with his victorious army, marched on to Roxburgh, where the Steward of Scotland lay with a conſiderable

(*g*) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 972, 973. Hector. Boeth. Scotor. Hiſt. lib. xiv. fol. 291. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. l. viii. p 258.

(*h*) Walt. Hemingford, p. 91. Chron. Cotton. Chron. S. Alban.

(*i*) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

(*k*) H. Knyghton. Tho. Walſingh. Matth. Weſtm.

(*l*) Walt. Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p 95.

(*m*) Rob. Brunne's Chron. Knyghton, Walſingham.

(*n*) Hector. Boëth. Scot. Hiſt. lib. xiv. Buchan. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

[*P*] *It might not be amiſs to inſert it in the notes.*] We are told by Buchanan, that the perſon who brought this extraordinary piece, very narrowly eſcaped with his life (56); which, conſidering the ſtrangeneſs of the contents of it, is not at all wonderful. One of our ancient hiſtorians, who ſays nothing of the ill uſage of this man, informs us of many circumſtances that ſeem not to have been known to Buchanan, or indeed to any of the Scottiſh hiſtorians; ſuch as that the name of the perſon who brought it, was Adam Blunt, that he was Guardian or Warden of the Friers Minors at Roxburgh, that he brought with him three of his Monks, that he delivered it to the King, April 5, 1296; and that his Majeſty directly ordered it to be enrolled in Chancery, intending no doubt to juſtify thereby his own proceedings, and the deſign he had then formed of acquiring the poſſeſſion of, as well as the ſuperiority over, the kingdom of Scotland, by conquering and annexing it to his own kingdom of England, as appears by the whole of his conduct afterwards (57). At preſent, let us peruſe the letters of King John, thus then they ran, 'To the magnificent Prince 'Edward, by the grace of God, King of England; 'John, by the ſame grace, King of Scotland. 'Whereas you, and others of your kingdom, have 'purpoſely and knowingly, by your violent power, 'notoriouſly, and frequently, done grievous and intolerable injuries, contempts, grievances, and 'enormous damages againſt us, the liberties of our 'kingdom, and alſo againſt God and juſtice, citing 'us at your pleaſure, upon every ſlight occaſion, 'out of our kingdom, unduly vexing us, ſeizing our 'caſtles, lands, and poſſeſſions in our kingdom, 'unjuſtly, and for no fault of ours, taking the goods 'of our ſubjects, as well by ſea as by land, and carrying them into your kingdom, killing our merchants and other traders with you, and taking away 'our ſubjects and impriſoning them: for the reformation of which things, though we ſent our meſſengers unto you, yet they remain not only unredreſſed, but there is every day an addition of 'worſe: for now you are come with a great army 'upon our borders, to diſinherit us and the inhabitants of our kingdom, and proceeding forwards, 'have inhumanly committed many ſlaughters, burnings, and violent invaſions, as well by ſea as by 'land: We therefore not being able to ſuſtain the 'ſaid injuries, grievances, and damages any longer, 'nor to remain in your fealty or homage, extorted by 'your violent oppreſſion, do hereby return them to 'you, for ourſelf and all the inhabitants of our 'kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of you in 'your kingdom, as for your pretended government 'over us (58).'

(56) Rerum Scotic. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(57) Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 92.

(58) Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 290.

body of men, with whom he might certainly have defended the caſtle. But he choſe rather to make terms for himſelf and his adherents; and as the circumſtances of the times were favourable, and King Edward was deſirous of doing a great deal in a ſhort ſpace, he obtained as much as he could expect, which induced him not only to ſubmit, but to take an oath of fealty to that Monarch (*o*). King Edward then marched to Edinburgh, and had both city and caſtle ſurrendered to him. He proceeded thence to Sterling, which, though a place of ſome ſtrength, fell into his hands without any defence, the garriſon having deſerted it before he appeared in its neighbourhood (*p*). All this very clearly ſhews, how ill King John was ſerved, and how little reaſon he had to hope any thing from a diſpirited army, and a divided nation; which induced him to liſten to ſuch reaſons as were offered, to perſuade him, in ſuch wretched circumſtances, to think rather of preſerving his perſon, than of protecting a people, who wanted virtue and loyalty enough, to make him or themſelves free (*q*). It was certainly a bad choice he made; but then we ought to conſider, neceſſity compelled him to it. In ſhort, he determined to throw himſelf upon the mercy of King Edward; and having intimated this reſolution of his to that Prince, he ſent Anthony, Biſhop of Durham, to encourage him to perſiſt in that deſign, and to make him certain promiſes to keep him ſteady to it. This Biſhop was very well received by the unfortunate Prince to whom he was ſent, and by thoſe mean-ſpirited counſellors he had about him, with whom having agreed upon the terms of their ſubmiſſion, he brought the King of Scots along with him to King Edward, being then at a place called Stroutharrack, without any ſtate, only mounted upon a little nag, with a white rod in his hand (*r*). There being admitted into the King's preſence, he made his acknowledgment of his offence, and begged pardon by word of mouth, and went thence with the King to the caſtle of Brechin, where he not only made another ſolemn acknowledgment of the errors which he had committed, in breach of his oath and duty to King Edward, but likewiſe abſolutely ſurrendered himſelf, with the whole kingdom of Scotland, and his royal dignity, and in ſhort, whatever belonged to him, either in a public or private capacity, into the hands of Anthony, Biſhop of Durham, who received them in the place and in the name of King Edward (*s*). He likewiſe thought fit to ſeal and ſubſcribe a certain inſtrument in writing, expreſſing this to be his free will and act, in the preſence of ſome of his, and many of the Engliſh nobility; which as it is in itſelf one of the moſt extraordinary pieces that is any where extant, and as it very nearly concerns the ſubject of this article, we ſhall inſert in the notes (*t*) [Q]. As ſoon as the Great-Seal of Scotland had been affixed to this ſtrange charter, by which the

(*o*) Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 97.

(*p*) Major, Boëthius, Buchan.

(*q*) See Brady, Tyrrel, Abercromby.

(*r*) Rot. Scot. 24 E. I. p. 8. Hector. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. xiv.

(*s*) Rob. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Hen. Knyghton. Chron. Walt. Hemingf. Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 99.

(*t*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 718.

[Q] *We ſhall inſert in the notes.*] There are ſeveral circumſtances in relation to this matter, which ſeem to be wanting in our hiſtories, in order to render it clearly and fully underſtood: and indeed, this is no wonder, becauſe in this chaſm lies the whole ſecret contrivance of King Edward to make himſelf maſter of this country. It appears clearly enough, both from the Scotch and Engliſh hiſtorians, that John Baliol was all along moſt ſcandalouſly betrayed; and it was his misfortune to meet with no one author ſo much concerned for his character, as to endeavour doing him common juſtice. With the Engliſh writers of Chronicles, he is a falſe, perjured traitor; with the Scotch authors, he is a weak, mean-ſpirited, and cowardly Prince (5). Perhaps, after all, the unfortunate John Baliol might be a very worthy, good man, and we may really preſume he was ſo, ſince the Pope, and many foreign Princes, notwithſtanding all the evils that befel him, never left ſtruggling for his liberty till they obtained it. In reſpect to this very tranſaction, a ſmall degree of attention will enable us to diſcern, that he was deceived and abuſed. For laying things together, the truth appears to be this: King Edward, in the management of the whole affair of getting the kingdom of Scotland into his hands, made uſe of Dr. Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham. He it was, who, in the aſſembly at Norham, undertook to eſtabliſh the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland: he was employed to bring King John, in the ſubmiſſive manner mentioned in the text, to King Edward, which he did on the ſeventh of July 1296, at which time, as we find it entered on record, he, by word of mouth, acknowledged himſelf heartily ſorry for the unlawful confederacies he had made with Philip, King of France, againſt the King of England. He alſo then renounced all ſuch confederacies and unlawful contracts, made in the name of himſelf, his ſon Edward, and the inhabitants of Scotland, againſt his due homage and fealty done to the King of England (60). This he performed in the preſence of the Biſhops of Durham and Hereford, and of other perſons of quality, whoſe names are mentioned in the record; and we may fairly preſume, that he thought this was all that would be expected from him: but being now a priſoner, together with his ſon, he was required to go much farther, nay, as far as it was poſſible for him to go, and before a Public Notary, to ſurrender his kingdom and royal dignity, which accordingly he did, and afterwards confirmed it by the following charter, which we promiſed to produce (61). It is found in many of our ancient hiſtorians. In ſome of them we have it in Latin, in others in French, but in Engliſh it ran thus:

'John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, 'To all that ſhall hear or ſee theſe preſent letters, 'greeting: Whereas we, by evil and falſe council, 'and our own ſimplicity, have greatly offended and 'provoked our Lord Edward, by the grace of God, 'King of England, &c. to wit, for that being in his 'faith and homage, we have allied ourſelf to the King 'of France, who then was, and is now his enemy, of'fering a marriage between our ſon and the daughter 'of his brother, the Lord Charles, and aſſiſting him 'by war and other ways with all our power; and 'furthermore, by our evil counſel aforeſaid, we de'fied our Lord the King of England, and put ourſelf 'out of his faith and homage, and ſent our people 'into the kingdom of England, to burn, ſpoil, plun'der, kill, and commit other miſchiefs, fortifying 'the kingdom (of Scotland), that is, his fee (or ſeig'niory), againſt him, putting garriſons into the towns, 'caſtles, and other places; for which tranſgreſſions, 'our Lord the King of England, having entered Scot'land by force, conquered and took it, notwithſtand'ing all we could do againſt him, as of right he 'might, as Lord of the fee, ſeeing after we did 'homage to him, we rebelled againſt him: We be'ing therefore yet free, and in our own power, do 'hereby ſurrender unto him the land of Scotland, 'and the whole nation with all its homages. In 'witneſs whereof, we have cauſed to be made theſe 'our letters patents, dated at Brechin the tenth day 'of July, in the fourth year of our reign (62).'

I cannot help mentioning a very ſingular circumſtance upon this occaſion, that has not been taken notice

(59) See Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. i. p. 208. Abercromby's Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation, Vol. i. p. 494. Prynne's Collections, tom. iii. p. 602, 603.

(60) Rot. Scot. 24 E. I. p. 8.

(61) Johan. Fordun. Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. fol. 74. Leſl. de Rebus Geſt. Scotor. l. vi. Hect. Boëth. Hiſt. Scot. l. xiv. Buchan. Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii.

(62) Prynne's Collections, tom. iii. p. 647. Nic. Trivet. Ann. p. 292, 293.

the King of Scots quitted his dignity, it was immediately broken to pieces, as a thing no longer of any uſe or conſequence, King Edward being determined to take that kingdom into his own hands, and to govern it as he did the reſt of his dominions. In order to perfect this deſign, the King reſolved to march into the heart of Scotland, that he might ſee whether any of the people meant to diſpute his authority, or would pretend to adhere to a Prince who had quitted his dignity, and therewith all right to their allegiance. He moved on accordingly as far as Elgin in the ſhire of Murray, and finding every thing perfectly quiet, thought it needleſs to advance farther north (*u*). In his return he came to the abbey of Scone near Perth, from whence he thought fit to remove the famous ſtone, upon which the Kings of Scotland ſat when they were crowned, as a monument of his conqueſt, and a mark of his having totally ſubverted that monarchy. This ſtone he cauſed to be conveyed to the abbey of Weſtminſter, and directed it to be placed in a chair there, where it has ever ſince remained (*w*) [*R*]. He is charged by ſome of the hiſtorians of that kingdom, with having committed various acts of ſeverity in this progreſs, ſuch as burning their records, aboliſhing their old laws, altering the form of divine ſervice, and obliging ſuch amongſt them as were diſtinguiſhed for their learning, to remove out of their own country, in order to go and ſettle at Oxford; which facts, however, if they are not totally forged, may be very truly ſaid to have been much exaggerated (*x*). From the abbey of Scone the King returned to Berwick, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, where he held a Parliament for the kingdom of Scotland, to which moſt of the Clergy, Nobility, and Freeholders repaired, and there did homage for their lands and poſſeſſions, and ſwore fealty to King Edward, as appears by four large rolls, ſtill preſerved amongſt our records in the Tower, and which are intitled, *The Rolls, or the Oaths of Homage and Fealty made to Edward King of England, by every individual Freeholder of the Kingdom of Scotland* (*y*). At the ſame time he appointed a new Treaſurer, a new Chancellor, and a new Chief-Juſtice for the realm of Scotland, into whoſe cuſtody he delivered a new Great-Seal, which he had cauſed to be made for that kingdom; and having thus taken away all marks of a ſeparate and independent ſtate, he cauſed King John and his ſon Edward Baliol, to be transferred

(*u*) T. Walſingham, Knyghton, Hemingford. Fordun. Major. Leſl. Boëth. Buchan.

(*w*) T. Walſingham, Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(*x*) Fordun, Major. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 723.

notice of before, and it is this; that notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid upon this ſubject, by our ancient and modern hiſtorians, we find a very great variation in the copy of this inſtrument given us by Mr. Rymer. He firſt exhibits it in French, which, he ſays, was taken from the very original, ſealed with the great ſeal on white wax, hanging thereto by a parchment label (63). He gives us next a Latin tranſlation; but both are dated, not on the tenth, but on the ſecond of July, not at Brechin but at Kyncardyn. This is very ſtrange, and though it is hard to argue againſt records, yet undoubtedly, theſe facts are not reconcileable to the current of our hiſtory. For firſt, with reſpect to the date; King Edward held the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt at Perth, from thence he went to Montroſe and the caſtle of Brechin in his way to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 15th of July, of Mr. Rymer's own ſhewing (64). It was after the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt that the King began to treat with Baliol, and he gave him a fortnight's time to come in and make his ſubmiſſion. It is out of doubt, that the ceremony of appearing with a white wand in his hand, and renouncing his alliance with France, was different from, and prior to his reſignation, and yet, according to this date, the whole muſt have been tranſacted in leſs than a week (65). Next we ought to conſider, that the authors in which this charter is preſerved, wrote, ſome of them in, and all of them near, the time of Edward I., and that they agree in the date of the 10th of July, which makes the whole tranſaction of a piece, and ſuits exactly with the King's motions (66). But if, after all, the original is ſtill extant, and dated as we find it in Rymer, then it muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Biſhop of Durham, was left there to tranſact theſe matters in the King's name, and that all the hiſtorians who have mentioned theſe facts are moſt groſsly miſtaken (67).

(63) Fœd. tom. ii. p. 718.

(64) *Ib.* p. 719.

(65) Fordun, Scotichron. p. 976, 977. Walt. de Hemingford Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 93. Nicol. rivet. Annal. p. 292.

(66) R. Brunne's Chron. p. 279. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 292. H. Knyghton, de Event. Angl. col. 2481.

(67) All our hiſtorians agree, that Baliol was at the caſtle of Forfar, when the Biſhop went to treat with him, that he came from that caſtle to Montroſe, to make his ſubmiſſion, and was ſent by ſea from thence to England.

[*R*] *Where it has ever ſince remained.*] It is very manifeſt, that King Edward was now intent upon removing whatever might hinder his deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of Scotland; and as he was reſolved, that it ſhould be no longer a ſeparate monarchy, he was deſirous of taking out of the way and ſight of the Scots, whatever might put them in mind of their former condition, and thereby excite them to inſurrections and rebellions. In the caſtle of Edinburgh he found the crown and ſceptre, and the reſt of the regalia, which he carried away; and knowing the Scots were very ſuperſtitious, and had various *Palladia*, which they flattered themſelves would contribute to the preſervation of their government, he reſolved to take theſe with him alſo, in order to convince them, that Scotland was to be no more a diſtinct kingdom. Amongſt theſe were two croſſes kept in ſeveral monaſteries which were very famous, the one called the Black-rood of Scotland, the other the Croſs-Neytte, both which he transferred into England (68). But that which of all their antiquities they valued moſt, was the marble ſtone upon which their Kings ſat at the time they were crowned, and of which we find a ſhort deſcription in Walter of Hemingford (69). This, as is ſaid in the text, he cauſed to be removed to Weſtminſter, where, by the King's direction, it was fixed under the bottom of a large wooden chair for the uſe of the Prieſt who officiated at divine ſervice: but it has been ſince employed here, as formerly in Scotland, for the inauguration chair of our monarchs. Upon this ſtone there are engraved the following Latin verſes.

(68) Abercromby, Vol. i. p. 496.

(69) Hiſt. Ed. I. p. 37.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti hunc quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem (70).

(70) Tho. Walſingham, Ypodigm Neuſtria, A. D. 1296.

In Engliſh thus:

If truth there be, in what old prophets ſay,
Where 'ere this ſtone is found, the Scots ſhall ſway.

It may not be amiſs to remark here, that there might be as much ſuperſtition in removing theſe ancient monuments by the Engliſh, as the Scots had ſhewn in preſerving them: for if the reader will conſult the old rhiming Chronicle of Robert of Brunne, publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, he will find that this whole expedition of King Edward's was in thoſe days thought to have been predicted by the famous Merlin, and that by aſſuming to himſelf the dominion of Scotland as well as Wales, King Edward was believed to have fulfilled his prophecy (71). Neither will it appear at all improbable, to ſuch as ſhall peruſe King Edward's letter to Pope Boniface, in ſupport of his title to the kingdom of Scotland, if we ſhould ſuggeſt, that he was not altogether ignorant himſelf of this prophecy, or unwilling that it ſhould be applied to him, ſince therein he goes as high as Brute, aſſerts him to have been ſole Monarch of Albion, and that he gave that part of the iſland called Scotland, to his ſon Albanact, whence he infers the conſtant dependance of that kingdom upon the imperial crown of England (72).

(71) Chron. p. 272.

(72) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 863.

under

under a ſtrong guard from Berwick to the Tower of London, to which they were committed priſoners; but were treated there with all imaginable decency and reſpect, and allowed as much liberty, as was conſiſtent with King Edward's deſign of keeping them in ſafe cuſtody (z). The King, likewiſe, thought proper, the better to prevent any new inſurrections or diſturbances in Scotland, to forbid any of the nobility, then priſoners in England, to paſs the river Trent upon pain of death. And thus in the ſpace of a few months, and with a very inconſiderable loſs, the King made a total conqueſt of that country, and thereby compleated, for the preſent, the great deſign he had in view (a). But how wiſe and prudent ſoever his meaſures might be in themſelves, and notwithſtanding that ſucceſs which ſeemed to attend them, yet it very ſoon appeared, that though the Scots had ſubmitted, they were not ſubdued, ſeveral inſurrections breaking out the year following, under different leaders, which prevented them from coming to any great head, though it ſhewed that there ſtill remained ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent, as could not fail of rendering his government uneaſy (b). It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn reſignation of John Baliol, his title to the crown of Scotland was ſtill owned by all that kingdom, as it likewiſe was by the Pope, the King of France, and other foreign Princes. But whether he kept any private correſpondence in Scotland or elſewhere, does not very clearly appear; though the Scots hiſtorians very poſitively affirm, that Sir William Wallace acted under his commiſſion, which may be ſo far true, that as he owned him for his Sovereign, he might be ſaid to act for him; and the ſame might be likewiſe ſaid of Robert Bruce the elder, who, when in arms at firſt againſt King Edward, expreſsly owned King John, and in his name concluded ſeveral truces, or temporary ceſſations of arms with King Edward's officers, who were employed againſt him. But though they thus acknowledged King John, when in truth they had no other King to acknowledge, yet this is far enough from being a direct evidence that King John acknowledged them, or authorized them to act by his commiſſion. To ſay the truth, the contrary of this is more than probable, from the manner in which King Edward treated him: for though the war continued againſt his ſubjects, yet King Edward does not ſeem to have been at all apprehenſive of King John, neither did he abridge him of any part of that liberty which he had granted him, though at the ſame time, he confiſcated the eſtates of many of the nobility in Scotland, for being, as he ſtiled it, in a rebellion againſt him. And indeed, conſidering the ſubmiſſions they had made, and the engagements they had entered into towards King Edward, it might very well be ſtyled ſo, though they themſelves ſtill maintained their independency; and when the French had conſented to a truce, and afterwards to a peace, no pains were ſpared to include the Scots therein (c). This treaty was a long time in negociating, under the ſpecial mediation of the Pope, who omitted no opportunity of interceding for John Baliol, or of endeavouring to diſpoſe King Edward to grant him his liberty, for which King John was likewiſe ſoliciting, and that by a more effectual method, which was making a ſolemn declaration, that he neither deſired to recover the kingdom of Scotland, nor to interfere in, or have any thing to do with, the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more (d) [S]. This it was, in all probability, that determined the King the next year to releaſe him, as he did, on the freſh inſtances made by the Biſhop of Vicenza, the Pope's

(z) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. i. p. 208, ſays, he had liberty to go any where within twenty miles of London.

(a) R. Brunne, Walſingham, Hemingford, &c.

(b) Fordun, Boëth. Buchan.

(c) Thom. Walſingham, Walt. Hemingford, Robert Brunne's Chron. Abingd. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(d) Appendix to the third Volume of Brady's Hiſtory, No. 37.

[S] *Nothing to do with the affairs of that kingdom or nation any more.*] Whoever conſiders the manner in which our ancient hiſtories were written, will very eaſily conceive, that there is little or nothing to be found in them, concerning the tranſactions of John Baliol, after he was brought over priſoner into England. Some indeed tell us, that he went to reſide at Oxford, and Rapin very gravely aſſures us, that he built a college there, and liberally endowed it (73). There is no wonder that he made this miſtake who was a ſtranger, and who deſerves to be commended, not only for his accuracy and diligence in writing the hiſtory of King Edwatd's war in Scotland, but alſo for his candour and impartiality in recording the diſputes between the two nations. But we may juſtly be ſurprized, that one of the beſt writers of the hiſtory of Scotland ſhould lead him into this miſtake, by affirming the very ſame thing (74); which ſhews how little credit is due to General Hiſtories in matters of this nature, and of how great uſe works of this kind are, in detecting ſuch errors and clearing up the truth. It has been obſerved in the text, that ſome writers have affirmed, King John was allowed the liberty of going abroad, which appears to be a matter of fact, though probably not without a keeper (75). We likewiſe find, that he ſtill kept up a cloſe correſpondence with Dr. Anthony Beak, Biſhop of Durham, and that he made uſe of him chiefly to negociate with King Edward, the terms upon which he was to obtain his liberty, all which we are able to prove, from a very extraordinary piece that remains ſtill upon record, which we find often cited by our Engliſh hiſtorians, but which, for any thing I know, has never yet appeared in Engliſh; and therefore I hope it will be very acceptable (as it is certainly one of the moſt curious papers relating to this article) if we produce it here.

(73) Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tom. iii. p. 58.

(74) Leſlæus de Geſtis Scotor. lib. vi. p. 253.

(75) Hector Boëth. lib. xiv.

'In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, 'on the firſt of April, in the houſe of the reverend Fa- 'ther Anthony Biſhop of Durham, without London. 'The ſaid Biſhop diſcourſing of the ſtate and condi- 'tion of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inha- 'bitants of the ſaid kingdom, before the noble Lord 'John Baliol, the ſaid John, of his own proper 'motion, in the preſence of me, the Notary, and the 'ſubſcribing witneſſes, amongſt other things, ſaid 'and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, 'that is to ſay, that while he the ſaid realm of Scot- 'land as King and Lord thereof, held and governed, 'he had found in the people of the ſaid kingdom, ſo 'much malice, fraud, treaſon, and deceit, that for 'their malignity, wickedneſs, treachery, and other 'deteſtable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly 'underſtood, they had, while their Prince, contrived 'to poiſon him, it was his intention, never to go or 'enter into the ſaid kingdom of Scotland for the fu- 'ture, or with the ſaid kingdom, or its concerns, 'either by himſelf or others, to intermeddle, nor for 'the reaſons aforeſaid, and many others, to have any 'thing to do with the Scots. At the ſame time, the 'ſaid John deſired the ſaid Biſhop of Durham, that 'he would acquaint the Moſt Magnificent Prince, 'and his Lord, Edward, the Moſt Illuſtrious King 'of England, with his intention, will, and firm 'reſolution

Pope's Legate, then in France, to whom he was delivered at Whitſand, by Robert de Bourgherſh, Knt. Conſtable of Dover-caſtle, the King's proxy, upon Saturday before St. Mary Magdalene's day, or the twentieth of July, upon condition that the Pope might direct and order what he pleaſed as to his perſon, and the eſtate he had in England, as King Edward might have done, if he had been perſonally with him in England; ſaving to him and his heirs, Kings of England, the kingdom of Scotland, the people and inhabitants, with all the appurtenances to that kingdom. It was alſo there read, and rehearſed before his delivery, and in his own preſence, and in that of the Biſhop of Vicenza, that he had committed many inhuman treſpaſſes and treaſons againſt his ſovereign Prince King Edward, contrary to his homage and fealty, *&c.* and that the Pope ſhould not ordain or direct any thing in the kingdom of Scotland, concerning the people or inhabitants, or any thing appertaining to the ſame kingdom, on behalf of John Baliol, or his heirs, *&c.* And upon theſe terms the Biſhop, in the name of, and as the Pope's proxy, received him from the King's Commiſſioner, on the ſaid Saturday abovementioned, A. D. 1299, and 27 Edw. I. (*e*). But notwithſtanding this ſolemn act, by which, in the fulleſt and plaineſt manner in the world, he diveſted himſelf of his regal character, and relinquiſhed both his kingdom and the allegiance of his ſubjects; yet they continued to own him for their Sovereign, as appears by a very authentic act of the Lords Juſtices, or Guardians of the kingdom of Scotland, who were, William Biſhop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the Younger, who by their letter to King Edward, dated from Torwood, November 13, 1299, owned themſelves ſubjects to King John, and deſire, in very ſubmiſſive terms, a ceſſation of hoſtilities (*f*), which, however, at that time, was not granted. Yet after all this, when King Edward, in a better temper, conſented to ſuch a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to hear what they had to offer, they propoſed the reſtoring of King John and his ſon, and offered to live under them as good ſubjects, which, becauſe of his reſignation, King Edward would not allow, but rejected theſe terms as unjuſt and unreaſonable (*g*). After all this the Pope interpoſed, and, by his letters admonitory, undertook to ſhew King Edward, that he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland (*h*) [*T*]. This Bull had no effect upon the King, who was determined to maintain his title, and to continue the war againſt Scotland, which he did with various ſucceſs, till in the year 1303, he made an abſolute conqueſt of that kingdom, and in the ſucceeding year, he ſettled the affairs of it entirely, deſigning for the future, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be repreſented by Commiſſioners ſent to the Parliament of England (*i*). The next year the Scots took up arms again, under Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick; and then it was they threw off all regard to John Baliol, and placed the crown of their kingdom on the head of the nobleman

(*e*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. ii. p. 846. 849. Prynne's Collect. Vol. iii, fol. 779. Brady's Append. as before, No. 36.

(*f*) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 859.

(*g*) Vid. Hemingf. Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

(*h*) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 844.

(*i*) Thom. Walſingham, Rob. Brunne, Walt. Hemingford, Nic. Trivet. H. Knyghton.

'reſolution in this reſpect, *&c.* This act was ſigned 'and ſealed by the Public Notary, in the preſence of 'the Biſhop of Durham aforeſaid, and of Ralph de 'Sandwich, Conſtable of the Tower of London, and 'others, who heard this diſcourſe (76).'

(76) Prynne's Collections, tom. iii. p. 665.

[*T*] *That he had no right whatever to the kingdom of Scotland.*] It is very extraordinary, that this Pope, Boniface VIII., ſhould be able to enter ſo clearly and ſo fully into this diſpute, and urge ſuch cogent reaſons againſt the pretenſions of King Edward to a ſuperiority over that kingdom, as in this monitory epiſtle we find he did; and therefore it may be reaſonably preſumed, that he was furniſhed with proper hints by ſome of the Prelates of Scotland, as the reader will readily judge, from the ſeveral heads upon which he inſiſts. In the firſt place he obſerves, that Henry, the King's father, at the time he was diſtreſſed by his rebels, applied himſelf for aſſiſtance to Alexander King of Scotland, his ſon-in-law; granted him letters patent, declaring, that he did not demand this as due to him of right, but as an act of grace and favour. He takes notice next, that when the ſame King Alexander aſſiſted at his the King of England's coronation, he demanded and obtained letters patents for the ſame purpoſe. He in the third place obſerves, that when King Alexander did homage to him for the lands of Tindale and Penrith, he publickly declared, that he did not either pay or owe him any homage as King of Scotland. His next remark is, that upon the death of the ſaid Alexander, the cuſtody of his grand-daughter and heireſs, Margaret, did not devolve to him, as it muſt have done had he been ſuperior and direct Lord of Scotland, but to ſuch as, by the nobility of that kingdom, were appointed to that office. He goes on to obſerve, that when the King applied to the Holy See for a diſpenſation, in order to the marriage of his eldeſt ſon Edward, to the ſaid Margaret, he ſet forth the conſent of the nobility of Scotland, that he had acknowledged it to be a free and independent kingdom, and had engaged it ſhould remain ſo, in caſe there was no iſſue of this marriage. To this he adds, that after the death of Margaret, when the diſpute about the ſucceſſion began, the nobility of that kingdom apprehending their going beyond their own frontiers at his requeſt, might prove detrimental to their right, he, by his own charter, ſecured them from that inconveniency: and from theſe premiſes he infers, that whatever had happened ſince was the effects of force and violence, and could not therefore confer any right whatever. To all theſe he ſubjoins an argument of another nature, that the Legates of the See of Rome to the Kings of England, could not enter Scotland in virtue of that commiſſion, but were obliged to have ſpecial letters to the Kings of Scotland, as to all other Princes. But after all, there is one thing exceſſively wild and extravagant in this Bull, which is, that at the ſame time the Pope inſiſts, that the crown of Scotland is not a fee of England, he inſiſts no leſs poſitively, that the kingdom depended upon the See of Rome. This writing is dated the twenty-ſeventh of June, in the year 1299 (77). To this epiſtle two ſolemn anſwers were given, the firſt by the nobility of England, in a great council aſſembled at Lincoln, dated the twelfth of February 1301 (78). In which they aſſert, not only the King's right to the ſuperiority and direct dominion over Scotland, but alſo the independency of his crown; and declare that they cannot allow any cauſe of this nature to be canvaſſed before, much leſs determined by, his Holineſs. The other is by the King himſelf, dated at Kemeſeye the ſame year, in which he enters into a long detail of his rights over the kingdom of Scotland, and abſolutely denies many of the facts inſiſted upon in the Pope's letter; concluding with an abſolute declaration, that he would maintain his title to, and poſſeſſion of, the kingdom of Scotland, as a right deſcended to him from his anceſtors, Kings of England, which, whatever that Pope thought of it, was tacitly acknowledged by his ſucceſſors (79).

(77) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. ii. p. 844.

(78) Walt. de Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 186. Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 873.

(79) Walt. Hemingford, Hiſt. Edw. I. p. 177. Rymer's Fœder. tom. ii. p. 863.

before mentioned (*k*). All this time John Baliol lived quietly as a private man, on his own eſtates, which were very conſiderable in France (*l*). His ſon Edward remained ſome years a priſoner, as ſome ſay; as others will have it, a hoſtage here: but at length he was ſent over to his father; nor does it appear, that either of them interfered at all with the affairs of Scotland, but contented themſelves with the enjoyment of what was left of their private fortunes. Some writers ſay, that John Baliol lived till he was blind, which, if true, muſt have been the effect of ſome diſeaſe, or of ſome accident, ſince it is certain that he died A. D. 1314, when he could not be above fifty-five at moſt (*m*). His ſon Edward Baliol afterwards ſet up a title to the kingdom of Scotland, invaded and recovered it, but held it not long, and dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed (*n*) [*U*]. Thus, with much labour and difficulty, we have in a great meaſure cleared one of the moſt perplexed periods of our hiſtory, and ſet a multitude of material facts in a clear light, from the compariſon of our ancient hiſtorians, and correcting their relations by our records.

(*k*) Fordun. Major. Boëth. Leſl. Buchan.

(*l*) De Serres, Mezerai, Daniel, &c.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. III. p. 506. We have before ſhewn he was born about 1260.

(*n*) Walt. Hemingford. Hiſt. Edw. III. p. 505.

[*U*] *And dying afterwards without iſſue, the family failed.*] In order to render this article as compleat as poſſible, and to ſhew the end, as we have already explained the beginning of the conteſt, between the houſes of Baliol and Bruce, for the crown of Scotland, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the fortunes of this Edward Baliol. At the time of his father's deceaſe, which was in the year 1314, he was in England, and King Edward II. wrote to the King of France, to deſire that he might have poſſeſſion given him of his father's eſtates in that country (80), which it ſeems was done, and he lived there quietly as a private perſon for many years, and without thinking, as far as from his ſtory we can learn, of renewing the pretenſions of his family to the crown of Scotland. But in the year 1331, an Engliſh ſervant of his having killed a Frenchman, and he taking pains to ſend this ſervant out of the reach of juſtice, he was himſelf impriſoned, and his eſtates ſeized, till on the Lord Beaumont's coming from England, he was, at his interceſſion, releaſed, and this Lord Beaumont it was, that adviſed him to come over to England, and ſet up his claim to the crown of Scotland (81). King Robert Bruce being dead, and David his ſon having ſucceeded him in the kingdom, he had married the ſiſter of Edward III. King of England, who for that reaſon would not aſſiſt Baliol openly and directly againſt his brother-in-law, though he ſuffered him to raiſe men privately in Yorkſhire, with which he invaded that kingdom in 1332, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he got himſelf declared King; but not long after was driven out again, when King Edward reſolved to aſſiſt him, having firſt quarrelled with the Scots for not delivering up Berwick. This war was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that Baliol was again fixed upon the throne, and King David was forced to fly to France. Baliol by his charter acknowledged himſelf homager to King Edward III. as his father had done to King Edward I. for that kingdom; and beſides this, in conſideration of his expence in reſtoring him, he gave and granted to King Edward of England, Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Selkirk, Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns, and the countries depending upon them (82), which ſo alienated the hearts of the Scots, that he never had any quiet in that kingdom afterwards: though, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he kept up the war for many years, till, at laſt, in the year 1356, being quite tired out with the oppoſition given him by that nation, he ſurrendered his title to king Edward of England, in conſideration of a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, to be paid him quarterly (83), which he enjoyed to the year 1363, when he died at Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, without iſſue. Yet upon the death of King David Bruce, William Earl of Douglas is ſaid to have ſet up a title to the crown of Scotland, which he is alſo ſaid to have founded upon that of the Baliols: but this title of his is very obſcure, at leaſt as it is ſet forth by one who ought to have underſtood it (84). He ſays that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, Dornagilla or Dervorgilla, who married John Baliol father to King John, and Mary, who married John Comyn, from whom William Earl of Douglas was deſcended. It is true indeed, though moſt of our hiſtorians ſay otherwiſe, that Alan Lord of Galloway had two daughters, *viz.* Chriſtina and Dervorgilla, ſo that this laſt was not the elder but the younger daughter: however ſhe was ſole heireſs to her father, her eldeſt ſiſter dying unmarried (85). By this means therefore no title could accrue to the Earl of Douglas: but however a title he had, and a title from the Baliols, which aroſe thus. John Comyn married Margery (86), daughter to John Baliol by Dervorgilla his wife, ſiſter to King John Baliol, by whom he had that John Comyn who was killed by Robert Bruce, who left a daughter Dornagilla, who was married to Archibald Douglas, father to William Earl of Douglas (87), who claimed the crown: but the States of Scotland declared Robert Stuart, ſon of Margery Bruce, daughter to King Robert Bruce, and ſiſter to King David, the lawful heir of the crown (88). To this William Earl of Douglas aſſented, and the new King Robert gave his eldeſt daughter Euphamia, to James Douglas the Earl's ſon, and thus this conteſt ended (89). C.

(80) Rymer's Fœder. tom. III. p. 506.

(81) Caxton's Chronicle, A.D. 1231.

(82) Tyrrel's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 381.

(83) Rot. Scotiæ 29 E. III. m 12. Rob. de Aveſbur. Hiſt. Ed. III. p. 229.

(84) Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 84.

(85) This appears from John Baliol's petition ſetting forth his claim to the crown.

(86) Liber Cœnob. de Belmerinoch, penes dom. de Balmerinoch.

(87) Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 54.

(88) Joan. Major. de Geſt. Scotor. lib. vi. p. 113, b.

(89) Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. p. 316.

(90) P. 189. 241.

(91) *Ibid.* p. 203.

[A large and moſt accurate account of that part of the Scottiſh Hiſtory which relates to John Baliol, confirming the principal facts in the preceding article, with the addition of ſome other circumſtances, may be found in Sir David Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, lately publiſhed (90). It appears that Robert Bruce acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and that he was willing to aſk and receive judgment from him in that character, *definitively*, *expreſsly*, *publicly*, and *openly*; 'finaliter, expreſſè, publicè, et apertè,' as it is in the record. Baliol pronounced his aſſent, the next day, after an affected pauſe, and ſeeming recollection; 'congruâ deliberatione præhabitâ (91).' We ſhall tranſcribe part of what is related by Sir David Dalrymple, concerning the reſpective pleas and anſwers of Bruce and Baliol, as it may ſerve ſtill farther to ſhew the method of reaſoning in thoſe times with regard to the laws of ſucceſſion, and the imperfect ideas which were then formed upon that ſubject.

'Bruce pleaded, *firſt*, that Alexander II. deſpairing of heirs of his own body, had declared, that he held Bruce to be his right heir. It may be proved, by the teſtimony of perſons ſtill alive, that he declared this with the advice, and in the preſence of the good men of his kingdom. Alexander III. gave his familiars to underſtand, that, failing iſſue of his own body Bruce was his right heir. Moreover, the people of Scotland took an oath for maintaining the ſucceſſion of the neareſt in blood to Alexander III. who ought of right to inherit, failing Margaret the maiden of Norway and her iſſue.

'Balliol anſwered, That nothing could be concluded from the acknowledgment of Alexander II. for that he left heirs of his body. Balliol made no anſwer to what was ſaid of the ſentiments of Alexander III. and of the oath made by the Scottiſh nation to maintain the ſucceſſion of the next in blood.

'Bruce pleaded, *ſecondly*, that the right of reigning ought to be decided according to that natural law whereby kings reign, and not according to any law or uſage in force between ſubject and ſubject: That, by the law of nature, the neareſt collateral in blood has right to the crown. That the conſtitutions which prevail among vaſſals and ſubjects, bind not the lord, much leſs the ſovereign. That, although in private inheritances, which are diviſible, the eldeſt female heir has a certain prerogative; it is not ſo in a kingdom, which is indiviſible: *There* the neareſt heir of blood is preferable, whenever the ſucceſſion opens.

'Balliol anſwered, That the claimants were in the court of their Lord Paramount, and that he ought to give judgment in this caſe, as in the caſe of any

'other tenements depending on his crown; that is, 'by the common law and uſage of his kingdom, and 'no other. That, by the laws and uſages of Eng-'land, the eldeſt female heir is preferred in the ſuc-'ceſſion to all inheritance, indiviſible as well as 'diviſible.

'Bruce pleaded, *thirdly*, That the manner of ſuc-'ceſſion to the kingdom of Scotland in former times 'made for his claim; for that the brother, as being 'neareſt in degree, was wont to be preferred to the 'ſon of the deceaſed King. Thus, when Kenneth 'M'Alpine died, his brother Donald was preferred 'to his ſon Conſtantine; thus, when Conſtantine 'died, his brother Edh was preferred to his ſon Do-'nald; and thus the brother of Malcolm III. reign-'ed after him, to the excluſion of the ſon of Mal-'colm III.

'Balliol anſwered, That, if the brother was pre-'ferred to the ſon of the King, the example proved 'againſt Bruce; for that the ſon, not the brother, 'was the neareſt in degree. He admitted, that, af-'ter the death of Malcolm III. his brother uſurped 'the throne; but he contended, that the ſon of 'Malcolm complained to his liege Lord the King of 'England, who diſpoſeſſed the uſurper, and placed 'the ſon of Malcolm on the throne. That, after the 'death of that ſon, the brother of Malcolm III. 'again uſurped the throne, that the King of England 'again diſpoſſeſſed him, and placed Edgar, the ſe-'cond ſon of Malcolm, on the throne.

'Bruce pleaded, *fourthly*, That there are exam-'ples in other countries, particularly in Spain and 'Savoy, where the ſon of the ſecond daughter ex-'cluded the grandſon of the eldeſt daughter.

'Balliol anſwered, That examples from foreign 'countries are of no importance; for that, accord-'ing to the laws of England and Scotland, where 'Kings reign by ſucceſſion in the direct line, 'and Earls and Barons ſucceed in like manner, the 'iſſue of the younger ſiſter, although nearer in de-'gree, excludes not the iſſue of the elder ſiſter, al-'though more remote in degree; but the ſucceſſion 'continues in the direct line; that is, in modern 'language, primogeniture and the right of repre-'ſentation prevail.

'Bruce pleaded, *fifthly*, That a female ought not 'to reign; for that ſhe is incapable of governing. 'That at the death of Alexander III. Derverguill, 'the mother of Balliol, was alive; and, as ſhe could 'not reign, the kingdom devolved on him, Bruce, 'as the neareſt male of the blood royal.

'Balliol anſwered, That Bruce's argument was in-'conſiſtent with his claim: For that, if a female 'ought not to reign, Iſabella the mother of Bruce 'ought not, nor Bruce who muſt claim through her. 'Beſides, Bruce here denies what he himſelf had ac-'knowledged by his own actions. He was one of 'the Scottiſh nobles who ſwore fealty to a female, 'the maiden of Norway (92).'

(92) *Ibid.* p. 215. 218.

We ſhall add this valuable hiſtorian's concluſion of his account of Baliol: 'Thus ended the ſhort and diſaſtrous 'reign of John Balliol: An ill-fated Prince! cenſured 'for doing homage to Edward, never applauded for aſ-'ſerting the national independency. Yet, in his ori-'ginal offence, he had the example of Bruce; at his 'revolt, he ſaw *the rival family* combating under the 'banners of England. His attempt to ſhake off a 'foreign yoke ſpeaks him of a high ſpirit, impa-'tient of injuries. He erred in enterpriſing beyond 'his ſtrength: In the cauſe of liberty, it was a me-'ritorious error. He confided in the valour and 'unanimity of his ſubjects, and in the aſſiſtance of 'France. The efforts of his ſubjects were languid 'and diſcordant; and France beheld his ruin with 'the indifference of an unconcerned ſpectator (93).'] K.

(93) *Ibid.* p. 241.

BALL (JOHN), a Puritan Divine in the XVIIth century (*a*), was born, in the year 1585, of an obſcure family, at Caſſington or Cherſington, near Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire. He was educated in grammar learning at a private ſchool, under the Vicar of Yarnton, a mile diſtant from Caſſington; and was admitted a ſtudent of Brazen-noſe college in Oxford, in 1602. He continued there about five years, in the condition of a ſervitor, and under the diſcipline of a ſevere Tutor; and from thence he removed to St. Mary's Hall, and took the degree of Batchelor of Arts in 1608. Soon after, he was invited into Cheſhire, to be Tutor to the Lady Cholmondeley's children; and here he became acquainted with ſome rigid Puritans, who gained ſo far upon his affections, that he went over to their party. About this time, having got a ſum of money, he came up to London, and procured himſelf to be ordained by an Iriſh Biſhop, without Subſcription. Soon after, he removed into Staffordſhire, and became curate of Whitmore, a chapel of eaſe to Stoke. Here he lived in a mean condition, upon a ſalary of about twenty pounds a year, and the profits of a little ſchool. Mr. Baxter tells us (*b*), *he deſerved as high eſteem and honour as the beſt Biſhop in England; yet looking after no higher things, but living comfortably and proſperouſly with theſe.* He has, among the Puritan writers, the character of an excellent School-Divine, a painful preacher, and a learned and ingenious author; and, though he was not well affected to ceremonies and church diſcipline, yet he wrote againſt thoſe, who thought theſe matters a ſufficient ground for ſeparation. His works are mentioned in the remark [*A*]. He died the 20th of October 1640, aged about fifty-five, and was buried in the church of Whitmore.

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxonienſ. Vol. i. col. 636, 637.

(*b*) Rich. Baxter's *Unſavoury Volume of* Mr. John Crandon's *anatomized.* Lond. 1654, Sect. i. p. 6.

[*A*] *His works.*] I. *A ſhort Treatiſe concerning all the principal grounds of the Chriſtian Religion*, &c. Fourteen times printed before the year 1632, and tranſlated into the Turkiſh language by William Seaman, an Engliſh traveller. II. *A Treatiſe of Faith, in two parts; the firſt ſhewing the Nature, the ſecond the Life of Faith.* London, 1631, and 1637, 4to. There is a commendatory preface to it, written by Richard Sibbs. III. *Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modeſt Diſpute touching the Unlawfulneſs of ſtinted Liturgy and ſet Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Aſſemblies, and the primitive Subject and firſt Receptacle of the Power of the Keys*, &c. Cambridge, 1640, 4to. A rude and imperfect draught of this book was firſt made for the ſatisfaction of Mr. Richard Knightly, and afterwards, at the requeſt of ſeveral Miniſters and others, enlarged into this treatiſe. IV. *An Anſwer to two Treatiſes of Mr. John Can, the firſt intitled,* A neceſſity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformiſt's Principles; *the other,* A Stay againſt Straying; *wherein, in Oppoſition to Mr. John Robinſon, he undertakes to prove the Unlawfulneſs of hearing the Miniſters of the Church of England.* London, 1642, 4to. Publiſhed by Simeon Aſh. The epiſtle to the reader is ſubſcribed by Thomas Langley, William Rathband, Simeon Aſh, Francis Woodcock, and George Croft, Preſbyterians. After our author had finiſhed this laſt book, he undertook a large eccleſiaſtical treatiſe, in which he propoſed to lay open the nature of Schiſm, and to handle the principal controverſies relating to the eſſence and government of the viſible Church. He left fifty ſheets of this work finiſhed. 'Notwithſtanding all this (ſays Anthony 'Wood) yet, by what our author hath written in his 'anſwer to John Can, and in his *Friendly Trial*, ſome 'dividing ſpirits of his own party cenſured him, as 'in ſome degree declining from his former profeſſed 'inconformity, in deſerting the Nonconformiſt's cauſe 'and grounds, being too much inclined (eſpecially 'in the laſt of theſe two) to favour the times in cere-'monies and the ſervice book: Yet, if you will give

'credit

'credit to what these men deliver, they will tell you 'that he lived and died a strict forbearer, and constant 'opposer of all those pretended corruptions, which 'the Nonconformists had commonly in their public 'writings disallowed in the Church of England. So 'that they of his own persuasion would willingly have 'it believed, that, although he was in these his pieces 'against aggravating and multiplying conceived cor-'ruptions, and that these were not of so great weight, 'as to enforce the unlawfulness of our set forms, or 'warrant a separation from our churches and public 'worship in regard thereof, yet he acknowledged 'some things blame-worthy in the English Liturgy, 'which he designed to have evidenced (as these men 'tell us) in some public treatise, had he lived but a 'little longer. For all this he died abundantly satis-'fied in the justness of that cause, which he so well 'defended against Separation.' V. *Trial of the new Church-way in New-England and Old*, &c. London, 1644, 4to. VI. *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace.* London, 1645, 4to. Published by his great admirer Simeon Ash. VII. *Of the power of Godliness, both doctrinally and practically handled*, &c. To which are annexed several treatises, as 1. *Of the Affections.* 2. *Of the Spiritual Combat.* 3. *Of the Government of the Tongue.* 4. *Of Prayer, with an Exposition on the Lord's Prayer*, &c. London, 1657, *fol.* Published by the aforesaid Simeon Ash. This Ash, it seems, had been of the university of Cambridge, Chaplain to the Lord Brook, and afterwards to the Earl of Manchester. In 1644, he became Minister of St. Michael Bassishaw, and afterwards of St. Austin's, in London, and died the 20th of August 1662. VIII. *A Treatise of Divine Meditation.* London, 1660, 12*mo.* published also by the said Ash (1). B.

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxoniens. Vol. i. col. 637, 638.

[Mr. Neal is mistaken, when he asserts, as he does in his account of Mr. Ball, that his last work was entitled, *A Stay against Straying* (2). It is evident, from No. IV. in the preceding note, that the *Stay against Straying* was a treatise of Can's, and that an answer to it was written by Mr. Ball.

(2) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. p. 358.

Mr. Simeon Ash was a presbyterian divine of some note in the time of the long parliament. Being possessed of a good estate, and inclined to entertainments and liberality, his house was much frequented, and he was generally beloved. He gave offence to the adherents of Cromwell, by endeavouring to counteract their designs, and by vehemently opposing the *engagement*. According to Dr. Calamy, he had a considerable hand in bringing in King Charles the second. Besides publishing Mr. Ball's works, Mr. Ash was the author of several occasional sermons (3).] K.

(3) Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. ii. p. 1, 2.

BALLENDEN or BELLENDEN (Sir JOHN), an elegant Scottish writer of the XVIth century. He was descended from an ancient and very honourable family in that kingdom, and his father, Mr. Thomas Ballenden of Auchinoul, was Director to the Chancery, A. D. 1540, and Clerk of Accounts in 1541 (*a*). It does not appear when our author was born, or where educated; but from his writings (frequently intermixed with words of Gallick derivation) I am inclined to believe in France (*b*). In his youth he served in the Court, and was in great favour with King James V. as himself informs us, which he might very probably owe to his fine vein in poetry, that Prince being a great admirer, as he was also a great proficient in that kind of learning (*c*). Having so good interest with his Prince, he attained extraordinary preferment in the church, being made Canon of Ross, and Archdeacon of Murray, to which last dignity perhaps he opened his passage, by taking the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne (*d*). He likewise obtained his father's employment of Clerk of Accounts, which was very considerable, in the minority of the King before mentioned; but was afterwards turned out by the struggle of factions, in the same reign (*e*). We have no direct authority, to prove that he had any share in the education of King James V.: but from some passages in his poems, and from his addressing many of them to that King, one would conceive he was in some measure particularly attached to his person, and from one of them more especially, that he had an interest beyond that of bare duty, in forming a right disposition, and giving wholesome instructions to that Prince (*f*) [*A*]. But the work which gave him highest reputation, and has transmitted the name of our author to posterity, is his translation of Hector Boëthius, or, as his countrymen call him, Hector Boeis's History, out of Latin into the Scottish tongue, which he performed at the command of his royal master admirably, but with a good deal of freedom, departing often from his author, but generally for the sake of truth, and sometimes also adding circumstances, which perhaps

(*a*) Mackenzie's Hist. of Scots Writers, Vol. ii. p. 595.

(*b*) See this more fully explained in note [*C*].

(*c*) See his Proëm to his Cosmography.

(*d*) Dempster, lib. ii. p. 107.

(*e*) See his Proëm to his Cosmography.

(*f*) See the account of his Works in note [*C*].

[*A*] *Giving wholesome instructions to that Prince.*] It is always requisite in writing the lives of men distinguished by their writings, to read them carefully, and not to take upon the credit of others, what may with more certainty be learned from themselves. I have taken some pains to procure, and have enjoyed a great deal of pleasure in reading, some of our author's works; and from them I clearly discern, that he was put about King James V. in his nonage, which is a circumstance worth regarding, since he was one of the best bred Princes of that age, and a great encourager of learning and learned men, which reflects much honour on those who had the care of his education, of whom, I conceive, our author to have been one, and to have merited his church preferments that way (1). His genius was truly poetick, and he usually wrote in the Lyrick way, in Stanzas much after the manner of Spencer, and chiefly too, like him, on allegorical subjects. It is a great misfortune to us, that his epistles to King James are not extant; for if they were, they would probably inform us, as to many points of which we are now totally ignorant. As it is, we know, that he was thrown out of his employment, and driven from court, by the mischievous effects of envious slanders (2); but receiving the King's command, to put the Latin history of Boëthius, into the common language of Scotland, this afforded him some hope; and that he might rise the sooner in the King's favour, he composed a Poem intituled VERTUE *and* VYCE, *addressed to the Monarch of the* SCOTS, JAMES V. This we find the title in MSS. but Dr. Mackenzie tells us very positively it is prefixed by way of Proëm to his Cosmography. So very possibly it may be, though the Poem has nothing in it, that has the least relation to that subject: but the Doctor is absolutely in the wrong, for supposing them to be mistaken who stiled it a dream, since certainly it is so (3). Our author very ingeniously feigns, that walking in a garden to amuse himself after the labour of translating, and musing on the disgrace he had suffered at Court, which to prevent any offence to the King, he suggests might be owing to the pernicious influence of his ill stars; oppressed by melancholy, and not able to solve these doubts to his satisfaction, his cares at length wearied him into a deep sleep, in which he beheld a very handsome young Prince on a throne, to whom two ladies, lovely in their persons, and splendid in their equipage, applied themselves, contending for his love. He makes DELIGHT speak first, and place all pleasure in the company of women: VIRTUE speaks next, and maintains, that she only bestows real and lasting pleasure, and leads men to the acquisition of immortality. Having thus set both before the King, he tells us, he awoke, that he might not be constrained to violate truth, in describing the King's choice.

(1) There are many curious collections of pieces of this age in the hands of gentlemen of this country, and in all of them some of our author's, which shews how much his writings were esteemed.

(2) Vertue and Vyce, Stanz. iv.

(3) Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the most eminent Scots Writers, Vol. ii. p. 596.

might not be known to Hector Boece (*g*). However, his verſion, as he called it, was very well received both in Scotland and England, and ſoon became the ſtandard of that Hiſtory [*B*]. It does not appear either from his own writings or otherwiſe, how he came to loſe his office of Clerk of Accounts; but he certainly recovered it in the ſucceeding reign, was likewiſe made one of the Lords of Seſſion; and had credit then at court, perhaps from his zeal in reſpect to his religion, for he was a very warm and inflexible Romaniſt: and not being ſatisfied with perſiſting in his own ſentiments, he laboured aſſiduouſly, in conjunction with Dr. Laing, to hinder the progreſs of the Reformation (*b*). It may with great probability be conjectured, that the diſputes into which he plunged himſelf on this ſubject, made him ſo uneaſy, that he choſe to quit his native country, to go and reſide in a place, where that diſpoſition, inſtead of being an hindrance, would infallibly recommend him. This (as it is ſuppoſed) carried him to Rome, where, as Demſter tells us, he died, A. D. 1550 (*i*). He was unqueſtionably a man of great parts, and one of the fineſt Poets his country had to boaſt. It is true, the language is now ſo altered, that to attempt giving (as ſome have done) ſpecimens, would be ridiculous. It is ſufficient to ſay, that ſo many of his works remain, as fully prove this, inaſmuch as they are diſtinguiſhed by that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy (*k*) [*C*]. It is a great misfortune, that the Hiſtory of the learned men of this part of our iſland has not exerciſed the pen of ſome writer equal to the taſk, and who would have patience to enquire after, and peruſe the works of thoſe he celebrates, and thereby furniſh us with facts and dates, inſtead of publiſhing his own thoughts under the ſanction of their names.

(*g*) Nicolſon's Scotiſh Library, p. 10.

(*b*) Coan, de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, lib. ii. p. 267.

(*i*) Lib. ii. p. 307.

(*k*) See the account of his Works in note [C].

[*B*] *And ſoon became the ſtandard of that Hiſtory.*] This great work of our author appeared in folio at Edinburgh, *A. D.* 1536, under this title (4), viz. *The Hiſtory and Chronicles of* Scotland, *compilit and newly correctit and amendit be the reverend and noble Clerk Mr.* Hector Boeis, *Chanon of Aberdene, tranſlated lately be Mr.* John Ballenden, *Archdene of* Murray, *and Chanon of* Roſſe, *at command of* James *the fyfte, King of Scottis, imprintet in* Edinburgh *be* Thomas Davidſon, *dwelling fornens the Fryere-Wynde.* This tranſlation, as has been obſerved in the text, was very far from being cloſe, our author taking to himſelf the liberty of augmenting and amending the hiſtory he publiſhed as he thought proper. He, likewiſe, diſtinguiſhed it into chapters as well as books, which was the only diſtinction employed by Boëthius; which plainly proves, that it was this tranſlation and not the original, that Richard Grafton made uſe of in penning his Chronicle, which Buchanan could ſcarcely avoid knowing, though he never miſſes any opportunity of falling upon Grafton, as if he had corrupted and falſified this author, in order to ſerve his own purpoſes and abuſe the people of Scotland (5): which however has been ſhewn to be, as in fact it is, a groundleſs charge (6). Our author's work was afterwards taken into the largeſt of our Britiſh hiſtories, of which the Biſhop of Carliſle (7) has given us the following account. 'R. Hollinſhed publiſhed it in 'Engliſh, but was not the tranſlator of it himſelf; 'his friend began the work and had gone a good 'way in it, but did not, it ſeems, live to finiſh it. In 'this there are ſeveral large interpolations and addi- 'tions out of Major, Leſley, and Buchanan, by Fr. 'Thinne, who is alſo the chief author of the whole 'ſtory after the death of King James the firſt, and 'the only penman of it from 1571 to 1586. To- 'wards the latter end, this learned Antiquary occa- 'ſionally intermixes catalogues of the Chancellors, 'Archbiſhops, and Writers of that kingdom.' We learn from the very induſtrious John Bale (8), that our author, whom he calls John Balantyne, not only tranſlated it, but continued it alſo down to 1536, that his countrymen might have their hiſtory as compleat, as it was in his power to give it in their own language; and the pains he took in this reſpect, appear to have been very well beſtowed, ſince almoſt all who have written after him upon this ſubject, have, in a manner, tranſcribed his labours. He tranſlated alſo Hector Boëthius's deſcription of Scotland; and beſides that, wrote a deſcription of his own, under the title of a Deſcription of Albany, which Bale had ſeen, and of which he gives us the beginning (9). In all probability he was moved to every one of theſe works, either by the command of King James (10), or with a view to recommend himſelf to that Prince's favour. As to the Epiſtles directed by him to that Monarch, which are now loſt, they were certainly publiſhed, ſince Bale had ſeen them likewiſe (11), and perhaps, they may be ſome time or other recovered; ſince it is certain, that many of his writings are in the hands of perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, who are careful preſervers of ſuch kind of curioſities.

(4) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. I. p. 463.

(5) Rer. Scot. Hiſt. lib. viii. p. 258.

(6) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 298.

(7) Scotiſh Library, p. 38.

(8) Scriptor. Britan. Cent. xiv. p. 65.

(9) I ſuſpect however, that there is ſome miſtake about theſe two books, which cannot be corrected without ſeeing thoſe pieces.

(10) See the notes [*A*] and [C].

(11) He gives us the beginning of one of them.

[*C*] *By that noble enthuſiaſm which is the very ſoul of Poeſy.*] He wrote, as both Demſter and Bale inform us, many other pieces which are now buried in oblivion, ſuch as Viſions, Miſcellanies, Proëms to his proſe works, and, as I conceive, an explanation of the Pythagorick Y. Dr. Mackenzie, indeed, is for correcting his principal author Demſter (12), and reading *de vita Pythagoræ*, or, of the life of Pythagoras, inſtead of *de litera Pythagoræ*, or, of Pythagoras's letter: but as it ſtands ſo likewiſe in Bale, and is to the full as good ſenſe this way as the other, I ſee no cauſe to make this alteration. In the large collection of Scottiſh poems made by Mr. Carmichael, there were ſome of our author's on various ſubjects; and Mr. Lawrence Dundaſs had alſo ſeveral, whether in MS. or printed I cannot ſay. The mode of that age was chiefly allegory and fable, after the manner of the Italians, whom all the Engliſh and Scottiſh writers followed, as the great ſtandards of elegance and politeneſs. This appears not only by our author's poems, but from thoſe of his contemporaries, ſuch as Dunbar, who wrote *the Thiſtle and the Roſe*, in honour of the marriage of James IV. with Margaret, daughter to King Henry VII. of England; and the *Golden Target* was written, if I miſtake not, by the ſame author. This laſt, beyond controverſy, is one of the fineſt poems in the Scottiſh language, a beautiful moral allegory, well conducted, and the verſe ſo far, as at this diſtance of time we can judge, numerous, and full of harmony. I the rather mention this, becauſe we find therein moſt ample commendations of Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, which ſhews that their works were exceedingly admired in Scotland. But the great Poet of this age and country, to whom very probably King James himſelf, and our author likewiſe ſtood indebted for their proficiency in verſe, was Sir David Lindſey of the Mount, Lord Lyon King at Arms, who we are ſure had the care of James V. in his nonage, and who in his writings boaſts of this Prince's early reſpect for the Muſes. He wrote, amongſt other excellent poems, one called *the Teſtament and the Complaint of King James's* PAPINGO, and in the preface to this performance, he gives a pleaſant account of all the Scots Poets to his own time, in the cloſe of which, he gives this encomium of our author, the brightneſs of the character ſtill ſhining, even through the ruſt and obſcurity of the language.

(12) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. ii. p. 797.

> But now of late, has ſtart up heaſtily,
> A cunning Clerk, which writeth craftily,
> A plant of Poets, called *Ballantin*,
> Whoſe ornat writs, my wit cannot defyne;
> Get he into the court authority,
> He will precel *Quintin* and *Kenedy* (13).

(13) Preface to the Complaint of the Papingo.

This poetical Eulogy of Ballenden brings me back to

my ſubject, and enables me to ſay ſomewhat in excuſe for this digreſſion. We have already ſeen this article appear more than once in our literary hiſtories, but never ſo as to be read with any tolerable ſatisfaction, for want of ſhewing the ſtate of literature at that time in Scotland; ſo that all the particulars of his life were concealed, that could poſſibly intereſt an Engliſh reader in his favour. But now when it is obſerved, that after the marriage of Queen Margaret to King James IV. there was a conſtant intercourſe between the two courts, and more eſpecially between the wits of the two courts, who wrote then very nearly in the ſame language; the caſe alters, and Arch-deacon Ballenden does not appear ſo much a ſtranger. Beſides, Grafton and Harriſon, having already naturalized his book, and incorporated his hiſtory with that of England, there is the more reaſon for knowing ſomething about him. It is true, that with all our pains we can learn but very little of him. Still however, as it is a little more than others have diſcovered upon this ſubject, it is enough to prove, he has a right to a place here, and makes what is ſaid of him both pleaſant and uſeful. There are indeed, many that ſlight all memorials, of ſuch as lived in theſe times, as an eminent Poet of the laſt age could never be brought to reliſh Chaucer; but this is mere lazineſs, or want of taſte: lazineſs, if we will not take the pains of acquiring the language of our anceſtors, for the ſake of underſtanding what they have left us worth the reading; and want of true taſte, if while we account it laudable to be well acquainted with the writings of Petrarch and Ronſard, becauſe their fame is eſtabliſhed, we deſpiſe the application to our own old Claſſicks that have equal merit, though, from the negligence of their countrymen, their worth is leſs known. We do not often find points of this kind ſo freely treated, or truths of this nature, ſtarted with ſo little reſerve. The memoirs of men who have made ſome figure in the world, are tranſcribed by one author from another, with very little improvement; whereas, a due acquaintance with antiquity, and the ſubjects we have treated, will always afford a man of tolerable application, the means of making any article agreeable. C.

BALSHAM (HUGH DE), or de Bedeſale, or Beleſale, the tenth Biſhop of Ely, and founder of St. Peter's college, otherwiſe Peter-Houſe, in Cambridge (*a*), was in all probability born at Balſham in Cambridgeſhire (from whence he took his ſurname) towards the beginning of the XIIIth century [*A*]. He was at firſt a Monk, and afterwards Sub-prior of the Benedictine monaſtery at Ely (*b*). In 1247, November 13, he was choſen, by his convent, Biſhop of Ely, in the room of William de Kilkenny, deceaſed. But King Henry III. who had recommended his Chancellor Henry de Wengham (*c*), being extremely angry at the diſobedience of the Monks, refuſed to confirm the election; and, moreover, he felled the woods, ſpoiled the ponds, and otherwiſe waſted the manors and eſtates belonging to the Biſhoprick. He endeavoured at laſt to perſuade the Monks to proceed to a new election; alledging, that it was not fit, ſo ſtrong a place as Ely [*B*] ſhould be intruſted with a man, that had ſcarcely ever been out of his cloiſter, and who was utterly unacquainted with political affairs. Balſham, finding he was not likely to ſucceed at home, went to Rome, in order to be confirmed by the Pope (*d*); who, through the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments in Chriſtendom [*C*]. In the mean time, Boniface,

(*a*) Hiſtoria Cantabrigienſis Academiæ A. J. Caio. Lond. 1574, 4*to*. p. 54. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, Lond. 1655, fol. p. 12.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Matt. Paris, Hiſt. Major. edit. 1640, p. 936.

(*d*) Fr. Godwin, de Præſulibus, edit. Lond. 1616, 4*to*. p. 314.

[*A*] *Was born —— towards the beginning of the XIIIth century.*] This I infer from the time when he laid the foundation of St. Peter's college, which was in 1257, and from his death, which happened in 1286, as will be ſhewn preſently. So that in all likelihood he was born about the year 1210 or 1215.—— And that it was very cuſtomary, in former times, for people to take their ſurnames from the place of their birth, is ſo very certain as not to need any proof.

[*B*] *So ſtrong a place as Ely.*] It is a place of very great natural ſtrength, as being an iſle, and all the country round covered with water in the winter-time. And therefore, ſeveral perſons revolting againſt King William I. in 1070, they retired to Ely, as a place of the greateſt ſafety, *in eadem pro caſtro & loco tuto morantes*, and there endured a long ſiege or blockade (1).

(1) Sim. Dunelmenſis apud X. Scriptores, Lond. 1652. col. 203. Chron. J. Bromton. *ibid.* col. 969.

[*C*] *Pretended to diſpoſe of all eccleſiaſtical preferments.*] The Pope taking an advantage of the frequent appeals made to him, upon any controverted elections, came by degrees to render himſelf maſter of moſt preferments; and to maintain, that he had an inconteſtable right to diſpoſe of them as he thought convenient. Accordingly, he uſurped the collation of almoſt all the church-preferments, not excepting the biſhopricks and archbiſhopricks, contrary to the rights of the King, the Chapter, and the Patrons. This encroachment grew at length to that height, that there was not a benefice, great or ſmall, in England, but what the Popes diſpoſed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be maſters of all the collations. Sometimes, pretending not to like, or finding an objection againſt the perſon recommended to them for confirmation, they ſet him aſide and nominated another. One while, by the plenitude of the apoſtolick power, they reſerved to themſelves all the Benefices which ſhould become void by tranſlation. Another while, ſuch as ſhould be vacant by death, or any other way whatever. And finally, they beſtowed the biſhopricks, and other benefices, even before they were vacant, by way of Proviſion (2).

(2) See M. Paris in many places. Ryley's Placita Parliam. p. 376. and Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. ii. fol. p. 476, 477.

[To prevent theſe incroachments and impoſitions of the Biſhops of Rome, there was made, in the thirty-fifth year of Edward the firſt's reign, the firſt ſtatute againſt papal proviſions, which, according to Sir Edward Coke, is the foundation of all the ſubſequent ſtatutes of *præmunire*. Afterwards, in the 25th, 27th, and 38th years of Edward III. more ſharp and penal laws were enacted againſt proviſors, which enact ſeverally, that the court of Rome ſhall preſent or collate to no biſhoprick or living in England; and that whoever diſturbs any patron in the preſentation to a living by virtue of a papal proviſion, ſuch proviſor ſhall pay fine and ranſom to the King at his will; and be impriſoned till he renounces ſuch proviſion: and the ſame puniſhment is inflicted on ſuch as cite the King or any of his ſubjects, to anſwer in the court of Rome. When the Holy See reſented theſe proceedings, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revive the vaſſalage and annual rent to which King John had ſubjected the kingdom, it was unanimouſly agreed by all the eſtates of the realm in parliament aſſembled, 40 Edw. III. that King John's donation was null and void, being without the concurrence of parliament, and contrary to his coronation oath: and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that if the Pope ſhould endeavour, by proceſs or otherwiſe, to maintain theſe uſurpations, they would reſiſt and withſtand him with all their power.

It was found neceſſary, in the reign of Richard the ſecond, to ſharpen and ſtrengthen theſe laws by freſh ſtatutes; and particularly by that which is uſually called the ſtatute of *præmunire*, and is generally referred to by all ſubſequent ſtatutes. It is the ſtatute 16 Ric. II. c. 5. which enacts, that whoever procures at Rome, or elſewhere, any tranſlations, proceſſes, excommunications, bulls, inſtruments, or other things which touch the King, againſt him, his crown, and realm, and all perſons aiding and aſſiſting therein, ſhall be put out of the King's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the King's uſe, and they ſhall be attached by their bodies to anſwer to the King and his council; or proceſs of *præmunire facias* ſhall be made out againſt them, as in other caſes of proviſors *.] K.

* Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, Vol. iv. p. 110. 112. 4*to*. firſt edit.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury, uſed his utmoſt intereſt at Rome to obſtruct Hugh de Balſham's confirmation, though he could alledge no one fault againſt him; and recommended Adam de Maris, a learned Minorite Frier, as a fit perſon to be promoted to the biſhoprick: but all his endeavours proved unſucceſsful. As to Wengham, having been recommended by the King without his own deſire and knowledge, he did not ſtir in the leaſt to get himſelf elected by the Monks; but rather, out of an uncommon exceſs of modeſty, declined the honour, alledging that the two others (Balſham and Maris) were more worthy of it, and more deſerving than himſelf. This matter remained in ſuſpence for above ten years, and was at length determined in favour of Hugh de Balſham. For Wengham being promoted to the biſhoprick of London, upon Fulk de Baſſet's deceaſe; the Pope confirmed Hugh de Balſham's election, on the 10th of March 1257, and he was conſecrated the 14th of October following. Being thus fixed in his See, he applied h imſelf to works of charity, and particularly, in the year 1257 (*e*), or 1259 according to ſome (*f*), put in execution what he had deſigned, if not begun, before; that is, he laid the foundation of St. Peter's college, the firſt college in the univerſity of Cambridge. He built it without Trumpington gate, near the church of St. Peter, (ſince demoliſhed) from whence it took its name; and on the place where ſtood Jeſus Hoſtel, or *de pœnitentia Jeſu Chriſti*, and St. John's hoſpital (*g*), which he purchaſed and united. At firſt, he only provided lodgings for the ſcholars, who were before obliged to hire chambers of the townſmen at an extravagant rate (*h*); and they, and the ſecular brethren of St. John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year 1280 [*D*]. Then the Monks making over to him their right to the hoſpital above mentioned, he endowed his college, on the 30th of March of the ſame year (*i*), with maintenance for one Maſter, fourteen Fellows, two Bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars, whoſe number might be increaſed or diminiſhed, according to the improvement or abatement of their revenues. And he appointed his ſucceſſors, the Biſhops of Ely, to be honorary Patrons and Viſitors of that college (*k*). The revenues of it have ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors [*E*]. The munificent founder had not the ſatisfaction to ſee all things finiſhed before his deceaſe (*l*). He died at Dodington June 16, 1286, and was buried in the cathedral church of Ely, before the high altar (*m*).

(*e*) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 12.

(*f*) J. Caii Hiſt. Cantebrig. Acad. p. 54.

(*g*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 26.

(*h*) *Idem*, p. 30.

(*i*) J. Caii Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 54. Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, by R. Parker, Lond. 1721, 8vo. p. 34.

(*l*) T. Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(*l*) The Foundation of the Univerſity of Cambridge, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to. p. 3.

(*m*) Godwin, ubi ſupra, p. 315. J. Caius ſays, he died June 15, ubi ſupra, p. 54.

[*D*] *They, and the ſecular brethren of St. John the Baptiſt, lived together till the year* 1280.] I follow J. Caius in fixing the endowment of this college at the year 1280, though he ſeems to imply afterwards, that it was not done till 1282 (3). T. Fuller places it in the ſame year (4), and others ſay, the founder ſettled not the endowment till the year 1284 (5). Perhaps, the whole difference between them conſiſts in this, that there might be a ſpace of ſome few years between his beginning to endow, and his finally ſettling the endowment. He removed the ſecular brethren mentioned above, to his new college; having before ſeparated them from the regulars, whoſe monaſtery ſtood neer All-ſaints church, and tranſlated them to the place where he founded his college. St. Peter's church, which ſtood near it, falling down, the church of St. Mary's *de Gratia*, or of Grace, was built where it now ſtands, from whence the college came to be commonly ſtiled for an hundred years together, the college of St. Mary's of Grace (6).

(3) Ubi ſupra, p. 54.

(4) Hiſt. ubi ſupra, p. 30.

(5) The Foundation of the Univ. of Cambridge, with a Catalogue of the Founders, &c. Lond. 1651, 4to.

(6) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *The revenues of it hath ſince been augmented by ſeveral benefactors.*] The chief of them have been Simon de Montacute, Simon Langham, and John Fordham, Biſhops of Ely. Thomas de Caſtro, John Holbroke, Thomas Lane, John Warkworth, Thomas Denman, Henry Hornby, William Burgoyne, John Edmunds, Andrew Perne, Maſters of that houſe. And William Martin, Ralph Walpool, Biſhop of Norwich, —— Lownde, John Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Robert Shorton, Edmund Hanſon, Robert Gilbert, —— Skelton, Mrs. Elizabeth Wolfe, Edward Lord North, Thomas Smith, Henry Wilſhaw, Lady Mary Ramſey, Robert Warden, Thomas Warren, Mrs. Margaret Dean, William Herne, Robert Slade, John Blith, &c. This college conſiſts of twenty-two fellows, thirty-four bible-clerks, and eight poor ſcholars. M.

[Hugh de Balſham, ſoon after his return from Rome, ſued, in the year 1258, the maſter of the Knights Templars, before Hugh Bigot, juſticiary of England, for his right of hoſtilage in the New Temple, of which the ſaid Maſter had diſſeiſed him, and denied him entrance. The biſhop laid his damage at two hundred pounds, and recovered his right, with coſts. During his epiſcopate, a diſpenſation was granted by the Pope to the monks of Ely, in conſideration of their cathedral church being ſituate on an eminence, and expoſed to cold and ſharp winds, to wear caps ſuited to their order. It was Hugh de Balſham who ſettled, in 1276, the diſtinction of juriſdiction between the Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and the Archdeacon of Ely. By his laſt will he left to his ſcholars many books in divinity and other ſciences; and 300 marks for erecting new buildings. Peterhouſe was the firſt endowed college in Cambridge. The univerſity, in grateful reſpect to the biſhop's memory, obliged themſelves by an inſtrument, in 1291, to celebrate annually a ſolemn commemoration of his obit (7).] K.

(7) Bentham's Hiſt. of the Church of Ely, p. 150, 151.

BAMBRIDGE or BAINBRIDGE (Christopher), Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal-Prieſt of the Roman Church, was born at Hilton near Appleby in Weſtmorland, and educated at Queen's college in Oxford. Having taken holy orders, he became Rector of Aller in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells. He enjoyed three Prebends ſucceſſively in the cathedral church of Saliſbury; that of South-Grantham in 1485, that of Chardſtock the ſame year, and that of Horton in 1486. He was elected Provoſt of Queen's college in 1495, and about the ſame time created Doctor of Laws. On September the 28th, 1503, he was admitted Prebendary of Strenſhall in the cathedral church of York, void by the conſecration of Jeoffrey Blyth to the See of Litchfield and Coventry; and on the 21ſt of December following, he was inſtalled in the deanery of that church, in the room of the ſaid Blyth. In 1505 he was made Dean of Windſor, and the ſame year maſter of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy Council. In 1507, he was advanced to the See of Durham, and received the temporalities the 17th of November. The next year he was tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick of York, and received the temporalities

poralities the 12th of December (*a*). Pits assures us, that Bambridge had been very intimate with Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and shared in that Prelate's sufferings during the usurpation of Richard III.: after whose death, his affairs took a more prosperous turn; for he was appointed Almoner to King Henry VII. and employed by that Prince on several embassies to the Emperor Maximilian, Charles VIII. King of France, and other potentates of Europe (*b*). But he distinguished himself chiefly by his embassy from King Henry VIII. to Pope Julius II. who created him a cardinal [*A*], with the title of *St. Praxede*, in March 1511 (*c*), and, eight days after, appointed him Legate of the ecclesiastical army, which had been sent into the Ferrarese, and were then besieging the fort of Bastia (*d*). In return for which marks of honour, our new Cardinal and Legate prevailed with the King his master, to take part with his Holiness against the King of France [*B*]. Nor was he less zealous in the service of that Pontiff during his life, than in honouring and defending his memory after his death (*e*). There are extant in Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. (*f*) two letters; one from Cardinal Bambridge, during his residence at Rome, to King Henry VIII. [*C*], concerning the Pope's Bull giving him the title of *Most Christian King*; and another from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King [*D*], acquainting his Highness that he had delivered that instrument to Cardinal Bambridge. This Prelate died at Rome, the 14th of July 1514, being poisoned by one of his domestics, in revenge for some blows he had given him [*E*]; and was buried there in the English

(*a*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 651, 652.

(*b*) Pits, de illustr. Angl. Scriptor. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.

(*c*) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hist. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1651, l. xxvii. p. 4. *and* Aubery, Histoire Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris, 1645. t. iii. p. 164.

(*d*) Aubery, *ib.* p. 165.

(*e*) *Id. ib* p. 166.

(*f*) Vol. xiii. p. 376. 379.

[*A*] *He was sent Embassador from King Henry* VIII. *to Pope Julius* II. *who created him a cardinal.*] The occasion of this embassy, according to Mr. Aubery (1), was as follows. Henry VIII. King of England, being jealous of the honour, which the King of France, his neighbour, was acquiring in Italy, and the considerable advantages his most Christian Majesty every day gained over the Venetians, against whom a league of the most powerful princes of Europe had been lately formed at Cambray; dispatched the new Archbishop of York, Embassador to Rome, with express orders to favour as much as possible the party of the Venetians, and to endeavour, by all means, to reconcile them to the Pope: An employment (adds our author) truly worthy of so great a Prelate, and an embassy highly becoming an Archbishop, if Christian charity alone, and a desire of promoting the general peace of Europe, had been the motive of this illustrious mediat on, and not rather a secret passion in the English King to extinguish the war in Italy, in hopes of seeing it break out again in France. To effect which, our Embassador, who mingled his own interests with those of his Prince, and had his eye upon the red hat, carried on his negociations at first with so much artifice and disguise, that the real intentions of his master were not presently discovered. But the league against the Venetians being broken, and the Pope having picked a quarrel with the King of France, his Holiness, in order to gain over the King of England to his side, caressed his Embassador more than ever, and not only created him a Cardinal, but gave him likewise the precedency, which belonged of right to the Archbishop of Siponto, as being the eldest Prelate of the eight or nine, who were promoted in the same creation. An historian of our own (2) tells us, the Pope solicited King Henry VIII. by putting him in mind of the glory of his ancestors, and offering him the honour to be, *Caput Fœderis Italici*, head of the Italian league; whereupon our King sent Christopher Bambridge, Archbishop of York, to reside at Rome, and treat of these matters. In his epitaph (3), it is said, he was created a Cardinal for his emine t services done to the Holy See; but, if M. Aubery has set the affair in a true light, the red hat was rather the motive to, than the consequence of, his merit; rather the bribe, than the reward, of his services.

(1) Histoire Generale des Cardinaux. edit. Paris. 1645, t. iii. p. 264.

(2) Lord Herbert's *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII. ap. *Complete History of England*, Vol. ii. p. 6.

(3) *See below the remark* [*F*].

[*B*] *He prevailed with his master to take part with the Pope against the King of France.*] The observation in the close of the last remark is farther confirmed by what Polydore Vergil tells us, that Cardinal Bambridge sent dispatches to the King, to acquaint him, that the Pope expected assistance from England; and as he was sensible of the great obligations he lay under to that Pontiff, for the honour of the Cardinalate conferred upon him, he was the more urgent with the King to undertake his Holiness's cause, and not to suffer a Pope, who had so strenuously asserted the liberties of Christendom, to fall a sacrifice to his enemies. The Cardinal's zeal upon this occasion influenced the King to lay the affair before his Council; in which, after long debates, it was resolved to undertake the war. *Legatus interea Anglus Christophorus Cardinalis literis et nuntiis significabat Henrico Regi, Julium Pontificem auxilia ab Anglia expectare, et quo magis sciebat se Pontifici ob delatum sibi Cardinalatus honorem debere, hoc impensius obtestabatur, rogabatque regem, ut ejus salutis rationem haberet, ac neutiquam Pontificem, de reipublicæ Christianæ libertate optimè meritum, pateretur ab improbis hominibus oppressum iri — Christophori studium ita Henricum permovit, ut res ad Concilium delata sit. Multæ et variæ sententiæ in utramque partem dictæ sunt.——Ita bellum esse suscipiendum, decretum est* (4).

(4) Polyd. Vergil. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvii. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, p. 6, 7.

[*C*] *A Letter from Cardinal Bambridge to King Henry* VIII.] In this letter there is mention of a certain brief of Julius II. committed to the keeping of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, in order to be delivered to King Henry, after he had vanquished the enemies of the Church. In all probability, this was a brief, by which Julius transferred to Henry, the title of *Most Christian King*. Cardinal Bambridge having demanded it of the Cardinal de Sinigallia, after the battle of Guinegaste, and the taking of Terouane, the latter answered, That he could not deliver it without an express order signed by the King's own hand. It appears by this letter, that there was some formality wanting in the Pope's brief, and that it was apprehended, there would be a difficulty in getting it confirmed by Leo X. who succeeded Julius. Cardinal Bambridge's letter is dated at *Rome, Sept.* 12, 1513 (5).

(5) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. Vol. xiii. p. 376.

[*D*] *A Letter from the Cardinal de Sinigallia to the King.*] It is dated at *Rome, Oct.* 11, 1513 (6). He therein gives the King the title of *His most Christian Majesty*; which is a confirmation of the conjecture in the last remark. To which may be added, that Lord Herbert, who had seen the original contract of the capitulation of Tournay, dated *Sept.* 23, 1513, expressly tells us (7), That the citizens therein gave King Henry the title of *Roy très Chrêtien*, that is, the *Most Christian King*.

(6) *Ib.* p. 379.

(7) *Life and Reign of King Henry* VIII. *ubi supra*, p. 17.

[*E*] *He was poisoned by one of his domestics.*] M. Aubery informs us (8), that the Cardinal, being one day in a violent passion, to which he was naturally subject, fell upon his *Major-Domo*, one Renaud of Modena, and beat him excessively; and that the enraged domestic revenged the beating with a dose of a poison, which he found means to administer to his master; for which being apprehended and imprisoned, he prevented the execution of public justice by hanging himself. That whimsical author Dr. Fuller says upon this occasion: *Herein something may be pleaded for this Cardinal out of the* Old, *sure I am, more must be pleaded against him out of the* New Testament, *if the places be paralleled:*

(8) Ubi supra, p. 166, 167.

Prov. xxix. 19.	1. Tim. iii. 3.
A servant will not be corrected by words, &c.	*A Bishop must be no striker, &c.*

But grant him greatly faulty, it were uncharitable in us to beat his memory with more stripes, who did then suffer so much for his own indiscretion (9).

(9) Fuller's *Worthies of England.* Westmorland, p. 136.

church

church of St. Thomas (*g*) [*F*]. Pits commends him (*h*) for his great learning, and tells us, he wrote many things in the Civil Law, and ſome accounts of his own embaſſies, nothing of which has come down to us. But a foreign author has given us a very different idea of this Cardinal's abilities [*G*]. The abovementioned writer (*i*) is miſtaken in giving him the name of *Chriſtopher Urſwic* [*H*].

(*g*) Aubery, *ib.* p. 166, 167.
(*h*) Ubi ſupra.
(*i*) Pits, *ibid.*

[*F*] *He was buried in the Engliſh church of St. Thomas.*] On his tomb was the following epitaph (10).

(10) Aubery, *ib.*

CHRISTOPHORO. ARCHIEPISCOPO. EBORACENSI. S. PRAXEDIS. PRESBYTERO. CARDINALI. ANGLIÆ. A. JULIO. II. PONTIFICE. MAXIMO. OB. EGREGIAM. OPERAM. S. R. ECCLESIÆ. PRÆSTITAM. DUM. SUI. REGNI. LEGATUS. ESSET. ASSUMPTO. QUAM. MOX. DOMI. ET. FORIS. CASTRIS. PONTIFICIIS. PRÆFECTUS. TUTATUS. EST.

In Engliſh.

In memory of Chriſtopher, Archbiſhop of York, and Cardinal Prieſt of St. Praxede; created by Pope Julius II., for the eminent ſervices done by him to the Holy Roman Church, during his embaſſy from his own nation, and afterwards defending the ſame, both at home and abroad, as Legate of the Papal army.

[*G*] *A foreign author has given us a very different idea of the Cardinal's abilities.*] This author is Paris de Graſſi, who relates (11), that Bambridge, before his advancement to the purple, being one day to return thanks to the Pope and the Sacred College, for the honour done to the King his maſter in ſending him the *Golden Roſe*, was forced to break off his ſpeech, and to quit the Conſiſtory in great confuſion. And the like diſgrace befel him when Cardinal, a few days after his promotion: For it being his lot to thank the Dean of the Sacred College, in the name of all the new Cardinals, he was again at a loſs, and, what was ſtill worſe, ſpoke directly contrary to the inſtructions given him by the Maſter of the Ceremonies; which were, to divide his ſpeech into four points, to magnify, under the firſt, the dignity of the Cardinalate; to leſſen, in the ſecond, the merit of himſelf and his aſſociates; in the third, to extol the goodneſs and condeſcenſion of the Pope; and to end with compliments of thanks, and offers of their moſt humble ſervice.

(11) *In* Vit. Jul. II. *apud* Aubery, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] Pits *is miſtaken in giving him the name of* Chriſtopher Urſwic.] *Chriſtophorus Urſwiccus*, ſays he (12), *quem alii Bambriggum, alii Branbridge, cognominant, &c.* But Anthony Wood aſſures us (13), that Chriſtopher Urſwic was the Cardinal's predeceſſor in the deanery of Windſor. B.

(12) De illuſtr. Angl. Script. in Append. Centur. i. n. 48.
(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 652.

BANCROFT (RICHARD), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of King James I., was ſon of John Bancroft, Gentleman, and Mary daughter of Mr. John Curwyn, brother of Dr. Hugh Curwyn, Archbiſhop of Dublin (*a*); and was born at Farnworth in Lancaſhire, in September 1544. After being ſeverely trained up in grammatical learning, he was entered a ſtudent of Chriſt-college in Cambridge, where, in 1566-7, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); and from thence he removed to Jeſus-college, where, in 1570, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*c*). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to Dr. Cox, Biſhop of Ely, who, in 1575, gave him the rectory of Teverſham in Cambridgeſhire (*d*). The year following, he was licenſed one of the univerſity Preachers (*e*); and, in 1580, was admitted Bachelor of Divinity (*f*). September the 14th, 1584, he was inſtituted to the rectory of St. Andrew, Holborn, at the preſentation of the executors of Henry Earl of Southampton (*g*). In 1585, he commenced Doctor in Divinity; and the ſame year, was made Treaſurer of St. Paul's cathedral in London (*h*). The year following, he became rector of Cottingham in Northamptonſhire, at the preſentation of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Lord-Chancellor, whoſe Chaplain he then was (*i*). February the 25th, 1589, he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul's (*k*); in 1592, advanced to the ſame dignity in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter (*l*); and, in 1594, promoted to a ſtall in the cathedral of Canterbury (*m*). Not long before, he had diſtinguiſhed his zeal for the Church of England by a learned and ſignificant Sermon, preached (*) againſt the Puritans at St. Paul's Croſs [*A*]. In 1597, Dr. Bancroft, being then Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Whitgift, was

(*a*) Wood, *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 178.
(*b*) Newcourt, *Repertorium*, &c. Vol. i. p. 28.
(*c*) Le Neve's *Lives and Characters*, &c. *of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 71.
(*d*) Strype's *Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift*, p. 48.
(*e*) Regiſtr. Acad.
(*f*) Newcourt, ubi ſupra.
(*g*) *Id. ib.* p. 275.
(*h*) *Ib.* p. 107.
(*i*) Le Neve, ubi ſupra; p. 73.
(*k*) Newcourt, *ib.* p. 119.
(*l*) *Ib.* p. 927.
(*m*) Le Neve, *ib.* p. 74.
(*) Febr. 9, 1588-9.

[*A*] *He preached a ſermon againſt the Puritans at St. Paul's croſs.*] We will give the reader an extract of this diſcourſe, as it is made by one of our hiſtorians. The Sermon itſelf is prefixed to the Archbiſhop's *Survey of the pretended Holy Diſcipline.*——His text was: *Dearly beloved, believe not every ſpirit; but try the ſpirits, whether they be of God; for many falſe prophets are gone out into the world:* 1 John iv. 1. In proſecuting this text, he gave a ſtrong image of the Puritans, and painted them in glowing colours. He ſet forth their intemperate language againſt Biſhops, deſcribed their ambition, and ſuch other indirect motives, that puſhed them to mutiny and public diſturbance. Among other things, he charges the party with covetouſneſs; he laments that *filthy lucre* was frequently made the pretence of *Reformation*; and that the proſpect many perſons had of plundering Biſhoprics, ſeizing the endowments of cathedrals, and ſcrambling for the remainder of the church revenues, was the principal cauſe of nonconformity and ſchiſm in this Church. He adds, that had not clear evidence drove him to this cenſure, he ſhould have forborn the imputation. To explain himſelf farther upon this head, he divides the *Nonconformiſts* into Clergy and Laity, and conſiders their pretenſions apart. Their Clergy make a warm demand of all the livings ſettled upon the eſtabliſhed Church. Theſe eſtates, they pretend, ought to be conveyed to their *Preſbyteries*. And, for fear of being underfurniſhed, they put in a claim to the abbey-lands. To this purpoſe, in a petition to the parliament exhibited in the name of the Commonalty, they lay it down for a maxim in Divinity, that things once dedicated to religious uſes, are unalienable from their original intendment: When they are thus encloſed by vows and ſolemn conveyance, they ought never to be thrown open to the world. The Lay-Nonconformiſts were of a quite different ſentiment, and ran boldly to a ſcandalous extreme. For this he quotes a pamphlet, called, *An Admonition to the People of England.* Our preachers, ſay theſe *Lay-Puritans*, ought to live by the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Now no one was more unprovided with conveniencies than their maſter: *He had no place where to lay his head: Luke* ix. And as for the Apoſtles, their predeceſſors, *Silver and gold they had none: Acts* iii. Now why ſhould theſe men, whoſe induſtry and merit are leſs, be better accommodated? Why ſhould thoſe, who are ſo much inferior to the Apoſtles in their qualifications, exceed them in figure and preferment? There is no coarſeneſs in eating or dreſs, which men of their profeſſion ought to repine at. Alas! their dignities and promotions do but hinder them in their buſineſs, and diſſerve their character. And, to turn theſe men's artillery upon themſelves, and ruin them by their own

was advanced to the See of London, in the room of Dr. Richard Fletcher, and conſecrated at Lambeth the 8th of May (*n*). From this time he had, in effect, the archiepiſcopal power: For the Archbiſhop, being declined in years, and unfit for buſineſs, committed the ſole management of eccleſiaſtical affairs to Biſhop Bancroft (*o*). Soon after his being made Biſhop, he expended 1000 marks in the repair of his houſe in London (*p*). In the year 1600, he, with others, was ſent by Queen Elizabeth to Embden, to put an end to a difference between the Engliſh and Danes: But the embaſſy had no effect (*q*). This Prelate interpoſed in the diſputes between the Secular Prieſts and the Jeſuits, and furniſhed ſome of the former with materials to write againſt their adverſaries [*B*]. In the beginning of King James's reign, Biſhop Bancroft was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court [*C*], between the Biſhops and the Preſbyterian Miniſters (*r*). The ſame year, 1603, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for regulating the affairs

(*n*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 515.

(*o*) Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Lancaſhire, p. 112.

(*p*) Strype, ib. p. 518.

(*q*) Camden's *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. ii. p. 625. 648.

(*r*) Fuller's *Ch. Hiſtory*, Cent. xvii. lib. ix. p. 7—21.

reaſoning, he borrows ſome of the principles of the German Anabaptiſts. And here he directs his diſcourſe to the poorer ſort of the audience in this manner: 'My brethren, ſays he, theſe gentlemen of the 'laity uſe you extremely ill. The children of God, 'you know, are heirs of the world: *The earth is the 'Lord's, and the Saints are to inherit it.* The wicked 'therefore do but uſurp the bleſſings of Providence, 'and hold their eſtates by a wrong title. You have 'an equal ſhare with thoſe of the beſt diſtinction in 'the kingdom of heaven: Why then will you ſuffer 'yourſelves to be thrown out of your property upon 'earth, and acquieſce under ſo unequal a diſtribution? 'In the Apoſtles times, the faithful had all things 'common. Then thoſe who had eſtates ſold them, 'and laid the purchaſe money at the Apoſtles feet, 'and every one had his ſhare in proportion to his ne'ceſſity. And ſince the Chriſtian religion is ſtill the 'ſame, why is the uſage ſo very different? But, alas! 'ſo it is; you are but little better than beaſts of 'burthen to the wealthier ſort. Your landlords make 'no ſcruple to rack your rents, to *grind your faces*, 'and exhauſt your bodies. And to what end is 'all this oppreſſion in liberty and livelihood: It is to 'maintain an unneceſſary equipage, to humour their 'pride, and feed their luxury: It is to ſupply their 'pockets for gaming, and furniſh their diverſions of 'hawking and hunting. And are theſe warrantable 'motives to keep the greateſt part of the world low 'and uneaſy? To make them wear out their lives in 'labour and poverty? Why don't you puſh for re'dreſs of theſe grievances, and revive the practice of 'the Apoſtles times? To attempt ſomething of this 'kind would be charity to your wealthy neighbours, 'no leſs than yourſelves. For theſe bulky eſtates of 'theirs do but pamper their pride, abate their zeal, 'and check their progreſs in virtue. Indeed, unleſs 'you make them primitive Chriſtians in their fortunes, 'they will never be ſo in their lives; unleſs you re'duce them to evangelical poverty, and reſcue them 'from their riches, they muſt be undone.' Dr. Bancroft here puts the queſtion to the wealthier part of the audience how they like this doctrine? And, if they are unwilling to have it practiſed upon themſelves, they ſhould take care not to urge it againſt the Clergy: Thus much for covetouſneſs. To make the text bear upon the *Diſſenters* in other reſpects, he ſhews on what a weak foundation they erected their diſcipline: That there were no traces of this ſcheme from the Apoſtles time down to Calvin: That the parity theſe men are ſo earneſt to bring into the Church, was made a mark of infamy in the *Aërian* heretics. Farther, he repreſented the great danger, which muſt inevitably follow, if private men ſhould conteſt the conſtitutions of the Church, and preſume to over-rule that which had been ſettled by ſo conſiderable an authority. And, as to their complaint of the rigour of forcing them upon ſubſcription of articles, he endeavours to juſtify this impoſition by the precedent of Geneva, and ſome other Reformed Churches in Germany. The Doctor proceeds to inſiſt upon the excellency and unexceptionableneſs of the *Common-Prayer-Book*; ſhews what commendation had been given it by foreign Divines; how it was approved by Bucer, Aleſius, and Fox, and by the Parliaments and Convocations of this realm; how Archbiſhop Cranmer had defended it againſt the Papiſts, and Biſhop Ridley againſt Knox, and others. And here he argues from the abſurdity of extemporary prayers, and how often ſuch unpremeditated devotions ſlide into indecency and irreverence. Next, he maintains the ſuperiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters, argues for the civil ſupremacy, and alarms the audience with the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the practice and principles of the Diſciplinarians (1). This ſermon was managed with great learning and ſtrength of argument, and in all likelihood made an impreſſion. And of this the *Act of Grace*, at the breaking up of the parliament, ſeems ſomething of a proof. For thoſe, who did not come to church, hear divine ſervice, and conform to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, were excepted from the benefit of this act (2).

(1) Collier's *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of Great Britain*, Vol. ii. p. 609, 610.

(2) 31 Eliz. c. 16.

[*B*] *He furniſhed ſome of the Secular Prieſts with materials to write againſt the Jeſuits.*] The reader is to know, that there were great miſunderſtandings at that time between the Secular Prieſts of the Romiſh Clergy and the Jeſuits. And it is probable, the aſſiſtance Biſhop Bancroft lent the former, was, partly to keep up the diviſion, and partly to encourage the honeſter ſide. For, that the Seculars, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, were men of loyal principles, appears by a paper ſigned by ſeveral of them about that time, and by themſelves delivered into Bancroft's hands: A copy of it may be ſeen in the above-cited hiſtorian (3).

(3) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 664, 665. *Ex.* Biblioth. R. Harley, Armig.

[*C*] *He was preſent at the conference held at Hampton-Court.*] The reader may ſee an account of this famous conference, which was held in the King's preſence, in a piece entitled; *The Sum and Subſtance of the Conference held at Hampton-Court. By* William Barlow, *Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of* Cheſter. *Printed in* 1604. We ſhall only take notice here of what particularly relates to the Biſhop of London's behaviour upon this occaſion. In the firſt day's conference, the King having deſired the Biſhops to ſatisfy him in three things, namely, about *Confirmation*, *Abſolution*, and *Private Baptiſm*, as practiſed in the Church of England; Biſhop Bancroft ſeconded Archbiſhop Whitgift in giving his Majeſty the ſatisfaction he required. With reſpect to *Confirmation*, he alledged, that it had not only the practice of the Primitive Church, and the teſtimony of the Fathers, in its defence, but that it was likewiſe an Apoſtolical inſtitution, and a part of the doctrines expreſsly mentioned in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, *ch.* vi. *ver.* 2. He added, that Calvin expounded that paſſage in this ſenſe; and earneſtly wiſhed the cuſtom might be revived in thoſe Churches, which had ſuppreſſed it. As to the point of *Abſolution*, the Archbiſhop having cleared the practice of the Church of England from all abuſe and ſuperſtition, and appealed for this to the *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* in the beginning of the Communion-Book; the Biſhop of London, ſtepping forward, told the King, that in the Communion-Book there was another particular and perſonal form of abſolution, preſcribed in the *Viſitation of the Sick*; adding withal, that not only the *Confeſſions* of Augſburgh, Bohemia, and Saxony, retained it; but that Calvin approved ſuch a general *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* as is uſed in the Church of England. The form being read, the King liked it extremely, and called it an *Apoſtolical Ordinance*. In regard to *Private Baptiſm*, the Archbiſhop having endeavoured to ſatisfy his Majeſty, that the adminiſtration of baptiſm by women and lay-perſons was not allowed by the Church of England; and the Biſhop of Worceſter having allowed that the words of the office were ambiguous, and might be conſtrued ſo as to permit ſuch a practice; the Biſhop of London, not ſatisfied with this diſcourſe, replied, that the learned and reverend compilers of the Common-Prayer had no intention to miſlead the people by perplexed and double meaning expreſſions, but really deſigned a permiſſion to private perſons for baptizing

affairs of the Church, and for perusing and suppressing books, printed in England, or brought into the realm without public authority (*s*). A Convocation being summoned to meet March 20, 1603-4, and Archbishop Whitgift dying in the mean time, Bishop Bancroft was, by the King's writ, appointed President of that assembly (*t*). October 9th, 1604, he was nominated to succeed the Archbishop in that high dignity, to which he was elected by the Dean and Chapter *Nov.* 17, and confirmed in Lambeth chapel *Dec.* 10 (*u*). Sept. 5, 1605, he was sworn one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council (*w*). This year, in Michaelmas-term, Archbishop Bancroft exhibited certain articles, to the Lords of the Council, against the Judges [*D*]. In 1608 he was declared Chancellor

(*s*) Strype, *ib.* p. 577.

(*t*) *Id. ib.* p. 588.

(*u*) Registr. Bancroft.

(*w*) *Ibid.*

tizing in cases of necessity; and for this he appealed to their letters, some passages of which were read. He proceeded to prove, that this permission was agreeable to the practice of the Primitive Church: And to this purpose he urged the text in the second of the *Acts*, where three thousand are said to have been baptized in one day; alledging, that it was impossible, or at least improbable, that the Apostles could administer that sacrament to such numbers in so short a time; and that, in those early days of Christianity, there were no Bishops or Priests besides the Apostles. He likewise cited the authorities of Tertullian and St. Ambrose. And here he laid open the absurdity and impiety of supposing no necessity of baptism. In the second day's conference, the Bishop of London, perceiving that the design of the Presbyterians was entirely to overthrow the Ecclesiastical Constitution, humbly moved the King, First, that the ancient canon, *Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*, might be remembered: Secondly, that, if any of the Agents for the Nonconformists had subscribed the Communion-Book, and yet exhibited a remonstrance against it, they might be set aside, pursuant to an ancient Council, in which it is decreed, that no man shall plead against his own act and subscription. But the King interposing, ordered the Bishop to reply to the exceptions made by Dr. Reynolds, one of the Nonconformist Delegates. This gave the Bishop occasion to declare his opinion, First, with respect to *Predestination:* This proposition, *If I shall be saved, I shall be saved*, he called a desperate doctrine. He alledged, that it was a contradiction to orthodox belief; that in the points of Predestination, we should rather infer *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, that is, we should conclude our *Election* from the regularity of our lives, rather than rest our happiness upon any absolute irrespective decree; and that if God has ordained us to happiness, no habits or degrees of wickedness can make us miscarry. From hence the Bishop went on to acquaint his Majesty with the doctrine of the Church of England touching Predestination. Secondly, Reynolds having objected the inconvenience of reserving *Confirmation* to the Bishop alone, it being impracticable for the Diocesan to examine all who came to be confirmed; Bancroft replied, that it was the custom of the Bishops, in their visitations, to appoint either their Chaplains, or some other Ministers, to examine those who came to be confirmed; and that they seldom confirmed any, unless their qualifications were certified by their own Parsons or Curates. To the opinion, his answer was, that none of the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm, under the order of Bishops; and that even St. Jerome (though otherwise no friend to the episcopal superiority) confesses, the executing this function was solely lodged with the Bishops; though with this qualifying expression, *ad honorem potius sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*. However, this Father owns, the Bishops ought to have a power paramount to the rest of the Clergy; and that, without this prerogative, the unity and well-being of the Church could not subsist. In this conference, Reynolds having moved for several alterations in doctrine and discipline, Bishop Bancroft addressed the King kneeling, and humbly desired, that since it was a time for moving petitions, he might have leave to put up two or three. First, he requested, that care might be taken for a *Praying Clergy:* For notwithstanding there are many serviceable branches in the sacerdotal function, such as absolving penitents, praying for the people, pronouncing the blessing, and administering the sacraments, it is now (said he) come to that pass, that some men conceive the duty of a parish Priest is wholly confined to the *Pulpit*; where, God knows, they sometimes manage with a very slender share either of learning or discretion; that preaching has such an ascendant in their fancy, that the celebrating divine service is scandalously neglected; that some Ministers chose rather to walk in the churchyard till sermon time, than join in public prayer. He confessed, that for missionaries in unconverted countries, where a Church was planting, preaching was most necessary; but, where Christianity had been a long time settled, he thought pulpit-harangues were not the only business of a Pastor, and that this exercise ought not to be followed to the neglect of other parts of his office. This motion was highly approved by the King. The Bishop's second request was, that till men of learning and sufficiency might be procured for every congregation, godly *Homilies* might be read, and their number increased; and that those men, who had decried these instructions, would retract their censures, and endeavour to bring them into credit. The Bishop's reason for recommending the homilies was, because every Clergyman that could pronounce well had not a talent of composing. Both the King and the Agents thought this request very reasonable. The Lord Chancellor taking occasion here to argue against pluralities, and expressing his wishes, that some Clergymen might have *single coats* before others had *doublets*, adding that himself had managed in this manner in bestowing the benefices in the King's gift; the Bishop of London replied, *I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather*. The Bishop of London's last motion was, that pulpits might not be turned into batteries, and every malecontent allowed to play his spleen against his superiors from thence. The King received this complaint very graciously, and advised, in case of any misconduct in Church-officers, not to let fly personal reflections from the pulpit, but to appeal in the first place to the Ordinary, then to the Archbishop, from thence to the Lords of the Council; and if all these applications fell short of a remedy, then to bring the grievance before his Majesty himself. The King chalked out this method, upon the Bishop of London's suggesting, that in case he left himself open to receive all complaints at the first instance, neither his Majesty would be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded; for the criminal, when pressed with discipline, would immediately threaten the carrying his complaint before the King.——Thus much it was thought proper to set down of the conference at Hampton-Court, in which Bishop Bancroft bore so considerable a share.

[*D*] *He exhibited articles to the Lords of the Council against the Judges.*] They were entitled, *Certain Articles of Abuses, which are desired to be reformed, in granting Prohibitions.* To this remonstrance, in Easter-term following, all the Judges in England gave in their answers signed to the Council-Board; which unanimous resolution, Sir Edward Coke calls the *Highest Authority in Law* (4). Upon which Mr. Collier has the following remark: 'This case being a complaint of encroachment, and a contest for jurisdiction between the temporal and ecclesiastical Judges, by the principles of equity the controversy ought to be decided by neither side. That this learned Gentleman (Sir Edward Coke) was clearly of this opinon, when competition and conquest was not in his view, appears from his report of Dr. Bonham's case. *Coke's Rep. lib.* 8. *fol.* 117, *&c.* The Censors of the College of Physicians had imprisoned this Dr. Bonham for practising in London without their licence. Bonham brings an action of false imprisonment against the College. In reporting this, Coke cites the judgment of Warberton, Chief-Justice, and Daniel, another of the Justices, that the Censors of the College of Physicians could not be judges and parties, *Quia aliquis non debet esse Judex in propria causa*;

(4) Coke's Institut. Part ii. fol. 601.

Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford [*E*], in the room of the Earl of Dorſet deceaſed (*x*). In 1610, this Archbiſhop offered to the Parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the clergy [*F*], but without ſucceſs. One of our hiſtorians (*y*) pretends, that Archbiſhop Bancroft ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea [*G*], for the reception of ſtudents, who ſhould anſwer all Popiſh and other controverſial writings againſt the Church of England. This Prelate died *Nov.* 2, 1610, of

(*x*) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq Oxon.* l. ii. p 433.

(*y*) A. Wilſon, in his *Life and Reign of King James* I., apud *Complete Hiſt. of Engl.* Vol. ii. p. 685.

'*cauſa*; and that no body can be Judge and Attorney for any party. *Dyer* 3. *Ed. VI. fol.* 65. 38 *Ed. III.* 15. 8 *Hen. VI.* 19, 20, 21. *Ed. IV.* 47, &c. This in the opinion of theſe reverend Judges is ſo fundamental a maxim of reaſon and common-law, that even an act of parliament ſhall be over-ruled by it. Thus for the purpoſe: If a ſtatute impowers any perſon to have cognizance of all manner of pleas, ariſing within his manor, notwithſtanding ſuch an act, he ſhall hold no plea of any matter where himſelf is a party: The reaſon aſſigned is, *iniquum eſſe aliquem ſuæ rei eſſe Judicem.* In the cloſe of the argument, Coke, then Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, where the cauſe was tried, declares the College no Judge in the preſent diſpute: And, in ſhort, judgment was given for the plaintiff. By this *Report*, it is plain the Judges reſolution upon *Bancroft's Articles* are ſo far from being the *Higheſt Authority in Law*, that they are no authority at all. What they deliver is in favour of their own juriſdiction and intereſt: And thus, by being deeply parties, they are by this *Report* diſabled from pronouncing in the cauſe (5).' The reader may ſee the articles exhibited by Bancroft, together with the anſwers given in by the Judges, tranſcribed at length from the *Record*, in the hiſtorian juſt cited (6).

(5) Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 688.

(6) Vol. i. p. 510 *to* 523.

[*E*] *He was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford.*] In the time of his Chancellorſhip, a diſpute was determined between the Univerſity and New College. By a compoſition entered into between William of Wickham, founder of that college, and the Univerſity, it was agreed, that the fellows thereof ſhould be admitted to all degrees in the Univerſity, without aſking any grace of the congregation of maſters, or undergoing any examination for them in the public ſchools, provided they were examined in the college according to the form of the Univerſity, and had their graces given them in like manner by the government of the houſe. But in proceſs of time, the other ſtudents of the Univerſity envying this privilege, it began to be diſputed by the Regent-Maſters in 1607; and the affair was brought before the Chancellor, who adjudged the controverſy in favour of the college (7).

(7) Wood, *Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 433.

[*F*] *He offered to the parliament a project for the better providing a maintenance for the Clergy.*] The heads of the ſcheme are as follows (8): I. *That all Predial Tythes of Benefices with Cure may be paid in kind hereafter.* II. *That Perſonal Tythes may be urged upon Oath, being confeſſed to be due by Law.* III. *That as Oblations are due by Law to Parſons and Vicars that have Cure of Souls, they may accordingly be paid unto them as heretofore hath been accuſtomed*; viz. *at Marriages, Burials, and upon ſolemn Feaſt-days*, as Chriſtmas-day, Eaſter-day, Whitſunday, Allhallows-day, *and at the Times of receiving the Holy Communion*, &c. IV. *That all Abbey-Lands now exempted may pay Tythes in kind to the Parſons and Vicars, in whoſe Pariſhes they lie.* V. *That all lands altered within theſe ſixty years paſt from tillage may pay Tythes according to the value they formerly paid.* VI. *That all Parks and Warrens, made within theſe ſixty years laſt paſt, may pay Tythes, either according to their former value when they were in Tillage, or according to ſome reaſonable rate by the Acre.* VII. *That Parks diſparked within theſe ſixty years may pay Tythes in kind.* VIII. *That the Occupiers of Lands of ſuch pariſhes that have been within theſe ſixty years paſt utterly depopulated, and do now pay no Tythes at all, may hereafter pay all their Tythes in kind to the next poor Parſons adjoining.* IX. *That ſmall benefices near adjoining may be ſo united, as they may be holden by one man.* X. *That Parſons and Vicars may have right and freedom of Common with the reſt of the Pariſhioners.* XI. *That the ancient eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution in England for paying of Tythe-lambs, and Wool, may be renewed and eſtabliſhed.* Lindewood de Decimis. § Quoniam. XII. *That all penſions may hereafter be diſcharged, which are not paid to eccleſiaſtical Perſons.* XIII. *That Miniſters in cities and towns incorporate, and other great towns, may have their tythes according to the Rents of Houſes, after the rate of London.* XIV. *That the Landlords of ſuch houſes in every city incorporate, and great towns, may be chargeable with ſuch payments to their Miniſters, and not their Undertenants.* XV. *That Parſons and Vicars may have Tythe-wood duly paid to them, according to the Conſtitution of John Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.* Lindewood, de verborum ſignificatione. XVI. *That an order may be taken for the ſettling of Glebe-Lands, which are by ſtrong hand detained from divers Parſons and Vicars, by ſome Commiſſions for ſurvey upon oaths; and that it may be provided, that no Patron, or Lord of any Manor in any pariſh, may hereafter have the Glebe in farm.* XVII. *That in Chapels of Eaſe the Cure may be maintained hereafter by them that have eaſe thereby, without diminiſhing the Parſon's or Vicar's tythes.* XVIII. *That it may be lawful hereafter for any well-diſpoſed man or woman to give, purchaſe, or lay Tenements, Rents, Lands, or Annuities in fee, to the Glebe of the Church, notwithſtanding the Statute of* Mortmain. XIX. *That all Lay Patrons, when they preſent any Miniſter to an eccleſiaſtical Living, may take the like oath againſt Simony that Miniſters do; or elſe that they may forfeit their Patronage for ever to the King, when it ſhall be proved, that they have committed Simony upon any ſuch preſentation.* XX. *That it may be held Simony to ſell Advowſons as well as Preſentations; or that all Advowſons to be made hereafter may be utterly void.* XXI. *That the Tythes of Oade, Hops, Roots, Coals, and other Minerals, and likewiſe of Lime-kilns and Brick-kilns, may be truly paid to the Parſon or Vicar that hath Cure of Souls.* XXII. *That it may be lawful for ſpiritual perſons to purchaſe and take leaſes for Lives or Years, as other of his Majeſty's ſubjects may do, notwithſtanding any Statutes made to the contrary.* XXIII. *That all Lands, that have been either won from the Sea, or otherwiſe drained and recovered from ſurrounding, may be laid to ſome Pariſhes adjoining; and that the Owners or Occupiers, and all others that have any benefit of ſuch Lands, may pay their tythes in kind to the Parſons or Vicars of thoſe pariſhes, whereunto the ſaid Lands are laid.* XXIV. *That a Subſidy may be granted for the redeeming of Impropriations, and that the ſame redeemed may be of the Biſhop's patronage, in whoſe Dioceſe they lye.* XXV. *That if the laſt motion may not now be entertained, then there may be a free paſſage given to the Law yet in force (as it is ſuppoſed), that all Impropriations may be declared void, and become Preſentatives, which have no endowment for Vicars.* XXVI. *That where there are Vicaridges endowed, which do belong to Impropriations, but yet are no competent Living for a ſufficient Miniſter, Biſhops may have authority in their Dioceſes, where ſuch Vicaridges are, to allot ſome farther portions for their better maintenance out of the ſaid Impropriations.* XXVII. *That ſome Order may be ſet down for the repairing the Chancels of Churches impropriate, which are every where in wonderful decay.* XXVIII. *That Mortuaries may be reſtored.* Here Bancroft's project ſeems to have ended, though the ſubject is continued upon a break with theſe initial letters,

(8) *From the* Paper-Office.

The *L. S.*

By this ſcheme (though the attempt failed of ſucceſs) the Archbiſhop's care for the intereſt of the Clergy, and his capacity in ſuggeſting meaſures are ſufficiently diſcovered.

[G] *It is ſaid, he ſet on foot the building a college near Chelſea.*] Let us hear what Wilſon ſays of this affair: 'It was he *(the Archbiſhop)* that firſt brought 'the King to begin a new college by Chelſea, where-'in the choice and ableſt ſcholars of the kingdom, 'and the moſt pregnant wits in matters of contro-'verſies were to be aſſociated under a Provoſt, with a 'fair

of the ſtone, in his palace at Lambeth (z). By his will he ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church [*H*]; and, beſides other legacies, left all the books in his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever [*I*]. Archbiſhop Bancroft was a rigid diſciplinarian, a learned controverſialiſt (*aa*), an excellent preacher, a great ſtateſman, and a vigilant governor of the Church; and filled the See of Canterbury with great reputation [*K*].

(z) Reg. Bancr.

(aa) *See the remark* [*K*].

' fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thou-
' ſand pounds a year, whoſe deſign was to anſwer all
' Popiſh books, or others, that vented their malignant
' ſpirits againſt the Proteſtant religion, either the he-
' reſies of the Papiſts, or the errors of thoſe that
' ſtruck at Hierarchy; ſo that they ſhould be two-
' edged fellows, that would make old cutting and
' ſlaſhing; and this he forwarded with all induſtry
' during his time; and there is yet a formal act of
' parliament in being for the eſtabliſhment of it. But
' after his death, the King wiſely conſidered, that no-
' thing begets more contention than oppoſition, and
' ſuch fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than
' quench the heat that would ariſe from thoſe embers.
' For controverſies are often (or for the moſt part) the
' exuberancies of paſſion; and the Philoſopher ſaith,
' men are drunk with diſputes, and in that inordinate-
' neſs take the next thing that comes to hand to throw
' at one another's faces: So that the deſign fell to
' the ground with him; and there is only ſo much
' building ſtanding by the Thames ſide, as to ſhew,
' that what he intended to plant, he meant ſhould
' be well watered; and yet it withered in the bud (9).'
The Editor of the *Complete Hiſtory of England* tells us, Wilſon is miſtaken about the original of this intended college at Chelſea. He ſays, *It was one Sutcliffe* (*), *Doctor in Divinity, that procured a patent from King James for erecting this College, to conſiſt of a Provoſt and twenty Fellows, to be choſen by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two univerſities for the time being; which college he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own money, and the free contributions of others. He was the firſt Provoſt himſelf, and died either after Archbiſhop Bancroft, or about the ſame time; for there were three Provoſts after him ſucceſſively, whereof the learned Dr. Featly was one. Now* (adds he) *how far Archbiſhop Bancroft might encourage Sutcliffe's deſign, I know not. But if it had been originally Bancroft's own, it is not probable King James would have diſcouraged it afterwards as he did; or that his next ſucceſſor but one, Archbiſhop Laud, would have utterly neglected a foundation laid by a Prelate, whoſe memory he held in the higheſt veneration, and whoſe maxims and character he made it his buſineſs to imitate* (10).

(9) Life and Reign of King James I. *apud* Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. ii. p. 685.

(*) He was Dean of Exeter.

(10) *Ibid.* Note.

[*H*] *He ordered his body to be interred in the chancel of Lambeth church.*] He likewiſe ordered, that his body ſhould not be opened, but be buried within forty or fifty hours after his deceaſe; that all needleſs expences ſhould be avoided; and that, upon ſome Sunday within a month after his death, the then Biſhop of London (*Abbot*), or the Biſhop of Chicheſter (*Harſnet*), or one of his Chaplains, ſhould be deſired to preach in Lambeth church, and to make ſuch mention of him, as might tend to God's glory (11). On a flat ſtone over his grave, is the following inſcription (12).

(11) In Cur. Prærog. Wingfield 96.

(12) Stowe's *Survey*, &c. p. 790.

Volente Deo,
Hic jacet Richardus Bancroft, S. Theologiæ
Profeſſor, Epiſcopus Londinenſis primo,
Deinde Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus, et
Regi Jacobo a ſecretioribus Conſiliis. Obiit
Secundo Novembris An. Dom. 1610. Ætatis ſuæ 67.
Volente Deo.

[*I*] *He left his library to the Archbiſhops his ſucceſſors for ever.*] He left it conditionally, that his ſucceſſor ſhould give ſecurity, that he would leave it entire and without embezzlement; but upon refuſal of ſuch ſecurity, he bequeathed it to Chelſea college, then building, on condition it ſhould be finiſhed in a certain term of years after his deceaſe; but if not, he gave it to the Univerſity of Cambridge (13). Whether his ſucceſſors, Abbot and Laud, gave the ſecurity demanded, appears not. However, the books continued at Lambeth till the approach of the troubleſome times, when (Chelſea college having failed, and the order of Biſhops being voted down) Mr. Selden ſuggeſted to the Univerſity of Cambridge their right to the ſaid books: And accordingly, by order of parliament, not only Bancroft's books, but thoſe likewiſe of his ſucceſſor Abbot, were delivered into the poſſeſſion of the univerſity, and by them kept till after the Reſtoration, when Archbiſhop Juxon demanded them back; and he dying in a ſhort time, his ſucceſſor Sheldon purſued the ſame demand ſo effectually, that to him they were reſtored (14).

(13) In Cur. Prærog. *ib.*

(14) Le Neve, *Lives and Characters, &c. of the Proteſtant Biſhops*, &c. p. 87.

[*K*] *He filled the ſee of Canterbury with great reputation.*] Camden gives Archbiſhop Bancroft the character of *a perſon of ſingular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the diſcipline and eſtabliſhment of the Church* (15). Lord Clarendon, in his character of Archbiſhop Abbot (16), tells us, he was ' promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough ' lamented death of Dr. *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, ' who underſtood the Church excellently, and had ' almoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the Calvinian ' party, and very much ſubdued the unruly ſpirit of ' the Nonconformiſts, by and after the conference at ' Hampton-Court; countenanced men of the greateſt ' parts in learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more ' ſolid courſe of ſtudy than they had been accuſtomed ' to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have ex-' tinguiſhed all that fire in England, which had been ' kindled at Geneva; or if he had been ſucceeded by ' Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Overall, or any man, who ' underſtood, and loved the Church, that infection ' would eaſily have been kept out, which could not ' afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.' Wilſon (17) does not ſpeak ſo favourably of him; he calls him *a perſon ſevere enough, whoſe roughneſs gained little upon thoſe who deſerted the ceremonies*. Dr. Fuller (18) treats him as *a great Stateſman, and Grand Champion of Church diſcipline*, and tells us, he met with much oppoſition. And ' No wonder (adds this author) if thoſe who were ' *ſilenced* by him in the Church, were *loud* againſt ' him in other places. David ſpeaketh of *poiſon under* ' *men's lips*. This Biſhop taſted plentifully thereof ' from the mouths of his enemies, till at laſt (as ' Mithridates) he was ſo *habited* to poiſons, they be-' came food unto him.' Hereupon Fuller tells us this ſtory: ' Once a Gentleman coming to viſit him, pre-' ſented him with a libel, which he found paſted ' on his door; who nothing moved thereat, *Caſt it* ' (ſaid he) *to an hundred more, which lye here on a* ' *heap in my chamber*.' His enemies accuſed him of covetouſneſs; but this aſperſion (the ſame author lets us know) was ' confuted by the eſtate which he left, ' ſmall in proportion to his great preferment.' He cancelled his firſt *will*, in which he had bequeathed much to the Church, which occaſioned the following invidious diſtich on him;

(15) Britannia, *publiſhed by Biſhop* Gibſon, Vol. i. col. 242.

(16) *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. Oxford 1721. Vol. i. P. i. p. 88.

(17) *Life of King James*, ubi ſupra.

(18) Ubi ſupra.

He who never repented of doing Ill,
Repented that once he made a good Will;

' whereas indeed (ſays the Doctor) ſuſpecting an *im-*' *preſſion* of *popular violence* on *cathedrals*, and fear-' ing an *alienation* of what was bequeathed unto them, ' he thought fit to *cancel* his own, to prevent *others* ' cancelling his *teſtament*.' This Prelate governed with great vigour, and preſſed a ſtrict conformity to the Rubric and Canons, without the leaſt allowance for latitude and different perſuaſion. This conduct was cenſured as too rigorous by thoſe who favoured the Nonconformiſts. The author of the *Altar of Damaſcus* reports, that three hundred preaching Miniſters were either ſilenced or deprived for refuſing to paſs this teſt. But this narrative ſwells the number to a romantic bulk; for by the rolls delivered in by Bancroft not long before his death, it is evident there were but forty-nine deprived upon any account whatever: Now this, in a kingdom of about nine thouſand pariſhes, was no very tragical number. However by animadverting upon ſome few of the principals, he ſtruck a terror into the reſt, and made their ſcruples

give way. In ſhort, Bancroft's unrelenting ſtrictneſs gave a new face to religion. The ſervice of the Church was more ſolemnly performed; the faſts and feſtivals were better obſerved; the uſe of copes was revived; the ſurplice generally worn; and all things in a manner reſtored according to their firſt eſtabliſhment under Queen Elizabeth. Some, who had formerly ſubſcribed in a looſe reſerved ſenſe, were now called upon to ſign their conformity in more cloſe, unevaſive terms. For now the 36th canon obliged them to declare, that they did *willingly and* ex animo *ſubſcribe the three articles, and all things contained in the ſame.* So that now there was no room left for ſcruples and different perſuaſion (19). Whether our Archbiſhop did not carry the point of Church diſcipline too far, muſt be left to the reader's own judgment. B.

(19) *See* Collier, ubi ſupra, p. 687.

[An ingenious correſpondent, in ſome remarks upon the note [*A*], in the preceding article, obſerves, that 'the caſe of maintaining the Clergy by certain ſtated 'appointments is as plain as any thing can well be. 'The quantum, and the ſubject out of which this 'is to be levied, is of more difficulty. However, 'there is an argument in policy for allowing the 'Clergy a certain livelihood by public authority, 'which to me ſeems convincing; *viz.* That the 'power of the Clergy may be kept within bounds. 'A Clergy which ſubſiſts by the contributions of 'their followers has ever exceeded in power and 'authority; and what is remarkable, are commonly 'moſt opulently and equally provided.' We apprehend that what is here aſſerted, concerning the *opulent* proviſion which is made for ſuch Clergy as depend upon the voluntary ſupport of their hearers, requires many reſtrictions and exceptions, to bring it within the limits of hiſtorical truth.

With regard to the community among the primitive Chriſtians, the ſame correſpondent takes notice, that it was evidently from compact; and that no one was obliged to ſell his lands, or to pay the price to the Apoſtles, the οικονομοι of the ſociety. This appears from the words of St. Peter (Acts of the Apoſtles, ch. v. ver. 4.), Ουχι μενον, σοι εμενε, και πραθεν εν τη ση εξουσια υπηρχε. The crime of Ananias was, that he ſought to profit by the ſociety, and yet did not contribute according to the rules of the ſociety.

To the Gentleman already referred to, we are indebted for ſome ſtrictures on Archbiſhop Bancroft's plan for the better maintenance of the Clergy. Theſe ſtrictures we ſhall inſert, according to the order of the heads to which they relate. 'VII. This ſeems 'extraordinary. Tillage ground parked to pay 'tythes, and parks unparked to pay tythes. Either 'the one or the other may be reaſonable, but not 'both. VIII. This hurts the fundamental maxim 'in tythes, *Decimæ debentur parocho.* IX. He ſhould 'have ſpecified what is meant by *ſmall benefices*, 'what by *near adjoining*. X. Better to have all 'commons divided. The neglect of this has been 'the great hindrance of improvements in Britain. 'XIII. This is evidently unjuſt. Payment ought 'not to be made according to another rule than the 'value of the ſubject. XIX. Here it is provided 'that the oath ſhall be diſproved by other evidence: 'And it would ſeem that the King is free from 'making ſuch oath. XXI. Coals, lime-kilns, brick-'kilns. It would have been well if the Archbiſhop 'had here defined what was meant by tythes; 'whether the tenth part of the profits, or the tenth 'part of the coal, &c. wrought. The firſt may be 'reaſonable, in the ſame way that a taylor, who earns 'two ſhillings and ſixpence a day at London, ought 'to pay two-pence halfpenny a day to the Parſon or 'Vicar, in name of tythes. If the latter be meant, 'the tythe will often exceed the value or profit of 'the coal wrought.'

We apprehend, that, in the preſent enlightened and moderate age, there are few perſons who will applaud the arbitrary principles, the high eccleſiaſtical claims, and the perſecuting ſpirit of Archbiſhop Bancroft. Notwithſtanding the plauſible ſophiſtry of Mr. Collier, in the note [*D*], the concurrent opinion of all the Judges in England, even in a caſe where their own juriſdiction was concerned, or their own rights infringed, muſt be allowed to be a very great authority. It cannot be ſaid that ſuch an opinion hath no weight, without deeply affecting the civil judicature of the kingdom, and expoſing it to attacks which might be extremely hurtful to the adminiſtration of public juſtice.

As Dr. Bancroft was ſo violent in his treatment of the Puritans, it is not ſurpriſing that the Nonconformiſt writers have ſpoken of him with much ſeverity. Their characters of him, therefore, if they were produced, might be conſidered as the language of prejudiced men. But the Diſſenting writers are not the only ones who have condemned the Archbiſhop's conduct. Several of our general Hiſtorians have expreſſed their diſapprobation of it; and the ſame hath been done by divines of the Church of England. The learned author of the Confeſſional, in a paſſage formerly quoted, calls him the *fiery* Bancroft (20); and ſhews, in other places, how far he is from admiring our Prelate's temper (21). Neither doth Dr. Ferdinando Warner's character of him redound greatly to the Archbiſhop's honour. This writer ſays, that Bancroft filled the See of Canterbury 'with no extraordinary reputation about ſix 'years. He was naturally of a rough, uncourtly 'temper, which was heightened by his great autho-'rity in the high commiſſion.'—'He had extreme 'high notions of government in Church and State: 'and was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having cheriſhed the 'King's diſpoſition, to aſſume a power above the 'laws and conſtitution of his country. He was moſt 'certainly a greater friend to prerogative than to 'liberty; and what with the want of an hoſpitality 'that became a Biſhop, what with the roughneſs of 'his temper, and his high and arbitrary notions, he 'was but little regarded in his ſtation as head of 'the Church (22).' But the ſame writer alſo obſerves, that 'if we read of no extraordinary virtues 'in this Prelate, it is certain there are no vices laid 'to his charge, by thoſe who did not eſteem him, 'but cruelty and covetouſneſs; which, when they 'are examined narrowly into, appear not to deſerve 'thoſe opprobrious names in the ſtricteſt acceptation. 'In ſhort, there have been Archbiſhops who have 'been much worſe than Bancroft, who, by their 'good humour and generoſity, have been more 'eſteemed when living, and more lamented at their 'death (23).'

(20) Article Abbot, note [*X*].

(21) Confeſſional, p. 277, 279.

(22) Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. of Engl. fol. 1759, Vol. ii. p. 496, 497.

(23) Warner, ubi ſupra.

Whatever may be thought of the Archbiſhop's general temper and character, his abilities appear to have been very conſiderable. In the extract that is given, in the note [*A*], from his famous ſermon againſt the Puritans, we may perceive a clearneſs, freedom, and manlineſs of ſtile, which ſhew him to have been a great maſter of compoſition.

There is extant, in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, an original letter from Dr. Bancroft to King James the Firſt, containing an expreſs Vindication of Pluralities. This letter has been printed by Sir David Dalrymple, in the firſt volume of his Memorials (24).] K.

(24) Memorials and Letters relating to James the Firſt, p. 18—23.

BANCROFT (JOHN), Biſhop of Oxford in the reign of King Charles I., and nephew of the preceding Dr Richard Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*a*), was born at Aſtell, or Eſtwell, a ſmall village between Whitney and Burford in Oxfordſhire, and admitted a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1592, being then about eighteen years of age. Having taken the degrees in Arts, and entered into holy orders, he became a preacher for ſome years in and near Oxford. In 1609, being newly admitted to proceed in Divinity, he was, through the intereſt and endeavours of his uncle, elected Head of Univerſity college, in which ſtation he continued above twenty years; during which time, he was at great pains and expence, in recovering and ſettling the ancient lands belonging to that foundation. In 1632, he was advanced to the See of Oxford, upon the tranſlation of Dr. Corbet to that of Norwich, and conſecrated about the 6th of

(*a*) *For he was ſon of* Chriſtopher Bancroft, *eldeſt ſon of* John Bancroft *of* Farnworth *in* Lancaſhire. See the preceding article.

of June. This Prelate died in 1640 [*A*], and was buried at Cuddeſden in Oxfordſhire, the 12th of February, leaving behind him, among the Puritans or Preſbyterians then prevailing, the character of a *corrupt*, *unpreaching*, *Popiſh Prelate* (*b*). This Biſhop Bancroft built a houſe or palace, for the reſidence of his ſucceſſors, at Cuddeſden aforeſaid [*B*]. (*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 739, 740.

[*A*] *He died in* 1640.] Anthony Wood aſcribes his death to the effects of fear. *In* 1640, ſays he (1), *when the* Long Parliament *began, and proceeded with great vigour againſt the Biſhops, he was poſſeſſed ſo much with fear (having always been an enemy to the* Puritans), *that with little or no ſickneſs he ſurrendered up his laſt breath in his lodgings at Weſtminſter.* (1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 739.

[*B*] *He built a palace at Cuddeſden, for the reſidence of the Biſhops of Oxford.*] Our Antiquarian informs us (2), that, before Bancroft's time, the Biſhops of Oxford had no houſe left belonging to their ſee, either in city or country, but dwelt at their parſonage-houſes, which they held *in commendam*; though Dr. John Bridges, who had no *commendam* in his dioceſe, lived for the moſt part in hired houſes in the city. For though at the foundation of the biſhopric of Oxford, in the abbey of Oſney, Glouceſter college was appointed for the Biſhop's palace, yet, when that foundation was inſpected into by King Edward VI., that place was left out of the charter, as being then deſigned for another uſe. So that from thenceforward the Biſhops of Oxford had no ſettled houſe or palace, till Bancroft came to the ſee; who, at the inſtigation of Archbiſhop Laud, reſolved to build one. In the firſt place, therefore, in order to improve the ſlender revenues of the biſhopric, he ſuffered the leaſe of the impropriate parſonage of Cuddeſden aforeſaid, five miles diſtant from Oxford (which belonged to the Biſhop in right of his ſee) to run out, without any more renewing. In the mean time, the vicarage of his own donation, becoming vacant, he procured himſelf to be legally inſtituted and inducted thereunto; and afterwards, through the Archbiſhop's favour, obtained an annexation of it to the epiſcopal ſee, the deſign of the impropriation's falling in ſtill going on. Soon after, with the help of a large quantity of timber from the foreſt of Shotover, given him by the King, he began to build a fine palace, which, with a chapel in it, was completely finiſhed in 1634. The ſummer after, it was viſited out of curioſity by Archbiſhop Laud, who ſpeaks of it in his *Diary* thus: *September the ſecond*, An. 1635, *I was in attendance with the King at* Woodſtock, *and went thence to* Cudſden, *to ſee the houſe, which* Dr. John Bancroft, *then Lord Biſhop of* Oxford, *had there built, to be a houſe for the Biſhops of that ſee for ever; he having built that houſe at my perſuaſion.* But this houſe or palace (which coſt 3500 *l.*) proved almoſt as ſhort-lived as the founder. For, in the latter end of 1644, it was burnt down by Colonel William Legg, then Governor of the garriſon of Oxford, to prevent its being garriſoned by the Parliament forces. It lay in ruins till 1679, when Dr. John Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, at his own expence, and with the help of timber laid in for that purpoſe by Dr. William Paul, one of his predeceſſors, rebuilt it upon the old foundation, with a chapel in it, as at firſt. B. (2) *Ibid.* col. 740.

BANISTER (John) a Phyſician of good repute in the XVIth century, was born of honeſt and wealthy parents (*a*). He ſtudied for a time in the univerſity of Oxford; but without taking a degree in Arts, he entered upon the Phyſic line, and applied himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of that faculty, and to Chirurgery. In July 1573, he took the degree of Bachelor of Phyſic; and was admitted to practiſe (*b*). Being ſettled about that time at Nottingham, he lived there many years in great eſteem, and was very much followed by all ſorts of people, for his ſucceſsful practice in Phyſic and Chirurgery (*c*). He was author of ſeveral books [*A*]. The time of his death is unknown: But there was a long Memorial of him, in the church of St. Olave, Silver-ſtreet, London (*). (*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 243, edit. Lond. 1721. (*b*) Idem Faſti, Vol. i. col. 109. (*c*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra. His Hiſtorie of Man, &c. is dated from Nottingham. (*) Stowe's Survey of Lond. with Strype's Addit. Vol. i. book iii. p. 99.

There was another Phyſician, named *Richard* BANISTER, who wrote, 'A Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids;' commonly called Baniſter's Breviary of the Eyes. And, 'An Appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred 'and thirteen Diſeaſes of the Eyes and Eyelids, called *Cerviſia Medicata*, Purging Ale, with 'divers Aphoriſms and Principles [*B*].' From this book it appears (*d*), that the author was living in 1617 and 1619, and probably in 1622, when the ſecond edition was publiſhed. (*d*) Chap. ix. and vi.

[*A*] *He was author of ſeveral books.*] I. A needful, new, and neceſſary Treatiſe of Chirurgery, briefly comprehending the general and particular curation of Ulcers. Lond. 1575, 8*vo*. II. Certain Experiments of his own Invention, &c. III. The Hiſtorie of Man, ſucked from the Sappe of the moſt approved Anathomiſtes, &c. (1) in nine books. Lond. 1578. in a thin folio. IV. Compendious Chirurgery, gathered and tranſlated eſpecially out of Wecker, &c. Lond. 1585, 12*mo*. V. Antidotary Chirurgical, containing Variety of all ſorts of Medicines, &c. Lond. 1589, 8*vo*. Several years after his death, his works were collected into ſix books, and publiſhed in this order:

1. Of Tumours
2. Of Wounds } in general and particular.
3. Of Ulcers

4. Of Fractures and Luxations. 5. Of the Curation of Ulcers. 6. The Antidotary before-mentioned. Lond. 1633, 4*to*.

(1) It is a book of Anatomy, compiled chiefly from the Writings of Galen, Veſalius, Columbus, Fuchſius, Fernelius, &c.

[*B*] *An appendant part of a Treatiſe of one hundred and thirteen diſeaſes of the eyes and eye-lids*, &c.] When it was firſt publiſhed, cannot be found. But the ſecond edition was printed at London in 1622, 12*mo*. And the ſame year, 'The Treatiſe of the one hun-'dred and thirteen Diſeaſes, &c.' was reprinted. ——— In Chapter IV. of the 'Appendant part, '&c.' he ſays, 'In my Treatiſe of the Eyes I have 'named the beſt Oculiſts that have been in this land 'for fifty or ſixty years, who were no Graduates either 'in Cambridge or Oxon (2).' M. (2) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 243.

BANKES (Sir John), Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of King Charles I. He was deſcended from a good family ſeated at Keſwick in Cumberland, where he was born in A. D. 1589 (*a*). The firſt part of his education he received at a grammar-ſchool in his own county, whence, in 1604, he removed to Queen's-college in Oxford, being then about fifteen, and there for ſome time purſued his ſtudies. He left the univerſity without a degree (*b*), and taking chambers in Gray's-Inn, he applied himſelf to the Law, in which ſcience he quickly became eminent (*c*). His extraordinary diligence in his profeſſion, his grave appearance, and excellent reputation, recommended him (*a*) Fuller's Worthies, in Cumberland. (*b*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol ii. col. 26. (*c*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers for Charles I., p. 586.

him early to his Sovereign Charles I., by whom he was firſt made Attorney to the Prince (*d*). He was next year, 1630, Lent-Reader at Gray's-Inn, and in 1631, Treaſurer of that ſociety (*e*). In Auguſt 1634, he was knighted, and made Attorney-General, in the place of Mr. Noy deceaſed (*f*). He diſcharged this arduous employment, in thoſe perilous times, with great reputation, till in Hilary term 1640, he was made Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas (*g*), in the room of Sir Edward Littleton, made Lord-Keeper. In this high ſtation he acted alſo with univerſal approbation, remaining at London after the King was compelled to leave it, in order to diſcharge the duties of his office (*b*). But when he once underſtood that his continuance amongſt them was looked on by ſome, as owning the cauſe of the Parliamentarians, he retired to York (*i*). So juſt an idea the King had of this act of loyalty, that when he had thoughts of removing the Lord-Keeper, he at the ſame time was inclined to deliver the Great-Seal to the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes, whoſe integrity was generally confeſſed; but he was by ſome ſuſpected (though wrongfully as it afterwards appeared) in point of courage (*k*). He ſubſcribed the declaration made June 15, 1642, by the Lords and Gentlemen then with his Majeſty at York (*l*); and yet his conduct was ſo free from aſperſions, that even the Parliament in their propoſals to the King, in January 1643, deſired he might be continued in his office (*m*). Before this, *viz.* January 31, 1642, the univerſity of Oxford, to manifeſt their high reſpect for him, created him Doctor of Laws (*n*). His Majeſty alſo cauſed him to be ſworn of his Privy-Council, and always teſtified a great regard for his advice (*o*). In the ſummer circuit he loſt all his credit at Weſtminſter; for having declared from the bench at Saliſbury, that the actions of Eſſex, Mancheſter, and Waller, were treaſonable, the Commons voted him and the reſt of the Judges in that ſentiment traitors (*p*). In the mean time, Lady Bankes with her family being at Sir John's ſeat, Corffe-caſtle in the Iſle of Purbeck in Dorſetſhire, the friends of the Parliament, who had already reduced all the ſea coaſts but that place, reſolved to reduce it likewiſe. The courageous Lady Bankes, though ſhe had about her only her children, a few ſervants and tenants, and little hopes of relief, yet refuſed to ſurrender the fortreſs (*q*). Upon this Sir W. Earl, and Thomas Trenchard, Eſq; who commanded the Parliament forces, had recourſe to very rough meaſures. Thrice they attempted the place by ſurprize, and as often were repulſed with loſs, though the firſt time Lady Bankes had but five men in the place, and during the whole time her garriſon never exceeded forty. Then they interdicted her the markets, and at length formally beſieged the houſe with a very conſiderable force, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition. This forced the little town dependant on the caſtle to ſurrender, which inclined the beſiegers to think the buſineſs done: But Lady Bankes taking advantage of this remiſſneſs, procured a ſupply of proviſion and ammunition, which enabled her ſtill to hold out. At laſt the gallant Earl of Carnarvon, having with a conſiderable body of horſe and dragoons, cleared a great part of the Weſt, came into the neighbourhood of Purbeck, whereupon Sir W. Earl raiſed his ſiege, Auguſt 4, 1643, ſo precipitately, that he left his tents ſtanding, together with his ammunition and artillery, all which fell into the hands of Lady Bankes's houſhold (*r*). There is no queſtion but this action was very pleaſing to the King at Oxford, where Sir John continued in the diſcharge of his duty, as a Privy-Counſellor, till the laſt day of his life, *viz.* December 28, 1644 (*s*). But that he ever had any other preferment, much leſs was Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, as ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe [*A*]. He was interred with great ſolemnity in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church, and a monument erected to his memory, the

(*d*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. i. p. 210.

(*b*) Lloyd, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 211.

(*k*) Clarendon, Vol. i. p. 571.

(*l*) *Id. ibid.* p. 655.

(*m*) Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 121.

(*n*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 205.

(*p*) Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 54.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*r*) Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 335.

(*s*) See note [*B*].

[*A*] *As ſome have affirmed, is certainly falſe.*] The author of this article in the General Dictionary ſays, 'In 1640, he, *i. e.* Sir John Bankes, was made 'Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and ſoon 'after following his Majeſty, when he was obliged 'to leave Weſtminſter, he was choſen one of his 'Privy-Council at Oxford, and Lord Chief-Juſtice 'of the Common-Pleas.' Of all which facts not one is true. Sir John Bankes never was Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench. He did not follow the King to Oxford but to York, where he was of the Council, and he was Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas before the King left London. It is true, all theſe errors are religiouſly copied by this Gentleman from Anthony Wood (1), who cites Dugdale as his authority (2); but ſtill they are errors, and palpable errors, which ſhews the danger of truſting to Wood entirely. Could any man living ſuppoſe, that Sir John Bankes being ſolemnly interred in the cathedral of Chriſt-church, and having a monument erected there to perpetuate his loyalty, no notice ſhould be taken of his chief dignity in the inſcription placed thereon? But then, as to Sir William Dugdale there is no fault to be found with him: His accounts of Sir John Bankes's preferments are very juſt and accurate, as appears by comparing them with the Regiſters at Gray's-Inn. In his *Origines Juridiciales* (3), he has given us a ſeries of the Judges of the court of Common-Pleas, and therein we find Sir John Bankes promoted to the dignity of Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, 16 Car. I. xv Hill. and that he continued ſo till xv Mart. 20 Car. I. which is the laſt return in the Michaelmas term preceding his death. Again in the Chronica Series, A. D. 1640, cited by Wood, there is no miſtake; but the entry is *Joh. Bankes Miles, conſtit. Capit. Juſtic.* 29 *Jan.* in the column of Judges of the Common-Pleas. Farther ſtill, his arms with this inſcription, are in one of the windows in the hall at Grays-Inn (4). How Mr. Wood fell into this error of ſuppoſing him to have been Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, I am not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, bound to inquire: But as I have ſome reaſon to believe I can give a fair account of both, I preſume the reader will gladly hear what I have to offer. I conceive, Anthony Wood muſt have truſted ſomebody to make theſe collections relating to the Judges from Sir William Dugdale's book, becauſe they are all falſe, as well as that relating to Sir John Bankes. For example, it is there ſaid (5), Sir Robert Forſter, Knt. after the King's Reſtoration, was made Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench, 31 May 1660; and Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas in October following, and for this Dugdale is alſo cited. But he ſays (6), 31 May 1660, Sir Robert was reſtored to his place of Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, from which he had been expelled by the parliament, and on the 22 Octob. 1660, he

(1) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. c. 20.

(2) Chron. Ser. A. D. 1640.

(3) Second edit. p. 49.

(4) Dugdale's Origin Juridic. p. 333.

(5) Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. c. 26.

(6) Chr. Ser. A. D. 1660.

the inſcription on which we have preſerved in the notes, becauſe, though more than once printed before, yet it had never, till the firſt edition of this work, appeared correctly, or with its dates, the moſt material parts of ſuch pieces [*B*]. He left behind him a numerous poſterity, both males and females (*t*). By his will, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Bankes gave various ſums to pious uſes, particularly thirty pounds *per annum*, to the town of Keſwick in Cumberland, for the ſupport of a manufacture of coarſe cottons, then lately ſet up in that town (*u*), and which had been loſt but for that ſupply.

(*t*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 587.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies in Cumberland.

he was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench; ſo he never was Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, any more than Sir John Bankes of the King's-Bench. Theſe miſtakes are within ten lines of each other in the ſame column. Now that they have not been corrected, I imagine is owing, 1. To their want of knowledge in the hiſtory of the Law, who reviſed Wood's book; and 2. To the reſpect, paid to Dugdale's authority.

[*B*] *The moſt material parts of ſuch pieces.*] In Lloyd's Memoirs (7), we have a very imperfect copy of the following inſcription without its dates; and in the General Dictionary another, not altogether free from omiſſions (8). This is copied exactly from the monument, by a Gentleman curious in ſuch ſtudies as relate to Britiſh antiquities (9).

(7) Page 587.

(8) In the note to this article.

(9) MS. from J. F.

P. M. S.
Hoc Loco in Spem
Futuri Sæculi depoſitum jacet
JOHANNIS BANKES.
Qui Reginal' Collegii in hac Academia
Alumnus,
Eques Auratus ornatiſſimus,
Attornatus Generalis,
De Communi Banco Cap. Juſticiarius,
A ſecretioribus Conſiliis Regi CAROLO,
Peritiam, integritatem, fidem
Egregiè præſtitit.
Ex Æde Chriſti, in Ædes Chriſti
Tranſiit menſe Decembris die 28
Anno Domini 1644.
Ætatis ſuæ 55.

Non Nobis Domine, Non Nobis, Sed Nomini tuo fit gloria *.

On a ſmall ſtone underneath the Monument.

Hic Situs eſt
J. B.
1644.

In Engliſh thus:

Here lies interred in hopes of a future Reſurrection, the Remains of John Bankes; who was a Student in Queen's College in this Univerſity, a worthy Knight, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and a Privy-Counſellor to King CHARLES, diſtinguiſhed by his Knowledge, Integrity, and Fidelity. He paſſed from Chriſt's Church to the Church (triumphant) of Chriſt, December 28, A. D. 1644. Of his age 55.

* All the epitaph he deſired was,

Not unto us, LORD, not unto us: but unto thy name be Glory. C.

[BAPTIST (JOHN), who was alſo ſurnamed MONNOYER, a painter of ſome note, who reſided many years in England, was born at Liſle in Flanders in 1635. He was brought up at Antwerp, where his buſineſs was hiſtory-painting; but finding that his genius more ſtrongly inclined him to the painting of flowers, he applied his talents in that way, and in that branch became one of the greateſt maſters (*a*). When Le Brun had undertaken to paint the palace of Verſailles, he employed Baptiſt to do the flower-part, wherein he diſplayed great excellence (*b*). The Duke of Montague being then Ambaſſador in France, and obſerving the merit of Baptiſt's performances, invited him over into England, and employed him, in conjunction with La Foſſe and Rouſſeau, to embelliſh Montague-houſe, which is now the Britiſh Muſeum; the repoſitory of many curioſities of art and nature, and the repoſitory alſo of many of the fineſt productions of Baptiſt (*c*) [*A*]. A celebrated performance of this Artiſt, is a looking-glaſs preſerved in Kenſington-palace, which he decorated with a garland of flowers for Queen Mary; and it is mentioned as a remarkable circumſtance, that her Majeſty ſat by him, during the greateſt part of the time that he was employed in painting it. He painted, for the Duke of Ormond, ſix pictures of Eaſt Indian birds, after nature, which were in that Nobleman's collection at Kilkenny in Ireland, and afterwards came into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Pilkington [*B*]. He died in England [*C*] in the year 1699, and was buried in

(*a*) Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, 4*to*. 1770. p. 36. Eſſay towards an Engliſh School of Painters, added to the Engliſh tranſlation of De Piles's Art of Painting, third edit. p. 356.

(*b*) Eſſay towards an Engliſh School, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Pilkington, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The fineſt productions of Baptiſt.*] Mr. Pilkington ſays, 'His pictures are not ſo exquiſitely 'finiſhed as thoſe of Van Huyſum, but his compoſition and colouring are in a bolder ſtyle. His 'flowers have generally a remarkable freedom and 'looſeneſs, as well in the diſpoſition, as in pencilling; together with a tone of colouring, that is 'lively, admirable, and nature itſelf. The diſpoſition of his objects is ſurpriſingly elegant and 'beautiful; and in that reſpect his compoſitions are 'eaſily known, and as eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the 'performances of others (1).'

(1) Dictionary of Painters, ut ſupra.

Mr. Horace Walpole ſays of Baptiſt, that 'he was 'one of the greateſt maſters that has appeared for 'painting flowers:' and alſo informs us, that when this artiſt went to Paris, in 1663, he 'was received 'into the Academy with applauſe; and though his 'ſubjects were not thought elevated enough to admit 'him to a Profeſſorſhip, he was, in conſideration of 'his merit, made a Counſellor; a ſilly diſtinction, as 'if a great painter in any branch, was not fitter to 'profeſs that branch, than give advice on any other. 'He was employed at Verſailles, Trianon, Marly, 'and Meudon; and painted in the Hotel de Breton-'villiers at Paris, and other houſes (2).'

(2) Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol. iii. ſecond edit. p. 126.

[*B*] *Came into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Pilkington.*] That gentleman ſays of theſe pieces, that 'they are painted 'in water-colours, on vellum; and nothing can be 'more delicate, in the colouring, the pencilling, or 'the ſpirited expreſſion of every ſpecies.'

[*C*] *He died in England.*] Mr. Walpole ſays, he died in Pall-mall; and the ſame ingenious writer farther informs us, that 'Baptiſt paſſed and repaſſed 'ſeveral times between France and England; but 'having married his daughter to a French painter, 'who was ſuffered to alter and touch upon his 'pictures, Baptiſt was offended, and returned to 'France no more (3).'

(3) Anecdotes of Painting in England, ubi ſupra.

London. There is a print of Baptiſt, from a painting of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England.

He had a ſon, named ANTHONY BAPTIST, who alſo painted flowers; and, in the ſtyle and manner of his father, had great merit.

There was alſo another painter known by the name of JOHN BAPTIST, whoſe ſurname was GASPARS, and who was commonly called LELY'S BAPTIST. He was born at Antwerp, and was a diſciple of Thomas Willeborts Boſchaert. During the civil war he came to England, and entered into the ſervice of General Lambert [*D*]; but after the reſtoration he was employed by Sir Peter Lely, to paint the attitudes and draperies of his portraits (*d*). He was engaged in the ſame buſineſs under Riley and Sir Godfrey Kneller. He drew well, was conſidered as an excellent judge of painting, and was eminent for his deſigns for tapeſtry. The portrait of King Charles II. in Painters hall, and another of the ſame Prince, with mathematical inſtruments, in the hall of St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, were painted by this Baptiſt, who died in 1691, and was buried at St. James's (*e*).] T.

(*d*) Pilkington, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. iii. p. 25.

[*D*] *He entered into the ſervice of General Lambert.*] The author of the *Eſſay towards an Engliſh School of Painters* ſays, that General Lambert 'was a great 'encourager of painting, and a good performer in 'flowers, as is yet to be ſeen in the Duke of Leeds's 'houſe at Wimbleton.'——'His eldeſt ſon, John 'Lambert, Eſq; painted alſo faces for his diverſion 'very well, of whom many pictures are ſtill to be 'ſeen (4).'

(4) Eſſay, &c. p. 398. Vid. alſo Walpole's Anecdotes, Vol. ii. p. 179.

BARCLAY, BARCLEY, BARKLAY, or de BARKLAY (ALEXANDER), an elegant writer in the XVIth century. It is a point ſtrongly diſputed, whether he was Engliſh or Scotch by birth (*a*), nor is there any clear proof on either ſide [*A*]. The moſt probable opinion however ſeems to be, that he was born in Somerſetſhire, where there is both a village called Barcley, and an ancient family of the ſame name (*b*) [*B*]. But of whatever country he was, we know nothing of his family or fortune, before his coming to Oriel-college in Oxford, which might be about the year 1495, when Thomas Corniſh was Provoſt of that houſe (*c*). Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, by the quickneſs of his parts, and his great affection for learning, he went over into Holland, and travelled thence into Germany, Italy, and France, where he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the learning the languages ſpoken in thoſe countries, and to the ſtudy of the beſt authors in them, wherein he made a wonderful proficiency, as appeared after his return home, by many excellent tranſlations which he publiſhed (*d*). His patron was now become Biſhop of Tyne, and Suffragan under the Biſhop of Wells, who firſt made him his Chaplain, and afterwards appointed him one of the Prieſts of St. Mary, at Ottery in Devonſhire, a college founded by John Grandiſon, Biſhop of Exeter (*e*). After the death of this patron of his, he became a Monk of the order of St. Benedict, and afterwards, as ſome ſay, a Franciſcan (*f*). Theſe are circumſtances of his life commonly known; but that he was a Monk of Ely, is a point, as to which all our Biographers are ſilent, and yet it is more certain, than almoſt any thing they have told us about him (*g*) [*C*]. Upon the diſſolution of the monaſtery at Ely, which happened A. D. 1539, he was left to be provided for by his patrons, of which his works had gained him

(*a*) Bal. Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brit. Cent. ix. num. 66, p. 723. edit. Baſil. 1557.

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 86.

(*c*) Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 105.

(*d*) Dempſt. Hiſt. Eccl. Gent. Scot. lib. ii. p. 106.

(*e*) Pits, Relation. Hiſtor. de Reb. Angl. num. 989. p. 745.

(*f*) Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Scots Writers, Vol. ii. p. 287.

(*g*) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. lxxx. p. 179.

[*A*] *Any clear proof on either ſide.*] This was the judgment of Bale, who was his contemporary. *Some*, ſays he, *reckon him a Scot, while others believe him to have been born in England* (1). Pits is poſitive that he was an Engliſhman, and ſays, *that it is probable he was born in Devonſhire* (2); but he is not ſo kind as to tell us why. On the other ſide, Dr. Mackenzie is as poſitive that he was a Scot; and in order to prove it, enters into the genealogical hiſtory of the ancient family of Berkley in Scotland, which, at the moſt, only tends to ſhew, that he might be of that country (3). From all therefore that has been ſaid, either by theſe writers or by Wood (4), there is nothing that can incline us to decide in favour of either opinion, or ſo much as abſolutely to determine, which has the greateſt appearance of truth; a queſtion however that ſhall be handled in the next note.

(1) Baleus de Script. p. 723.

(2) Relat. Hiſtor. de Reb. Anglic. p. 745.

(3) Lives and Characters of Scots Writers, Vol. ii. p. 287.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 86.

[*B*] *An ancient family of the ſame name.*] I muſt confeſs, it ſeems to me a little ſtrange, that in thoſe days, a Scot ſhould obtain ſo great reputation in England, eſpecially if it be conſidered from whence our author's roſe, viz. from his enriching and improving the Engliſh tongue. Had he written in Latin or on the ſciences, the thing had been probable enough; but in the light in which it now ſtands, I think it very far from being likely. In the next place, it is pretty extraordinary, that Barclay himſelf, in his ſeveral addreſſes to his patrons, ſhould never take notice of his being a ſtranger, which would have made their kindneſs to him the more remarkable; whereas the reader will quickly ſee, that in his addreſs to the young Gentlemen of England, he treats them as his countrymen (5). Farther ſtill, it makes ſtrongly againſt this opinion, that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Kent were Barclay's principal patrons, who are known to have been the fierceſt enemies to the Scots. Theſe, I ſay, are probable reaſons why we ſhould not believe him of that country. On the other hand, his patrons and preferments both ſprung from the Weſt; which would ſeem to ſhew him of that part of the iſland, and inaſmuch as there is a village in the hundred of Frome in Somerſetſhire, of the name of Barcley, and not one, but ſeveral families of the ſame name in that neighbourhood, it ſeems to me pretty evident, that he was a native of this ſhire (6), at leaſt, I think this opinion more probable than either of the other two: For that a Scot ſhould have ſo general an acquaintance in the Weſt of England, eſpecially conſidering he was ſome years abroad, is not eaſy to be accounted for; and then, as to his preferments in Devonſhire; we know very well to whoſe favour he owed them, and therefore they conclude nothing as to his birth in that county, where, I think, it cannot be proved there ever was any conſiderable family of this name.

(5) It was very cuſtomary for the writers of that age to mention their countries, eſpecially if they wrote out of their own.

(6) Remarks on the Lives of eminent Men, by ſome reputed Engliſh, by others Scots, a MS. formerly communicated by Dr. Knipe of Chriſt-Church, p. 195.

[*C*] *They have told us about him.*] This appears from a ſmall folio of his publiſhing, which was long in the cuſtody of the famous Thomas Rawlinſon, Eſq; the title, prologue, and colophon of which, as they are great curioſities in their kind, deſerve the intelligent reader's notice. The title runs thus, *Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyſe, intituled the Mirrour of good Manners,*

him many. He ſeems to have had, firſt, the vicarage of St. Matthew at Wokey, in Somerſetſhire, beſtowed upon him, on the death of Thomas Erington, and afterwards was removed from that ſmall living to a better, if indeed he received not both at the ſame time. However, certain it is, that on the ſeventh of February 1546, being then Doctor of Divinity, he was preſented to the vicarage of Much-Badew, or, as it is commonly called, Baddow-Magna, in the county of Eſſex and dioceſe of London, by Mr. John Paſcal, on the death of Mr. John Clowes (*b*); neither were theſe, as Wood imagines, his laſt preferments, for the Dean and Chapter of London, upon the reſignation of William Jennings, Rector of Allhallows, Lombard-ſtreet, on the thirtieth of April 1552, preſented him to the ſaid living (*i*), which he did not however enjoy above the ſpace of ſix weeks at moſt. He was admired in his life-time for his wit and eloquence, and for a particular fluency of writing, unattained by any author of that age. This recommended him to many noble patrons; though it does not appear that he was any great gainer by their favour, otherwiſe than in his reputation. He lived to a very advanced age, and died at Croydon in Surry, in the month of June 1552, and was interred in the church there (*k*). Bale has treated his memory with great indignity: he ſays, he remained a ſcandalous adulterer under colour of leading a ſingle life (*l*). Pits again aſſures us, that he employed all his ſtudy in favour of religion, and in reading and writing the lives of the Saints (*m*). There is probably a ſtrong tincture of partiality in both theſe characters: but that he was a polite writer, a great refiner of the Engliſh tongue, and left behind him many teſtimonies of his wit and learning [*D*], cannot be denied but what ought moſt to be lamented is, that we are able to ſay ſo very little of one, in his own time ſo famous, and whoſe works ought to have tranſmitted him to poſterity, with much greater honour.

(*b*) Willis's Hiſt. of Mitred Abbies, Vol. i. p. 276. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. ii. p. 25. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 86.

(*i*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. ii. p. 254.

(*k*) Bal. ubi ſupra. Dempſter, ubi ſupra. Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) His Words are, *cælibatus ſuos fœdus Adulter perpetuò manſit.*

(*m*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

Manners, conteyning the IV Vertues called Cardynall, compyled in Latyn by Domynike Mancyn; and tranſlate into Englyſhe at the deſyre of Sir Gyles Alyngton, Knyght, by Alexander Bercley, Prieſt and Monke of Ely. A wooden cut of a nobleman ſitting in a chair, and a Monk kneeling before him, preſenting him a book, and two ſtanding by, one ſeems to be a Lay-Brother, the other a ſervant beſide his Lord. Afterwards follows, *The Prologue of Alexander Barclay*, &c. *to his ryght honorable Mayſter Gyles Alyngton, Knight*, &c. In the end thus: *Rede this lyttell treatyce, O juvent of Englande, as Myrrour of good Maners; ye chefely of London ſtande, and whan ye it redyng ſhall perfyte underſtande, gyve ye laude and thankes to Gyles Alyngton, Knight, at whoſe precept this treatyſe was begon. If this do you profyte that ſhall my mynde excyte of mo frutefull matters after this to wryte.* Finis. *Thus endeth the ryght frutefull matter of the foure Vertues Cardynall: Imprynted by Rychard Pynſon, Prynter unto the Kynge's noble Grace; with his gracious pryvylege, the which boke I have prynted at the inſtance and requeſt of the ryght noble, Richard, Yerle of Kent* (7).

(7) Thomas Hearne's MS. Collections, Vol. lxx. p. 179.

[*D*] *Many teſtimonies of his wit and learning.*] His books were very numerous, inſomuch that we have no perfect catalogue of them any where, and what contributes much to this, is the tranſlating his Engliſh titles into Latin: To mention however a few. I. *His Eclogues on the Miſeries of Courtiers* (8). It appears that all the Writers who have mentioned theſe, did it without conſulting them, and have fallen into many errors about this performance. They were printed at London by Richard Pynſon, in quarto, without date under this title: 'Here begynneth the Egloges of A-'lexander Barclay, Preſt, whereof the firſt three con-'tayneth the Myſeryes of Courters and Courtes of all 'Princes in generall. The matter whereof was tran-'ſlated into Englyſhe, by the ſaid Alexander, in fourme 'of dialoges, out of a book in Latin, named Miſerie 'Curialium, compiled by Eneas Silvius, Poete and 'Oratour, which after was Pope of Rome and named 'Pius.' Thoſe on the Miſeries of Courtiers make three, the whole number of eclogues in this volume making five. The fourth eclogue is, 'Of the Beha-'viour of riche Men anenſt Poetes.' At the end of this there is an elegy, intituled, 'The diſcrypcion of 'the Towre of Vertue and Honour, into whiche the 'noble Hawarde (9) contended to entre by worthy 'acts of Chivalry.' The fifth is, 'Of the Citizen 'and Uplandiſhman.' In his poetical preface the author mentions ten eclogues: perhaps the other five were thoſe he tranſlated from Mantuan, of which hereafter. It may not however be amiſs, before we quit this part of his writings, to obſerve that the pages of his book are not marked, or his verſes numbered. II. *A Treatiſe againſt Skelton:* he was Poet Laureat, and a great enemy to Prieſts, which, we may preſume, turned our author's pen againſt him. *The Life of St. George* from Baptiſt Mantuan. *The Life of St. Catherine. The Life of St. Margaret. The Life of St. Ethelreda* (10). III. *Five Eclogues* from the Latin of Mantuan (11). IV. *Of the French Pronunciation* (12). V. *The Bucolic of Codrus* (13). VI. *The Caſtle of Labour* (14), tranſlated from the French into Engliſh. VII. *A Treatiſe of Virtues* written originally by D. Mancini, of which we have given an account in the preceding note. VIII. *The Figure of our Mother Holy Church oppreſſed by the French King* (15), printed at London in quarto by Richard Pynſon. IX. *Navis Stultifera, or the Ship of Fools* (16), the moſt celebrated of all our author's writings. It conſiſts partly of verſes of his own compoſition, and in part of tranſlations from the Latin, French, and Dutch. It is indeed a kind of verſion of a book written under the ſame title by Sebaſtian Brantius; but then it is tranſlated with great freedom and with conſiderable additions. It is adorned with a great variety of pictures, printed from wooden cuts. We may judge of the high eſteem this book was in, not only from its being often cited, but alſo from its various editions. It was firſt printed at London by Richard Pynſon in 1509 in ſmall folio, again in the ſame ſize in 1519, and in quarto in 1570. It was dedicated by our author to his patron, Dr. Thomas Corniſh, Biſhop of Tyne. X. *The Hiſtory of the Jugurthine War*, tranſlated from the Latin of Salluſt. This was printed in quarto in 1557, five years after the author's death, and at the end of the book there is this note. *Thus endeth the famouſe Cronicle of the warre whyche the Romaynes had againſt Jugurth, Uſurper of the kyngedome of Numydie, whyche Cronicle is compyled in Latin by the renowned Romayne Saluſt; and tranſlated into Engliſh by Syr Alexander Barkeley Prieſte, at Commaundemente of the ryght hyghe and mighty Prince, Thomas Duke of Northfolke, and imprinted at London in Forſter-lane, by John Waley* (17).

M & C.

(8) Bale, Pits.

(9) Henry Earl of Surry, one of the moſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time, beheaded, Jan. 19, 1546-7.

(10) Dempſter, Bale, Pits.

(11) Bale, Pits.

(12) Bale, Pits.

(13) Dempſter, Bale, Pits.

(14) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood.

(15) Mackenzie, Wood.

(16) Dempſter, Bale, Pits, Wood, Mackenzie.

(17) Hearne's Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 705, 706.

[Though it is ſaid, in the preceding article, that Alexander Barclay had probably his birth in Somerſetſhire, yet ſome good reaſons are alleged, under the article Bulleyn, to prove that he was a Scotſman, *born on the other ſide of the cold river Tweed* (18). The prologue mentioned in the note [*C*], is verſe, though written in the manner of proſe (19).] K.

(18) Article Bulleyn, note [*E*].

(19) From a correſpondent.

[BARCLAY (William), a learned and eminent Civilian, was born in Aberdeenſhire, in 1541 (*a*), and deſcended from one of the beſt families in Scotland. He was in favour with the famous Mary, Queen of Scots; but, after that Princeſs was dethroned,

(*a*) Lives and Characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots Nation, by George Mackenzie, M. D. Vol. iii. p. 468.

dethroned, and detained in captivity in England, finding that he had no proſpect of making his fortune in the Court of her ſon James, he reſolved to retire into France, which he did about the year 1573. He was then more than thirty years of age: however, he went to Bourges, in order to proſecute the ſtudy of the Law. He there took his Doctor's degree in that faculty, and had applied himſelf ſo cloſely to his books, that he was qualified to teach the Civil Law (*b*). Edmund Hay, the Jeſuit, who was his countryman, and is ſaid to have been related to him, procured him a profeſſorſhip in that ſcience in the univerſity of Pontamouſſon, by his intereſt with the Duke of Lorrain, who had lately founded that ſeminary. And the Duke not only conferred upon Barclay the firſt profeſſorſhip, but alſo appointed him Counſellor of State, and Maſter of Requeſts. In 1581, Barclay married Anne de Malleville, a young lady of Lorrain, by whom he had his ſon John, who afterwards became a writer of conſiderable note, and the innocent occaſion of his father's conteſt with the Jeſuits. This youth having a promiſing genius, they endeavoured to prevail on him to enter into their ſociety. But Barclay oppoſing their ſcheme reſpecting his ſon, the Jeſuits reſented it ſo highly on their part, and did him ſo many ill offices with the Duke, that he was obliged to leave Lorrain (*c*). He then went to London, where King James I. is ſaid to have offered him a place in his Council, with a conſiderable penſion [*A*]; but he declined theſe offers, becauſe it was made a neceſſary condition of his accepting them, that he ſhould embrace the religion of the Church of England. In 1604, he returned into France, and accepted the Profeſſorſhip of the Civil Law, which was offered him by the univerſity of Angers (*d*). He taught there with reputation, and is ſaid to have been fond of making a ſplendid appearance in his character of Profeſſor [*B*]. But he did not hold this office long: for he is generally ſaid to have died the year after he was appointed to it; though ſome writers have aſſerted, that he enjoyed his Profeſſorſhip five years (*e*). He was buried in the church of the Franciſcans. He was the author of ſome books, which are mentioned below [*C*]. He appears, from his writings, to have been much prejudiced againſt the Proteſtants; and was a zealous advocate for paſſive obedience, and the divine right of Kings. He has urged many weak arguments in ſupport of the patriarchal ſcheme, which was afterwards ſo zealouſly defended by Filmer, and others (*f*). Mackenzie ſays, that Barclay was 'one of the learneſt 'Lawyers in his age; for by his works it appears, that he was not only well ſeen in 'the Civil and Canon Law, but likewiſe in the Greek and Latin languages, in Civil 'and Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory, and in all the other parts of polite learning (*g*).'] T.

(*b*) Dictionaire Hiſtorique et Critique, par M. Bayle.

(*c*) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Mackenzie obſerves, that 'the learned are 'not agreed about 'the year of our 'author's death; 'ſome placing it 'in the year '1605, others 'in 1609, others 'in 1611.'

(*f*) *Vid.* Mackenzie, p. 472, 473, 474.

(*g*) Mackenzie, p. 476.

[*A*] *King James I. is ſaid to have offered him a place in his Council, with a conſiderable penſion.*] Mackenzie ſays, that King James 'having invited 'all the learned men of his country that were abroad 'to England, deſigning to give them places in his 'own dominions, according to their merit, and 'thereby to endeavour to gain them over to the 'communion of the church of England; our author 'came over amongſt the reſt, and was highly careſſed 'by King James, who offered to ſettle a conſiderable 'penſion upon him, to make him Profeſſor of the 'Civil Law in ſome of the univerſities, and one of 'his Privy-Counſellors *, if he would declare himſelf 'of the communion of the church of England (1).'

* This is not very probable.

(1) Lives and characters of the moſt eminent Writers of the Scots nation, Vol. iii. p. 468.

[*B*] *He is ſaid to have been fond of making a ſplendid appearance in his character of Profeſſor.*] Mackenzie ſays, that 'he went every day to ſchool, attended by 'a ſervant, who went bare-headed before him, he 'himſelf having a rich robe lined with ermine, the 'train of which was ſupported by two ſervants, and 'his ſon upon his right hand; and there hung about 'his neck a great chain of gold, with a medal of 'gold, with his own picture (2).'

(2) Lives, &c. of Scots Writers, ubi ſupra, p. 469.

[*C*] *He was the author of ſome books*, &c.] Particularly the following: I. *De Regno et Regali poteſtate adverſus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos.* This was publiſhed at Paris in the year 1600, and dedicated to Henry IV. II. *De Poteſtate Papæ, an et quatenus in Reges et Principes ſeculares Jus et Imperium habeat*, Francof. 1609. 1613. 1621. Hannoviæ, 1612, in 8*vo.* and Lond. in Engliſh, 1611, in 4*to.* Muſſiponti, 1610, 8*vo.* and Pariſiis, 1600, 4*to.* III. A Commentary upon the Title of the Pandects *de Rebus creditis et de Jurejurando*, Paris, 1605, 8*vo.* IV. *Præmetia in vitam Agricolæ*, Paris, 1599, 2 vols. 8*vo.*]

[BARCLAY (John), ſon of the ſubject of the preceding article, was born at Pontamouſſon, on the 28th of January, 1582. It has been already obſerved, that his promiſing genius cauſed the Jeſuits to be deſirous of having him entered into their ſociety: but this was prevented by his father, who carried him with him into England, at the beginning of the reign of King James the Firſt. He had already made a great progreſs in learning, and commenced author; for he had publiſhed *A Commentary upon the Thebais of Statius* in 1601. This was printed at Pontamouſſon, and dedicated to Charles III. Duke of Lorrain. He alſo printed a Latin poem upon the coronation of King James; and in 1603 publiſhed the firſt part of his *Satiricon Euphormionis*. He dedicated this to King James I. by whom it was well received. But when his father quitted England, he took John Barclay with him, being fearful leſt ſome means ſhould be uſed by King James to induce him to renounce the Romiſh religion (*a*). The ſon lived at Angers with his father till the death of the latter, and then went to Paris, where he married (*b*). He afterwards came to England, where he is ſaid to have had conſiderable employments under King James, and particularly to have been made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to him (*c*). In 1606, he became acquainted with Monſ. Peireſc, who was then at London [*A*]. About this time he publiſhed a ſhort account of the gunpowder-plot.

(*a*) Dictionaire Hiſtorique et Critique, par M. Bayle.

(*b*) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) This is aſſerted in a ſhort account of him among the MSS. of the late Mr. Oldys, which is now before us. *Vid.* alſo Bayle, note [*I*].

[*A*] *He became acquainted with Monſ. Peireſc.*] When this learned Frenchman came to England, he met with a very gracious reception from King James: during his ſtay in this country he viſited the univerſity

powder-plot. It was printed at Amſterdam and entitled, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii in maximum Regem Regnumque Britanniæ cogitati et inſtructi.* In 1610, he publiſhed at London, 'An Apology for the Euphormio; and in 1612 he publiſhed at Paris a book, which he entitled, *Pietas; ſive Publicæ pro Regibus ac Principibus, et privatæ pro Gul. Barclaio parente Vindiciæ contra Bellarminum.* Two years after he publiſhed at London his *Icon Animarum.* He quitted that city in the year 1616, and went to Paris, where he was preſented to Monſ. du Vair, the Keeper of the Seals, by his friend Peireſc *(d)*. He went afterwards to Rome, whither he was invited by Pope Paul V. and there he publiſhed a controverſial work, entitled, *Paræneſis ad Sectarios.* He is ſaid to have received many civilities from Cardinal Bellarmin, though he had written againſt him. He died at Rome on the 12th of Auguſt, 1621, whilſt the *Argenis*, his moſt celebrated performance [*B*], was printing in France (*e*). His body appears to have been interred in the church of St. Onuphrius upon the *Janiculum*: but his ſon erected a marble monument, in honour of his memory, in St. Laurence's church on the way to Tivoli. However, our author's widow afterwards cauſed her huſband's buſto to be taken from thence. It is ſaid, that John Barclay's tomb was near the gate of the church-yard, oppoſite to which Cardinal Francis Barberini had erected another, for his preceptor Bernard William. Both tombs, we are told, were exactly alike. This reſemblance gave ſuch great offence to Barclay's widow, who is repreſented as a woman of a very haughty diſpoſition, that ſhe would have demoliſhed her huſband's tomb: but not being able to do that, ſhe would, at leaſt, have his marble buſto taken from it, and brought to her houſe. Her pride, it ſeems, could not endure, that her huſband, who was deſcended from a noble family, and ſtill more diſtinguiſhed for his wit and learning, ſhould be there paralleled with one whom ſhe conſidered as a mere pedagogue *(f)*. Barclay had two ſons, and it has been aſſerted, that one of them had a good benefice conferred upon him at Rome, and was alſo made Chamberlain to the Pope.] T.

(d) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

(e) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

(f) Bayle, ubi ſupra.

ſity of Oxford; and alſo cultivated an acquaintance with Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Savile, and other learned men. He afterwards went over into Holland (1).

(1) Gaſſendi Vita Peireſkii, p. 264.

[*B*] *The Argenis, his moſt celebrated performance.*] This work was printed at Paris, under the care of his friend Peireſc, who cauſed the effigies of the author to be placed before the book, with the following diſtich which he deſired Grotius to add to it:

Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus, hic eſt,
Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui.

Which may be thus tranſlated,

'This is he, who though by nation a Scot, and by birth a Frenchman, has taught even the Romans themſelves to ſpeak their own language to perfection (2).'

(2) General Dict. art. BARCLAY (JOHN).

The firſt edition of the *Argenis* was printed at Paris in 8*vo*, in 1621. It has ſince paſſed through many editions, and been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. The firſt Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed in 4*to*, in 1628, by Sir Robert Le Grys, at the command of King Charles I. The poetical part was tranſlated by Thomas May, Eſq. The ſecond tranſlation was publiſhed by Kingſmill Long, Eſq; in 1636. Another tranſlation appeared in 1772, in four volumes, 12*mo*, under the following title: 'The Phœnix; or, the 'Hiſtory of Polyarchus and Argenis, tranſlated from 'the Latin, by a Lady.' In the preface to this it is obſerved, that 'the Editor has made uſe of both 'the former tranſlations occaſionally, and *whenever* 'a doubt aroſe, had recourſe to the original.'

(3) *Vid.* Bayle, n. [*F*] and [*L*]. It is obſerved in Mr. Oldys's papers, that, in his *Euphormio*, Barclay hath imitated the ſtyle of Petronius.

Barclay's Latin ſtyle, in his Argenis, has been much praiſed, and much cenſured (3). It is ſaid, that Cardinal Richlieu was extremely fond of reading this work, and that from thence he derived many of his political maxims. It is obſerved in the preface to the laſt Engliſh tranſlation, that 'Barclay's Argenis affords ſuch variety of entertainment, that 'every kind of reader may find in it ſomething ſuitable to his own taſte and diſpoſition: the ſtateſman, 'the philoſopher, the ſoldier, the lover, the citizen, 'the friend of mankind, each may gratify his favourite propenſity; while the reader, who comes 'for his amuſement only, will not go away diſappointed.' It is alſo remarked of this work in the ſame preface, that 'it is a romance, an allegory, 'and a ſyſtem of politics. In it the various forms 'of government are inveſtigated, the cauſes of faction 'detected, and the remedies pointed out for moſt of 'the evils that can ariſe in a ſtate.'

In this political allegory, 'by the kingdom of 'Sicily, France is deſcribed, during the time of 'the civil wars under Henry the Third, and until 'the fixing the crown upon the head of Henry the 'Fourth. By the country over-againſt Sicily, and 'frequently her competitor, England is ſignified. 'By the country, formerly united under one head, 'but now divided into ſeveral principalities, the 'author means Germany; *i. e. Mergania.* Several 'names are diſguiſed in the ſame manner, by tranſpoſing the letters.' As to the principal perſons deſigned, 'by Aquilius is meant the Emperor of 'Germany, Calvin is *Uſinulca*, and the Hugenots 'are called *Hyperephanii*. Under the perſon and 'character of Poliarchus, Barclay undoubtedly intended to deſcribe that real hero, Henry of Navarre, 'as he has preſerved the likeneſs even to his features 'and complexion. By his rivals are meant the 'leaders of the different factions; by Lycogenes and 'his friends, the Lorrain party, with the Duke of 'Guiſe at their head. Some features of Hyaniſbe's 'character are ſuppoſed to reſemble Queen Elizabeth 'of England; Radirobanes is the King of Spain, 'and his fruitleſs expedition againſt Mauritania is 'pointed at the ambitious deſigns of Philip the 'Second, and his invincible armada. Under Meleander, the character of Henry the Third of France 'ſeems intended; though the reſemblance is very 'flattering to him (4).'

(4) Pref. to the tranſlation of the Argenis, by a Lady.

BARCLAY (ROBERT) juſtly eſteemed the beſt writer among the Quakers, and one of the moſt conſiderable perſons of his time. He was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family in Scotland by his father's ſide, who was Colonel David Barclay of Mathers, a man univerſally eſteemed and beloved, and, by his mother Mrs. Catharine Gordon, daughter to Sir W. Gordon, from the noble houſe of Huntley; ſo that if his principles had not led him to ſlight the advantages of birth, few gentlemen could in that particular have gone beyond him (*a*). He was born at Edinburgh in the year 1648, and as he grew up, the troubles of his country, in which alſo his family had a ſhare, induced

(a) See his article in Collier's Dictionary, Vol. i.

induced his father, Colonel Barclay, to ſend him, while a youth, to Paris, where his brother was at that time Principal of the Scots college, who taking advantage of the tender age of his nephew Robert, drew him over to the Romiſh religion (*b*). His father being informed of this, thought fit to ſend for him home; and accordingly he returned to Scotland in the year 1664, as accompliſhed, as at his age, which was ſcarcely ſixteen, the moſt ſanguine of his relations could expect. He had a competent knowledge of the ſciences, underſtood the French and Latin tongues perfectly, for the latter he wrote and ſpoke with wonderful facility and correctneſs, and afterwards attained Greek and Hebrew. The principal authors that have attempted to give the world the hiſtory of the people called Quakers, aſſure us, that our author's father had embraced their doctrine, before the return of his ſon from France (*c*): but againſt this we have the expreſs teſtimony of our author himſelf, who fixes the time of his father's joining himſelf to the Quakers, to the year 1666 (*d*), which we are told by others, was chiefly owing to the perſuaſions of one Mr. Swinton, a man of great credit among thoſe people, and who had for ſome time after the Reſtoration, been confined with Colonel David Barclay, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where, by long and frequent converſations, he drew him over to his opinions [*A*]. It was not long before Robert Barclay likewiſe joined himſelf to the Quakers, not ſo much moved thereto,

(*b*) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 76.

(*c*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, London, 1722, fol. p. 472. Croeſe's Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 151.

(*d*) See his Teſtimony concerning his father, at the end of his Works.

[*A*] *Frequent converſations he drew him over to his opinions.*] It may not be amiſs to give ſome account here, of the firſt preaching of thoſe doctrines maintained by the people called Quakers in Scotland, and of the manner in which they were ſo wonderfully propagated in ſo ſhort a ſpace, as between their firſt appearance and their being embraced by Colonel David Barclay. George Fox, the elder, who is looked upon as the author and founder of this ſect, began to preach publickly about the time of our author Robert Barclay's birth, and was ſoon followed by great numbers who adhered to the opinions he taught them, in ſpite of the moſt violent perſecutions; to which, notwithſtanding the regularity of their lives, they ſtood expoſed, while the Preſbyterians eſpecially were at the helm, who were zealous from principle for church-power, which the Quakers little regarded (1). In 1657, George Fox went himſelf a kind of pilgrimage into the north, and being informed that the number of Friends (which is the name uſed by theſe people when ſpeaking of their ſect) was greatly increaſed in Scotland, he went thither to viſit them; which proved a means of enlarging their Church, eſpecially in the Northern parts of the kingdom about Aberdeen and Elgin; and ſoon drew a heavy perſecution upon them from the Clergy (2). But it was not here, that the gentleman, who converted Colonel Barclay, received theſe opinions. There is ſomething ſo ſingular in his hiſtory, that though we have not particulars enough to form an article, yet the circumſtances of his converſion may very well juſtify their appearing in a note. John Swinton of Swinton, Eſq; was of a very good family, and had as good education as almoſt any man in Scotland, which, joined to very ſtrong natural parts, rendered him a moſt accompliſhed perſon. He ſhewed himſelf very ill affected to King Charles II. when in Scotland, laboured to ſerve the Engliſh and heighten their intereſt, which, at laſt, rendered it neceſſary to ſend for a party of Cromwell's ſoldiers to carry him away priſoner into England; notwithſtanding which ingenious artifice, practiſed at his own houſe near the borders, the Scots parliament, held at Stirling in 1651, attainted him of high-treaſon (3) At this time the act affected him little, the King's affairs growing ſoon after deſperate; but as ſoon as the Reſtoration was brought about, Mr. Swinton was ſeized in London, and ſent down, as the Marquis of Argyle had been, to be tried in Scotland, or rather called to his former judgment (4). It was univerſally believed that his death was inevitable, as it was notorious that Oliver Cromwell had truſted him more than any body, and that almoſt every thing had been done in Scotland by his advice. Yet Mr. Swinton lived chearfully in the caſtle of Edinburgh where he was priſoner, and ſeemed much more concerned to ſpread the principles of Quakeriſm than to defend his own life. He had embraced theſe opinions in England, went into them ſincerely, and being a perſon of learning, very taking in his behaviour, and naturally eloquent, he not only defended his notions vigorouſly when attacked, but brought over many to his ſentiments while in confinement (5). He was at length brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, to which the Earl of Middleton was Commiſſioner in 1661, and there called upon to ſhew cauſe, why he ſhould not receive ſentence upon his former attainder. It is certain, that he might have avoided the force of that law by two pleas, either of which would have ſaved him: for, *firſt*, he might have denied that any ſuch act had paſſed, and the contrary could not have been proved, as the record of his attainder, with all that paſſed in that Parliament at Stirling, had been loſt. His *ſecond* plea might have been ſtill ſtronger in point of law: for all the proceedings in that Parliament having been reſcinded and annulled by the Parliament, before which he was now called in queſtion, they were no longer of any authority. So that the record of his attainder could not be found, or if found, could not be urged againſt him (6); and yet he took advantage of neither of theſe pleas: but anſwered, entirely conſonant to his religious principles, that he was at the time theſe crimes were imputed to him in the gall of bitterneſs and bond of iniquity, but that, God having ſince called him to the light, he ſaw and acknowledged his paſt errors, and did not refuſe to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this ſhould extend to his life. His ſpeech was, though modeſt, ſo majeſtic, and though expreſſive of the moſt perfect patience, ſo pathetic, that, notwithſtanding he had neither intereſt nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impreſſion made by his diſcourſe on that illuſtrious aſſembly was ſuch, that they recommended him to the King as a fit object for mercy, at the very time they were in an extreme degree ſevere, againſt ſome who were not at all more obnoxious than he (7). This ſtrange eſcape of Swinton's was aſcribed by thoſe of his own perſuaſion (very naturally) to the ſpecial interpoſition of Providence; by men of another turn, to the irreſiſtible force of true eloquence, and by the refined politicians, to the ſcheme of the King's Lord-Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton; who, knowing the Earl of Lauderdale had begged his eſtate, reſolved to ſave both that and his life, to ſpite a man he hated, as well as to raiſe his own character (8). Such was the perſon who is ſaid to have drawn to his principles the father of our author; and indeed it is probable, that he might have ſome hand therein, though about 1663 there were many perſons of good ſenſe and unſpotted integrity, who joined themſelves to the Quakers; and it was in 1666 that Colonel David Barclay declared himſelf, as his ſon informs us (9). He found himſelf very ſoon expoſed to perſecutions and ſufferings on the ſcore of his religion; for though there was no expreſs law againſt the Quakers, yet the Council found them within the conſtruction of an act againſt conventicles, and thence aſſumed a power of calling them to anſwer, impriſoning and fining them; and all, but chiefly the laſt, Colonel David Barclay, ſuffered more than once. Yet a Church hiſtorian, who is continually clamouring againſt the perſecution of the Preſbyterians by the Biſhops, ſeems to be diſpleaſed that the ſame rigour, or a greater, was not exerted againſt the Quakers; by which (he ſays) they grew as well as took root. He is particularly chagrined that the Laird of Swinton (as he calls him) was neglected; which is a proof that the Government was not very ſevere againſt them at this time (10). But after the battle of Pentland hills, when Scotland was in ſome confuſion,

(1) General Hiſt. of the Quakers, by Gerard Croeſe, London, 1696, 8*vo*. p. 29. 98, 99.

(2) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 170, 171, 172.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 127. Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

(4) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 127.

(5) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 142.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 127.

(7) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 143. Burnet, ubi ſupra. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 97.

(8) *Idem, ibid.*

(9) See Rob. Barclay's Teſtimony concerning the death of his father, at the end of his Works.

(10) Woodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Vol. i. p. 226, 227.

thereto, either by the ſolicitations or example of his father, as by the dictates of his own mind; for though he was but eighteen years of age when he took this ſtep, yet he had conſidered it very attentively, and having a genius wonderfully ſolid, he appears to have made as clear a judgment, even at that early ſeaſon, of the cauſe in which he engaged, as at any time during his whole life (*e*). He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in the cauſe of the Quakers, in which, from the beginning, he diſcovered that ſtrength and power of reaſoning, that perſpicuity and accuracy of language, for which his writings have been, and in all probability ever will be, admired. His firſt treatiſe in defence of the principles he profeſſed, appeared at Aberdeen in the year 1670; and, as occaſion required, he ſupported what he had delivered by his ſubſequent writings, which very ſoon ſhewed him much an over-match for his antagoniſt (*f*) [*B*]. In theſe diſcourſes of his, our author

(*e*) Sewell and Croeſe, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) See the Preface to our author's Works, printed at London, A. D. 1692.

confuſion, Colonel Barclay was confined for ſome time, though no juſt reaſon was aſſigned for it; his principles binding him to be a good ſubject. On his humble petition, however, he was firſt ſuffered to return home, on giving ſecurity for his appearance, and ſoon after he was diſcharged entirely (11). He was a man, venerable in his appearance, juſt in all his actions, had ſhewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude, in bearing with all the hard uſage he met with in Scotland with chearfulneſs as well as patience (12). The acquiſition of ſo conſiderable and ſo reſpected a perſon, was of no ſmall uſe to thoſe of his perſuaſion, as appeared plainly by the daily additions to their ſect in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, more eſpecially after his ſon Robert began to appear, and to diſplay ſuch a ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſuch an extent of learning in ſupport of this cauſe, as placed the controverſy with the Quakers on a new foot, and ſhewed they were far enough from being frantic, half-witted enthuſiaſts, who had little or nothing to ſay for themſelves (13). In this manner, with great comfort to himſelf, Colonel Barclay ſpent the laſt twenty years of his life, being all along bleſſed with ſound health and a vigorous conſtitution. He died on the 12th of October 1686, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, at his own houſe, not far from Aberdeen; and though he gave expreſs directions (agreeably to his principles) that none but perſons of his own perſuaſion ſhould be invited to his funeral, yet the time being known, many gentlemen, and thoſe too of great diſtinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and public ſpirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties. His ſon (according to the cuſtom of thoſe of his ſect) has left us an ample teſtimony, in his works, to his father's dying as well as living in hopes of ſalvation through *JESUS CHRIST*.

(11) *Idem, ibid.* p. 313. But he calls him, by a miſtake, Col. Rob. Barclay.

(12) Croeſe's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 144.

(13) See the account of Robert Barclay's firſt Writings in note [*B*].

[*B*] *Which very ſoon ſhewed him to be much an overmatch for his antagoniſt.*] It very rarely happens that an author's firſt performance is written with as much correctneſs as vigour, which however may be affirmed of this book of Robert Barclay's, the title of which runs thus: *Truth cleared of Calumnies, wherein a book intitled, A Dialogue between a Quaker and a ſtable Chriſtian (printed at Aberdeen, and upon good ground, judged to be writ by William Mitchel, a Preacher near by it, or at leaſt, that he had the chief hand in it) is examined, and the Diſ-ingenuity of the Author in his repreſenting the Quakers is diſcovered; here is alſo their Caſe truly ſtated, cleared, demonſtrated, and the Objections of their Oppoſers anſwered according to Truth, Scripture, and right Reaſon.* The preface to this treatiſe is dated from our author's houſe at Ury, the 19th of the ſecond month 1670, and therein he gives us a very clear account of the controverſies that had been for ſome time carried on between the Clergy and the Quakers; in which he complains of great diſingenuity, and of their taking pains, firſt, to make themſelves maſters of the true principles and opinions of the Quakers, and afterwards ſtudying to miſrepreſent, that they might find it the more eaſy to anſwer them, which he affirms to be the caſe of the author in this work which he had choſen to refute; and therefore, the buſineſs of this book is to ſhew, that they had been extravagantly abuſed by their adverſaries, who ſometimes would have them paſs for people diſtracted, and at other times, for men poſſeſſed by the devil, and practiſing abominations, under pretence of being led to them by the Spirit, as denying the exiſtence of Chriſt, the reality of a Heaven and a Hell, the being of Angels, the reſurrection of the body, and the day of Judgment. He ſhews upon what ſlight pretences theſe notions were taken up, how conſiſtent all the doctrines of the Quakers were with the Goſpel in reſpect to theſe points, and how unjuſt the perſecution they had ſuſtained for maintaining what the Apoſtles maintained, *the light of* CHRIST JESUS *ſhining in the mind of man* (14).

(14) Barclay's Works, p. 1.

His ſecond treatiſe had this title, *Some Things of weighty Concernment, propoſed in Meekneſs and Love by Way of Queries, to the ſerious Conſideration of the Inhabitants of Aberdeen, which alſo may be of Uſe to ſuch as are in the ſame Mind with them elſewhere in this Nation.* This was added by way of appendix to the former treatiſe, and contains twenty queſtions, relating chiefly to the perſons who had taken ſo much pains to repreſent the Quakers in ridiculous lights; when, if that kind of language had been allowed among this ſort of people, they might themſelves have been rendered far more ridiculous. Theſe writings made Mr. W. Mitchell ſo uneaſy, and rendered it ſo apparent, that either he was in the wrong, or wanted abilities neceſſary to prove himſelf in the right; that he immediately had recourſe again to the preſs, in order to return an anſwer to Robert Barclay, which produced our author's third book upon this ſubject, in which he effectually ſilenced that angry and impatient writer (15).

(15) See an Account of this matter in the Preface before Barclay's Works, p. xi.

The title of this third treatiſe was, *W. Mitchell unmaſked, or the ſtaggering Inſtability of the pretended ſtable Chriſtians diſcovered, his Omiſſions obſerved, and Weakneſs unveiled, in his late faint and feeble Animadverſions by way of Reply to a Book, intitled, Truth cleared of Calumnies; wherein the Integrity of the Quakers Doctrine is the ſecond time juſtified and cleared from the re-iterate Clamours, but cauſeleſs Calumnies of this caviling Catechiſt.* The preface to this diſcourſe is likewiſe dated from Ury, the 24th of December 1671. In this treatiſe, our author diſcovers an amazing variety of learning, which ſhews how good uſe he made of his time at Paris, and how thorough a maſter he was of the Scriptures, Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and with how much ſkill and judgment he applied them; ſo that we need not wonder he was much too hard for a country Clergyman in that part of the world, who, very probably, had not the ſame advantages of education, and was evidently a man of much leſs temper. The author of the preface before our author's works, has given a very fair account of this performance, and therefore we will make uſe of his words: 'In this rejoinder, *ſays he*, the diſpute 'riſes high, and the conteſt ſeems ſharp and cloſe; 'but to every impartial reader, the advantage evi- 'dently runs upon our author's ſide, who appears ra- 'ther zealous than heated, and ſharper on his enemy's 'matter than perſon: for he rather pities his enemy 'than triumphs over his weakneſs and envy. Here, 'as in an exact draught, the reader has an account of 'the fabulous principles given under our names, and 'thoſe that we really profeſs; and the pleaſure even 'men pretending to religion take to render a poor, 'ſelf-denying people that which they are not; as if 'they feared we ſhould be in the right, or hold prin- 'ciples nearer to what they profeſs themſelves to be- 'lieve, than is convenient for their intereſt with the 'people to allow; leaſt that, together with the ſo- 'briety, their worſt enemies confeſs to be ſo conſpi- 'cuous among them, ſhould give them too great a 'credit with their hearers (16).'

(16) See the Preface before cited, p. xi.

chiefly

chiefly laboured to remove the prejudices againſt, and throw ſuch light on the real ſentiments of the people whom he eſpouſed, as might ſilence the calumnies thrown out againſt them, and which he was ſatisfied, were the true grounds of that hatred which was borne them. He ſucceeded ſo thoroughly therein, as to procure for them a fair hearing from the more ſenſible part of the nation, and very ſoon raiſed both their credit and his own ſo high, that they were much better treated by the Government than before that time they had been. But with all this coolneſs and moderation, which might tempt one to think, he rather attempted to frame a new ſyſtem of religion, than to ſupport that which had been preached by the Quakers, he was as obedient to the Spirit as any of his party; inſomuch, that he tells us himſelf, that feeling an impreſſion from God, to paſs through the ſtreets of Aberdeen in ſackcloth and aſhes, and to preach the neceſſity of faith and repentance to the inhabitants, he accordingly performed it; his mind ſuffering the greateſt agonies, till ſuch time as he had fulfilled this command (*g*). This demonſtrated his ſincerity and ſimplicity of heart; for without being thoroughly ſatisfied in his own conſcience, it is impoſſible to conceive, how ſo wiſe and good a man, as it is univerſally agreed he was, ſhould bring himſelf to do ſuch an action. To propagate the doctrines, as well as to maintain the credit he had gained for thoſe of his way of thinking, he, in 1675, publiſhed a regular and accurate diſcourſe, in order to explain and defend the ſyſtem of the people called Quakers, which as it appeared abſolutely a new kind of writing, and was ſo excellently compiled, to ſhew clearly the good ſenſe and great learning of its author, was univerſally well received [*C*]. He was very ſenſible, that ſuch as diſliked thoſe of his profeſſion, often took occaſion to confound them with, or at leaſt impute to them as Quakers, the opinions maintained by another ſort of people, who held indeed ſome of the tenets of the Quakers, but were, in other reſpects, of a very contrary ſpirit. To remove this ſcandal effectually, and to manifeſt the difference between thoſe of his perſuaſion, and this other ſect who were ſtyled *RANTERS*, he wrote a very curious and inſtructive work, in which he, with much ſolidity and perſpicuity, laid open the cauſes, and diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers from both [*D*]. Theſe endeavours of his, to vindicate and bring

(*g*) Barclay's Works, p. 105, 106.

[*C*] *Was univerſally well received.*] The writings of our author had been hitherto only controverſial; but now he judged it expedient to publiſh ſomewhat ſyſtematical, that their opinions might appear with more regularity and connection than they had hitherto done, and that it might be ſeen they held nothing inconſiſtent with the Scriptures: The title of this book was, *A Catechiſm and Confeſſion of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the General Aſſembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf chief Speaker in and among them, which containeth a true and faithful Account of the Principles and Doctrines which are moſt ſurely believed by the Churches of Chriſt in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of* Quakers, *yet are found in one Faith with the Primitive Church and Saints, as is moſt clearly demonſtrated by ſome plain Scripture Teſtimonies (without Conſequences or Commentaries) which are here collected and inſerted by way of Anſwer to a few weighty, yet eaſy and familiar, Queſtions, fitted as well for the wiſeſt and largeſt, as for the weakeſt and loweſt Capacities. To which is added, an Expoſtulation with an Appeal to all other Profeſſors, by R. B. a Servant of the Church of Chriſt.* The author in his preface dated from Ury, the eleventh of the ſixth month (Auguſt) 1673, endeavours to prove, that Quakeriſm is the very perfection of the Reformed Religion, and that other Proteſtant Churches, ſo far as they differed from the Quakers were inconſiſtent with themſelves, and returned in part at leaſt, to thoſe ſuperſtitions for which they had held it neceſſary to ſeparate from the Church of Rome. According to him, the Scripture only ought to be regarded as the foundation of truth, and no doctrines ought to be received as Chriſtian, which cannot be proved by the expreſs words of ſcripture, which, he aſſerts, might be alledged in maintainance and ſupport of all things delivered by the Quakers, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of their enemies, that the Quakers vilified and denied the ſcriptures, in order to ſet up their own imaginations inſtead of them: 'To diſprove which, *ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to the reader*, this Catechiſm and Confeſſion of Faith is compiled and preſented to thy ſerious and impartial view; if thou loveſt the ſcripture indeed, and deſireſt to hold the plain doctrine there delivered, and not thoſe ſtrained and farfetched conſequences which men have invented, thou ſhalt eaſily obſerve the whole principles of the people called Quakers, plainly couched in ſcripture words without addition or commentary, eſpecially in thoſe things their adverſaries oppoſe them in, where the ſcripture plainly decideth the controverſy for them without niceties and ſchool diſtinctions, which have been the wiſdom by which the world has not known God, and the words which have been multiplied without knowledge, by which counſel hath been darkened. In anſwer to the queſtions, there is not one word, that I know of, placed, but the expreſs words of ſcripture: and if in ſome of the queſtions there be ſomewhat ſubſumed of what in my judgment is the plain and naked import of the words, it is not to impoſe my ſenſe upon the reader, but to make way for the next queſtion for the dependance of the matter's ſake. I ſhall leave it to the reaſon of any underſtanding and judicious man, who is not biaſſed by ſelfintereſt (that great enemy to true equity), and who, in the leaſt meaſure, is willing to give way to the light of Chriſt in his conſcience, if the ſcriptures do not pertinently and aptly anſwer to the queſtions. As I have, upon ſerious grounds, ſeparated from moſt of the confeſſions and catechiſms heretofore publiſhed, ſo, not without cauſe, I have now taken another method. They uſually place their confeſſion of faith before the catechiſm, I judge it ought to be otherwiſe; in regard, that which is eaſieſt, and is compoſed for children, or ſuch as are weak, in my judgment, ought to be placed firſt; it being moſt regular to begin with things that are eaſy and familiar, and lead on to things that are more hard and intricate. Beſides, that things be more largely opened in the catechiſm, and diverſe objections anſwered which are propoſed in the queſtions, the reader having paſſed through that firſt, will more perfectly underſtand the confeſſion, which conſiſteth mainly in poſitive aſſertions. Not long after I had received and believed the teſtimony I now bear, I had in my view both the poſſibility and facility of ſuch a work, and now, after a more large and perfect acquaintance with the holy ſcripture, I found acceſs to allow ſome time to ſet about it, and have alſo been helped to accompliſh the ſame (17).'

(17) See this in the Preface before mentioned.

[*D*] *Diſplays the conſequences of Superſtition on one hand, and Fanaticiſm on the other, clearing the Quakers from both.*] This learned and excellent treatiſe, which

bring the Quakers into reputation with people of ſenſe, moderation, and learning, brought various diſputes upon his hands, and one particularly, with ſome conſiderable members of the univerſity of Aberdeen, an account of which was afterwards made public (*b*). But though it might be conceived, that ſo many undertakings within ſo narrow a compaſs of time, muſt have wholly taken him up, and left him not ſo much as a

(*b*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers. See alſo note [*G*].

which contains as much ſound reaſoning as any book of its ſize in ours, or perhaps in any modern language, is called, *The Anarchy of the Ranters, and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romaniſts, and other pretended Churches equally refuſed and refuted, in a two-fold Apology for the Church and People of* GOD, *called in deriſion* Quakers, *wherein they are vindicated from thoſe, who accuſe them of diſorder and confuſion on the one hand, and from ſuch as calumniate them with tyranny and impoſition on the other; ſhewing, that as the true and pure principles of the goſpel are reſtored by their teſtimony, ſo is alſo the ancient apoſtolick order of the Church of Chriſt, re-eſtabliſhed among them, and ſettled upon its right baſis and foundation.* 'He obſerves in his preface to this work, that the people to whom he had joined himſelf had been abuſed in a moſt barbarous manner, and charged with very different offences; ſome treating them as fooliſh, mad creatures, while others reputed them as deep, and ſubtile politicians. In many of the books written againſt them, they are ſtiled illiterate, ignorant fellows, yet in others, they are affirmed to be learned, cunning Jeſuits, and penſioners of the Pope, while the Papiſts themſelves abhorred and perſecuted them, as the worſt kind of Heretics. But, he ſays, that theſe people have laboured all they could to follow the example of the primitive Church in all things, and he obſerves, that the two following points did, in thoſe times, contribute much towards the edification of the Church. Viz.

I. The power and authority which the Apoſtles had given them by Chriſt, for gathering, building up, and governing of his Church, by virtue of which power and authority they alſo wrote the holy ſcriptures.

II. That privilege given to every Chriſtian under the goſpel, to be led and guided by the ſpirit of Chriſt, and to be taught thereof in all things.

But he farther remarks, that ſince that time the harmony of theſe two principles has been deſtroyed, and the authority and power which reſided in the Apoſtles, is annexed and entailed on an outward ordination, and ſucceſſion is made uſe of to cover all manner of abuſes, even the height of idolatry and ſuperſtition. For by virtue of this ſucceſſion, theſe men, claiming the like infallibility that was in the Apoſtles, will oblige others to agree to their concluſions, however different from, or contrary to, the truths of the goſpel, and in reſpect of the Clergy's arrogating to themſelves ſo great a power in this, and in declaring the ſenſe of the ſcripture, he profeſſes, that he thinks both Proteſtants and Papiſts have gone aſide from the right way. As to the ſecond point, which more immediately concerns his ſubject, he ſpeaks thus, 'On the other hand, ſome are 'ſo great pretenders to inward motions and revelations 'of the Spirit, that there are no extravagancies ſo wild 'which they will not cloak with it, and ſo much are 'they for every one's following their own mind, as 'can admit of no Chriſtian fellowſhip and community, 'nor of that good order and diſcipline, which the 'Church of Chriſt never was, nor can be, without. 'This gives an open door to all libertiniſm, and 'brings great reproach to the Chriſtian faith, and on 'this hand have foully fallen the German Anabaptiſts, ſo called, John of Leyeden, Knipperdoling, '&c. (In caſe theſe monſtrous things committed by 'them be ſuch as they are related.) And ſome more 'moderate of that kind have been found among the 'people in England, called Ranters, as it is true, 'the people called Quakers have been branded with 'both of theſe extremes. It is as true, it hath been, 'and is, their work to avoid them, and to be found 'in that even and good path of the primitive Church, 'where all were (no doubt) led, and actuated by the 'holy Spirit, and might all have propheſied one by 'one, and yet there was a ſubjection of the Prophets 'to the ſpirits of the Prophets. There was an au'thority ſome had in the Church, yet it was for 'edification, and not for deſtruction; there was an 'obedience in the Lord to ſuch as were ſet over, and 'a being taught by ſuch, and yet a knowing of the 'inward anointing, by which each individual was 'to be led into all truth. The work and teſtimony 'the Lord hath given us, is to reſtore this again, and 'to ſet both theſe in their right place, without 'cauſing them to deſtroy one another. To manifeſt 'how this is accompliſhed, and accompliſhing among 'us, is the buſineſs of this treatiſe, which, I hope, 'will give ſome ſatisfaction to men of ſober judg'ments and impartial and unprejudicate ſpirits, and 'may be made uſeful in the good hand of the Lord, 'to confirm and eſtabliſh friends againſt their preſent 'oppreſſors (18).'

(18) See his Preface to that Treatiſe in the Collection of his Works.

This treatiſe expoſed him to a great many inconveniences; for we find him obliged to write *a Vindication* of it in the beginning of the year 1679, when, it ſeems, that he was in priſon at Aberdeen; and indeed, at that time, the perſecution of the Quakers in Scotland was very warm, and therefore conſidering the figure he made, it is no wonder that he had a ſhare in it (19). But without queſtion, his ſufferings of this ſort did not give him near ſo much concern, as the diſputes in which he was involved, by the publication of this treatiſe, with his brethren; chiefly through the obſtinacy of one William Rogers, who wrote againſt him, and ſpread his objections privately, notwithſtanding the author had taken pains to ſatisfy him in a conference. The account which the author of the preface before his works gives of this matter, is worth reading: 'This diſcourſe, ſays he, touching 'the tender place both of thoſe that exerciſe a coër'cive authority over conſcience on the one hand, 'and of thoſe that, to avoid that extreme, run into 'an abſolute perſonal independency in point of order 'and government on the other hand, both ſorts 'were not a little diſguſted; but the latter more eſ'pecially, that thought themſelves chiefly concerned 'in the author's intention and labour; and indeed 'the riſe and ground of the diſcourſe, was the diſſa'tisfaction of ſome that profeſſed to be of the ſame 'ſociety, about the methods of proceeding as a 'Chriſtian community, for the honour of our holy 'profeſſion. Some miſtook him, others too deſign'edly inveighed againſt him; the animoſity roſe ſo 'high in ſome few leading perſons of that diſſent, 'as to queſtion his ſincerity to the profeſſion he made 'of religion in general, whiſpering him to be Po'piſhly affected, if not a Papiſt, and perhaps a gra'duated one too: and why? Firſt, becauſe he was 'bred in France at ſchool, under an uncle who was 'a Papiſt, if not a Prieſt. Secondly, becauſe he 'maintained Church authority, at as high a rate, at 'leaſt upon the ſame principles: but for the firſt, 'his father who was always a zealous Proteſtant, 'coming heartily to embrace the communion of the 'deſpiſed Quakers, and ſhewing himſelf an exem'plary member of their ſociety, commanded his 'ſon over, being yet a child, and only ſent thither 'for the advantage of a relation, and of learning 'French and Latin together, and that upon the 'preſſing importunity of his father's own brother, 'that was Preſident of the Scotch college, where the 'learning common at our ſchools, as well as at the 'univerſities, is daily taught (20).' After having ſet this matter in its proper light, he proceeds to refute the ſecond argument uſed by the objectors, in which he defends the author's uſe of Popiſh reaſoning in ſupport of his own cauſe, with the greateſt ſtrength and clearneſs, and as to Robert Barclay's own vindication before-mentioned, he tells us, that it was drawn from him to clear his former diſcourſe from the miſtakes and ſcruples of ſuch as did not underſtand it, or ſeemed however offended both with him and it, and that it is dedicated to the communion in general he was of; written with a ſerious and clear mind, and hearty love to thoſe that were his oppoſers.

(19) This appears from the date of this Treatiſe, which runs thus: Aberdeen Priſon, 6th of the firſt month 1679. We are in this note, in order to connect like things, obliged to treſpaſs a little upon time, otherwiſe this vindication muſt have been ſpoke of afterwards.

(20) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. xiv.

moment to ſpare; yet it is certain, that at this very time he was meditating his great work, which he entitled, *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached, by the People called in Scorn Quakers*; ſince the epiſtle prefixed thereto, and addreſſed to King Charles II., is dated the twenty-fifth of November 1675 (*i*). This was indeed a painful and laborious performance, and therefore our author took, with great prudence and ſagacity, ſuch precautions as he thought neceſſary, with reſpect to its publication. It was with this view, that the *Theſes Theologicæ* (*k*), which were the ground-work of this elaborate treatiſe, were ſent abroad ſome time before the book itſelf, in Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, and Engliſh, addreſſed to the Clergy of what ſort ſoever; and that his candour, impartiality, and ſincere love of truth, might be ſtill more manifeſt, he ſent them to the Doctors, Profeſſors, and Students in Divinity, both Popiſh and Proteſtant, in every country throughout Europe, deſiring they would ſeriouſly examine them, and ſend him their anſwers. As ſoon as the *Apology* was finiſhed, he ſent two copies of it, to each of the public Miniſters then at the famous Congreſs of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and reſpect, and the knowledge, charity, and diſintereſted probity of its author, juſtly applauded (*l*). In 1676 it was printed in Latin at Amſterdam; and two years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of it, which made it more generally known and read here, by which the end of it was effectually anſwered, ſince it was univerſally allowed to ſurpaſs every thing of its kind, and to ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible [*E*]. It was quickly

(*i*) See that Epiſtle in both the Latin and Engliſh editions of the Apology.

(*k*) See a further account of this in note [*E*].

(*l*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 257.

[*E*] *To ſet the principles of the Quakers in the faireſt light poſſible.*] The title of this famous book in the Engliſh edition of it runs thus: *An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth and preached by the People called in Scorn Quakers, being a full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines, by many Arguments deduced from Scripture and right Reaſon, and the Teſtimonies of famous Authors, both Ancient and Modern, with a full Anſwer to the ſtrongeſt Objections uſually made againſt them: Preſented to the King. Written and publiſhed in Latin, for the Information of Strangers, by* Robert Barclay, *and now put into our own Language, for the Benefit of his Countrymen.* The account given us, by the author of the preface to Barclay's works, of the nature of this work, and the reaſons upon which he publiſhed it, is ſo candid, and withal ſo clear and ſo conciſe, that I believe, it would be very hard to give a better (21); 'It was, ſays he, the moſt comprehenſive of all his pieces, publiſhed in Latin, Dutch, 'and Engliſh: it came out at the cloſe of a long 'and ſharp engagement between us of this kingdom, 'and a confederacy of adverſaries, of almoſt all perſuaſions: it was his happineſs both to live in a more 'retired corner, and to enjoy at that time a ſpace of 'quiet above his brethren, which, with the conſideration of their three or four years toil, and a ſenſe 'of ſervice in himſelf, put him upon undertaking 'and publiſhing this diſcourſe, as an eſſay towards 'the prevention of future controverſy: it firſt lays 'down our avowed principles of belief and practice, 'diſtinguiſhed from what our enemies are pleaſed to 'ſay in our names, who, by making us erroneous, 'give themſelves the eaſier taſks to confute us, and 'then triumph: after he has ſtated our principles, he 'has put the objections which he had collected out 'of our adverſaries books, or that he did apprehend 'might be made to theſe principles, and anſwers 'them; and laſtly, cites divers authors, both ancient 'and modern, eſpecially ſome of the primitive Ages, 'for further illuſtration and confirmation of our ſaid 'belief and practice.' The addreſs of this book is as important, curious, and extraordinary as any part of it; and has been juſtly admired both by our own countrymen and ſtrangers. It runs thus: *Unto Charles II., King of Great Britain, and the dominions thereunto belonging.* Robert Barclay, *a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called of God to the diſpenſation of the goſpel now again revealed, and after a long and dark night of apoſtacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wiſheth health and ſalvation.* After having opened his diſcourſe with a very becoming obſervation, that the lives of Kings are more obſerved than thoſe of other men, and what relates to them, or paſſes under their obſervation, more regarded, he goes on with great freedom, and yet with much decency in the following manner: 'But among all 'theſe tranſactions, which it hath pleaſed God to 'permit, for the glory of his power and the manifeſtation of his wiſdom and providence, no age 'furniſheth us with things ſo ſtrange and marvellous, 'whether with reſpect to matters civil or religious, 'as theſe that have fallen out within the compaſs of 'thy time, who, though thou be not yet arrived at 'the fiftieth year of thy age, haſt yet been a witneſs 'of ſtranger things than many ages before produced; 'ſo that, whether we reſpect theſe various troubles 'wherein thou foundeſt thyſelf engaged, while ſcarce 'got out of thy infancy; the many different afflictions wherewith men of thy circumſtances are 'often unacquainted, the ſtrange and unparalleled 'fortune that befel thy father, thy own narrow eſcape and baniſhment following thereupon, with the 'great improbability of thy ever returning (at leaſt, 'without very much pains and tedious combatings), 'or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accompliſh ſuch a deſign, conſidering the ſtrength of thoſe 'that had poſſeſſed themſelves of thy throne, and the 'terror they had inflicted upon foreign ſtates, or the 'contrivance and work of human policy; all theſe 'ſo ſufficiently declare, that it is the Lord's doing, 'which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, ſo it will 'juſtly be a matter of wonder and aſtoniſhment to 'generations to come, and may ſufficiently ſerve, if 'rightly obſerved, to confute and confound that 'atheiſm wherewith this age doth ſo much abound: 'As the vindication of the liberty of conſcience '(which thy father, by giving way to the importunate 'clamours of the Clergy, the anſwering and fulfilling of thoſe unrighteous wills has often proved hurtful and pernicious to Princes, ſought in ſome part 'to reſtrain) was a great occaſion of the troubles and 'revolutions, ſo the pretence of conſcience was that 'which carried it on and brought it to the pitch it 'came to; and though (no doubt) ſome that were engaged in that work deſigned good things, at leaſt in 'the beginning (albeit always wrong in the manner 'they took to accompliſh it; viz. by carnal weapons), 'yet ſo ſoon as they had taſted that ſweet of the poſſeſſions of them they had turned out, they quickly 'began to do thoſe things themſelves for which they 'had accuſed others; for their hands were found full 'of oppreſſion, and they hated the reproof of inſtruction, which is the way of life; and they evilly 'intreated the meſſengers of the Lord, and cauſed to 'beat and impriſon his prophets, and perſecuted his 'people, whom he had called and gathered out from 'among them, whom he had made to beat their 'ſwords into plowſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks, and not to learn carnal war any more; 'but he raiſed them up and armed them with ſpiritual 'weapons, even with his own ſpirit and power, where-'by they teſtified in the ſtreets, and highways, and public markets, and ſynagogues, againſt the pride, vanity, 'luſts, and hypocriſy of that generation, who were 'righteous in their own eyes, though often cruelly intreated therefore; and they faithfully propheſied 'and foretold them of their judgment and downfal 'which came upon them, as by ſeveral writings and 'epiſtles delivered to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, 'the

(21) The ſame Preface, p. xxi.

quickly tranſlated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spaniſh (*m*). It might be naturally ſuppoſed, that a performance of this nature could not remain long unattacked; and accordingly we find it has been over and over anſwered, as well abroad as at home, which

(*m*) Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, and the preface before Barclay's Works, p. xxi.

'the Parliament, and other then powers, yet upon 'record doth appear.' Though it was evident enough from this language that the author did not intend by this addreſs to depart at all from his principles, yet he thought it requiſite to affirm this ſtill more expreſsly, and to ſhew his meaning in this addreſs more clearly, in the following paragraphs: 'As it is in-'conſiſtent with the truth I bear, ſo it is far from me to 'uſe this epiſtle as an engine to flatter thee, the uſual 'deſign of ſuch works; and therefore, I can neither 'dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if 'thereby I might have more confidence to preſent it 'to the world, or be more hopeful of its ſucceſs; to 'God alone I owe what I have, and that more im-'mediately in matters ſpiritual, and therefore to him 'alone, and to the ſervice of his truth, I dedicate 'whatever work he brings forth in me, to whom only 'the praiſe and honour appertain, whoſe truth needs 'not the patronage of worldly Princes, his arm and 'power being that alone by which it is propagated, 'eſtabliſhed, and confirmed: But I found it upon my 'ſpirit to take occaſion to preſent this book unto thee, 'that as thou haſt been often warned by ſeveral of 'that people who are inhabitants of England, ſo thou 'mayeſt not want a ſeaſonable advertiſement from a 'member of thy ancient kingdom of Scotland, and 'that thou mayeſt know (which I hope thou ſhalt 'have no reaſon to be troubled at) that God is raiſing 'up and increaſing that people in that nation; and 'the nations ſhall alſo hereby know, that the truth we 'poſſeſs is not a work of darkneſs, or propagated by 'ſtealth, and that we are not aſhamed of the goſpel 'of Chriſt, becauſe as we know it to be the power of 'God to ſalvation, and that we are no ways ſo incon-'ſiſtent with government, nor ſuch diſturbers of the 'peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have ſought 'to make the world believe we are; for which to thee 'I dare appeal, as a witneſs of our peaceableneſs and 'Chriſtian patience. Generations to come ſhall not 'more admire that ſingular ſtep of Divine Providence, 'in reſtoring thee to thy throne without outward 'bloodſhed, than they ſhall admire the increaſe and 'progreſs of this truth without all outward help, and 'againſt ſo great oppoſition, which ſhall be none of 'the leaſt things rendering thy memory remarkable: 'God hath done great things for thee, he hath ſuf-'ficiently ſhewn thee, that it is by him Princes rule, 'and that he can pull down and ſet up at his pleaſure; 'he hath often warned thee by his ſervants, ſince he 'reſtored thee to thy royal dignity, that thy heart 'might not wax wanton againſt him, to forget his mer-'cies and providences towards thee, whereby he might 'permit thee to be ſoothed up and lulled aſleep in thy 'ſins by the flattering of court paraſites, who, by their 'fawning, are the ruin of many Princes.' But what follows in that dedication, is ſtill much ſtronger and more extraordinary, ſhewing clearly the ſpirit of the author, and how much truth there was in his aſſuring the King, that he did not write in order to flatter him: 'There is no King in the world, who can ſo experi-'mentally teſtify of God's Providence and goodneſs, 'neither is there any who rules ſo many free people, 'ſo many true Chriſtians, which thing renders thy 'government more honourable, thyſelf more conſide-'rable, than the acceſſion of many nations filled with 'ſlaviſh and ſuperſtitious ſouls. Thou haſt taſted of 'proſperity and adverſity, thou knoweſt what it is to 'be baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled, as 'well as to rule, and ſit upon the throne, and being 'oppreſſed, thou haſt reaſon to know, how hateful the 'oppreſſor is both to God and man: If after all 'thoſe warnings and advertiſements, thou doſt not 'turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him 'who remembered thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thy-'ſelf to follow luſt and vanity, ſurely, great will be 'thy condemnation.' As to the book, it is entirely methodical, and contains a logical demonſtration of the propoſitions ſent abroad in his Theſes Theologicæ, and theſe, in few words, were as follow: I. Concerning the true foundation of knowledge. II. Concerning immediate revelation. III. Concerning the ſcriptures. IV. Concerning the condition of man in the fall. V. & VI. Concerning the univerſal redemption by Chriſt, and alſo the ſaving and ſpiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened. VII. Concerning juſtification. VIII. Concerning perfection. IX. Concerning perſeverance, and the poſſibility of falling from grace. X. Concerning the miniſtry. XI. Concerning worſhip. XII. Concerning baptiſm. XIII. Concerning the communion, or participation, of the body and blood of Chriſt. XIV. Concerning the power of the civil magiſtrates in matters purely religious and pertaining to the conſcience. XV. Concerning ſalutations and recreations, &c. He diſcourſes very largely and learnedly upon theſe heads, and yet with wonderful eaſe, and with the greateſt plainneſs imaginable; which may be eſteemed one great reaſon, why this book of his was ſo univerſally read and eſteemed by all ranks and degrees of people, and even by ſuch as oppoſed his doctrines with the greateſt zeal. His concluſion is remarkably pathetic, and he therein ſtates, with as much brevity and perſpicuity as is poſſible, the doctrines owned by, and thoſe imputed to Quakers, by their adverſaries; which, as it contains a great deal of matter in a very narrow compaſs, the reader will probably not be diſpleaſed to ſee. 'Thus, *ſays he*, be-'cauſe we have deſired people earneſtly to feel after 'God, near and in themſelves, telling them, that 'their notions of God, as he is beyond the clouds, 'will little avail them, if they do not feel him near: 'Hence they have ſought maliciouſly to infer, that 'we deny any God except that which is within us. 'Becauſe we tell people, that it is the light and the law 'within, and not the letter without, that can truly 'tell them their condition and lead them out of all 'evil: hence they ſay, we vilify the ſcriptures, and 'ſet up our own imaginations above them: becauſe 'we tell them, that it is not their talking or believing 'of Chriſt's outward life, ſufferings, death, and re-'ſurrection, no more than the Jews crying, the temple 'of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, that will ſerve 'their turn, or juſtify them in the ſight of God, but 'that they muſt know Chriſt in them, whom they 'have crucified, to be raiſed, and to juſtify them, and 'redeem them from their iniquities; hence, they ſay, 'we deny the life, death, and ſufferings of Chriſt, 'juſtification by his blood, and the remiſſion of ſins 'through him. Becauſe we tell them, while they 'are talking and determining about the reſurrection, 'that they have more need to know the juſt one 'whom they have ſlain, raiſed in themſelves, and to 'be ſure they are partakers in the firſt reſurrection, 'and that if this be, they will be the more capable to 'judge of the ſecond; hence, they ſay, that we deny 'the reſurrection of the body. Becauſe, when we hear 'them talk fooliſhly of heaven and hell, and the laſt 'judgment, we exhort them to come out of that helliſh 'condition they are in, and come down to the judg-'ment of Chriſt in their own hearts, and believe in 'the light and follow it, that ſo they may come to ſit 'in the heavenly places that are in Chriſt Jeſus: hence, 'they maliciouſly ſay, that we deny any heaven or hell 'but that which is within us, and that we deny any 'general judgment; which ſlanders, the Lord knows, 'are foully caſt on us, whom God hath raiſed for 'this end, and gathered us, that by us he might con-'found the wiſdom of the wiſe, and bring to nought 'the underſtanding of the prudent.' Theſe citations will afford the reader, a very clear notion of the general ſcope of this work, and of the ſpirit and ſtyle of this author, to which end they were abſolutely neceſſary, ſince his manner of thinking and writing, have in them ſomething ſo peculiar, that it is not poſſible to give the reader a juſt view of them any other way. It is ſaid by Mr. Voltaire, that Barclay's Addreſs and book had a proper effect upon King Charles II., and put a ſtop to that perſecution, to which the people called Quakers had been ſo much expoſed for many years (22): this, however, is very far from being well founded; for after this book was publiſhed, the Quakers were treated with as great or greater ſeverity than before; and, which comes ſtill cloſer to the point, both Colonel David Barclay, our author's father, and our author himſelf, had their ſhare in it, which plainly

(22) Letters on the Engliſh Nation.

which has only contributed to make it more read and more esteemed, while very few of these answers have been hitherto much regarded, though many of them fell from the pens of men, who had before gained considerable reputation in the learned world [*F*]. Our author

plainly proves this fact could not be true. Yet the King, perhaps, might be in some measure excused, for the heats of party in those times were so violent, that it was not in his power to hinder the law, under colour of which the Quakers were persecuted, from being put in execution. The suspicion he lay under of favouring Popery, put it out of his power to shew any indulgence to Dissenters of any denomination; and the enemies of the Quakers had so much address as to throw a suspicion of Popery even on them, though the writings of their most considerable men, and particularly those of Robert Barclay, are not only penned with as much warmth, but are to the full as conclusive against the doctrines of Popery, as any published by Protestants of what denomination soever (23). But though our author's apology had not this effect of stopping the persecution against the people in whose cause it was written; yet it answered a more important end, by shewing, that the pretences upon which they were persecuted were false and ill grounded; and that those, who, on one side, represented them as concealed Papists, and such, as, on the other hand, denied their being Christians, were equally in the wrong, and equally misled by their prejudices; and this sufficiently justifies what we have said in the text, of the great service our author's work did to those of his persuasion.

(23) See his Catechism, his Apology, his Vindication of his Apology, and other Tracts, as to the points controverted between Protestants and Papists.

[*F*] *Gained considerable reputation in the learned world.*] The author's design in writing this book, was not to shew his learning, though very great, or to magnify the cause he maintained, but to come at truth. It was with this view, he first sent abroad the *Theses Theologicæ*, containing the propositions which he intended to maintain, and a short explanation of their sense; and this he did, that he might obtain from such learned men as examined them, the objections to which they thought them liable. He next published the work itself in the Latin tongue, that it might again pass the examination of those who had read his first scheme, or draught of it; and after this, he translated it himself into English, for the general use of his countrymen. There could not certainly be a better or a fairer way found of bringing the sentiments he defended to the test of reason and scripture; and accordingly we find, that upon the first appearance of his propositions, they were examined by a person of great note amongst foreign Divines, one *Nicholas Arnold*, Professor in the university of Franequer (24), who had gained a great character by his polemical writings, and who undertook to deliver his sentiments of our author's work in a *Theological Exercitation*; and our author stated and answered all his objections in his book so fully, that nothing more was heard from him upon that subject. The next who appeared in this controversy was Mr. John Brown, a Presbyterian Divine in Scotland, of whose performance we shall speak more particularly in the next note. The third answer to the Apology fell from the pen of *John George Bajerus* of the Lutheran Church, Doctor in, and Professor of, Divinity at Jena (25). He wrote a large piece on the subject of *the Beginning of the true and saving Knowledge of* God, in which he very confidently attacks our author's *Theses* and *Apology*, intermixing some very harsh and injurious expressions, with what little he has in his book of argument: as for instance, he pretends that many of Barclay's expressions are improper, others absurd, and some unintelligible. But he was answered by Mr. George Keith, who was then our author's great friend; because at that time, Barclay's thoughts were so taken up with other concerns, that he had not leisure to write himself. This answer of Mr. Keith's was so full, and, with respect to the learned world, so satisfactory, that the Professor in Divinity never thought fit to reply to it (26). But it was not long before the Apology was attacked again by a Divine of the Augsburg Confession, one *Christopher Holthusius* (27), a famous Preacher at Francfort, whose work has received great commendations, and by some is represented as unanswerable, and a clear confutation of Barclay. But the book's being penned in the German language, is perhaps the best reason for its having remained so long without an answer, and if its merit were really so great as is pretended, one would think, that some or other of the German Divines would have put it into Latin, that, in this respect, it might have stood upon a level with the Apology, and the Answer be as universally read as the book itself. When our author's old friend and fellow-labourer *George Keith*, deserted the Quakers, he thought he could not do a greater service to the cause he had embraced, than by writing against the Apology, and accordingly he published an answer to it, under the title of *The Quakers Standard examined*. But besides these large works, which were written expressly against our author's Apology, there were others penned against particular parts of it. As for instance, Barclay, having in that work attacked, in his first, seventh, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth Theses, the Lutherans, their sentiments were defended by one Mr. Reiser, a native of Augsburg, who being driven from that city for his religion, retired to Hamburgh, and there became Pastor of the church of St. James (28). The title of his book was, *Anti-Barclaius, id est, Examen Apologiæ, quam non ita pridem* Robertus Barclaius, *Scoto-Britannus, pro Theologiâ vere Christiana edidit, institutum in gratiam Evangelicorum, a* L. Anton. Reisero *Augustano, nunc Pastore ad D. Jacobi Hamburgensis*. That is, 'Barclay refuted, or an Examination 'of the Apology not long ago published by Robert 'Barclay, a Scotsman, for the true Christian Divinity, 'in defence of the Lutherans, &c.' We have a large account of this work in the Literary Journal of Leipsick, and a shorter in Baillet. This author is reputed a man of learning and ability; but however he gives his antagonist a good deal of hard language, charging him with many absurdities and various contradictions, yet, upon the whole, he freely acknowledges, that the Lutherans, in whose defence he writes, have some defects in their discipline, which the wisest and most pious men amongst them wish to see corrected. The Journalists of Leipsick, in speaking of this work, give a very high character of our author Barclay and his performance, and Baillet also acknowledges, that the Apology was looked upon as a most extraordinary book in its kind, and in which, the defence of the Quakers was carried as far as it was possible (29). The famous Mr. *Thomas Bennet*, who sought to raise his character, by attacking all who differed from the Church of England, published in 1705, a large work against the Quakers, which was very highly commended: the title of it ran thus, *A Confutation of Quakerism, or a plain Proof of the Falsehood of what the principal Quaker Writers (especially Mr. R. Barclay in his Apology and other Works) do teach, concerning the Necessity of immediate Revelation in order to a Saving Christian Faith, the Being, Nature, and Operation of the pretended universal Light within, its Stirring with Men, moving them to Prayer, and calling them to the Ministry, Regeneration, Sanctification, Justification, Salvation, and Union of God, the Nature of a Church, the Rule of Faith, Water-Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; diverse Questions also concerning Perfection, Christ's Satisfaction, the Judge of Controversies, &c. are briefly stated and resolved.* In this, as in all his other writings, Mr. Bennet discovers a great deal of heat and acrimony; but at the same time he confesses, that our Author's Apology is the exactest piece that ever was written in defence of Quakerism. His book was answered by several persons, and some of them treated him very roughly, as the reader will see in its proper place (30). The famous Mr. *Trenchard* (31), has likewise written with as much reason and good sense, and much greater decency, against our author, than any of his opponents, and he allows, that Christian Divinity, as stated in his Apology, is a most masterly, charitable, and reasonable system: but his exception lies against the first principle of our author's doctrine, which is immediate Revelation, and which this great man would willingly exchange for human reason, and this done, he says, he could have readily subscribed to a great part of his system. We shall see hereafter what our author said to a very great man, who, in his life-time, proposed the very same difficulty,

(24) See his Article in Bayle's Dictionary.

(25) G. Croese's Hist. of the Quakers, P. ii. p. 90.

(26) Histoire des Trembleurs, p. 156.

(27) History of the Quakers, P. ii. p. 91.

(28) Acta Eruditor. A. D. 1683. p. 553.

(29) Jugemens des Savans, tom. xii. edit. Amster. 1725. p. 249, 250.

(30) See his Article in this Dictionary.

(31) British Journal, No. XXX. and XXXI., and in the Collection of Cato's Letters.

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Our author was not in the leaſt elevated by the ſurprizing ſucceſs of his writings, or the high veneration expreſſed for his abilities, even by the warmeſt of his adverſaries. On the contrary, he went on in his former method, and in the ſpace of two or three years following, publiſhed ſeveral other pieces, in ſupport of the doctrine delivered in that book, and thereby maintained the credit he had gained, and did incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe [*G*]. He travelled, likewiſe, with the famous Mr. William Penn, through the greateſt part of England, Holland, and Germany, was every where received with reſpect; and diſmiſſed with concern: for though his converſation as well as his manners were ſtrictly ſuitable to his doctrine, yet there was ſuch a ſpirit and livelineſs in his diſcourſe, and ſuch a ſerenity and chearfulneſs in his deportment, as rendered him extremely agreeable to all ſorts of people (*n*). It was indeed the peculiar felicity of Mr. Barclay, to gain ſo entire a conqueſt over envy, as to paſs through life (and which is ſo much the more wonderful, ſuch a life as his was) with almoſt univerſal applauſe, and without the leaſt imputation on his integrity. The great buſineſs of his life was doing good, promoting what he thought to be the knowledge of God, and conſequently the happineſs of man. He diſcovered the true principles of his life and conduct, in a large treatiſe of his upon the ſubject of *Univerſal Love*, in which he manifeſts ſuch high, and with all, ſuch rational ſentiments of humanity, as have juſtly recommended to univerſal applauſe, this noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence (*o*) [*H*]. His talents, however, were

(*n*) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

(*o*) See the preface to R. Barclay's Works, p. 27.

difficulty, and thereby engaged him to write largely upon this ſubject, which pieces of his it is very probable Mr. Trenchard never ſaw. The laſt antagoniſt of his that I ſhall mention, is the famous Mr. Thomas Chubb, who, in the year 1726, publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe, occaſioned by the remarks of Mr. Trenchard before-mentioned, which was called *An Examination of Mr. Barclay's Principles with regard to Man's natural Ability ſince the Fall, as laid down in his Book, entitled* An Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, as the ſame is held forth, and preached by the People, called in Scorn, Quakers. *Wherein is ſhewn, that the ſaid Principles are erroneous, and in which Human Nature is vindicated from the Burthen and Reproach he has loaded it with; in a Letter to a Friend, occaſioned by the great Commendation given to Mr. Barclay's Performance in the Britiſh Journal,* No. XXXI. *and now offered to the Conſideration of the People called Quakers.* In the very beginning of this treatiſe the author declares roundly, that in his opinion, Mr. Barclay's book contained a confuſed, abſurd ſcheme of religion, in which God was conſidered as dealing with his creatures, not according to the moral fitneſs of things, but from arbitrary pleaſure. This induced one Mr. Bevan to write a treatiſe againſt his, which was entitled, *Supernatural Influences neceſſary to Salvation, being a vindication of the fourth Propoſition of R. Barclay's Apology*; to which Mr. Chubb replied, in a treatiſe entitled, *Human Nature vindicated*, as he likewiſe did to a letter written by Dr. Thomas Morgan of Briſtol, in ſupport of our author Barclay's opinion; and after this he wrote two other pieces againſt the ſame adverſaries, in which he purſues his argument againſt the Apology with his uſual vehemence (32). Thus we have given the reader a ſhort account of the anſwers to the Apology, in caſe he ſhould be inclined to examine this controverſy to the bottom. But at the ſame time we muſt put him in mind, that even the moſt bitter of his antagoniſts have conſtantly owned, that our author was a man of great candour and charity, one who loved truth ſincerely, and did not make uſe of his great learning and abilities, in order to impoſe, by the ſtrength of them, his own opinions on weaker minds.

(32) See Chubb's Tracts, 4to, 1730.

[*G*] *Incredible ſervice to thoſe of his perſuaſion all over Europe.*] In the text ſome notice was taken of a diſpute managed by our author againſt ſome ſtudents of Aberdeen. It made a great ſtir in the world, and the more becauſe both ſides claimed the victory, and therefore it was thought neceſſary to print a full account of it, which was accordingly done under the following title. *A true and faithful Account of the moſt material Paſſages of a Diſpute, between ſome Students of Divinity (ſo called) of the Univerſity of Aberdeen, and the People called Quakers, held in Aberdeen in Scotland, in Alexander Harper his Cloſe (or Yard) before ſome hundred of Witneſſes, upon the fourteenth Day of the ſecond Month called April* 1675, *there being John Leſly, Alexander Sherriff, and Paul Gellie, Maſter of Arts, Opponents; and Defendants upon the Quakers Part, Robert Barclay, and George Keith, Præſes for moderating the Meeting choſen by them, Andrew Thompſon, Advocate, and by the Quakers, Alexander Skein, ſome Time a Magiſtrate of the City: Publiſhed for preventing Miſ-Reports by Alexander Skein, John Skein, Alexander Harper, Thomas Merſer, and John Cowie; to which is added, Robert Barclay's Offer to the Preachers of Aberdeen, renewed and reinforced.* This was ſoon after followed by another piece in ſupport and defence of the Apology, or rather of the principles laid down in the Apology, which are likewiſe thoſe of the former diſpute, occaſioned by the ſtudents publiſhing a book, in which this whole controverſy was very unfairly ſtated. The title of this treatiſe, in which our author was, as the reader will ſee, aſſiſted by one of the Brethren, ran in the following terms; *Quakeriſm confirmed, or a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the People called Quakers, from the Arguments and Objections of the Students of Divinity (ſo called) of Aberdeen, in their Book entitled Quakeriſm canvaſſed; by Robert Barclay and George Keith.* But beſides theſe formal challenges from the Students, our author and his friends were expoſed to ſome attempts of another ſort, ſuch as the large book written by Mr. John Brown againſt our author's Apology, in which he labours to prove, that the principles of Quakeriſm, inſtead of leading to Chriſtian perfection, were like to lead people into heatheniſm; and that, in ſhort, it was a ſyſtem raiſed out of private men's opinions, who had ſuch high conceits of their own notions, as to fancy them all ſuggeſted by the *Holy Spirit*. This book came out ſoon after our author's was publiſhed in Holland, in the Latin tongue, and Mr. Barclay quickly wrote a reply to it, which however he did not publiſh till ſome years afterwards; that is, he did not ſend it abroad till his firſt and great work, the Apology, came out, in Engliſh; that the generality of readers might have before them the whole controverſy in one language. This vindication was eſteemed by many (33), and particularly, by William Penn, to be equal in every reſpect to his Apology, and we do not find that either Brown, or any of his friends, offered any thing by way of rejoinder to this reply of our author's, who gave it the following title, viz. *Robert Barclay's Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity vindicated, from John Brown's Examination and pretended Confutation thereof, in his Book called,* Quakeriſm the Path-way to Paganiſm: *In which Vindication John Brown his many groſs Perverſions and Abuſes are diſcovered, and his furious and violent Railings and Revilings ſoberly rebuked by R. B.* It was written, as we have obſerved, in 1677, but was not printed till 1679. Before our author's Vindication appeared, Brown's book was much magnified by his party in Scotland and Holland, which made the reply neceſſary.

(33) Preface to Barclay's Works, p. 31.

[*H*] *This noble deſcription of Chriſtian beneficence.*] This treatiſe, in which abundance of very weighty points are with great judgment and moderation handled, was penned by our author in the priſon of Aberdeen, in the beginning of the year 1677, and publiſhed ſoon after under the following title: *Univerſal Love conſidered*

were not entirely confined to this kind of abſtracted writing. He was very capable of ſhining in another ſphere, and of treating ſuch affairs as the world eſteems of greateſt conſequence, with as much dignity, and as thorough a comprehenſion, as any man of his time, as appeared (when publiſhed) from his excellent letter to the public Miniſters at Nimeguen; and therefore we need not be ſurprized, that, notwithſtanding his profeſſion, this epiſtle was received with all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible (*p*) [*I*]. His great modeſty,

(*p*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 569. Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 195.

conſidered and eſtabliſhed upon its right Foundation, being a ſerious Enquiry how far Charity may, and ought to extend towards Perſons of different Judgments in Matters of Religion, and whoſe Principles among the ſeveral Sects of Chriſtians, do moſt naturally lead to that due Moderation required, writ in the Spirit of Love and Meekneſs for the removing of Stumbling-Blocks out of the Way of the Simple, by a Lover of the Souls of all Men, R. B. In this, as in all his other performances, our author was extremely methodical, taking the utmoſt care to handle thoroughly every part of his ſubject, and not to digreſs from it; ſo that whatever point is ſought for therein may be immediately found, and the reaſons on which he maintains it. This diſcourſe he divided into five ſections, the firſt containing an account of his own experience in this matter, and the reaſons which induced him to write upon this ſubject; in the ſecond, the nature of Chriſtian love and charity is demonſtrated, ſhewn to be conſiſtent with true zeal, and the means of diſtinguiſhing this from falſe zeal; in the third, we find the controverſy ſtated with reſpect to the different ſorts of Chriſtians, how it is to be fetched from the nature of their principles, and not from the practice of particular perſons; the fourth, contains an examination of the principles of ſeveral ſorts of theſe called Chriſtians, compared with this univerſal love and found defective; as 1. of Papiſts; 2. of Proteſtants in general; 3. of Socinians; and in the fifth, ſome principles of Chriſtianity are propoſed, as they are held by a great body of people, and ſome gathered churches in Great Britain and Ireland, which do very well agree with true univerſal love. Thus the reader may perceive, that the great end and deſign of this work was to recommend the perſuaſion he had embraced, as having in it a greater meaſure of Chriſtian charity that any other Church whatever. In the firſt ſection of this treatiſe, the author gives a large account of his own conduct in his youth, which, as it ſtrictly regards his perſonal hiſtory, cannot but be agreeable to the inquiſitive reader, and ſhall therefore find a place here in his own words (34):

(34) Barclay's Works, p. 678.

'My firſt education from my infancy up, fell amongſt 'the ſtricteſt ſort of Calviniſts, thoſe of our country 'being acknowledged to be the ſevereſt of that ſect in 'the heat of zeal, ſurpaſſing not only Geneva (from 'whence they derive their pedigree), but all other the 'Reformed Churches abroad (ſo called); ſo that ſome 'of the French Proteſtants, being upbraided with the 'fruits of this zeal, as it appeared in Jo. Knox, Buchanan, and others, do (beſides what is peculiar to 'their principles of this kind) alledge the ſuper-abundance thereof to proceed *a fervido Scotorum ingenio:* i. e. from the violent complexion of our countrymen. I had ſcarce got out of my childhood 'when I was, by the permiſſion of Divine Providence, caſt among the company of Papiſts, and my 'tender years and immature capacity, not being able 'to withſtand and reſiſt the inſinuations that were 'uſed to proſelyte me to that way, I became quickly 'defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued 'therein for a time, until it pleaſed God, through his 'rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of thoſe ſnares, 'and to give me a clear underſtanding of the evil of 'that way. In both theſe ſects the reader may eaſily believe, that I had abundant occaſion to receive impreſſions contrary to the principles of love herein 'treated of, ſeeing the ſtraitneſs of ſeveral of their 'doctrines, as well as their practice of perſecution, do 'abundantly declare, how oppoſite they are to univerſal love, as ſhall hereafter more at large be ſhewn. 'And albeit the time it pleaſed God to deliver me 'out of theſe ſnares, I was ſo young, that it may be 'preſumed, my obſervations could be but weak, and 'conſequently, my experience inconſiderable; yet 'foraſmuch as from my very childhood, I was very 'ambitious of knowledge, and by a certain felicity 'of underſtanding (I think I may ſay without vanity) 'ſucceſsful beyond many of my equals in age (though 'my obſervations at that time were but weak); yet 'ſince I have with more leiſure and circumſpection 'gathered thence ſo much experience, as I am confident will ſerve for a ſufficient foundation to any 'ſuperſtructure I ſhall build upon it in this treatiſe. 'The time that intervened betwixt my forſaking of 'the Church of Rome, and joining with whom I 'now ſtand engaged, I kept myſelf free from joining with any ſort of people, though I took liberty 'to hear ſeveral; and my converſe was moſt with 'thoſe that inveigh much againſt judging, and ſuch 'kind of ſeverity, ſeeming to complain greatly for 'want of this Chriſtian charity amongſt all ſects, 'which latitude may perhaps be eſteemed the other 'extream, oppoſite to the preciſeneſs of theſe other 'ſects, whereby I alſo received an opportunity to 'know what uſually is pretended on that ſide likewiſe, and thence can ſay ſomewhat experimentally 'on that part alſo.' There needs no more than to read this ſhort account of him from his own pen, to be abſolutely ſatisfied of the openneſs, ſimplicity, and frankneſs of his mind, which proſperity could not corrupt, or adverſity ſour; ſo true a ſenſe he had of his duty, and ſo little did he conſider what befel him while he was doing it.

[*I*] *With all the marks of eſteem and reſpect poſſible.*] The congreſs held at Nimeguen was to compoſe the long and perplexed liſt of diſputes, which for many years had diſturbed the peace of Europe, and had produced the fatal war of 1672, ſo prejudicial to the Dutch (35). This congreſs began in 1675, and the Plenipotentiaries appointed by King Charles II. were Sir William Temple and Sir Leoline Jenkins. All the Ambaſſadors preſent in this aſſembly were looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt accompliſhed perſons in that age, and to them our author addreſſed his Epiſtle in theſe words: *To the Ambaſſadors and Deputies of the Chriſtian Princes and States met at* Nimeguen, *to conſult the Peace of Chriſtendom, R. B. a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and hearty well-wiſher to the Chriſtian World, wiſhes increaſe of Grace and Peace, and the Spirit of ſound Judgment, with Hearts inclined and willing to receive and obey the Counſel of God.* He proceeds to inform them, that being the ſummer before in Holland and Germany, it firſt came into his mind, from ſeeing the miſeries induced by war, to write to them as he now did; but that however he waited, as not willing to be haſty in a matter of ſuch importance; and now being at leiſure, and at his own home, he chearfully addreſſed himſelf to this great work, laying open to them the true cauſes of war, confuſion, and bloodſhed, the dreadful and barbarous conſequences attending it, and the only certain and indubitable means of attaining, by the purſuit of Chriſtian principles, true, laſting, and ſolid peace. After ſigning this letter, he dates it thus: 'This came 'upon me from the Lord to write unto you, at Ury in 'my native country of Scotland, the ſecond of the 'month called November, 1677:' After this we find the following account of the manner in which this letter was circulated, viz. 'Copies of the aforeſaid 'epiſtle in Latin, were upon the 23d and 24th days 'of the month called February, 1678, delivered at 'Nimeguen to the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, of 'the Kings of Great Britain, Spain, and France, 'Sweden, and Denmark, of the Prince Elector Palatine, as alſo of the States-General, and of the Dukes 'of Lorrain, Holſtein, Lunenburg, Oſnabrug, Hanover, and the Pope's Nuncio, to wit, one to each 'Ambaſſador, and one to each of their Principals, 'together with ſo many copies of the book, whereof 'the author makes mention in the letter: The title 'whereof is, Robert Barclay his Apology, &c.' It is not at this diſtance of time poſſible to ſay what effect this epiſtle of our author's produced. But whatever it was, in regard to quickening the great work of peace, which was accompliſhed ſoon after, moſt certainly it took off thoſe prejudices, and wore away thoſe prepoſſeſſions,

(35) See Sir Will. Temple's Letters, and the Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins.

modeſty, his extenſive learning, and, above all, his known ſincerity in matters of Philoſophy and Religion, made him acceptable to all, who were ſeriouſly inclined to the examination of thoſe important truths, which ought to influence the conduct of men in their paſſage through this life; and his zeal for theſe truths on the other hand, made him ever ready and willing to lend his aſſiſtance to ſuch, as doubted about thoſe things he thought clear and certain. There was a perſon of diſtinction in Holland, the Heer Adrian Paets, who had turned his conſiderations on ſuch ſubjects, and having received ſome wrong impreſſions as to the principles of the Quakers, wrote upon this head an epiſtle to Chriſtian Hartzoeker, which was not long after made public. With this worthy perſon, after his return from Spain, where he was reſident with a public character, from the States-General, our author had a long conference *On the Poſſibility of an inward and immediate Revelation* (*q*), which at parting he recommended to our author's recollection, which he underſtood to be an invitation to ſend him his farther thoughts upon that important point. He accordingly digeſted them into a large Latin letter, dated the twenty-fourth of November, 1676, which letter he tranſmitted to his friend Benjamin Furley at Rotterdam, who about a year after delivered it to the perſon for whom it was directed, and deſired, that if he was not entirely ſatisfied he would write an anſwer, which he promiſed, but did not perform. Some years after, the Heer Adrian Paets coming over to England, as one of the Commiſſioners for the Eaſt India Company, our author ſaw him at London, and diſcourſed with him again upon this head, repreſenting the matter to him, ſo that he readily yielded *he had been miſtaken in his notion of the* Quakers, *for he found they could make a reaſonable plea for the foundation of their religion* (*r*). Upon conſidering this matter attentively, and being urged thereto by his friends, our author thought fit to tranſlate this letter into Engliſh, and to make it public in the year 1686, which he accordingly did. It was the laſt, but not the leaſt, of the ſervices he rendered to thoſe of his perſuaſion, and has been eſteemed by ſuch as have read it with attention, as accurate and ſolid a piece as any that ever fell from his pen (*s*) [*K*]. He paſſed the remaining part of his life in quiet and peace, having a large family, which he governed with great dignity, wiſdom, and diſcretion, living always decently and honourably upon his own fortune, which was very conſiderable. He died at his own houſe at Ury, on the third of October, 1690, very near the forty-ſecond year of his age, of a ſickneſs which did not laſt long, and in which he teſtified the greateſt calmneſs and ſerenity of mind, grounded on a thorough confidence in God (*t*). Thoſe of his own perſuaſion gave, as they had juſt reaſon, the moſt ample teſtimonies concerning his life and manners, in terms full of warmth and of ſincerity, with ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended [*L*]. But it was not only from them that Robert Barclay received marks of pro-

(*q*) See R. Barclay's Preface to the Engliſh verſion of his Epiſtle.

(*r*) Sewell's Hiſt. of the Quakers, p. 536.

(*s*) See the Preface to his Works, p. 32.

(*t*) See the Teſtimony of P. Levingſtone prefixed to Barclay's Works.

poſſeſſions, which had been obtruded on them, with regard to the people called Quakers, as if they were a company of wild, ignorant, enthuſiaſtic creatures, governed by no certain principles, and aiming at no certain end: whereas this ſhewed them to be men of thought and ſolidity, addicted to no opinion ſo extravagant, as not to be comprehended in a general ſyſtem, or not equally calculated for promoting true piety and public peace.

[*K*] *As accurate and ſolid a piece as ever fell from our author's pen.*] This treatiſe, though not very long, has been regarded, however, as the very corner-ſtone of this ſyſtem of Divinity, and as ſuch we find it inſerted at large in Sewell's Hiſtory of the Quakers, with ſeveral other pieces relating thereto (36). In the Engliſh edition, publiſhed by our author, the title at large ran thus: 'The Poſſibility and Neceſſity of inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, towards the Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved in a Letter written in Latin to a Perſon of Quality in Holland, and now alſo put into Engliſh by R. B.' His preface before this piece, though very conciſe, contains many cloſe and weighty obſervations altogether out of the common road, and which ſhew that its author had read and ſtudied what had been advanced on this ſubject by all parties; and the deciſion, as to the rule of faith ſet up by the Papiſts on one hand, and by the Proteſtants on the other, is very well worthy of notice. 'It is, ſays he, a queſtion now frequently toſſed, *What is the ground and foundation of Faith?* and when the matter is ſifted to the bottom, it reſolves in *Tradition* or *Revelation:* For thoſe who lay claim to the *Scripture*, and would not make it the *foundation* of their *faith*, do reſolve it but in a *Tradition*, when the motives of *credibility* are inquired into, *ſince* the *ſubjective Revelation* which they yield comes but in the laſt place, and is by themſelves termed *medium incognitum aſſentiendi*; and ſuch a *Revelation* thoſe of *Rome* will not refuſe to influence them to aſſent to the *determination* of the *Church*. So thoſe *Proteſtants*, who ſay *the ſubjective operation of the Spirit influences them (though they know not how) to believe the Scripture, preſented, and conveyed to them by* Tradition, *as the* dictates *of God's* Spirit, *and ſo underſtand them as their* Preachers interpret *them*; differ not much, or at leaſt, have not reaſon to differ from the *Church* of *Rome*, who ſay, *the Spirit influences them to believe the Scriptures* as propoſed *by the* Church, *and according as her* Doctors *and* Councils *interpret them*. And neither has any better foundation than *Tradition*, and to ſpeak the truth plainly, the faith of both reſolves in the *veneration* they have for their *Doctors*; but whereas the one affirms they do it by an *entire ſubmiſſion*, they think it decent to ſay, *they judge them infallible*, and certainly, it is moſt reaſonable, that ſuch as affirm the *firſt*, believe in the *laſt*. The other, becauſe they pretend they *believe the Church, but continually have denied to her*, infallibility, though generally they be as credulous as the other; and I find the *Doctors* of their *Church* as angry to be *contradicted* as the other. That is an *ingredient* goes to the *compoſition* of all *Clergymen* ſince it became a trade, and went to make a part of the *outward policy* of the world, from whence has flowed that monſter *Perſecution*. In ſhort, the matter is eaſily driven into this narrow compaſs: we believe either becauſe of an *outward* or *inward teſtimony*, that is, becauſe it is outwardly delivered, or inwardly revealed to us. For my part, I think the *Papiſts* do wiſely in pleading for *infallibility*, for certainly the *true Church* never was nor can be without it; and the *Proteſtants* do honeſtly in *not claiming it*, becauſe they are ſenſible they *want it*. I ſhould therefore deſire the one to prove *that they are infallible*; and adviſe the other to believe *they may*, and ſeek after it. But I am ſure neither the one is, nor the other cannot, without *immediate divine revelation*.'

(36) See that Hiſtory, p. 536.

[*L*] *With ſome ſpecimens of which the reader will not be offended.*] There were, I conceive, many good

 reaſons,

profound eſteem and general approbation: he received the like while living, and his memory has, ſince his death, been treated with the ſame candour, by thoſe who differed from him in ſentiments, and even by ſuch as deſerted thoſe in which he lived and died; as the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page, though a few inſtances only are there mentioned, out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe (*u*) [*M*]. His

(*u*) See Sewell's and Croeſe's Hiſtories of the Quakers, as before cited.

reaſons, eſpecially at this juncture, for prefixing teſtimonies of this nature, to the books of men of this profeſſion: for *firſt*, they ſhewed that ſuch men died, as well as lived in that communion, and truſted in their laſt moments to that faith they had preached while living. *Next* it ſhewed the union and conformity of the doctrines preached by the deceaſed to thoſe of that body of men, the heads of whom gave under their hands their approbations: and thirdly, it ſecured many remarkable paſſages of their lives from oblivion, and eſtabliſhed the truth of ſuch facts beyond all queſtion or altercation. In the preſent caſe, we find at the end of the large Preface to our author's works, a general atteſtation, dated at London, September 16, 1691, and ſigned by ſeven of the moſt eminent perſons of that perſuaſion. Of theſe the firſt is that of *George Fox*, the father of this ſect, who ſpeaks thus of him: 'He was, ſays he, a ſcholar, and a man 'of great parts, and underwent many calumnies, 'ſlanders, and reproaches, and ſufferings, for the name 'of Chriſt, but the Lord gave him power over them 'all. He travelled often up and down Scotland, 'and in England, and in Holland, and Germany, 'and did good ſervice for the Lord, and was a man 'of repute among men, and preached the ever-'laſting goſpel of Chriſt freely, turning people from 'darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto 'God.' The next teſtimony to the memory of Robert Barclay, is by his faithful friend *William Penn*, who gives a large account both of his life and writings, with which no man was better acquainted, and therefore, the greater regard ought to be had to what he delivers as to the character of the deceaſed, which take in his own words: 'We ſometimes travelled to-'gether, both in this kingdom and in Holland, and 'ſome parts of Germany, and were inward in diverſe 'ſervices from firſt to laſt, and the apprehenſion I had 'of him was this, he loved the truth and way of 'God, as revealed among us above all the world, and 'was not aſhamed of it before men, but bold and 'able in maintaining it, ſound in judgment, ſtrong in 'argument, chearful in travels and ſufferings, of a 'pleaſant diſpoſition, yet ſolid, plain, and exemplary 'in his converſation. He was a learned man and a 'good Chriſtian, an able Miniſter, a dutiful ſon, and 'a loving huſband, a tender and careful father, an 'eaſy maſter, and a good and kind neighbour and 'friend. Theſe eminent qualities in one that had em-'ployed them ſo ſerviceably, and that had not lived 'much above half the life of a man (having out-lived 'his father but few years, and died at leaſt thirty 'years ſhort of his age), aggravates the loſs of him, 'eſpecially in that nation where he lived.' To add but one more, *Andrew Jaffray*, who had lived with him in all the ſtrictneſs of private friendſhip, as well as a member in the ſame ſociety, and himſelf reputed as honeſt and upright a man as any in his country, ſpeaks of him in theſe terms: 'He was an exemplary 'huſband, parent, and maſter in his family; ſo that 'the beauty, good order, holineſs, gravity, and low-'lineſs of the truth ſhined therein, I can ſay to my 'refreſhment, and many others as in a quiet habita-'tion. He was a man of great meekneſs, ſweetneſs, 'and lowlineſs of ſpirit, and of ſuch a bearing con-'tented mind, that though a man of ſuch great parts 'and great authority over evil, in his ſervants, and 'others, yet kept in ſuch a dominion over any 'thing that would have diſordered his own ſpi-'rit, that I can truly ſay, I never ſaw him in any 'peeviſh, angry, brittle, or diſorderly temper, ſince 'ever I knew him, though I had as much intimacy, and 'frequency of concerns with him as moſt thereaway: 'he was ſo far from being lifted up or exalted, by the 'great gifts he had received from his Maker, both in 'truth, and as a man, that I can ſay I have often de-'ſired to grow in the plain, downright, humble, and 'lowly ſpirit, wherein he became as weak with the 'weakeſt, and poor with the pooreſt, and low with 'the loweſt, as well as he could be deep with thoſe 'that were deep, ſo that in a good meaſure he had 'learned to become all things, to all men, with a 'true and upright endeavour to gain ſome.' We may join to theſe the teſtimony of the Hiſtorian, *William Sewell*, an eminent Dutch Quaker, though of Engliſh extraction, the rather, ſince he did not write from hearſay, or with a view of raiſing the credit of one of the moſt eminent defenders of his religious ſentiments, but from his perſonal knowledge, and full perſuaſion from thence of the truth of what he writes. The character he gives him runs thus (37): 'A man of 'eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not 'only in the languages of the learned, but alſo well 'verſed in the writings of the ancient Fathers, and 'other eccleſiaſtical writers, and furniſhed with a great 'underſtanding, being not only of a ſound judgment, 'but alſo ſtrong in arguments, chearful in ſufferings: 'beſides, he was of a friendly and pleaſant, yet grave 'converſation, and eminently fitted for the compoſing 'of differences; and he really lived up to what he 'profeſſed, being of an unblameable deportment, 'truly pious, and well beloved of thoſe he converſed 'with.'

(37) Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 627, 628.

[*M*] *Out of a multitude that might have been alledged to the ſame purpoſe.*] In that learned, candid, and copious Hiſtory of the Quakers, written in Latin by *Gerard Croeſe* (38), who was, however, far enough from agreeing with them in opinions, our author and his writings are very often mentioned, and always applauded. The author of the Hiſtory of the Quakers in French, who is ſuppoſed to be a very learned Jeſuit, gives our author a very high character, and ſpeaks of his book as written with the greateſt elegance, his language being, as he ſays, perfectly pure, and his manner of writing cloſe, preciſe, and carrying in it a ſtrong appearance of truth and reaſon (39). Mr. *Jeremiah Jones*, though a very warm writer, is diſpoſed to think very kindly of our author, and acknowledges him a man unqueſtionably of a good genius (40). Mr. *Geo. Keith*, who left the Quakers, and wrote againſt that very book of Barclay's which himſelf had ſo ſtrenuouſly defended, allows, nevertheleſs, that he ought to be placed amongſt ſuch erring Chriſtians, as cannot be denied to be in Chriſt (41). But the famous Mr. *Norris* of Bemerton goes much farther; for he tells us, that he cannot help thinking, the ſect of the Quakers to be far the moſt conſiderable of any that divide from the Church, in caſe the Quakeriſm that is generally held be the ſame with that which Mr. Barclay has delivered to the world, whom I take, ſays he, to be ſo great a man, that, I profeſs freely, I had rather engage againſt an hundred Bellarmins, Hardings, and Stapletons, than with one Barclay (42). Mr. *Bennett*, who is by many thought to have written as well againſt the Quakers as any (43), ſpeaks with great deference of our author's abilities, expreſſed in the defence of theſe people, and ſays, he employed them in dreſſing up their religion to the beſt advantage. The celebrated Mr. *Voltaire* (44), ſpeaking of the Apology, allows, that it is a work as well executed as the ſubject would poſſibly admit. And laſt of all Mr. *Trenchard* (45), whom we have before mentioned, aſſerts, with reſpect to the ſame book, that Mr. Barclay has defended his opinions with as much wit, happy turn, and maſtery of expreſſion, as is conſiſtent with the plainneſs and ſimplicity affected by thoſe of his ſect, and for the moſt part uſed in the Holy Writings. Thus it clearly appears from the concurring judgments of friends, of enemies, and of indifferent perſons, that our author was both a great and a good man; which is ſufficient to juſtify the pains taken in this article to preſerve his memory, and to repreſent him, as far as we are able, in the light which his learning and labours have ſo well deſerved. C.

(38) See the Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 150, 151. P. ii. p. 35. 90.

(39) Hiſtoire des Trembleurs, p. 151.

(40) New and Full Method of ſettling the Canonical Authority of the New Teſtament, Vol. ii. p. 489.

(41) Quakers Standard examined, p. 405.

(42) Second Treatiſe of the Light within, p. 32.

(43) See the note [*F*].

(44) Letters on the Engliſh nation, p. 22.

(45) Britiſh Journal, No. XXXI.

[In the year 1740, was publiſhed, at Aberdeen, a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, 'A Genealogical Account 'of the Barclays of Urie, formerly of Mathers; ex-'tracted from ancient Regiſters, and authentic Docu-'ments. Together with Memoirs of the Life of Co-'lonel David Barclay of Urie, and of his eldeſt Son, 'the late Robert Barclay of Urie. Collected for the

'Informa-

His character being given ſo fully in theſe paſſages, there is no need of expatiating farther on it here.

'Information and Uſe of their Poſterity.' This pamphlet, which, though anonymous, appears to have been written from the beſt information, traces the family from towards the beginning of the twelfth century, and mentions twenty-one perſons, who may ſucceſſively be conſidered as having been the heads of it, down to Robert Barclay of Urie, great-grandſon to the ſubject of the preſent article. From the account it is evident, that the Barclays are not only a very ancient, but a very honourable family; having been connected, by alliances and intermarriages, with the moſt noble and illuſtrious houſes in Scotland. Their original name, which was de Berkley, was changed into the manner in which it is now, and hath ever ſince been ſpelt, by Alexander Barclay, who lived in the fifteenth century. To this Alexander Barclay, who was reputed a ſcholar, and ſomething of a poet, are aſcribed the following verſes, made by a Laird of Mathers, and given as advice to his ſon and ſucceſſors:

'Giff thou deſire thy houſe lang ſtand,
'And thy ſucceſſors bruik thy land;
'Abive all things lief God in fear:
'Intromit nought with wrangous gear:
'Nor conqueſs nothing wrangouſly:
'With thy neighbour keep charity.
'See that thou paſs not thy eſtate:
'Obey duly thy Magiſtrate.
'Oppreſs not, but ſupport the puire:
'To help the common-weill take cuire.
'Uſe no deceit: mell not with treaſon:
'And to all men do right and reaſon.
'Both unto word and deed be true:
'All kind of wickedneſs eſchew.
'Slay no man, nor thereto conſent:
'Be nought cruel, but patient.
'Allya ay in ſome good place,
'With noble, honeſt, godly race:
'Hate huirdome, and all vices flee:
'Be humble, haunt guid companie.
'Help thy friend, and do nae wrang,
'And God ſhall cauſe thy houſe ſtand lang.'

David, the father of Colonel David Barclay of Urie, for want of attending to ſome part of this excellent advice of his anceſtor, was brought into ſuch difficulties, that he was obliged to ſell, firſt the eſtate of Mathers, and then the old eſtate of the family, after the former had been in their poſſeſſion nearly three hundred, and the latter upwards of five hundred, years.

Colonel David Barclay, who purchaſed the eſtate of Urie in 1648, entered, when young, a volunteer into the Swediſh army, under Guſtavus Adolphus King of Sweden. In this army he ſerved till he was made a Major. Upon the breaking out of the civil war in his own country, he was called home by his relations, and ſoon obtained a regiment of horſe. In his military operations, and in friendſhip, he was intimately connected with Major General Middleton. A falſe and malicious report has been ſpread, that Colonel David Barclay ſerved under Oliver Cromwell againſt the King: whereas he was deprived of his regiment, at Oliver's inſtance, for having been engaged in the deſign of the Duke of Hamilton to relieve his Majeſty, when a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight. From this time, the Colonel was never concerned in any military tranſactions. He was afterwards choſen a Member of Parliament, firſt for the county of Sutherland, and then twice for the ſhires of Angus and Mearns. While he was in this ſituation, he vigorouſly oppoſed, and voted againſt, Cromwell's being made King. Notwithſtanding Colonel Barclay's loyalty, and his having ſuffered in the cauſe of Charles the Firſt, he was, about the year 1663, at the inſtigation of ſome malicious perſons, committed cloſe priſoner, by order of the government, to the Caſtle of Edinburgh. This event, as his attachment to royalty was ſo well known, was very unintelligible, and occaſioned a general ſurpriſe. Whatever was the cauſe of his commitment, he owed his deliverance to the ſtrong interpoſition of his old and never failing friend, General, and then Earl of Middleton, his Majeſty's Commiſſioner to the Parliament; and he was ſet at liberty without any thing having been laid to his charge, or any reaſon given for his confinement. In the tract before us, a great, and, we doubt not, a juſt character is drawn of Colonel David Barclay.

Robert Barclay is ſaid, in the preceding article, to have been born at Edinburgh. But, according to the pamphlet juſt referred to, Collier and Penn, upon whoſe teſtimony this aſſertion is founded, wrote from miſinformation. Our Apologiſt, who was the eldeſt ſon of Colonel David Barclay, was born at Gordonſtoun, in the ſhire of Murray, December 23d, 1648. Gordonſtoun was the place to which the Colonel retired, and where he lived for ſeveral years, after he had quitted the army. We are aſſured, on the ſame authority, that Robert Barclay was not, when at Paris for education, drawn over, by his uncle, to the Romiſh religion. On the contrary, though he was promiſed by his uncle, that, if he would ſtay with him, he would purchaſe and give him a greater eſtate than his father's, he withſtood all his ſolicitations. When, in the year 1676, upon his return from a viſit to Holland and Germany, he heard, at London, that his father and other friends were impriſoned at Aberdeen, he preſented, with his own hand, an addreſs, in their behalf, to Charles the Second; a favourable reference to which the King cauſed his Secretary, the Duke of Lauderdale, to underwrite in theſe words:

'His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to refer this
'paper to the Right Honourable the Lords of his
'Majeſty's Privy Council of Scotland.
Whitehall,
Aug. 7th, 1676. (Signed) 'LAUDERDALE.'

Upon this, Colonel Barclay and the reſt were ſet at liberty. However, the next year, Robert Barclay, his father, and a number of Quakers, were committed upon the old pretence of their religion. All the favour the two Barclays obtained was, to be put into a better priſon than their brethren. As Sharp, Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was a great inſtrument in the perſecution of the Quakers, Robert Barclay, while under confinement, wrote an excellent letter to that Prelate, which, if it were not too long, and if ſimilar obſervations had not before occurred, we ſhould with pleaſure have inſerted. This was the laſt time of our Apologiſt's being impriſoned; and, by his intereſt at court, he was frequently uſeful in preventing, ſoftening, or removing the ſeverities exerciſed againſt his religious friends. He had a zealous patron in Elizabeth, Princeſs Palatine of the Rhine. This Lady, who had a high regard both for him and all the Quakers, carried on a frequent correſpondence with him, and many of her letters are ſtill preſerved in the Barclay family. Two of her letters to Robert Barclay, beſides one which ſhe ſent to her brother Prince Rupert, intreating him to uſe his intereſt for putting a ſtop to the perſecution of the Quakers, and one from Barclay to *her*, written with a ſingular ſpirit of piety and ſimplicity, are printed in the tract before mentioned. About the year 1679, Mr. Barclay obtained a Charter, under the Great Seal, from King Charles the Second, erecting his lands of *Urie* into a free Barony, with a civil and criminal juriſdiction to him and his heirs for ever. This Charter was afterwards ratified by Act of Parliament, by James the Seventh of Scotland, and ſecond of England, 'for the many faithful ſervices done by Co-
'lonel David Barclay, and his ſon, the ſaid Robert
'Barclay, to the King and his moſt royal progenitors
'in times paſt.' In 1680, Mr. Barclay being called to Edinburgh by ſome law buſineſs, or private concerns, it appears, by letters to him from the Duke of York and the Earl of Perth, that he had their recommendation and ſupport in the tranſacting of his affairs. In 1682, he was elected Governor of *Eaſt Jerſey*, by the proprietors of that province. And, to induce him to accept of the office, he was made a joint-proprietor, with a power of beſtowing five thouſand acres more, as he ſhould think fit. Upon account of his peculiar merit, the government was to be held for life, though no other Governor after him was to be continued lon-

ger than three years. He had, likewiſe, a power of appointing a Deputy Governor, which he accordingly did. He never went to Eaſt Jerſey himſelf; but his brother John ſettled there, and his brother David, a youth of great hopes, who had gone out with the ſame intention, died upon his voyage. As Robert Barclay, in 1683, was returning from London to Scotland with ſome friends, they were attacked, between Huntington and Stilton, by a party of robbers. One of the highwaymen pointing a piſtol to Mr. Barclay's breaſt, he took him by the arm, and calmly aſked him, How he came to be ſo rude, for he knew his buſineſs? Upon this, the fellow, trembling, dropt the piſtol out of his hand, in great ſurprize, upon the ground; and, while the reſt of the company were rifled, did not ſo much as ſearch, or demand any thing from Robert Barclay. In 1687, and in 1688, we find our Apologiſt again at London. His journeys, which were frequent, were uſually taken for the benefit, and at the earneſt requeſt of his friends the Quakers, who ſtood in need of his intereſt at Court, to ſcreen them from perſecution. Robert Barclay, like William Penn, appears to have had a conſiderable attachment to King James the Second. He was much concerned for that Prince's misfortunes, and held ſeveral diſcourſes with him upon the poſture of his affairs in 1688, and about the methods which might be proper to ſettle the impending differences. Suitable reſolutions were ſometimes taken; but, one way or other, they were prevented from being carried into execution. At their laſt parting, as Mr. Barclay was ſtanding alone with the King in a window, his Majeſty, looking out, ſaid, 'That 'the wind was now fair for the Prince of Orange's 'coming over:' upon which, Mr. Barclay took occaſion to obſerve, that 'it was hard no expedient 'could be found out to ſatisfy the people.' To this the King replied, that 'He would do any thing be-'coming a Gentleman, except to part with liberty 'of conſcience, which he never would, while he 'lived.'

A Scots Poet, writing of the two famous Barclays, William and John, hath concluded with theſe verſes upon Robert:

'But lo! a third appears, with ſerious air;
'His Prince's darling, and his country's care.
'See his religion, which ſo late before
'Was like a jumbled maſs of droſs and ore,
'Refin'd by him, and burniſh'd o'er with art,
'Awakes the ſpirits and attracts the heart.'

After Mr. Barclay's deceaſe, his widow received many letters of condolement, not only from friends of his own religious perſuaſion, but from other perſons of rank and character. He left ſeven children, all of whom were alive in October 1740, fifty years after their father's death. There were living, at the ſame time, between fifty and ſixty grandchildren and great-grandchildren; ſo that his deſcendants, taken together, then amounted to between ſixty and ſeventy (46).] K.

(46) See *paſſim*, the pamphlet before mentioned, which has been obligingly put into our hands by Mr. Reed of Staples Inn.

BARKHAM, or BARCHAM (JOHN), a very learned Divine and Antiquarian, in the end of the XVIth, and part of the XVIIth century, was born in the pariſh of St. Mary the More, in the city of Exeter, about the year 1572 (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of Lawrence Barkham, of St. Leonard's, near that city [*A*]; by Joan his wife, daughter of Edward Bridgeman of Exeter, a near relation of John Bridgeman, Biſhop of Cheſter. In Michaelmas Term, 1587, he was entered a Sojourner of Exeter-college in Oxford; and on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the year following, admitted Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the ſame Univerſity (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, February 5, 1590-1 (*c*), and that of Maſter, December 12, 1594 (*d*). On the twenty-firſt of June, 1596, he was choſen Probationer-Fellow of Corpus Chriſti-college above mentioned; being then in orders (*e*): And July 7, 1603, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*f*). Some time after, he became Chaplain to Ric. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, after his death, to George Abbot, his ſucceſſor in that ſee (*g*). On the eleventh of June, 1608, he was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middleſex (*h*); and on the thirty-firſt of October, 1610, to the prebend of Brownſwood, in the cathedral of St. Paul's (*i*): moreover, on the twenty-ninth of March, 1615, to the rectory of Packleſham (*k*); the twenty-ſeventh of May following to the rectory of Lachingdon (*l*); and, the fifth of December, 1616, to the rectory and deanry of Bocking, all in the county of Eſſex (*m*). But, in 1617, he reſigned Packleſham (*n*); as he had done Finchley, in 1615 (*o*). The fourteenth of March, 1615, he was created Doctor in Divinity (*p*). He had great ſkill and knowledge in moſt parts of uſeful learning; being an exact Hiſtorian, a good Herald, an able Divine, a curious Critic, maſter of ſeveral languages, an excellent Antiquarian, and well acquainted with coins and medals, of which he had the beſt collection of any Clergyman in his time. Theſe he gave to Dr. Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who made a preſent of them to the Univerſity of Oxford; and they are to this day kept in the picture-gallery, over the public ſchools there (*q*). Dr. Barkham wrote ſeveral pieces [*B*], but never put his name to any. He died at Bocking, March 25, 1642, and was buried in the chancel of that church, without a monument.

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, &c. by J. Prince, edit. Exeter, 1701, fol. p. 101.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 19.

(*c*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 139.

(*d*) *Ibid.* col. 148.

(*e*) *Idem* Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Idem*. Faſti, col. 165.

(*g*) *Idem*. Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſtic. &c. Vol. i. p 605.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 123.

(*k*) *Idem*, Vol. i. p. 459.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 355.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 68, 69.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 459.

(*o*) *Idem*, Vol. i. p. 605.

(*p*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 200.

(*q*) *Idem*. Athen. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *The ſecond ſon of* Laurence Barkham, &c.] This *Laurence* was the ſon of William Barkham of Merefield in Dorſetſhire, where his anceſtors had reſided for above three generations (1). Laurence, above mentioned, was Steward of the city of Exeter in 1576 (2).

(1) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 19.
(2) Prince, as above.

[*B*] *Dr.* Barkham *wrote ſeveral pieces.*] He was, in particular, very helpful to John Speed, in compoſing his *Hiſtory of Great Britaine*, &c. as that author thankfully acknowledges, in the following words (3): 'The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of bookes 'and collections (eſpecially in matters remoter from 'our own times), I continually received from that 'worthy Divine, Mr. *John Barkham*, a gentleman 'compoſed of *learning*, *vertue*, and *curteſie*, as being 'no leſſe ingenuouſly willing, then learnedly able, to 'advance and forward all vertuous endevours.' What part eſpecially of that hiſtory Dr. Barkham compoſed, was, I. *The Life and Reign of King* John; which ſheweth more reading and judgment than any life beſides in that book (4). II. He wrote, or at leaſt had a chief hand in compoſing, *The Life and Reign of King* Henry II., *in the ſame hiſtory* (5). III. He is likewiſe the author of *The Diſplay of Heraldry*, &c. firſt publiſhed at London in 1610, Fol. under the name of *John Guillim*; being the beſt in that kind for method that ever was printed before. The learned author having moſtly compoſed it in his younger years, thought it too light a ſubject for him (who was a grave Divine) to own. Therefore, being well acquainted with *John Guillim*, an Herald, he gave him the copy; who adding ſome trivial things publiſhed it, with the author's leave, under his own name; and it goeth to this day under the name of *Guillim's Heraldry* (6): IV. He publiſhed Mr. Ric. Crakanthorpe's book againſt the Archbiſhop of Spalato, intitled, *Defenſio Eccleſiæ*

(3) In the ſummary Concluſion of his *Hiſtory*, &c. the laſt page but one.

(4) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra. Which is the King of all the Reigns in that book for profound penning: as Fuller expreſſes it, *ubi ſupra*.
(5) See in the article BOULTON (EDMOND).
(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 19, & Vol. i. col. 459. Fuller ſays that Guillim 'was 'much beholden 'to this Doctor's 'emendations.' Ubi ſupra.

monument. He was a man of ſtrict life and converſation, charitable, modeſt, and reſerved in his behaviour and diſcourſe; but, above all, remarkable for thoſe good qualities which become a Clergyman (*r*). By his wife, Anne Rogers, of Sandwich in Kent, he had ſeveral children (*s*).

(*r*) *Ibid.* See alſo Prince, as above; and Fuller's Worthies, in Exeter, p. 276.

(*s*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatenſis injurias. Lond. 1625, 4*to*, with a learned Preface of his own. V. He wrote 'A Book 'concerning Coins;' never publiſhed. He was a great maſter of that ſubject; being, as Fuller expreſſes it (7), 'A greater lover of *coins* than of *money*, rather curious in the *ſtamps*, than covetous for the *metal* 'thereof.' M.

(7) Worthies, ubi ſupra.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM), a learned Biſhop in the XVIth century, was at firſt a Monk in the Auguſtin-monaſtery of St. Oſith in Eſſex. There he was educated in learning, and at Oxford, where the religious of that Order had an abbey and a priory; and, arriving to a competent knowledge of Divinity, was made Doctor in that faculty (*a*). He was afterwards Prior of the Canons of his order at Biſham in Berkſhire, and by that title was ſent on an embaſſy to Scotland, in 1535 (*b*). At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he readily reſigned his houſe (*c*) [*A*], and prevailed upon many Abbots and Priors to do the like (*d*). Having by this means ingratiated himſelf with the King, he was appointed Biſhop of St. Aſaph; and the temporalities being delivered to him on the ſecond of February, 1535 (*e*), he was conſecrated the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month (*f*). Thence he was tranſlated to St. Davids, in April 1536 (*g*), where he formed the project of removing the epiſcopal See to Caermardhyn, as being more in the midſt of the dioceſe, but without ſucceſs. In 1547 he was tranſlated to Bath and Wells [*B*]; but being a zealous profeſſor and preacher of the Proteſtant religion, he was, in 1553, upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, deprived of his Biſhoprick, on pretence of his being married (*h*). He was, likewiſe, committed to the Fleet, where he continued priſoner for ſome time: at length, finding means to eſcape, he retired, with many others, into Germany, and there lived in a poor condition, till Queen Elizabeth's happy inauguration (*i*). Returning then to his native country, he was not reſtored to his See (*k*), but advanced to the Biſhoprick of Chicheſter, in December 1559 (*l*); and, the next year, was made the firſt Prebendary of the firſt ſtall in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter, founded by Queen Elizabeth; which dignity he held five years with his Biſhoprick (*m*). This learned Biſhop wrote ſome things, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*C*]. He died in Auguſt, 1568, and was buried in Chicheſter cathedral (*n*). What is moſt particularly remarkable concerning him, is, that by his wife Agatha Welleſbourne he had five daughters, who were all married to Biſhops, namely, 1, Anne, married firſt to Auſtin Bradbridge, and afterwards to Herbert Weſtphaling, Biſhop of Hereford. 2. Elizabeth, wife of William Day, Dean of Windſor, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter. 3. Margaret, wife of William Overton, Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry. 4. Frances, married firſt to Matthew Parker, younger ſon of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and

(*a*) Bale, Script. Britan. Cent. IX. n. 41. and Wood, Athenæ, Vol. i. col. 156. edit. 1721.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.* and col. 670.

(*c*) Acta Regia, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, Vol. xiv.

(*d*) Wood, *ibid.* col. 156.

(*e*) Pat. 27 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(*f*) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, p. 663.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 614.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*k*) *Idem.* col. 699.

(*l*) Godwin de Præſulibus, &c. p. 562. He was confirmed in that See, Dec. 20.

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 156.

(*n*) *Idem*, col. 157.

[*A*] *At the diſſolution of the monaſteries, he readily reſigned his houſe.*] A. Wood ſays (1), that 'About 'the time of the diſſolution of his Priory, he was 'elected to the epiſcopal ſee of St. Aſaph.' But he was certainly made Biſhop in 1535, and the reſignation of that houſe, as inſerted in Rymer's Acta Regia, &c. (2), bears date June 9, 1539. So that there muſt be a miſtake ſomewhere. Perhaps Barlowe reſigned, or quitted his priory in 1535, and another (a formal) reſignation of it was made in 1539: Or elſe, probably, that reſignation is miſplaced in the confuſed and ill-digeſted collection, publiſhed under T. Rymer's name.

(1) Athenæ, Vol. i. col. 156.

(2) Vol. xiv.

[*B*] *He was tranſlated to Bath and Wells.*] Of which he alienated moſt of the revenues. See Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. by Sir John Harrington, p. 106, &c.

[*C*] *This learned Biſhop wrote ſome things*, &c.] Namely, I. Chriſtian Homilies. II. Coſmography. III. He was one of thoſe Biſhops who compiled, *The godly and pious Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, commonly called, *The Biſhop's Book*. Printed at London, 1537. IV. There is in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation (3), 'His Anſwers to certain 'Queries concerning the Abuſes of the Maſs.' V. In Edward the VIth's reign, he is ſaid to have tranſlated into Engliſh *the Apocrypha*, as far as the book of Wiſdom (4). We ſhould have obſerved above, That he was employed by King Henry VIII., particularly in the great cauſe between that King and the Pope about his divorce; and was greatly in favour with the Lady Anne Boleyn (5). M.

(3) Vol. ii. Collect. of Records, No. 25.

(4) A. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157. Bale, ubi ſupra.

(5) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. i. 2d edit. p. 552.

[According to Tanner, Biſhop Barlow was deſcended of the ancient family of the Barlows in Wales, and was born in the county of Eſſex. He was honoured, at Oxford, with the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Beſides the work ſpecified above, he wrote, *A Dialogue deſcribing theſe Lutheran Factions, and many of their Abuſes* (the ſecond edition of which was printed at London, 1553), and ſome pieces mentioned in the following letter to King Henry the Eighth, which ſhews that our author had not in him the ſpirit of a Martyr: 'Prayſe be to God, who of his infy-'nyte goodneſs and mercy ineſtymable hath brought 'me out of darkneſs into light, and from deadly 'ignorance unto the quick knowledge of the truth. 'From the whiche, through the fiend's inſtigation and 'falſe perſuaſion, I have greatly ſwerved. Inſomuch 'that I have made certayn bokes, and have ſoffred 'theym to be emprinted: As the Treatiſe of *The 'Buryall of the Maſſe: A Dialogue betwene the Gen-'tilman and the Huſbandman: The climing up of Fryers 'and religious Perſons portred with Figures: A De-'ſcription of God's Word compared to the Light:* Alſo 'a co-*Dialogue* without any title, inveying eſpecially 'againſt St. Thomas of Canterbury, which as yet 'was never prynted, nor publiſhed openly. In theſe 'tretiſes I perceive and acknowledge myſelf gre-'vouſly to have erred, namely againſt the bl. Sacra-'ment of the Altare; diſallowing the Maſſe, and 'denying Purgatory, with ſlanderous infamy of the 'Pope, and Mylord Cardinal, and outragious rayl-'ing againſt the Clergy, which I have forſaken and 'utterly renounced ——— aſkes pardon.

'WILLIAM BARLO.'

The preceding letter, which is in the Cotton Library, was written in 1533. It appears that Barlow, early in life, was a favourer of the Proteſtant religion, and went into Germany that he might have an opportunity of hearing Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius and others (6).] K.

(6) Tanner's Bibliotheca Br. Hib. p. 75, 76.

afterwards to Toby Matthew, Archbiſhop of York. 5. Antonia, wife of William Wickham, Biſhop of Wincheſter. He had alſo a ſon, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article (*o*); and five more of whom nothing memorable is recorded (*p*).

(*o*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 157.

(*p*) MS. note of Mr. Strype.

BARLOWE (WILLIAM), ſon of the former, was born in Pembrokeſhire while his father was Biſhop of St. Davids (*a*). In 1560 he became a member of Baliol-college, and, four years after, took a degree in Arts; which being completed by determination, he left the Univerſity, and, travelling, became very well ſkilled in Navigation. About the year 1573, he entered into Orders, and was made Prebendary of Wincheſter, and Rector of Eaſton, near that city. On December the 14th, 1588, he was admitted Prebendary of Collwich, in the cathedral of Litchfield, which he quitted for the place of Treaſurer in the ſame church, and was inſtalled in it October 17, 1589 (*). Afterwards, he became Chaplain to Prince Henry, and at length Archdeacon of Saliſbury: to which laſt he was collated the 12th of March, 1614 (*b*). He is memorable for being the firſt that wrote on the nature and properties of the loadſtone, even twenty years before Doctor William Gilbert publiſhed his book on that ſubject: and was accounted ſuperior, or at leaſt equal to him, for his induſtry in ſearching, and happineſs in finding out, many uncommon magnetical ſecrets. He was the firſt that made the inclinatory inſtrument tranſparent, and to be uſed hanging, with a glaſs on both ſides, and a ring at the top; whereas Dr. Gilbert's hath it but of one ſide, and to be ſet on a foot. Moreover, he hanged it in compaſs-box, where, with two ounces weight, it was made fit for uſe at ſea. He was, likewiſe, the firſt that found out the difference between iron and ſteel, and their tempers, for magnetical uſes. He alſo firſt ſhewed the right way of touching magnetical needles (*c*): And was the firſt that invented the piecing and cementing of loadſtones. Finally, he was the firſt that ſhewed the reaſons, why a loadſtone being double-capped, muſt take up ſo great weight (*d*). On theſe ſubjects he wrote books, of which there is an account in note [*A*]. This ingenious perſon died the 25th of May, 1625, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton [*B*].

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. col. 495.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. i. p. 411. 430.

(*c*) See Magnetical Experiments, by W. Derham, A. M. in Philoſophic. Tranſact. n. 303, p. 2138, &c.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *On theſe ſubjects he wrote books*, &c.] They are as follows, 'I. The Navigator's Supply; containing may things of principal importance belonging to Navigation, with the deſcription and uſe of divers inſtruments framed chiefly for that purpoſe, &c. Lond. 1597, 4*to*. Dedicated to Robert Earl of Eſſex. II. Magnetical Advertiſement; or divers pertinent obſervations and approved experiments concerning the nature and properties of the Loadſtone, &c. Lond. 1616, 4*to*.' Some animadverſions were made upon this book, by Mark Ridley, a Cantabrigian, M. D. ſome time Phyſician to the Engliſh Merchants in Ruſſia, afterwards chief Phyſician to the Czar, and one of the College of Phyſicians in London; whereupon Mr. Barlowe publiſhed, in vindication of himſelf, 'III. A brief diſcovery of the idle animadverſions of Mark Ridley, Doct. in Phyſic, upon a treatiſe, entitled, Magnetical Advertiſement. '——Lond. 1618, 4*to*. (1)'

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 495, Vol. i.

[*B*] *Was buried in the chancel of the church of Eaſton.*] And the following epitaph was, ſoon after, put over his grave: *Depoſitum Gulielmi Barlowe, Archdiaconi Sariſburienſis, Prebendarii Eccleſiæ Cath. Winton, & Rectoris Eccleſiæ de Eaſton; qui cum ſedulam per annos* 52 *ædificationi corporis Chriſti navaſſet operam, ad meliorem Vitam migravit, Maii* 25, *Anno Domini* 1625; *i. e.* 'Here lie the remains of William Barlowe, Archdeacon of Sarum, Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Wincheſter, and Rector of Eaſton; who, having for two and fifty years, diligently applied himſelf to the edifying of the body of Chriſt, paſſed into a better life, May the 25th in the year of our Lord 1625 (2).' M.

(2) Wood, *ibid.*

BARLOW (THOMAS), a very learned Divine, and Biſhop, in the XVIIth century (of whom Mr. Bayle hath given an imperfect account), was born at Langhill, in the pariſh of Orton, in Weſtmoreland, in the year 1607; being the ſon of Mr. Richard Barlow, deſcended from the ancient family of Barlow-moore in Lancaſhire (*a*). He had his firſt education at the free-ſchool at Appleby, in his own country (*b*). From thence being removed, in the ſixteenth year of his age, to Queen's-college in Oxford, he took there the degrees in Arts (*c*), that of Maſter being completed the 27th of June, 1633 (*d*), and the ſame year was choſen Fellow of his college (*e*). In 1635 he was appointed Metaphyſic-Reader in the Univerſity; and his lectures being much approved of, were publiſhed in 1637 for the uſe of the ſcholars [*A*]. When the garriſon of Oxford ſurrendered to the Parliament in 1646, he ſided with the perſons then in power (*f*); and, by the intereſt of Colonel Thomas Kelſey, Deputy-Governor of that garriſon, preſerved his fellowſhip [*B*],

(*a*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 122. and Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 876. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem.* Faſti, Vol. i. col. 257.

(*e*) *Idem.* Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *His lectures——were publiſhed in* 1637.] They were printed at Oxford in 4*to*. at the end of Scheibler's Metaphyſics, under the title of *Exercitationes aliquot Metaphyſicæ de Deo*; 'ſome metaphyſical Exercitations concerning God (1).' They were afterwards reprinted in 1658, &c. 4*to*. One of theſe Exercitations was tranſlated into Engliſh, by Sir Peter Pett, and inſerted in Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains (2). It is upon the famous queſtion, Whether it is better not to be at all, than to be miſerable? Durandus, an old Schoolman, maintained, That it was better to be, though in a miſerable condition, than to ceaſe to be; or, in other words, That it was better to be miſerable, than be annihilated. Dr. Barlow aſſerts the contrary. ——In the ſame book, there is an abſtract of another Exercitation (3) concerning the exiſtence of God; in which the author demonſtrates, That there is ſome knowledge of God attainable here by the light of nature.

(1) See Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 469, Lond. 1693, 8*vo*.

(2) Page 469.

(3) Page 521.

[*B*] *By the intereſt of Col. T. Kelſey——he preſerved his fellowſhip.*] Wood ſays (4), that he and others, kept their fellowſhips, by 'preſenting to Kelſey's wife certain gifts.' But it is more probable, that it was through Mr. Selden's and Dr. Owen's favour and intereſt, as we are told elſewhere (5). However, it appears from a book of his (which will be mentioned below) (6), that if he ſubmitted to the higher powers for his intereſt, he abhorred at the ſame time their practices.

(4) Athen. ubi ſupra.

(5) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 132.

(6) Pegaſus: or, the Flying Horſe from Oxford.

notwithſtanding the Parliamentary viſitation [C]. In 1652 he was elected Head-Keeper of the Bodleian Library; and, about the ſame time, was made Lecturer of Church-hill, near Burford, in Oxfordſhire (g). July the 23d, 1657, he took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity (h); and, in the latter end of the ſame year, was choſen Provoſt of his college (*), upon the death of the learned Dr. Langbaine (i). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II., he procured himſelf to be one of the Commiſſioners, appointed firſt by the Marquis of Hertford, Chancellor of the Univerſity, and afterwards by the King, for reſtoring the members which were wrongfully ejected in 1648 (k). The 2d of Auguſt, 1660, he was not only created Doctor in Divinity among the Royaliſts, but alſo choſen Margaret Profeſſor of Divinity, the firſt of September following (l), upon the ejection of Henry Wilkinſon, ſenior. He wrote, the ſame year, *The Caſe of a Toleration in Matters of Religion*, addreſſed to the famous Rob. Boyle, Eſq; [D]. In 1661, he was appointed Archdeacon of Oxford, in the room of Dr. Barten Holiday, deceaſed; but he was not inſtalled till June 13, 1664; for a conteſt aroſe between him and Dr. Tho. Lamplugh about that dignity, which, after having laſted ſome time, was at length decided in favour of Dr. Barlow, at the aſſizes held at Oxford, March 1, 1663 4 (*). Being a perſon eminent for his ſkill in the Civil and Canon Law, he was often applied to as a Caſuiſt, to reſolve caſes of conſcience, about marriage, and the like (m). And, upon ſuch an occaſion it was, that in 1671, he wrote Mr. *Cottington's Caſe of Divorce* (n), wherein is diſcuſſed the validity or nullity of his marriage, with a Lady whoſe former huſband was living: and alſo, ſome years after, another caſe of marriage, inſerted in his Genuine Remains (o). Upon the death of Dr. W. Fuller, Biſhop of Lincoln, which happened April 22, 1675, he obtained, the very ſame day, a grant of that Biſhoprick, at the recommendation of ſome of the nobility, and chiefly through the intereſt of the two Secretaries of State, Henry Coventry, Eſq; and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, both ſome time of his college, and the firſt formerly his pupil (p). The 27th of June following he was conſecrated at Ely-houſe-chapel (q). Archbiſhop Sheldon oppoſed his promotion (r), though the reaſons of it are not aſſigned. After his advancement to this See, Biſhop Barlow wrote ſeveral curious things. They were generally ſhort, and moſt of them by way of letter. The moſt conſiderable are theſe: In 1676, *The Original of Sine Cures*. Concerning *Penſions paid out of Church-Livings*. And a *Survey of the Numbers of Papiſts within the Province of Canterbury* [E]. In 1679, *A Letter concerning the Canon Law, allowing* (s) *the whipping of Hereticks* [F]. But what he moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by, was in writing againſt Popery; though herein he is charged by A. Wood with inconſiſtency. For that author tells us (t), that 'before the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, Biſhop Barlow had 'been a ſeeming friend to the Papiſts; but, after that, he became a bitter enemy to 'them, and to the Duke of York.' However, it is certain he wrote ſeveral things againſt them with great ſtrength of argument, and a prodigious variety of learning. The chief of them were, 'Popery: or, the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church of Rome, &c. 'are very dangerous to all [G].' And, 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Laws Eccleſiaſtical 'and Civil, made againſt Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, Provincial and 'General

(g) Wood, *ibid.*
(h) *Idem.* Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 116.
(*) Queen's college.
(i) *Idem.* Ath. ubi ſupra.
(k) *Ibid.*
(l) *Idem.* Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 34.
(*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(m) See Genuine Remains, p. 351.
(n) Printed among his Miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, p. 1, &c. Lond. 1692, 8vo.
(o) Page 352.
(p) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.
(q) *Ibid.*
(r) *Ibid.*
(s) Cap. cum ſortius 1. Extrav. de Calumniatoribus.
(t) Athen. col. 877.

[C] *Notwithſtanding the parliamentary viſitation.*] He publiſhed then an anonymous pamphlet, dated Oxford, April 18, 1648; and intitled *Pegaſus, or the Flying-Horſe from Oxford: Bringing the proceedings of the Viſitours and other Bedlamites there, by command of the Earle of Mongomery. Printed at Mongomery, heretofore called Oxford*; in which he gives a very ludicrous account of that viſitation. Some paſſages in it (7) are as follows: 'Tueſday, April the eleventh, 'the long-legged piece of impertinency (which they 'miſ-call Chancellor) was to bee brought with ſtate 'into Oxon: To this end, thoſe few inconſiderable, 'and ill-faced Saints, hired all the hackneyes in towne '(which were baſely bad, yet good enough for them). 'Out they went, and met the *Hoghen Moghen* I told 'you of: what courtſhip paſſed between them at 'meeting, how hee ſwore at them, and they ſaid 'grace at him; how many zealous faces and ill-legs 'they made, and at what diſtance, I know not; a 'long time they were about it.——In the mean 'time, *Tho. Smith* of Magdalen college had an excel-'lent deſigne; he would ride in with them too, and 'that he might have ſuteable accommodation, would 'needs borrow an aſſe, nay an aſſe he would have, 'and ride in next before the Chancellor, and when 'they told him it was a mad trick, he told them noe; 'for he knew there would bee many aſſes beſides 'his:'—— &c.

(7) Pages 1 and 2.

[D] *He wrote——the caſe of a toleration in matters of religion.*] In which he firſt obſerves, that the toleration he means, is a toleration of ſeveral religions, or ſeveral opinions concerning religion; and that therefore Atheiſts come not under it. Next, that no opinion ought to be tolerated, which contains in it any thing deſtructive to the civil peace, and ſafety of the State. As for the reſt, he declares it difficult and dangerous for the civil magiſtrate to uſe temporal and compulſory puniſhments againſt Heretics and Sectaries (8). He expreſſes himſelf elſewhere to the ſame purpoſe,—— 'For my part, I ſhould not be 'willing, that any Heretic ſhould be puniſhed with 'death; unleſs he join with his hereſy, blaſphemy 'of God, or diſloyalty againſt the King, or ſome ſins 'againſt the law of nature, evidently puniſhable by 'the civil magiſtrate, for the preſervation of the pub-'lic peace, and ſafety of the commonwealth (9).'

(8) See his ſeveral miſcellaneous and weighty Caſes of Conſcience, where this is inſerted. Lond. 1692, 8vo.

(9) Genuine Remains, &c. Lond. 1693, 8vo. p. 242.

[This book, and theſe ſentiments, reflect, upon the whole, no ſmall honour on Dr. Barlow. Though he limited toleration too much, few men, and eſpecially few divines, would, in thoſe days, have gone ſo far in their conceſſions to tender conſciences as our author. The Preſbyterians themſelves, though upon the eve of being perſecuted, entertained, in general, no ſuch rational views of things.] K.

[E] *A ſurvey of the numbers of Papiſts within the province of Canterbury.*] By this ſurvey it appears, there were then computed in that province *eleven thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy*. This ſurvey was taken by the Biſhops in 1676, by King Charles II.'s direction (10).

(10) See Genuine Remains, p. 312.

[F] *A letter concerning the Canon-law allowing the whipping of Heretics.*] This was upon occaſion of a ſtory related in the book of Martyrs, namely, That Biſhop Bonner uſed to whip ſome of the Proteſtants (or Heretics, as he called them) in his gardens (11).

(11) *Ibid.* p. 189.

[G] *Popery, or the principles and Poſitions, &c.*] The whole title of the book runs thus, 'Popery, or 'the Principles and Poſitions approved by the Church

'General Councils, approved by the Church of Rome [*H*].' We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery, in the note [*I*]. He expreſſed his zeal againſt the Papiſts, not only by writing, but alſo by his other behaviour. For when, in 1678, after the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, a bill was brought into Parliament, requiring all Members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's Court, or preſence, to take a teſt againſt Popery; our Biſhop appeared for that bill in the Houſe of Lords, and ſpoke in favour of it (*u*). Notwithſtanding which we are told (*w*), that, after King James II.'s acceſſion to the throne, Biſhop Barlow took all opportunities to expreſs his affection, or ſubmiſſion, to him; for he ſent up an addreſs of thanks to him, for his *firſt* declaration for liberty of conſcience, ſigned by ſix hundred of his Clergy (*x*): He wrote Reaſons for reading that King's *ſecond* Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience (*y*); he cauſed it to be read in his dioceſe (*z*): nay, he was prevailed upon to aſſert and vindicate the regal power of diſpenſing with penal laws, in an elaborate tract, with numerous quotations from Canoniſts, Civilians, and Divines (*a*). And yet after the Revolution, he was one of thoſe Biſhops who readily voted that King James had abdicated his kingdoms: He took the oaths to his ſucceſſors; and no Biſhop was more ready than he, to fill the places of ſuch Clergymen as refuſed to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (*b*). So that from his whole conduct it appears, he was of a very timorous (*) and complying diſpoſition, and always ready to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. With regard to ſome of his notions; he was entirely addicted to the Ariſtotelian Philoſophy (*c*), and a declared enemy to the improvements made by the Royal Society, and to what he called in general the New Philoſophy [*K*]. He was likewiſe a rigid Calviniſt, and the ſchool Divinity was that which he moſt admired (*d*). His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a public oppoſition to ſome of Mr. Bull's works, which did not much redound to our author's honour [*L*]. He is, moreover, juſtly blamed for never appearing in his cathedral, nor viſiting his dioceſe in perſon, but reſiding conſtantly at his manor of Bugden [*M*]. But, notwithſtanding, he muſt be allowed to have had the follow-

(*u*) Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 435, 436.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See Genuine Remains, p. 340, 341. Echard's Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 821.

(*z*) Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 512. Note (1).

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 507. Note (*a*).

(*y*) Wood, Ath. col. 877.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*) What rendered him at this time moſt timorous, was, that there were ſeveral attempts to bring him under a proſecution; but for what, is not mentioned. See Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. iii. p. 507. 512. He lived to fear the Court which he had never loved.

(*c*) See Genuine Remains, p. 151—159.

(*d*) *Ibid.* and page 344. 424. 577, &c.

'of Rome (when really believed and practiſed) are 'very dangerous to all; and to Proteſtant Kings and 'Supreme Powers, more eſpecially pernicious; and 'inconſiſtent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of 'Nature and Scripture) is indiſpenſably due to Su'preme Powers. In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour. 'London 1679, 4*to*, reprinted the ſame year in 8*vo*. 'It was tranſlated and publiſhed in Latin 1681, 8*vo*, 'by Rob. Grove, B. D. afterwards Biſhop of Chi'cheſter.' It is againſt the Pope's excommunicating and depoſing of Princes.

[*H*] *A diſcourſe*, &c.] The title of this, beſides what is ſet down of it above in the text, goes on thus ——'Shewing, (1.) What Proteſtant ſubjects 'may expect to ſuffer under a Popiſh Prince acting ac'cording to thoſe laws. (2.) That no oath, or pro'miſe, of ſuch a Prince can give them any juſt ſecu'rity, that he will not execute the laws upon them. 'Lond. 1682, 4*to*.' So that it was plainly levelled againſt the Duke of York. There is a large preface thereto, againſt perſecuting and deſtroying Heretics, and ſomething in favour of the Diſſenters. There is no name to it.

[*I*] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his writings againſt Popery.*] They are as follows: 'I. Confutation of the Infallibility of the Church of 'Rome; written in 1673 (12). II. A Letter to J. 'Evelyn, Eſq; concerning Invocation of Saints, and 'Adoration of the Croſs. London, 1679, 4*to*. III. 'The ſame year, he reprinted, in 8*vo*. The Gun'Powder-Treaſon; with a Diſcourſe of the Manner 'of its Diſcovery, &c. (Printed at firſt in 1606) and 'placed in the beginning of it, A Preface touching 'that horrid Conſpiracy, dated Feb. 1, 1678-9.' In this Preface, he takes notice of a Popiſh Lie in the *Calendarium Catholicum*, or Univerſal Almanack, 1662, namely, 'That the Gun-Powder Treaſon, 'was more than ſuſpected to be the contrivance of 'Cecil, the great Politician, to render Catholicks 'odious: —— That ſome Roman Catholicks 'were in that Plot; but there were but few detected, 'and they that were detected, were deſperadoes.' He alſo ſhews there, that it is the practice of the Church of Rome, to endeavour to deſtroy Hereticks all manner of ways. 'IV. *Brutum* Fulmen; or the 'Bull of P. *Pius Sextus* concerning the damnation, 'excommunication, and depoſition of Q. Elizabeth; 'as alſo the abſolution of her ſubjects from the oath 'of allegiance, with a peremptory injunction, upon 'pain of an anathema, never to obey any of her 'laws or commands, with ſome obſervations upon it. 'Lond. 1681, 4*to*. V. Whether the Pope be Anti'chriſt? And whether the Turk, or the Pope be the 'greater Antichriſt? Whether ſalvation may be had 'in the Church of Rome? That worſhipping the 'Hoſt is idolatry. Concerning the intention of the 'Prieſt, as neceſſary to the validity of the Sacrament. 'A letter about the Papiſts founding dominion in 'Grace. Several letters about the Council of Trent '(13). VI. A few plain reaſons why a Proteſtant of 'the Church of England ſhould not turn Roman Ca'tholic. Lond. 1688.' Dr. J. Battely, the Licenſer, not allowing ſeveral ſheets of this to paſs, they were omitted (14).

(12) Genuine Remains, p. 454, &c.

(13) All theſe under article V. are in his Genuine Remains.

(14) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *He was a declared enemy ——— to what he called in general the New Philoſophy.*] This plainly appears from the following paſſages in one of his letters (15), 'I confeſs I am, and (a long time) have been 'not a little troubled, to ſee Proteſtants, nay Clergy'men and Biſhops, approve and propagate that which 'they miſ-call *New Philoſophy*; ſo that our Univer'ſities begin to be infected with it, little conſidering 'how it tends evidently to the advantage of Rome, 'and the ruine of our religion. For this new Philo'ſophy ——— hath been ſet on foot, and carried on 'by the arts of Rome, to breed diviſions among Pro'teſtants. ——— And all the Romiſh Schoolmen, 'Caſuiſts, and Controverſy-writers, have ſo mixed 'Ariſtotle's Philoſophy with their Divinity, that he 'who has not a comprehenſion of Ariſtotle's prin'ciples, will never be able rationally to defend or 'confute any controverted poſition in the Roman or 'Reformed Religion.'

(15) Genuine Remains, p. 157.

[This letter exhibits a good picture of the prejudice in favour of their youthful opinions, which ſometimes adheres to old men, and of their unwillingneſs to admit new modes of ſtudy, and new principles of philoſophy, however reaſonable and well founded.] K.

[*L*] *His great attachment to Calvin's notions engaged him in a public oppoſition to Mr. Bull's Works.*] Namely, to his *Harmonia Apoſtolica*, publiſhed in 1669, wherein he aſſerts the neceſſity of good works, conjoined with faith, for man's juſtification. This book Dr. Barlow attacked in his Divinity-Lectures, and treated the author very roughly, even ſo far as to give him opprobrious names. Mr. Bull being informed of it, came to Oxford, and offered to vindicate himſelf by a public diſputation: but the Profeſſor declined it; nay, he endeavoured to avoid owning the fact, till it was fully proved to his face (16).

(16) See Life of G. Bull, late Biſhop of St. David's, by Rob. Nelſon, Eſq; Sect. Lond. 1714. p. 102. 221.

[*M*] *But reſiding conſtantly at his manor of Bugden.*] He was often reflected on upon that account, and called *the Biſhop of Bugden that never ſaw Lincoln.* But as he

†

following excellencies: He was a good Caſuiſt, a man of very extenſive learning, an univerſal lover and favourer of learned men, of what country or denomination ſoever, and a great maſter of the whole controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts. He died at Bugden in Huntingdonſhire, October 8, 1691, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; and was buried the 11th of the ſaid month, on the north ſide of the chancel belonging to that church (*e*), near the body of Doctor R. Sanderſon, ſome time Biſhop of Lincoln, and, according to his own deſire, in the very grave of Dr. William Barlow, formerly Biſhop of the ſame See: to whoſe memory, as well as his own, is erected a monument, with an inſcription [*N*] which he compoſed himſelf, a few days before his death. He bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, all ſuch books of his own, as were not in that noble collection at the time of his death: and the remainder he gave to Queen's College in Oxford (*f*); whereupon the Society erected, in 1694, a noble pile of buildings, on the weſt ſide of their college, to receive them. All his manuſcripts, of his own compoſition, he left to his two domeſtic Chaplains, William Offley, and Henry Brougham, Prebendaries of Lincoln, with a particular deſire, that they would not make any of them public after his deceaſe (*g*). We ſhall give an account in the note [*O*] of the reſt of his works, not taken notice of above.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 879.

(*f*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

he hath written ſomething upon that ſubject, it will be proper to hear what he had to ſay in his juſtification (17). 'I have writ (ſaith he) to My Lord 'Privy-Seal (Marquis of Halifax), the reaſons of my 'not going to Lincoln: 1. I have no houſe there. [It 'was beat down in the civil wars.] 2. Bugden is in 'the center of my dioceſe, and ſtands far more conveniently for all buſineſs. 3. Biſhop Sanderſon 'lived and died at Bugden, and Biſhop Lany lived 'there too, till he was tranſlated to Ely; nor were 'they ever accuſed or complained on for it. 4. That 'Lincoln might not think I was unkind, and neglected 'them; I ſent them 100 *l.* of which 50 *l.* to the 'church, and the other 50 *l.* to the city; and ſince 'that I gave the city 20 *l.* towards their expence in 'renewing their charter, which none of my predeceſſors have done.'

(17) Genuine Remains, p. 355.

[*N*] *With an inſcription.*] It is in Latin; but as it contains nothing remarkable in that language, we ſhall ſet down here only the Engliſh tranſlation of it. It is as follows: '*Here lie* the remains of Thomas Barlow, D. D. Provoſt of Queen's College, Oxon, 'Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library, Archdeacon 'of Oxford, Lady Margaret Counteſs of Richmond's 'Divinity Profeſſor, and (though unworthy) Biſhop of 'Lincoln, in hope of a joyful reſurrection. He compoſed this epitaph when he was dying, and at his 'own charge rebuilt the monument of his Right Reverend predeceſſor William Barlow, which was almoſt demoliſhed by fanatical rage. He died the '8th day of October, 1691, in the 85th year of his 'age (18).'

(18) Wood, Athen. col. 879.

[*O*] *We ſhall give an account of the reſt of his works, not taken notice of above.*] They are as follows: 'I. *Pietas in Patrem*; or a few Tears, upon the lamented Death of his moſt dear and loving Father 'Richard Barlow, late of Langhill in Weſtmorland, 'who died 29 December, 1636; printed at Oxford, '1637, 4*to*. There are in it copies of verſes upon 'the ſame ſubject, from ſeveral gentlemen of Queen's 'College. II. A Letter to Mr. John Goodwin, concerning Univerſal Redemption, by J. Chriſt, 1651. 'III. For Toleration of the Jews, 1655. IV. Αυτοσχε διασματα; or Directions to a young Divine 'for his Study of Divinity, and Choice of Books. 'V. A Letter to Mr. John Tombes in defence of Anabaptiſm, inſerted in one of Tombes's Books. VI. 'A Tract to prove that true Grace doth not lie ſo 'much in the Degree, as in the Nature. This alſo is 'inſerted in a book, intitled, Sincerity and Hypocriſy, &c. written by William Sheppard, Eſquire. 'VII. The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in capital Caſes in Parliament cleared, &c. Lond. 1680; 'being an anſwer to two books; the firſt intitled, '*A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend, ſhewing, that the Biſhops are not to be Judges in Parliament in Caſes capital*, by Denzil Lord Holles, Lond. 1679, 4*to*. And the other, *A Diſcourſe of the Peerage and Juriſdiction of the Lords Spiritual in Parliament*, &c. Dr. Barlow did not ſet his name to this, and it was by ſome aſcribed to Tho. Turner of Gray's-Inn. 'VIII. A Letter (to his Clergy) for the putting in execution the Laws againſt Diſſenters, written in concurrence to that which was drawn up by the Juſtices of the Peace of the county of Bedford, at the quarter-ſeſſions held at Ampthill for the ſaid county, 'January 14, 1684 (19).' * IX. After his deceaſe, Sir Peter Pett publiſhed in 1692, 8*vo*. 'Several miſcellaneous and weighty caſes of conſcience, learnedly 'and judiciouſly reſolved by the Right Rev. Father 'in God, Dr. Tho. Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of Lincoln; viz. 1. Of Toleration of Proteſtant Diſſenters. '2. The King's power to pardon murder; written upon occaſion of Mr. St. John's (late Lord Viſcount 'St. John of Batterſey) being convicted for the death 'of Sir William Eaſtcourt, Bart. ——— 4. About 'ſetting up images in churches; compoſed, when he 'was cited in the Court of Arches, for permitting 'ſome pictures of the Apoſtles, put up in the pariſh 'church of Moulton in his dioceſe, without the conſent of the majority of the pariſhioners, to be defaced.' The ſame Sir Peter publiſhed alſo in 1693, Lond. 8*vo*. 'X. The Genuine Remains of that learned 'Prelate, Dr. Thomas Barlow, late Lord Biſhop of 'Lincoln. Containing divers Diſcourſes Theological, 'Philoſophical, Hiſtorical, &c. In letters to ſeveral 'perſons of honour and quality.' But theſe two volumes being put out without the knowledge or conſent of the Biſhop's two Chaplains above mentioned, to whom he had left all his own manuſcripts, with orders that they ſhould not be publiſhed, they ſeverely reflected upon the publiſher, for the unwarrantable liberty he had taken (20). M.

(19) Genuine Remains, p. 641.

* This Letter was not very conſiſtent with what he had formerly written on Toleration.

(20) Wood, Ath. col. 877, 878, 879.

[It is probable that Dr. Barlow's long eſtabliſhed ſentiments in favour of Toleration might lead him the more readily to comply with, and to defend, King James the Second's Declaration of Indulgence.

The writer of the Confeſſional ſpeaks with ſingular reſpect of our Prelate. He calls him not only a learned, but a worthy Biſhop; and, having had occaſion, a little before, to mention Laud, Bennet, and Sinclair, ſays, That he was worth three dozen of Lauds, Bennets, or Sinclairs (21).] § K.

(21) Confeſſional, p. 188, 3d edition.

§ Anthony Wood, in his own Life, ſometimes praiſes, and ſometimes abuſes Dr. Barlow. See Life of Anthony Wood, p. 131. 140. 152. 164. 167. 190. 199. 201. 206. 237.

BARNARD, or BERNARD (John), author of the undermentioned books [*A*], was the ſon of John Barnard, Gentleman; and was born at Caſtor, a market town in Lincolnſhire. He had his education in the grammar-ſchool of that place; from whence he

[*A*] *Author of the following books.*] I. *Cenſura Clerior, againſt Scandalous Miniſters, not fit to be reſtored to the Churches Livings, in point of Prudence, Piety, and Fame*, London, 1660; in three ſheets in *quarto*. His name is not prefixed to this piece. II. *Theologo-Hiſtoricus; or the true Life of the moſt Reverend Divine and excellent Hiſtorian, Peter Heylyn, D. D. Sub-Dean of Weſtminſter*, London, 1683, 8*vo*. This was publiſhed, as the author pretends, to correct the errors, ſupply the defects, and confute the calumnies of George Vernon, A. M. Rector of Bourton on the Water in Glouceſterſhire, who had publiſhed a life of

he was ſent to Cambridge, where he became a penſioner of Queen's-college. From thence journeying to Oxford, to obtain preferment from the Viſitors, appointed by act of Parliament, he there took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the fifteenth of April, 1648 (*a*); and, the twenty-ninth of September following, was, by order of the ſaid Viſitors, made Fellow of Lincoln-college (*b*). The twentieth of February, 1650, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*c*). At length, having married the daughter of Dr. Peter Heylyn, then living at Abingdon, he became Rector of Waddington, near Lincoln; the perpetual advowſon of which he purchaſed, and held it for ſome time, together with the fine-cure of Gedney in the ſame county. After the Reſtoration, he conformed, and was made Prebendary of Aſgarby in the church of Lincoln (*d*). July the 6th, 1669, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*e*); and, the ſame year, was created Doctor in Divinity, being then in good repute for his learning and orthodox principles. He died at Newark, on a journey to the Spaw, the 17th of Auguſt, 1683; and was buried in his own church of Waddington (*f*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 736, 737, & Faſt. *ib.* col. 63.

(*b*) *Id.* Ath. *ib.*

(*c*) *Id.* Faſt. col. 94.

(*d*) *Id.* Ath. *ib.*

(*e*) *Id.* Faſt. col. 175.

(*f*) *Id.* Athen. *ibid.*

of Dr. Heylyn. III. An *Anſwer to Mr. Baxter's falſe Accuſation of Dr. Heylyn*; printed with the *Theologo-Hiſtoricus*. IV. A *Catechiſm*, for the uſe of his pariſh. He left behind him a manuſcript againſt Socinianiſm, never printed (1). B.

(1) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 737.

[BARNARD (Sir JOHN), an eminent Citizen and Alderman of London, during the preſent century, and many years one of its Repreſentatives in Parliament, was born at Reading, in Berkſhire, in 1685. His parents, who were of the people called Quakers, put him to a ſchool at Wandſworth in Surry, which was ſolely appropriated to the education of perſons of that profeſſion (*a*). From this ſchool, the maſter of which was of the ſame religious principles, young Barnard is ſaid (according to a late writer of his life) to have derived very little advantage in point of claſſical and polite literature. The great loſs, however, which he hence ſuſtained, his native good ſenſe, and love of knowledge, ſoon led him to ſupply, as far as poſſible, by carefully reading, in our own tongue, the beſt writers of Greece and Rome. By theſe means, though he could not be fully ſenſible of the elegance of the claſſic authors, which was, for the moſt part, loſt in the tranſlations of them, he became well acquainted with every remarkable ſect, character, and action in Profane Hiſtory. Such were the integrity and candour of his mind, when he was a boy, that his playmates uſed to chooſe him for their Chancellor, in the differences which they had with each other, and readily ſubmitted to his deciſions (*b*). When he arrived to the fifteenth year of his age, his father, who appears to have been ſettled in London, and had long been afflicted with bad health, determined to take him (*c*) into his compting-houſe; and, from obſerving his natural turn, aſſiduity, and talents, ſcrupled not to commit to his care the management of a great buſineſs in the wine trade. Mr. Barnard ſenior was not diſappointed in the early confidence which he placed in his ſon. At this time our young Gentleman took peculiar pleaſure in the ſtudy of figures, which he purſued with ſuch ſucceſs, that his judgment was afterwards highly valued in affairs which required profound ſkill in calculation, and his knowledge as an able financier became undiſputed. In the midſt of theſe purſuits and engagements, he did not neglect the ſubject of religion. Some ſcruples having ariſen in his mind with regard to the principles wherein he had been educated, he determined to apply himſelf to the devout ſtudy of the Book of Revelation, which he firmly believed to be the ſole repoſitory of divine truth. The reſult of his inquiries was, that he found himſelf called upon, by the dictates of his conſcience, to make the painful ſacrifice of openly renouncing the diſtinguiſhing tenets of his revered parents. For this purpoſe, he was introduced to Doctor Compton, then Biſhop of London; and, after ſeveral conferences with that Prelate, was baptiſed by him, in his chapel at Fulham, 1703. Mr. Barnard was under nineteen years of age when he quitted the Society of the Quakers; and from that time he continued, till his death, a member of the eſtabliſhed Church, an admirer of her Liturgy, and an ornament to her Communion (*d*). There was a peculiarity of character in the early part of his life, which deſerves to be noticed. When he was a youth himſelf, he never choſe to aſſociate with thoſe of his own age [*A*]. Being convinced that he could derive no improvement from an acquaintance with them, he ſought out companions among men di-

(*a*) Memoirs of the late Sir John Barnard, Knt. and Alderman of the city of London. A *4to* pamphlet, publiſhed in 1776. Rivington.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 3, 4.

(*c*) He was his eldeſt ſon.

(*d*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 4, 5.

[*A*] *He never choſe to aſſociate with thoſe of his own age.*] The great advantages which muſt ariſe from young perſons keeping company with elderly men of wiſdom and experience, are ſo obvious to every reflecting mind, that it is needleſs to enlarge upon them. The good ſenſe, therefore, of Mr. Barnard, in ſeeking the acquaintance and friendſhip of ſuch men cannot be too much commended. Nevertheleſs, it may be queſtioned how far it is needful or proper for young people to have no intimacies with thoſe of their own age. All cloſe connection, and, as far as poſſible, all converſation, with light, trifling, and profligate youths ought, indeed, to be abſolutely avoided. But for young perſons never to aſſociate with ſuch as, like themſelves, are entering into active life, cannot, in general, be right. The mutual intercourſe of young men, who are of amiable diſpoſitions, and promiſing characters, and who have a deſire for improvement, cannot but be attended with conſiderable benefits. It will be the ſource of many refined ſatisfactions; will inſpire the mind with a ſpirit and vigour in the buſineſs of the world, which might otherwiſe not eaſily be obtained; and will give birth to the moſt delightful, durable, and uſeful friendſhips. However, Mr. Barnard was ſo happy an inſtance of the advantages proceeding from a contrary behaviour, that it ſcarcely becomes us to diſpute, in this place, the propriety of a ſimilar conduct.

ſtinguiſhed by their knowledge, learning, and religion; and ſuch men received, with open arms, a young perſon who diſcovered ſo much good ſenſe and diſcernment (*e*).

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6.

Mr. Barnard, till the thirty-ſixth year of his age, was only known by the excellencies of his private character, and the eſteem in which he was held as a man of reading and ſtrong parts. But about this time, the following incident laid the foundation of his public fame. A bill greatly affecting the wine trade, had paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, and was depending in the Upper Houſe. The principal merchants, who would have been injured by the operation of the bill, united in preſenting a petition to the Lords, praying to be heard againſt it, by themſelves or counſel. Their requeſt being granted, Mr. Barnard, without his knowledge, was made choice of, as the fitteſt perſon to prove the grievance alledged, and to anſwer every objection to the petition. Through ſome unaccountable negligence, he was not acquainted with the buſineſs aſſigned him, till the afternoon before he was to be heard by the Peers. This ſingular diſadvantage, when it came to be known, made his ſpeech appear the more extraordinary. By the extent of his acquaintance with commerce, and the perſpicuity and force of his reaſoning, accompanied with a becoming modeſty, he contributed in ſo high a degree to carry the point aimed at, that all his friends conſidered themſelves as principally indebted to his talents for their ſucceſs (*f*). So ſignal an inſtance of Mr. Barnard's abilities drew the attention of the public towards him, and prepared the way for his appearing in a more honourable and important ſtation. The admiration he had acquired, made it wiſhed, that he might be employed in the ſervice of his fellow-citizens and countrymen at large. Accordingly, at an anniverſary meeting, in 1721, his friends propoſed, without his knowledge, that he ſhould be put up as a candidate to repreſent the city of London in Parliament at the next election, which was expected to happen in that year, though it did not take place till the year following. When Mr. Barnard was informed of the honour intended him, he urged his invincible diſlike to the ſoliciting and canvaſſing for votes. But this objection was over-ruled by the propoſers, who pledged themſelves to undertake that trouble: and ſo effectually did they perform their promiſe, that he was choſen Member, though the conteſt between the competitors was one of the warmeſt ever known in London. The Candidates were Child, Lockwood, Godfrey, Barnard, Parſons, and Heyſhaw; the four former of whom were elected. Seven thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three Liverymen polled: a number, it is ſaid, which had never yet been equalled (*g*). All, who knew Mr. Barnard, conceived great expectations that he would acquit himſelf to the honour of his Conſtituents; nor were their expectations diſappointed. From his firſt taking his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, he entered, with penetration, into the merits of each point under debate; defended, with intrepidity, what he apprehended to be our conſtitutional rights; withſtood every attempt to burden his country with needleſs ſubſidies; argued with remarkable perſpicuity and ſtrength; and crowned all with ſuch a cloſe attendance upon Parliament, that he never was abſent, by choice, from the time the Members met, till they were adjourned. It is difficult to ſay, whether out of the Houſe he was more popular, or within it more reſpectable, during the ſpace of nearly forty years (*h*) [*B*].

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 8.

As Mr. Barnard was ſo aſſiduous in diſcharging his duty to his Conſtituents, and took ſo conſtant a part in every important affair that occurred during a very intereſting period of the Britiſh Annals, were we to take particular notice of all the buſineſs wherein he was engaged, and of all the debates in which he ſpoke, we ſhould run too far into the general hiſtory of the time. The more diſtinguiſhed inſtances of his Parliamentary conduct will unavoidably be mentioned in the courſe of our narration; and the reſt ſhall be briefly ſpecified in the note [*C*]. Violent diſputes having ariſen in the city of London, about the choice of Sheriffs and Aldermen, it was thought neceſſary to aſcertain, more clearly

[*B*] *During the ſpace of nearly forty years.*] 'On 'ſeveral important ſubjects,' ſays the author of his life, 'he has been ſpeaking for full three hours to-'gether, with the applauſe of his audience, though 'a Wyndham, Walpole, Pulteney, Pitt, and Mur-'ray took part in the debate. Sir Robert Walpole 'paid him once a great compliment, and (which is 'not always the caſe) without the leaſt ſacrifice of 'truth. Riding out on the ſame day in two parties, 'they happened to come where only a narrow lane 'prevented their view of each other. Mr. Barnard 'talking with his company was overheard. And a 'Gentleman of the other party ſaid, Whoſe voice is 'that? Sir Robert replied, Do you not know? it is 'one I ſhall never forget: — I have often felt its 'power. Upon meeting at the end of the lane, Sir 'Robert Walpole, with that enchanting courteſy he 'poſſeſſed, ſaluting Mr. Barnard, told him what had 'paſſed (1).'

(1) Memoirs of the late Sir John Barnard, p. 8. Note.

[*C*] *The reſt ſhall be briefly ſpecified in the note.*] Mr. Barnard had not been many days in the Houſe of Commons, before he ſhewed that he did not intend to be an inactive Member: for he was one of the Minority who took part in the debate which aroſe upon a motion made by Mr. Treby, on the 26th of October, 1722, for an augmentation, of 4000 men, in the army. When Mr. Pulteney, on the 9th of February, 1725-6, moved, That a Committee might be appointed to ſtate the national debts, down to December 25th, 1725, diſtinguiſhing how much had been provided for, and how much remained unprovided for by Parliament; and Sir Robert Walpole objected, among other things, that ſuch an inquiry would alarm the monied men, and affect public credit, Mr. Barnard confirmed what Sir Robert had ſaid. On the 26th of April, 1727, he ſpoke againſt Sir William Young's motion, for granting 370,000 pounds out of the coal-duty towards the ſupply (2). On the 26th of January, 1731-2, he oppoſed the continuance of the land forces on the footing propoſed. Two days after, he ſupported Sir Thomas Lomb's petition relating to his ſilk-engine. On the 23d of the following month, in the debate concerning the Sugar-Colony Bill, though he objected to many

(2) Chandler's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. vi. p. 291. 358. 395, 396.

clearly than they were then underſtood, the rights and modes of election for the future. Accordingly, in the year 1725, a bill was brought into Parliament to effect that important

many things in the Bill, he agreed to its being committed. At the opening of the ſeſſion of Parliament, January 16th 1732-3, when Mr. Henry Bromley moved for an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty for his gracious ſpeech from the throne, Sir John Barnard propoſed an amendment to the addreſs, and defended his amendment with much ſpirit. On the ſecond of February he joined with the Minority, in oppoſing the keeping up the army to the number of nearly 18000 men; and, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, he ſpoke three times upon the reſolutions relating to the Sugar-colony trade. On the 8th of March, he opened to the Houſe a petition from Rhode-Iſland and Providence againſt the Sugar-Colony Bill. But a queſtion ariſing, whether it conſiſted with the cuſtom of Parliament to receive petitions againſt bills for the laying on of any new duties, Sir John Barnard deſired to withdraw his motion. This, however, was oppoſed; and it was carried in form, that the petition ſhould not be brought up. On the 30th of April, 1733, he ſtrenuouſly ſupported, in two ſpeeches, the bill to prevent the infamous practice of Stock-jobbing (3). Sir John Barnard, on the 4th of February, 1733-4, preſented a petition to the Houſe, from the dealers in tea, for relief againſt the Exciſe Laws. This occaſioned a warm debate, in which he firſt opened, and then defended the petition with his uſual ability. But the weight of the Miniſtry being directed againſt it, the referring of it to a Committee was rejected by the majority of 233 to 155. In the grand debate which aroſe, on the 12th of the ſame month, upon Lord Morpeth's motion, 'For a Bill 'to prevent any Commiſſion Officer, not above the 'Rank of a Colonel of a Regiment, from being re-'moved, unleſs by a Court Martial, or by Addreſs 'of either Houſe of Parliament,' Sir John Barnard was a ſpeaker in favour of the motion. He entered, likewiſe, with zeal into the very important queſtion concerning the Duration of Parliaments. Accordingly, when Mr. William Bromley moved for the repeal of the Septennial Act (4), Sir John bore his part in the long and intereſting debate which followed; and added his voice, to that of many others, for the abolition of an act, which hath been conſidered as making a great innovation in the free conſtitution of this country. On the 28th of March, 1734, he oppoſed, in two ſpeeches, the taking into immediate conſideration, a meſſage from the King, to enable his Majeſty to augment his forces, if occaſion ſhould require it, between the diſſolution of the Parliament then ſubſiſting (but which was ſhortly to be diſſolved), and the election of another (5).

At the opening of the new Parliament, on the 14th of January, 1734-5, Sir John Barnard united with the Minority, in oppoſing the motions of the Miniſtry (6) for granting 30,000 men for the ſea-ſervice, and nearly 26,000 men for the land-ſervice of the current year. He engaged, likewiſe, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill (7), in defence of a clauſe propoſed to be added to it, by Sir Walter Wagſtaff Bagot. In the ſeſſion which began Jan. 15, 1735-6, Sir John Barnard ſupported Mr. Pulteney's motion, made on the 28th of that month, for referring the eſtimate of the navy to a Select Committee. And, on the next day, he ſpoke in favour of an addreſs which had been moved for to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to order a farther reduction of his forces. On the 2d of February, he joined with Mr. Sandys, in that Gentleman's motion for raiſing within the year the ſupplies neceſſary for the current ſervice. In the ſeſſion which opened on the firſt of February, 1736-7, Sir John Barnard, upon the queſtion of the number of land-forces to be employed, continued the oppoſition he had always made to a large ſtanding army (8). In the ſame ſeſſion of Parliament he ſpoke twice againſt the bill (occaſioned by Captain Porteous's affair), which was brought from the Houſe of Lords, to diſable Alexander Wilſon, Eſq; from holding any office or place of Magiſtracy, in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great Britain; for impriſoning his perſon; and for aboliſhing the town-guard of that city, and taking away part of its gates (9). On the 3d of February, 1737-8, he oppoſed, as uſual, the annual motion for the ſtanding forces. Soon after (10), he ſupported the petition of the Weſt India merchants, concerning the Spaniſh depredations, and moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would give directions for laying before the Houſe the inſtructions relating to the negotiations with Spain. After a long debate, the motion was agreed to; but not till an amendment was carried, which was propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole. Sir John Barnard appeared, likewiſe, in a farther debate, concerning the merchants petition, and the reſolution that had paſſed relative to the Spaniſh encroachments (11). In the ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament, which met on the firſt of February, 1738-9, we find him taking part in the warm conteſts that aroſe upon the queſtions which followed the convention with Spain. He ſpoke in favour of an amendment, offered by Sir William Wyndham, to the Commons Addreſs of Thanks for his Majeſty's Speech; and defended Mr. Sandys's motion for Admiral Haddock's inſtructions being laid before the Houſe (12) (13). In the Seſſion, which opened on the 16th of November, 1739, Sir John Barnard diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debates on the addreſs; on Mr. Pulteney's Bill for the encouragement of ſeamen; on Sir Charles Wager's Bill for regiſtering Sea-faring Perſons; and upon Mr. Pulteney's and Mr. Waller's motions, that the Inſtructions given to the Governors of the Britiſh Plantations, and to Mr. Keene, our Ambaſſador at Madrid, ſhould be laid before the Houſe (14). The ſeventh ſeſſion (15) of the eighth Parliament of Great Britain was remarkable for a variety of queſtions brought into agitation, and for the warmth with which they were conteſted. Sir John Barnard ſeems to have ſpoken upon almoſt every ſubject that occurred. As to mention diſtinctly the occaſion of each of his Speeches, would extend this note, already too tedious, to a ſtill more undue length, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring to the pages in which they may be found (16). The oppoſition having, at length, prevailed againſt the formidable power of Sir Robert Walpole, we do not meet with any diſplay of Sir John Barnard's oratorical abilities in the hiſtory of the firſt ſeſſion of the new Parliament, which opened December 1ſt, 1741. In this ſeſſion, he was returned one of the Secret Committee of twenty-one perſons, appointed by ballot to inquire into the conduct of the Earl of Orford. In the next ſeſſion (17), he ſupported the motion for the Addreſs of Thanks for his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne. But though he did this, in conſideration of the important and critical ſituation of public affairs, he freely expreſſed, at the ſame time, his diſapprobation of the new Miniſtry, for having departed from the principles they had profeſſed, and the conduct they had ſo ſtrongly recommended, when in oppoſition. He ſpoke, likewiſe (18), with perſevering integrity and zeal, in favour of Mr. Cornwall's motion for the Place Bill; which, however, was rejected by the very ſame Gentlemen, who had warmly contended for ſuch a bill in the preceding ſeſſion (19). Having thus traced Sir John Barnard's Parliamentary conduct, through the moſt active part of his life, we ſhall only add, that a few more particulars concerning him, may be found in Almon's Collection of Debates. We thence learn, that, on the 12th of February, 1744, he ſpoke at large, in favour of the Bill for taking away the Aldermen's Negative, which bill was at that time rejected; that, in 1745 (20), he took part in the debate on the progreſs of the Rebellion; that, in 1751 (21), he oppoſed Mr. Nugent's Bill for the General Naturalization of foreign Proteſtants; that, in the ſame year (22), he joined with the Minority in objecting to the Appointment of a Council of Regency; that, in 1753 (23), he was an opponent of the Act for naturalizing the Jews; and that, on the 7th of February, 1754, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill, to repeal that part of the Act to prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Elections of Members of Parliament, which required the electors to take the oaths therein mentioned, if demanded, before they were admitted to poll. The reaſon Sir John Barnard gave for his motion, was, that thoſe oaths,

(3) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. vii. p. 111, 112. 143, 144. 215—217. 219. 253, 254. 257, 258. 268. 282, 283, 284. 309. 311, 312. 314, 315. 379. 385. 390.

(4) March 13, 1733-34.

(5) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. viii. p. 45—47. 64—68, 69. 88. 117. 137. 180—183. 210. 215, 216. 241—243.

(6) Feb. 7th and 14th.

(7) Feb. 26th.

(8) Feb. 18th.

(9) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. ix. p. 22. 28. 51, 52. 55. 87, 88. 121. 126. 130, 131. 133. 137. 239. 245. 506, 507. 521.

(10) March 3d.

(11) March 30th, 1738.

(12) Feb. 1ſt and 5th.

(13) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. x. p. 10. 44, 45, 99. 108. 112. 117, 118. 151. 159. 257. 357. 362.

(14) *Ibid.* Vol. xi. p. 99. 127. 265. 328. 350. 373.

(15) It began Nov. 18. 1740, Gent. Mag. Vol. ii. p. 977.

(16) *Ibid.* Vol. xii. p. 22, 23. 33. 87. 168. 180. 188. 200. 202. 210. 214. 217. 237. 241. 260. 267, 268. 286. 291, 292, 293. 304, 305. 346. 357. 377. 388. 395.

(17) Nov. 10th, 1742.

(18) Dec. 3d 1742.

(19) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. xiii. p. 217. Vol. xiv. p. 22. 33 55. 59.

(20) October, 28th.

(21) Feb. 28th.

(22) May 14th.

(23) May 7th.

tant purpoſe. But the citizens, apprehending that it invaded their juſt privileges, formed a ſtrong oppoſition to it; in which they were ſupported by three of their Repreſentatives, Child, Lockwood, and Barnard. Mr. Barnard objected to it, that, by its making an alteration in the city charter, it eſtabliſhed a bad precedent for the crown to violate corporation charters at their pleaſure; that it took away from a number of honeſt citizens, the right they had enjoyed, from time immemorial, of voting at wardmote elections; that it abridged the privileges of the Common-council; and that, by transferring too great a weight of authority and influence to the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, it ſubverted, in a conſiderable degree, the ancient conſtitution of the metropolis. The formal thanks of the citizens were preſented, by a deputation of four Aldermen and eight Commoners, to Mr. Barnard and his two colleagues, for their conduct in this affair. The bill, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, paſſed into a law; and it is the ſtatute by which all elections in the city are now regulated. However, the moſt obnoxious part of the act, which granted a negative power to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, was repealed in 1746 (*i*); and to this Sir John Barnard greatly contributed. On the 4th of January, 1728, Mr. Barnard was choſen Alderman of Dowgate Ward, upon the death of John Crawley, Eſq; who had enjoyed that office but a few months (*k*). On the 14th of April, 1729, he preſented a bill to the Houſe of Commons, for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service; which, having paſſed in that Houſe on the 6th of May, was ſent up to the Lords, and received the royal aſſent on the 14th of that month (*l*). About the ſame time, likewiſe, he took an active part in the inquiry which, in conſequence of the iniquitous and cruel conduct of Thomas Bambridge, Eſq; Warden of the Fleet, was appointed to be made into the ſtate of the gaols in this kingdom. When Bambridge and his agents were committed to Newgate, and the Attorney-General was ordered to proſecute them, Alderman Barnard was very aſſiduous, as a Magiſtrate, in procuring information concerning the ſeveral abuſes which had been practiſed in the Fleet, to the oppreſſion of the debtors; and he ſo pathetically repreſented the grievances under which they laboured, as to be greatly inſtrumental in obtaining the Act of Inſolvency, and the Act for the Relief of Debtors, with reſpect to the Impriſonment of their Perſons, which were aſſented to by the King, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, on the 14th of May, 1729 (*m*). Another occaſion, which he had of diſplaying his Parliamentary abilities, was, when, on the 24th of February, 1729-30, the bill was read a ſecond time, 'To prevent any Perſons, his Majeſty's Subjects, or reſiding within this Kingdom, 'to advance any Sum of Money to any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, without 'having obtained Licence from his Majeſty, under his Privy Seal, or ſome greater Au-'thority.' The bill had taken its riſe from a negotiation which had been ſet on foot, by the Emperor of Germany, to obtain a loan, in England, of 400,000 pounds. Mr. Barnard, who oppoſed the paſſing of the act, alledged, in the courſe of the debate, ſeveral important reaſons againſt it; which, however, were anſwered, in a maſterly manner, by Sir Philip Yorke. The oppoſition ſo far prevailed, that the bill was modified in a certain degree; and an explanation was given by the Miniſtry, that it was not his Majeſty's intention to prevent his ſubjects from lending money to the King of Portugal, or any other Prince in alliance with England; and that the only reaſon for not naming the Emperor in the bill was, that, by making it general, there could be no foundation for an open rupture between the Courts of London and Vienna (*n*). On the 28th of September, 1732, Mr. Barnard, having attended Francis Child, Eſq; then Lord Mayor, to Kenſington, with an addreſs of congratulation to King George the Second, received from his Majeſty the honour of Knighthood. Mr. Child, and Mr. Henry Hankey, were knighted at the ſame time (*o*). Towards the beginning of the following year, the famous Exciſe Scheme, which met with ſo vigorous an oppoſition, was propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole. As a particular account of this affair will more properly come under the article of that celebrated Stateſman, we ſhall take no other notice of it here than what may be neceſſary to complete the Hiſtory of Sir John Barnard. No one could exceed him, in the ability and zeal with which he oppoſed the deſign. He ſpoke ſeveral times againſt it, and condemned it both in a commercial and political light. He conſidered it as introductory to ſuch general and arbitrary laws of Exciſe as would be abſolutely inconſiſtent with the freedom of the conſtitution; and thought that the queſtion upon the ſcheme would be, 'Whether 'we ſhall endeavour to prevent frauds in the collecting of the public revenues, at the ex-'pence of the liberties of the people?' 'For my own part,' ſaid Sir John, 'I never 'was guilty of any fraud: I put it to any man, be he who he will, to accuſe me of ſo 'much as the appearance of a fraud in any trade I was ever concerned in: I am reſolved 'never to be guilty of any fraud. It is very true, that theſe frauds are a very great pre-'judice to all fair traders; and, therefore, I ſpeak againſt my own intereſt, when I ſpeak 'againſt any methods that may tend towards preventing of frauds. But I ſhall never 'put my private intereſt in balance with the intereſt or happineſs of the nation. I had

(*i*) Northouck's Hiſt. of London, p. 323. 356. Britiſh Plutarch, Vol. vi. p. 128.

(*k*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 9. Chronological Diary, annexed to the Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1727, p. 42. Ditto for 1728, p. 5.

(*l*) Hiſt. Regiſter for 1729, p. 178. 184. 197.

(*m*) Britiſh Plutarch, Vol. vi. p. 130. Hiſt. Regiſter for 1729, p. 196.

(*n*) Brit. Plut. *ibid.* p. 131, 132. Tindal's Continuation, Vol. xx. p. 62. 65, 8vo. edit. Chandler's Hiſt. &c. of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. vii. p. 65, 66.

(*o*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 9.

oaths, as appeared from experience, were of no ſignificancy for the purpoſes, they were intended to ſerve, and only opened a door for perjury. But, though the truth of this obſervation was acknowledged, the Houſe did not think proper to agree to the motion; and, after ſome debate, it was dropped (24).

(24) Almon's Debates, Vol. ii. p. 91. 103. 141. 362. 377. Vol. iv. p. 336, 337. 348. Vol. v. p. 72, 73. 125.

'rather

'rather beg my bread from door to door, and ſee my country flouriſh, than be the 'greateſt ſubject of the nation, and ſee the trade of my country decaying, and the peo-'ple enſlaved and oppreſſed (*p*).' On the 14th of March, 1732-3, in the grand Committee of the Houſe of Commons, 'To conſider of the moſt proper Methods for the bet-'ter Security and Improvement of the Duties and Revenues, already charged upon, and 'payable from Tobacco and Wines,' the Exciſe Scheme was propoſed. In the courſe of the long and violent debate, which took place on this occaſion, Sir John Barnard, among other arguments, alledged, That the ſcheme was ſuch as could not, even by malice itſelf, be repreſented to be worſe than it really was; that it was a pill, which, if the people of England were obliged to ſwallow, they would find as bitter a pill as ever was ſwallowed by them ſince they were a people; that the intended remedy for preventing frauds in the collection of the revenue was far more deſperate than the diſeaſe; that the conſtitution of our government, and the liberty of the ſubject, were never more nearly, or more immediately concerned in any queſtion; and that it was a dangerous encroachment upon the ancient birthright of Engliſhmen, the right of trial by jury (*q*). A great number of the citizens having come down to the lobby of the Houſe of Commons, and ſome of the crowd who had mixed with them having behaved tumultuouſly, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the extraordinary concourſe of people who were collected together at the door, and declared his diſapprobation of the methods which had been uſed to bring them thither. In doing this, he ſo far loſt the uſual moderation of his temper, as to drop an expreſſion which gave the higheſt offence to the city of London, and was long remembered to his diſadvantage. 'Gentlemen, he obſerved, might ſay what they pleaſed of the mul-'titudes at the door, and in all the avenues leading to the houſe; they might call them a 'modeſt multitude if they would; they might give them what names they thought fit; 'it might be ſaid that they came as humble ſupplicants: But,' added Sir Robert, 'I 'know whom the Law calls STURDY BEGGARS; and thoſe who brought them hither 'could not be certain, but that they might have behaved in the ſame manner.' Sir John Barnard riſing up to anſwer this reflection, the Committee, for a while, were in ſome confuſion, in conſequence of the queſtion's being loudly called for. At length, however, order being reſtored, Sir John made the following reply: 'Sir, I know of no irregular 'or unfair methods that were uſed to call people from the city to your door. It is cer-'tain, that any ſet of Gentlemen or Merchants may lawfully deſire their friends, they 'may even write letters, and they may ſend thoſe letters to whom they pleaſe, to deſire 'the Merchants of figure and character to come down to the Court of Requeſts and to 'our Lobby, in order to ſolicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or pro-'ject, which they think may be prejudicial to them. This is the undoubted right of the 'ſubject, and what has been always practiſed upon all occaſions. The honourable Gen-'tleman talks of *Sturdy Beggars*; I do not know what ſort of people may be now at our 'door, becauſe I have not lately been out of the Houſe. But I believe they are the ſame 'ſort of people that were there when I came laſt into the Houſe; and then I can aſſure 'you, that I ſaw none but ſuch as deſerve the name of *Sturdy Beggars* as little as the 'honourable Gentleman himſelf, or any Gentleman whatever. It is well known that the 'city of London was ſufficiently appriſed of what we were this day to be about. Where 'they got their information I do not know; but I am very certain, that they had a right 'notion of the ſcheme which has been now opened to us: and they were ſo generally 'and zealouſly bent againſt it, that whatever methods may have been uſed to call them 'together, I am ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal method to 'have prevented their coming hither (*r*).' When four reſolutions had been formed by the Committee, in purſuance of Sir Robert Walpole's motion, relating to the Exciſe-Scheme, and were reported to the Houſe on the 16th of March, Sir John Barnard took the lead, with his uſual ſpirit, in the freſh debate which aroſe upon the queſtion of agreeing to the firſt reſolution. And the ſame vigorous oppoſition was continued by him through the whole progreſs of the bill, till, as is well known, Sir Robert Walpole himſelf found it neceſſary to move, on the 11th of April, 1733, that the ſecond reading of it ſhould be deferred for two months (*s*).

On the 5th of March, 1734-5, a motion was made, by Sir John Barnard, for leave to bring in a bill, 'For reſtraining the Number of Houſes for playing of Interludes, and 'for the better regulating common Players of Interludes.' In ſupport of his motion, he repreſented the miſchief that was done to the metropolis by the effect which the play-houſes had in corrupting the youth, encouraging vice and debauchery, and prejudicing the ſpirit of induſtry and trade; and he urged, that theſe evils would be much increaſed, if, according to a project, which was then ſet on foot, another play-houſe ſhould be erected in the very heart of the city. He was ſeconded by Mr. Sandys, and was ſo ably ſuſtained by Mr. Pulteney, Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Sir Thomas Saunderſon, and Mr. James Erſkine, that it was ordered, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill ſhould be brought in, purſuant to Sir John Barnard's motion. This was accordingly done: but the affair was afterwards dropped, on account of a clauſe, which was offered to be inſerted in the bill, for enlarging the power of the Lord Chamberlain, with regard to the licenſing of plays (*t*). At Midſummer, 1735, Sir John Barnard was choſen, together with his brother-in-law, Alderman Godſchall, to the office of Sheriff for the city of

(*p*) Chandler's Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. vii. p. 307, 308.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 327, 335—339.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 351—353.

(*s*) *Ibid.* 353—358. 371. 373.

(*t*) Chandler, ubi ſupra, Vol. ix. p. 93, 94.

of London and county of Middleſex (*u*). When, on the ſecond of February, 1736-7, Mr. Pulteney moved, in the Houſe of Commons, for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to ſettle 100,000 pounds a year upon his Royal Highneſs Frederic Prince of Wales, Sir John was one of the Gentlemen who ſpoke in its favour (*w*).

(*u*) Gent. Mag. Vol. v. p. 331.

(*w*) Chandler, ubi ſupra, p. 277.

Hitherto our upright and excellent Magiſtrate and Senator had been ſingularly popular in his undertakings. But in the next great affair he was engaged in, though his purpoſes were as wiſe and upright as in any part of his former conduct, he met with a very different fate. On the 14th of March, 1736-7, he made a motion for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe money towards redeeming Old and New South-ſea annuities. This was done with a view of reducing the intereſt of theſe annuities from four to three per cent. and thereby to prepare a way for a like reduction of intereſt with regard to the other funds. In conſequence of the debates which aroſe on this occaſion, ſeveral reſolutions were formed by the Committee of the whole Houſe; and a bill was ordered in, for converting all the public funds, redeemable by law, into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding 3 per cent. per annum. The matter, however, was ſo altered, modified, and refined upon, and rendered ſo unacceptable, by the artifices of thoſe in power, that, after long and violent debates, it came to nothing. The integrity of Sir John Barnard appeared in his moving, about the ſame time, that the Houſe would, as ſoon as the annual intereſt of all the national redeemable debt ſhould be reduced to 3 per cent. take off ſome of the heavy taxes, which oppreſs the poor and manufacturers: But this propoſition was rejected by a conſiderable majority (*x*). Notwithſtanding the undeniable uprightneſs of his intentions, he became, while his attempt to reduce the yearly dividends of the funds was depending, very obnoxious to the public. Inſtead of receiving the applauſe which he juſtly merited, he was inſulted with revilings, and expoſed to the reſentment of the populace. A young man, belonging to a public office, headed a mob, who endeavoured to break into Sir John Barnard's houſe. Though farther violence was prevented, the diſturbance continued for ſome hours. The leader of the rioters, conſcious that the aſſault might eaſily be proved upon him, conſulted his ſafety by flight into another country. After ſeveral months, Sir John Barnard was entreated to ſuffer the criminal to return without moleſtation; to which he generouſly anſwered, 'that he felt no reſent-'ment againſt the youth; that it was enough, if he was ſenſible of his fault; that no 'proſecution was ever intended; and that allowances ſhould be made for the effect 'which inflammatory ſpeeches have upon young minds, from thoſe whom it is their 'duty to reſpect and love.' The odium which was excited by the plan of our faithful Senator ſoon ſubſided. His character ſhone the brighter from the cloud which had been caſt upon it (*y*). And when, ſome years afterwards, Mr. Henry Pelham adopted, and carried into execution, the ſcheme which was now rejected, he was greatly aided and encouraged in the undertaking, by Sir John Barnard (*z*). Indeed, Sir John was ſo fully convinced of the wiſdom and utility of the deſign, that he publiſhed, though without his name, in February, 1749-50, a ſmall tract in defence of it, entitled, 'Conſidera-'tions on the Propoſal for reducing the Intereſt on the National Debt.' This piece is written with great perſpicuity and good ſenſe; and the arguments of it were by no means invalidated by an anſwer to it, called, 'Annotations on a late Pamphlet, entitled, Con-'ſiderations on the Propoſals for reducing the Intereſt on the National Debt (*).'

(*x*) *Ibid.* 370. 382. 416. 447. 452. 454. 478, 479. Uſe and Abuſe of Parliaments, Vol. ii. p. 556.

(*y*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 12, 13.

(*z*) From private information.

(*) Theſe pamphlets, and two others mentioned below, have been obligingly put into our hands by Mr. Reed of Staples Inn.

In 1737, he was raiſed to the dignity of chief Magiſtrate of the city of London; and no one ever diſcharged the office with greater reputation to himſelf, or advantage to the public. During his whole Mayoralty, he paid a paternal attention to the welfare of his fellow-citizens. Though he was enthuſiaſtically devoted to a country evening retirement, he would not ſleep a ſingle night in his houſe at Clapham, leſt any perſon ſhould be injured by his indulging himſelf even with a ſhort abſence from the metropolis. He gave ſuch ſtrict injunctions to remove the nuiſance of common beggars out of the City, and took ſuch care to have his injunctions obſerved, that ſcarcely a vagrant was to be ſeen within the walls. When young delinquents were brought before him, he was an advocate, in every inſtance wherein it could be done with propriety, for ſoftening the penalties they had incurred. If proſecutors were of a ſevere temper, he would labour to diſſuade them from ſending a petty offender, for the firſt treſpaſs, to a priſon, where ſurrounding proſtitutes, and wretches hardened in vice, might induce a total corruption of manners. There were not wanting, it is ſaid, ſeveral inſtances in which his prudence and ſeaſonable lenity became happily ſucceſsful in reſtoring deluded youths to regularity of conduct, and the order of ſociety. But where ſeverity was neceſſary, Sir John Barnard well knew how to exerciſe it with a becoming firmneſs. As the regard he bore to the Clergy was generally ſpoken of, an offender of that order thought that he ſhould hence be treated with greater gentleneſs. Accordingly, he appeared before the Lord Mayor in his canonical robes. But his Lordſhip ſtrongly repreſented to him that the ſanctity of the clerical profeſſion was a high aggravation of the fault; and, without paying the leaſt deference to his religious garb, puniſhed the reverend delinquent according to his crime (*a*). Among other methods which our active Magiſtrate took to promote virtuous manners, and the good government of the City, one was the iſſuing of a ſtrict order for the decent obſervance of the Lord's day. The edict was ſo diligently enforced,

(*a*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10.

enforced, as effectually to awe the offenders againſt whom it was levelled. The Sunday was obſerved, throughout the City, with a decency which, it is apprehended, hath never ſince been equalled (*b*); and it muſt be acknowledged that Sir John Barnard, by his conduct in this reſpect, conſulted not only the honour of religion, but the political welfare and happineſs of the community [*D*].

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 10, 11.

There was an excellent rule laid down by Sir John Barnard for himſelf in his Mayoralty, and which well deſerves to be imitated. He would not permit, if it could poſſibly be avoided, any perſons to be committed to the Compter, even for a ſingle night, without the accuſation's being heard. He thought that the confinement of a ſingle night might, if they were innocent, be very injurious to the parties put into cuſtody; it might hurt their morals, or otherwiſe be very diſtreſſing to themſelves or families. He ſat up, therefore, every evening till after eleven o'clock, to hear the caſes of thoſe who were laid hold of by the Conſtables. One night, when he was gone up ſtairs to bed, a woman was brought, who had been ſeized as a ſtreet-walker. Though the Lord Mayor was nearly undreſſed, he readily came down again. The woman alledged in her defence, that ſhe was a perſon of honeſty, who lived in a remote part of Wapping, and had been kept out late by neceſſary and unavoidable buſineſs. As ſhe ſaid that her neighbours would teſtify to her character, his Lordſhip waited patiently to paſt three in the morning, until ſome of them came for that purpoſe (*c*). During his Mayoralty, he had the misfortune of loſing his Lady, whoſe funeral proceſſion to Clapham was attended, through the City, by the children belonging to Chriſt's Hoſpital, of which he was many years Preſident (*d*).

(*c*) From the obliging information of Robert Dingley, Eſq;

(*d*) New and general Dictionary, Vol. xii. P. 39.

In 1745, the whole kingdom was indebted to the weight and influence of Sir John Barnard, in aſſiſting to prevent the public confuſion. The ſucceſſes of the rebels in Scotland, at that time, and their march into the heart of England, had ſpread ſuch a terror through the City, that public credit began to be ſhaken, and there was a run upon the Bank, the notes of which had ſunk to ten per cent. below their value. In this criſis, Sir John Barnard took the lead at the head of one thouſand and ſix hundred merchants and principal traders, who, at Garraway's Coffee-houſe, ſigned the following agreement:

'We, the underſigned merchants, and others, being ſenſible how neceſſary the preſervation of public credit is, at this time, do hereby declare, that we will not refuſe to receive Bank notes in payment of any ſum of money to be paid to us, and that we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to make all our payments in the ſame manner.' This happy expedient removed the jealouſies which the enemies of the conſtitution, or the fears of the people, had excited, and reſtored public credit to its uſual vigour. Sir John Barnard having diſapproved of the method of raiſing the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year 1746, and having made ſome other propoſals for that purpoſe, a pamphlet was addreſſed to him, which blamed his conduct in this reſpect, and objected to the ſchemes he had offered *. To this he thought proper to reply, in a tract to which he prefixed his name, entitled, 'A Defence of ſeveral Propoſals for raiſing of three Millions for the Service of the Government, for the Year 1746; with a poſtſcript, containing ſome notions relating to public credit:' and whoever peruſes it, will be ſenſible how well ſkilled he was in matters of finance (*e*). Upon the death of Sir John Thompſon, in 1749, Sir John Barnard took upon him the office of Alderman of Bridge-ward without; and thus became in name, as before he might be deemed in reality, THE FATHER OF THE CITY (*f*). The ſenſe of the many advantages, which he had been active in procuring for the nation in general, and the metropolis in particular, induced the body of London Merchants to teſtify their veneration for him, by erecting his ſtatue, during his lifetime, in the Royal Exchange (*g*); an honour which had never before been conferred on any beneath a crowned head (*h*). Sir John Barnard's modeſty engaged him ſincerely to object to this ſignal mark of the gratitude and eſteem of his fellow-citizens. He thought that ſuch a teſtimony of regard ought not to be paid to any character, till its perſeverance in integrity had been ſealed by death; and he ſaid that he could not, conſiſtently with decorum and delicacy, appear in the Royal Exchange, when his ſtatue was there. Accordingly, he never afterwards uſed to go within ſide of it, but contented himſelf with tranſacting his buſineſs in the front of that building (*i*). In the year 1754, without his ſolicitations, and, indeed, contrary to his wiſhes, he was choſen, for the laſt time, to a ſeat in Parliament for the city of London; on which occaſion, he made the following ſpeech to his Electors: 'The honour you have done me in chooſing me ſix times one of your repreſentatives in Parliament, calls for my ſincere and hearty thanks; the rather, as I look upon the preſent election to be the laſt favour I can expect. I have not of late preſumed to offer my ſervice, knowing my inability to give that

* The title of it was, 'A Letter to Sir John Barnard, upon his Propoſals for raiſing three Millions of Money, for the Service of the Year 1746. From a Member of the Houſe of Commons.'

(*e*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 13.

(*f*) New and general Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) It was erected on the 23d of May, 1747. Gent. Mag. Vol. xvii.

(*h*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) From private information.

[*D*] *Welfare and happineſs of the community.*] The inſtitution of Sunday is admirable in a civil and political, as well as in a religious view. The obſervance of it furniſhes a neceſſary repoſe and relief to the laborious part of mankind, tends to ſoften their manners, and inſpires them with a regard to the moral duties of ſociety. Thoſe families, therefore, who ſo order their affairs as not to give their ſervants an opportunity of attending divine worſhip, conſult neither their own ſecurity, nor the intereſt of their domeſtics, nor the benefit of the public. Their conduct is as cenſurable, in the eſtimation of ſound wiſdom and philoſophy, as it is criminal in the eyes of true piety.

'attendance

'attendance in Parliament, which this honourable city has a right to require from its 'members. But the continuance of your polling for me, is a proof of your kindneſs in 'overlooking my failings, and of your affectionate regard for me. The impreſſion which 'this hath made upon my heart can never be effaced, of which I beg leave to aſſure 'you, and of my beſt endeavours to promote the good of this city in particular, and of 'the nation in general (*k*).'

(*k*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxiv. p. 240.

Sir John Barnard finding, ſome few years afterwards, that the infirmities of age advanced faſt upon him, and having always diſliked the thought of retaining a truſt when the duties of it could no longer be fulfilled, thought proper to reſign his Alderman's gown. This reſolution, which took place in July 1758, was received with the ſincere concern of his brethren, and his fellow-citizens. The ſubſequent record of his worth, at the motion of John Paterſon, Eſq; was ordered to be entered upon their books, by the Court of Common-Council. 'Sir John Barnard, ſo juſtly and emphati-'cally ſtiled the Father of this City, having lately, to the great and laſting regret of 'this Court, thought proper to reſign the office of Alderman, it is unanimouſly reſolved, 'that the thanks of this Court be given him, for having ſo long and ſo faithfully devoted 'himſelf to the ſervice of his fellow-citizens; for the honour and influence which this 'city has, upon many occaſions, derived from the dignity of his character, and the 'wiſdom, ſteadineſs, and integrity of his conduct, both in Church and State; his 'noble ſtruggles for liberty; and his diſintereſted, invariable purſuits of the true 'glory and proſperity of his King and country, uninfluenced by power, unawed by 'clamour, and unbiaſſed by the prejudices of party (*l*).' An equally honourable reſolution was paſſed by the Court of Aldermen [*E*].

(*l*) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxviii. p. 337.

Sir John Barnard, after reſigning the office of Alderman, retired, in a great meaſure, from public buſineſs, and lived in a private manner, at his houſe at Clapham, for the remainder of his days. The perſons he commonly aſſociated with were his neighbours, moſt of them merchants, whom he uſed to meet at a weekly club. It was his cuſtom, likewiſe, to go, once a week, to the common bowling green. When he rode out on the Saturdays and Mondays, the principal gentlemen of Clapham attended him, and eſteemed themſelves highly honoured in being of his party (*m*). After ſome years of honourable retirement, he departed this life on the 29th of Auguſt, 1764, at Clapham in Surry, and was buried at Mortlake in the ſame county (*n*).

(*m*) From the information of Robert Dingley, Eſq;

(*n*) Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 21.

All who have written concerning Sir John Barnard, and all who were acquainted with him, have united in teſtifying to the univerſal excellence of his character. He was not only blameleſs, but eminently exemplary, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a maſter, a benefactor, a merchant, a magiſtrate, and a ſenator. To the faithful and active diſcharge of the perſonal and ſocial duties, he added a moſt devout ſenſe of religion. The firſt hour, at leaſt, of every day was employed in prayer, and the ſtudy of the Scriptures. He attended public worſhip twice on a Sunday, and was conſtant in receiving the communion. He had ſuch a high reverence for the Bible, that he always expreſſed a great diſlike of any attacks which were made upon its ſacred original and authority (*o*). Some few farther particulars concerning him will be mentioned in the note [*F*].

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 18, 20.

Sir John Barnard left one ſon, and two daughters. His ſon John Barnard, Eſq; of Berkeley Square, is known for his taſte in the polite arts, and for his admirable collection of pictures. Of Sir John Barnard's daughters, the eldeſt was married to Thomas Hankey, Eſq; afterwards Sir Thomas Hankey, Knt. and the youngeſt to the honourable Henry Temple, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of the late Lord Palmerſton, and father, by this Lady, to the preſent Lord (*p*).]

K.

(*p*) Almon's Peerage of Ireland, Vol. iii. p. 98.

[*E*] *Was paſſed by the Court of Aldermen.*] At the motion of Sir Robert Ladbroke, it was unanimouſly agreed and ordered, 'That the thanks of this Court 'be given to Sir John Barnard Knt. late one of the 'Aldermen, and father of this City, for his conſtant 'attendance, and ſalutary counſels in this Court; 'his wiſe, vigilant, and impartial adminiſtration of 'juſtice; his unwearied zeal for the honour, ſafety, 'and proſperity of his fellow-citizens; his inviolable 'attachment to the laws and liberties of his country; 'and for the noble example he has ſet of a long and 'uninterrupted courſe of virtue, in private as well as 'public life (25).'

(25) Gent. Mag. Vol. xxviii. p. 338.

[*F*] *Will be mentioned in the note.*] Sir John Barnard did not, in leaving the Quakers, lay aſide the ſimplicity of his manners. He was plain in his dreſs and addreſs; clear, unaffected, and conciſe in his language. Though modeſt in his deportment, he feared no man in the diſcharge of his duty. Once, when he had riſen in a debate, Sir Robert Walpole, then in the height of his power, was whiſpering to the Speaker, who leaned towards him, over the arm of his chair. Upon this Sir John Barnard cried out, 'Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, I 'addreſs myſelf to you, and not to your chair. I 'will be heard. I call that Gentleman to order.' The Speaker turned about, diſmiſſed Sir Robert, aſked Sir John's pardon, and deſired him to proceed. Another time, when Sir Robert Walpole had taken a roll of paper from off the table, and was reading it, Sir John Barnard obliged him to lay it down, and attend to the buſineſs of the Houſe.

When, during Lord Granville's being Secretary of State, any applications were made by the Merchants to Adminiſtration, his Lordſhip was accuſtomed to aſk, 'What does Sir John Barnard ſay? what is his 'opinion?' That celebrated nobleman and Mr. Pulteney uſed frequently to viſit him at Clapham, to requeſt his advice with regard to any important affairs in which they were engaged. Lord Chatham, when Mr. Pitt, hath been known to ſtile him the great Commoner; and Lord Palmerſton requeſted his youngeſt daughter for his eldeſt ſon, as an honour done to his family.

It is ſaid, that Sir John Barnard was once preſſed, by King George the Second, to accept the poſt of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he refuſed (26). This was in February 1745-6, when Earl Granville was again appointed Secretary of State; but was obliged to reſign the ſeals in a few days, on account of a powerful combination againſt him.]

(26) From the information of Robert Dingley, Eſq;

BARNES (JOSHUA), a learned divine, and Profeſſor of the Greek language at Cambridge, was born at London the 10th of January, 1654 (*a*). His father was a tradeſman of that city. Joſhua had his education in grammar learning at Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his early knowledge of Greek, and by ſome *Poems* in *Latin* and *Engliſh* [*A*], written before he went to the Univerſity. December the 11th, 1671, he was admitted a Servitor in Emanuel-college in Cambridge (*b*). In 1675, he publiſhed, at London, a little piece, intitled, *Gerania: or, A new Diſcovery of a little Sort of People called Pigmies* (*c*). June the 7th, 1678, he was elected Fellow of Emanuel-college (*d*). The next year, 1679, he publiſhed at London, in *octavo*, his *Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther* [*B*]. In 1686, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*e*), and, in 1688, publiſhed his *Life of King* Edward III. [*C*], dedicated

(*a*) *See his* Epitaph *in Remark* [*H*].

(*b*) Regiſter of Emanuel College.

(*c*) Catalogue of his Works, ſubjoined to the *Prolegomena* of his *Anacreon*, 1ſt edition.

(*d*) Regiſter of Emanuel College.

(*e*) Univerſity Regiſter.

[*A*] Poems *in* Latin *and* Engliſh.] I. *Sacred Poems*, in five books, viz. 1. Κοσμοποιΐα, or *The Creation of the World*. 2. *The Fall of Adam and the Redemption by Chriſt*. 3. *An Hymn to the Holy Trinity*. 4. *A Paſtoral Eclogue upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II., and an Eſſay upon the Royal Exchange*. 5. *Panegyris, or the Muſes*, &c. Theſe pieces are in Engliſh, with a Latin dedication, An. 1669. II. *The Life of Oliver Cromwell, the Tyrant*. An Engliſh Poem, 1670. III. Several Dramatic Pieces, *viz. Xerxes, Pythias and Damon, Holofernes*, &c. ſome in Engliſh and ſome in Latin; the former written entirely by himſelf, the latter in conjunction with others. Alſo ſome *Tragedies* of *Seneca* tranſlated into Engliſh. IV. Upon the *Fire of London* and the *Plague*, a *Latin* poem in heroic verſe. V. A Latin Elegy upon the *beheading of St. John the Baptiſt* (1).

(1) *See the* Catalogue *of Mr.* Barnes's Works, *ſubjoined to the* Prolegomena *of his* Anacreon, 1ſt edit.

[*B*] *His* Poetical Paraphraſe on the Hiſtory of Eſther.] The Title is; Αὐλικοκάτοπτρον, *ſive Eſtheræ Hiſtoria, Poetica Paraphraſi, idque Græco carmine, cui verſio Latina opponitur, exornata; una cum Scholiis, ſeu Annotationibus Gr cis; in quibus (ad ſacri textus dilucidationem) præter alia non pauca, Gentium Orientalium Antiquitates, Moreſque reconditiores proferuntur. Additur Parodia Homerica de eadam hac Hiſtoria. Acceſſit Index rerum ac verborum copioſiſſimus*; *i. e.* 'The Courtier's Looking-Glaſs; or, The 'Story of Eſther paraphraſed in Greek verſe, with a 'Latin tranſlation in the oppoſite page, and Greek '*Scholia* or Notes; in which (to illuſtrate the ſacred 'Text) beſides many other particulars, the Antiquities 'and more remote cuſtoms of the Eaſtern nations are 'explained. To which is added, a parody in Homerics 'upon the ſame Story, and a copious Index of Things 'and Words.' It was printed, as the title-page informs us, at his own charge. The *Imprimatur* is dated July 3, 1676. It is dedicated to Dr. John Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter and Dean of Weſtminſter (2), who, as the dedication tells us, contributed largely to the expence of the impreſſion. In the preface he tells us, he had finiſhed this piece five years before; but, by advice of his friends, had deferred the publication of it, in order to poliſh it at his leiſure. He juſtifies, by the authority of Joſephus, his placing this hiſtory after the time of Nehemiah, contrary to the opinion of many conſiderable writers. He conſiders, who Ahaſuerus, mentioned in the Hiſtory of Eſther, was; and determines him to have been the famous Xerxes. He diſplays the moral uſes that may be made of his poem, and vindicates his introducing the names of the pagan deities and prophane alluſions into a ſacred ſubject. The preface is followed by ſeveral copies of verſes in Greek and Latin, addreſſed to the author, by Dr. James Duport and others. As a ſpecimen of Mr. Barnes's talent at *Greek Poetry*, we ſhall oblige the learned reader with the following beautiful deſcription of Eſther's perſon.

(2) *Afterwards Archbiſhop of York.*

Ἦγ' ὐδὲν ποθέουσα, τὸ δ' πάρος εἵλετο, μύθῃ
Μαρμαρυγὴν ἀφέηκεν ἀκιδδήλοιο προσώπου,
Μαρμαρυγὴν, ἣ πάντας ἐτέρψατο εἰσορόωντας·
Κυάνεαι λιπαρὴν κεφαλὴν κόσμησαν ἔθειραι,
Ἃς γλυκεροῖς δεσμοίσιν ἐδήσατο Κύπρις ἐρώτων.
Ὄμματα δ' ἀγράποντα πόθῳ πτερόεντας ὀϊστούς.
Ὀφρυσιν ἀμφ' ἑκατέρθεν ἐπωξύνοντο μελαίναις.
Καὶ ῥόδα μὲν κρίνοισι μεμιγμένα, λευκῷ ἐρυθρόν
Ὥπτι νέον λειμῶνα θέσαν· χροιὴ δὲ παρειων
Καλὸν ἐρευθιόωσα φάνη καλύκεσσιν ὁμοίη.
Χείλεα δ' αὖ σιγήσω, ὅπως μὴ Κύπριν ὀρίνω
(Εἰ πω Κύπρις ἔην γε) τὰ Χείλεα φέρτερα δείξας·
Πειθὼ δὲ στόμα καλὸν ἀεὶ κ᾽ ὀδόντας ἔναιε,
Τὰς μὲν λευκοτέρης χιόνος, τὸ δὲ νέκταρ ἐνίκα.
Μαζὼς οἰδαλέης διδυμοῖς σωροῖσιν ἐίσκω
Ἠδείης κασίης λευκῷ ἐριθείοισι γάλακτι,
Οἰστροφόρος δὲ πόθος χρυσέην ὑπεβάλλετο ζώνην.
Ἀμφὶ δ' ἑ πέπλον ἔχευεν ἑανὸν εἵματα τ' ἄλλα
Δῖ' Εὐσχημοσύνη, ποσσιν θ' ὑπέδησε πέδιλα.
Λειρὴν δ' ἔ τῳ ἔϊσκον, ὅτ' ὐδέποτ' ἄλλο πέφυκε
Τόσσησιν χαρίτεσσι βεβυσμένον, ἠδ' ἄν ἐρίζοι·
Πάντα μὲν ἦν κάλλιστα· Δέμας γλυκὺς ὅρμος ἐρώτων,
Μᾶλλον δ' ἔνδον ἔλαμψε Νόος γ' ἀρετῇσι φαεινός (3).

(3) Αὐλικοκάτοπτρου. *Edit. Lond.* 1679. Κεφ. β. ver. 345.

The *Homerical Parody*, mentioned in the title, conſiſts of but fifty-ſix lines, and is an *Epitome* of the ſtory of Eſther in the very words of Homer. It begins, like the *firſt book* of the *Iliad*, thus:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεὰ Ἀμαληχιάδεω Ἀμανῆος
Οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἑβραίοις ἄλγε ἔθηκε,
Πρόσθεν δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν, &c.

The author tells us, he wrote it in leſs than an hour. It is entitled, Σουσιάδος Ῥαψωδία ἢ Παρῳδία Ὁμηρική. It is followed by a copy of Greek verſes, entitled, Εὐχαριστήριον εἴτ' ἦν τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς Ἐθῆρος φίλων κατάλογος καὶ Μνημόσυνη; *i. e.* 'A Thankſgiving; or, Catalogue 'and Memorial of the Friends of my Eſther.'

[*C*] *His* Life of King Edward III.] It is entitled, *The Hiſtory of that moſt victorious Monarch Edward* III., *King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, and firſt Founder of the moſt noble order of the Garter; being a full and exact account of the Life and Death of the ſaid King; together with that of his moſt renowned Son, Edward Prince of Wales and Acquitain, ſurnamed* The Black Prince; *faithfully and carefully collected from the beſt and moſt ancient Authors domeſtic and foreign, printed Books, Manuſcripts, and Records: By* Joſhua Barnes, *Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows of Emanuel-College Cambridge*. Cambridge, 1688. In *folio*. In the Preface he tells us, 'He had undertaken a work of ſo much difficulty, 'that nothing but a ſenſe of the honour and real ad- 'vantage thereof could have animated him to it. For 'the obſcurity of our hiſtories being ſo great, and the 'miſtakes and oppoſition of them one with another 'being ſo frequent, it muſt neceſſarily ſeem a labour 'not ſmall to endeavour to give a juſt account of the 'whole ſeries of all public actions for the continuance 'of fifty years and upwards, at ſuch a long diſtance of 'time, as more than three centuries.' However he obſerves, 'That his reſolution had been to ſhew ſo 'much diligence in the collecting, and ſo much in- 'tegrity in the compoſing, that if he could not obtain 'the knowledge of all the moſt momentous truths, 'yet he ſhould purpoſely decline all fabulous narra- 'tions, all groundleſs opinions, all popular errors, 'partiality, and prejudice, and ſeriouſly conform him- 'ſelf to thoſe rules and decencies, which belong to a 'faithful hiſtorian. That the ſubject matter of his 'diſcourſe is the honour of his country, the life and 'actions of one of the greateſt Kings, whom perhaps 'the world ever ſaw, the rights of the Engliſh crown, 'and how well our anceſtors were able to vindicate 'them.' He informs us alſo, 'That he does not con- 'fine himſelf wholly to the relation of King Edward's 'exploits, or to thoſe of his invincible ſon the Black 'Prince, and the reſt of his noble and victorious chil- 'dren; but that whatever name he found memorable 'of his ſubjects in either of his kingdoms, whether 'they were famed for arts of war or peace, he had 'endeavoured to pay them that juſt duty, which he 'thought they deſerved; becauſe it ſeemed to him 'altogether fit, that thoſe, who then ſtood with their 'ſovereign in his grand offices of war or government, 'ſhould by no means now be deprived of a partici- 'pation with him in his glorious memoirs; eſpecially 'ſince not a few are ſtill remaining derived from

'thoſe

dedicated to King James II. In 1694 came out his edition of *Euripides* [*D*], dedicated to Charles Duke of Somerſet; and in 1695, he was choſen Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge. In the year 1700, Mr. Barnes married Mrs. Maſon [*E*], a widow lady of Hemingford near St. Ives in Huntingdonſhire, with a jointure of 200 *l. per annum.* In 1705, he publiſhed, at Cambridge, his edition of ANACREON [*F*], dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough; and, in 1710, his HOMER [*G*]; the *Iliad* dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and the *Odyſſey* to the Earl of Nottingham. Mr. Joſhua Barnes died the 3d of Auguſt 1712, in the 58th year of his age *(f)*, and was buried at Hemingford, where is a monument erected to him by his widow [*H*]. Our author wrote

(f) See his Epitaph.

'thoſe famous anceſtors, whoſe minds may be more 'ſtrongly affected with due incentives of honour, 'when they ſhall underſtand by what methods their 'forefathers attained ſuch eſtates and titles, which 'they now as worthily enjoy.' Biſhop Nicolſon, in his *Engliſh Hiſtorical Library* (4), gives this character of our author's performance. 'Above all, Mr. Joſhua 'Barnes has diligently collected whatever was to be 'had (far and near) upon the ſeveral paſſages of this 'great King's reign. His quotations are many; and '(generally) his authors are as well choſen, as ſuch a 'multitude can be ſuppoſed to have been. His in'ferences are not always becoming a ſtateſman; and 'ſometimes his digreſſions are tedious. His deriving 'of the famous inſtitution of the Garter from the 'Phœnicians *, is extremely obliging to good Mr. 'Sammes †; but came too late, it ſeems, to Mr. Aſh'mole's knowledge, or otherwiſe would have bid fair 'for a choice poſt of honour in his elaborate book. 'In ſhort, this induſtrious author ſeems to have driven 'his work too faſt to the preſs, before he had pro'vided an *Index*, and ſome other accoutrements, which 'might have rendered it more ſerviceable to his 'readers.' In this hiſtory Mr. Barnes ſeems to affect imitating Thucydides, and other ancient hiſtorians, particularly in introducing his heroes making long and elaborate ſpeeches, which ſeem to be the reſult of his own imagination.

(4) P. 80. See his *Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh Hiſtorical Libraries*, &c. Lond. 1736. *folio.*

* P. 294, 295.

† Aylet Sammes, *who, in his* Britannia Antiqua Illuſtrata, *folio.* Lond. 1661. *fetches the Original of the Britiſh Cuſtoms, Religion, and Laws, from the Phœnicians.*

[*D*] *His* Euripides.] It is entitled, *Euripidis quæ extant omnia, Tragœdiæ nempe XX., præter ultimam omnes completæ: Item Fragmenta aliarum pluſquam LX. Tragœdiarum et Epiſtolæ V., nunc primum et ipſæ adjectæ*; *i. e.* 'All the works of Euripides, namely, 'Twenty Tragedies, all perfect but the laſt; alſo 'Fragments of above ſixty other Tragedies, and five 'epiſtles, now firſt added.' Mr. Barnes has corrected the text of Euripides, which was greatly corrupted in all the preceding editions, and particularly reſtored the metre, of which he has diſcourſed at large in his Preliminary Diſſertation, *De Tragœdia veterum Græcorum.* As to the Latin verſion, he has retained that of William Canter, and Æmylius Portus, which he has corrected in many places; eſteeming it preferable to the old verſion, which paſſes under the name of *Dorotheus Camillus*, or that of Melancthon. He has prefixed a *Diſſertation* on the *Life* and *Writings* of Euripides; in which, following the common opinion, he has placed that Poet's birth in the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad, though the *Arundelian marble* (5) places it in the fourth year of the 73d Olympiad. He has given us three *Indexes*; the firſt upon the Poet himſelf, the ſecond upon the *Scholia*, and the third upon the authors quoted in the *Scholia*, and the notes.

(5) *See* Baſil Kennet's *Lives and Characters of the ancient Greek Poets*, P. i. p. 107. edit. 1679.

[*E*] *He married Mrs. Maſon.*] The ſtory goes, that this lady, who was between forty and fifty, having for ſome time been a great admirer of Mr. Barnes, came to Cambridge, and deſired leave to ſettle an hundred pounds a year upon him after her death; which he politely refuſed, unleſs ſhe would condeſcend to make him happy in her perſon, which was none of the moſt engaging. The lady was too obliging to refuſe any thing to *Joſhua, for whom*, ſhe ſaid, the *ſun ſtood ſtill*; and ſoon after they were married.

[*F*] *His* Anacreon.] The title is, *Anacreon Teius, Poeta Lyricus, ſumma cura et diligentia ad fidem etiam vet. MS. Vatican. emendatus, ac priſtino nitori numeriſque ſuis reſtitutus, dimidia fere parte auctus, aliquot nempe juſtis Poematiis et fragmentis plurimis ab undiquaque conquiſitis*; *i. e.* 'Anacreon the Teian, a ly'ric Poet; corrected with the utmoſt care and dili'gence from an ancient manuſcript in the Vatican li'brary; reſtored to his priſtine beauty and metre; 'and enlarged almoſt half, namely, by ſome entire 'Poems, and ſeveral fragments collected from various 'authors.' There was a ſecond edition, after Mr. Barnes's death, printed at Cambridge, in 1721. It is dedicated to John, Duke of Marlborough. The dedication (dated from Hemingford near St. Ives in Huntingdonſhire, March 26, 1705) is followed by a Greek Anacreontic Ode upon the Duke's victory at Blenheim, with a Latin tranſlation in the ſame meaſure. Then follows the *Life* of *Anacreon*, in which he has endeavoured to vindicate that Poet from the charge of unnatural love, and to ſhew that his poems contain nothing indecent, or contrary to good manners, or improper to be put into the hands of youth; to which end he rejects ſome pieces in the Vatican manuſcript, which he will not allow to have been compoſed by Anacreon. In the *Prolegomena* he treats of the antiquity and invention of lyric poetry, and the peculiar character of Anacreon; alſo of the metre of that Poet. He anſwers likewiſe an objection urged againſt himſelf, as a Chriſtian Divine, for employing his time and pains on a ſubject of ſo light a nature; which he juſtifies from his having no benefice, or cure of ſouls, to engage his attention; and from his character as Profeſſor of the Greek tongue. To his edition of Anacreon he has ſubjoined the *Epigrams* of the Ancients and Moderns upon that Poet, and ſome *Odes* of his own compoſition, under the title of *Anacreon Chriſtianus*, with a Latin verſion of them in the ſame metre; alſo an *Index* to the whole.

[*G*] *His* Homer.] The title is; *Homeri Ilias et Odyſſea*, &c. Beſides a very correct text, the editor has given an exact Latin tranſlation, with the ancient *Scholia*, continued notes upon the text and *Scholia*, and many various readings; and has ſubjoined the *Batrochomyomachia*, the *Hymns* and *Epigrams*, the *Fragments*, and two *Indexes*. He informs us, he had written a treatiſe upon the age of Homer, his life, genealogy, &c. which he deſigned to have inſerted in this edition, but for a particular reaſon had deferred it to ſome other time. He has prefixed ſeveral pieces to the firſt volume, comprehending the *Iliad*; as, I. The *Life of Homer*, commonly aſcribed to Herodotus. II. Three ſmall pieces taken from Leo Allatius, *De Patria Homeri*. III. A paſſage from Suidas, and another from Pauſanias, relating to Homer. IV. Plutarch's account of the Life of this Poet. V. *Certamen Homeri et Heſiodi*. VI. A Diſſertation concerning Homer's Poetry, aſcribed by the Editor to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. VII. Porphyry's *Quæſtiones Homericæ*. VIII. The ſame author's *De Nympharum Antro*. IX. Dion Chryſoſtom's oration concerning Homer, with ſome notes thereon by Dr. John Davies, afterwards maſter of Queen's-college in Cambridge. There is an account of this edition of *Homer* in the *Acta Eruditorum* for January 1711 (6), in which we are told, that Mr. Barnes has given us a more correct and perfect edition of Homer than any which had appeared before, and that he has diſcovered in it great diligence, and ſkill in the Greek poetry. Nevertheleſs, we have there ſome objections againſt it, aſcribed to the learned Dr. Bentley. Particularly, Mr. Barnes is cenſured for retaining ſeveral of Schrevelius's abſurd interpolations in the ancient Greek *Scholia*; and exceptions are made to ſeveral points in the *Prolegomena*. When this edition was ready for the preſs, Mr. Barnes wrote a long copy of Engliſh verſes, now extant in the library of Emanuel-college; the deſign of which is to prove, that Solomon was the author of that divine work. It is imagined, he wrote theſe verſes, not ſo much from the perſuaſion of his own mind, as to amuſe his wife, and by that means engage her to ſupply him with money to defray the expences of the edition.

(6) P. 1. 54. 308.

[*H*] *The inſcription on his monument.*] It is as follows: H. S. E. Joſhua Barnes, S. T. B. *Collegii Emmanuelis Socius, Linguæ Græcæ in Academia Cantabrigienſi Profeſſor Regius peritiſſimus. Plura Eruditionis et Induſtriæ Monumenta reliquit. Ob. Aug.* 3.

wrote many other pieces, which were never publiſhed [*I*]. His character, both as a man and an author, ſhall be given in the remark [*K*]. B.

A. D. 1712. *Ætat.* 58. Maria Barnes *conjugi dilectiſſimo* M. P.

Βαρνήσιος δ' ἅπαντας
Νίκησε πολύτεχνος,
Λογογραφῶν φέριστος,
Ἄνθος τε τῶν Ἀοιδῶν·
Τῶν Ἱστόρων μέγιστος,
Καὶ Ῥητόρων ἄριστος,
Καὶ Μαντίων βαθύστος
Βριτανικῆς ἀρωγῆς.

The Greek Anacreontiques on the monument engliſhed.

'Kind Barnes, adorn'd by every Muſe,
'Each Greek in his own Art out-does:
'No Orator was ever greater;
'No Poet ever chanted ſweeter.
'H' excell'd in Grammar Myſtery,
'And the Black Prince of Hiſtory:
'And a Divine the moſt profound,
'That ever trod on Engliſh ground.'

Mr. Barnes read a ſmall Engliſh Bible, that he uſually carried about him, one hundred and twenty-one times over at leiſure hours. He was born January 10, 1654. All this is upon his monument.

[*I*] *He wrote many pieces, which were never publiſhed.*] There is ſubjoined to the firſt edition of his *Anacreon* at Cambridge, 1705; a *Catalogue* of Works, which Mr. Barnes had either publiſhed, or intended to publiſh; which catalogue is omitted in the ſecond edition of that Poet, printed after his death in 1721, though it is mentioned in the *Contents* and the *Prolegomena*. In this catalogue, beſides the books already mentioned, we find the following: I. *The Warlike Lover, or the Generous Rival*; an Engliſh Dramatic piece upon the war between the Engliſh and Dutch, and the death of the Earl of Sandwich, *An.* 1672. II. Ποσομφαπαὰχ, or *Joſeph the Patriarch*; a Greek Heroic poem in one book. The author deſigned *twelve* books, but finiſhed only one. III. Ὁμιολογία, or our *Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount*, the Decalogue, the Apoſtles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the *Magnificat*, with other Hymns from the Old and New Teſtament, in Greek verſe. IV. *Thuribulum*, or the Hymns and Feſtivals in Greek verſe. V. Miſcellanies and Epigrams in Latin and Greek verſe. VI. Αγγλο Βιλγομαχία, or the Death of Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh verſe. VII. Ἀλεκτρυομαχία, or a poem upon *Cock-fighting*, *An.* 1673. VIII. The *Song of Songs*, containing an hundred Hexaſtics in Engliſh Heroic verſe, *An.* 1674. IX. Σπιδηριάδος; a ludicrous Poem, in Greek Macaronic verſe, upon a Battle between a Spider and a Toad, *An.* 1673. X. Φλεϊάδος, or a Supplement to the old ludicrous Poem under that title, at Trinity-Houſe in Cambridge, upon a Battle between the Fleas and a Welſhman. XI. A *Poetical Lexicon*, Greek and Latin; to which is added a Lexicon of proper names, Fol. 1675. XII. A Treatiſe upon the *Greek Accents*, in anſwer to Henry Chriſtian Heninius and others, with a Diſcourſe upon the *Points* now in uſe. XIII. Humorous Poems upon the 9th book of the *Iliad*, and the ninth of the *Odyſſey*, in Engliſh; publiſhed in 1681. XIV. *Franciados*; an Heroic Poem, in Latin, upon the Black Prince. The whole was to conſiſt of twelve books, eight of which were finiſhed. XV. *The Art of War*, in four books, in Engliſh Proſe, 1676. XVI. *Hengiſt*, or *The Engliſh Valour*; an Heroic Poem in Engliſh, in ſeven books. XVII. *Landgarth*, or the Amazon Queen of Norway and Denmark; an Engliſh Dramatic Poem in Heroic verſe, deſigned in honour of the marriage between Prince George of Denmark and Princeſs Anne. XVIII. An *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* from the Beginning of the World to the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, in Latin: Fol. XIX. Miſcellaneous *Poems* in Engliſh. XX. Philoſophical and Divine *Poems*, in Latin, publiſhed at different times at Cambridge. XXI. *Poems*, and ſacred daily *Meditations*, continued for ſeveral years in Engliſh. XXII. A Diſſertation upon *Pillars*, *Obeliſks*, *Pyramids*, &c. in Latin, 1692. XXIII. A Diſcourſe upon the *Sibyls*, in three books, in Latin. XXIV. The *Life* of *Pindar* in four Lectures, and thirty-two Lectures upon his firſt Olympic Ode. XXV. The *Life* of *Theocritus*, and Lectures upon that Poet. XXVI. The *Lives* of *David*, *Scanderbeg*, and *Tamerlane*. Theſe Lives, he tells us, he never actually begun, but only made conſiderable collections for them. XXVII. The *Life* of *Edward*, *the Black Prince*. XXVIII. The *Univerſity-Calendar*, or Directions for young Students of all degrees, with relation to their Studies, and general Rules of Ethics, and a Form of Prayer, *An.* 1685. XXIX. Thirty-two Lectures upon the firſt Book of the *Odyſſey*. XXX. Above fifty Lectures upon *Sophocles*. XXXI. Lectures upon *Bereſhith*, with an Oration recommending the Study of the Hebrew Language. XXXII. Three *Diſcourſes* in Engliſh. 1. *The Fortunate Iſland, or the Inauguration of Queen Gloriana.* 2. *The Advantage of England, or a ſure way to Victory.* 3. *The Cauſe of the Church of England defended and explained*; publiſhed in 1703. XXXIII. *Concio ad Clerum*, for his Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, at St. Mary's in Cambridge, 1686. XXXIV. Occaſional *Sermons*, preached before the Lord-Mayor, &c. XXXV. An *Oration*, recommending the Study of the Greek language, ſpoken in the Public Schools at Cambridge before the Vice-Chancellor, March 28, 1705. XXXVI. A *Greek Oration*, addreſſed to the moſt reverend Father Neophytus, Archbiſhop of Philippopolis, ſpoken in the Regent-Houſe at Cambridge, September 13, 1701. XXXVII. A *Prevaricator's Speech*, ſpoken at the Commencement at Cambridge, 1680. XXXVIII. A *Congratulatory Oration* in Latin, ſpoken at St. Mary's, September 9, 1683, upon the Eſcape of King Charles II. and the Duke of York from the Conſpiracy. XXXIX. Sermons, Orations, Declamations, Problems, Tranſlations, Letters, and other Exerciſes, in Engliſh, Latin, and Greek. XL. A *Satire* in Engliſh Verſe upon the Poets and Critics. XLI. An Imitation of Plautus's *Trinummi* in Engliſh. XLII. Interpretations, Illuſtrations, Emendations, and Corrections of many Paſſages, which have been falſely tranſlated, with Explications upon various paſſages of Scripture, from *Geneſis* to *Revelations*. XLIII. *Common-Places* in Divinity, Philology, Poetry, and Criticiſm; and Emendations of various Greek and Latin Authors, with Fragments of many of the Poets.

[*K*] *His character both as a man and an author.*] He had a great deal of enthuſiaſm in his temper, which diſcovered itſelf in various circumſtances of his life. He conſtantly maintained, that ſpiritual ſins, ſuch as pride, defamation, &c. were more offenſive in the eyes of God, than thoſe which ariſe from a too great indulgence of the ſenſes. He believed, that charity ſeldom or never paſſes without its reward in this life. And this opinion prevailed ſo far with him, that he has given his only coat to a vagrant begging at the door; and he uſed to relate ſome extraordinary retributions conferred upon him by unknown perſons for his charities of this kind. He was remarkable rather for the quickneſs of his wit, and the happineſs of his memory, than for the ſolidity of his judgment; upon which ſomebody recommended this *pun* to be inſcribed upon his monument:

Joſhua Barnes,
Felicis Memoriæ, Judicium expectans.

He had a prodigious readineſs in writing and ſpeaking the Greek tongue; and he himſelf tells us (7), 'he 'found it much eaſier to him to write in that language, 'than in Latin or even Engliſh, ſince the ornaments 'of poetry are almoſt peculiar to the Greeks, and 'ſince he had for many years been extremely conver- 'ſant in Homer, the great father and ſource of the 'Greek Poetry: However, that his verſes were not 'mere *Centos* from that Poet, like Dr. Duport's, but 'formed, as far as he was able, upon his ſtyle and 'manner; ſince he had no deſire to be conſidered as 'a *Rhapſodiſt of a Rhapſody* *, but was ambitious of 'the title of a Poet.' Dr. Bentley, we are told, uſed to ſay of Joſhua Barnes, that *he underſtood as much Greek as a Greek Cobler*.

(7) *In the Preface to his* Ἀνακρέοντος.

* Ῥαψῳδιστὴς Ῥαψῳδίας.

[Joſhua Barnes's editions of the Greek writers have fallen, of late years, into great diſeſteem. In the Hippolytus of Euripides, publiſhed at Oxford, in 1756, our author's Euripides is very freely cenſured. Nor

Nor hath his Homer met with a better reception from the ableſt critics. The learned Dr. Clarke, ſpeaking of one of his readings, ſays, *Barneſius, intolerandâ Audaciâ atque Inſcitiâ, edidit de ſuo*, &c. Dr. Bentley, being underſtood to be covertly reflected upon, in Barnes's preface to his Homer, wrote a letter upon the occaſion, to Dr. Davies, the beginning of which is as follows:

'Dear SIR,

'AFTER you left me this morning, I borrowed 'of Dr. Sike, Mr. Barnes's new edition of Ho-'mer, where I was told that I ſhould find myſelf 'abuſed.—I read over his dedications and prefaces, 'and there I find very opprobrious words againſt 'enemies in general, and one *Homo inimicus* in par-'ticular; which I cannot apply to myſelf, not being 'concerned in the accuſation. But if Mr. Barnes 'has, or does declare in company, that he means 'me, by thoſe expreſſions, I aſſure him I ſhall not 'put up ſuch an affront, and an injury too, ſince I 'was one of his firſt ſubſcribers, and an uſeful 'director to him, if he had followed good advice.— 'He ſtruts and ſwaggers like a Suffenus, and chal-'lenges that ſame enemy to come *apertè*, and ſhew 'him any fault.—If he mean me, I have but dipped 'yet into his notes, and yet I find every where juſt 'occaſion of cenſure.' The Doctor then points out ſome glaring miſtakes of Mr. Barnes; and is ſo angry at one of them, that it is, he ſays, 'A piece of igno-'rance for which he deſerves to be turned out of the 'chair, and for which and many others like it, '*ſi magis me irritaverit*, I, as his principal elector 'and governor, may call him to account.' Dr. Bentley adds, at the cloſe of the letter, 'If it be 'true, that he gives out that he means me by thoſe 'villainous characters, I ſhall teach him better man-'ners towards his elector. For though I ſhall not 'honour him ſo much as to enter the liſts againſt 'him myſelf, yet in one week's time, I can ſend a 'hundred ſuch remarks as theſe, to his good friend 'Will. Baxter (whom I have known theſe twenty 'years), who, before the Parliament ſits, ſhall pay 'him home for his Anacreon. But if it be other-'wiſe, that he did not deſcribe me under thoſe 'general reproaches, a ſmall ſatisfaction ſhall con-'tent me, which I leave you to be judge of; for I 'would not, without the utmoſt provocation, hurt 'the ſale of his book, upon which he profeſſes to 'have laid out his whole fortunes (8).'

(8) Monthly Review, Vol. xiv. p. 201—204. Clarke's Homer, Vol. ii. p. 63. 3d edit. note. lib. xiv. ver. 101.

Mr. Barnes's publication of Homer involved him in conſiderable difficulties; and his circumſtances, in conſequence of it, appear to have been ſo greatly embarraſſed, that he wrote a ſupplicatory letter to Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, ſtating his diſtreſſes, and requeſting that he might have a little prebend, or ſufficient anchor to lay hold on. This letter, which was written Oct. 16, 1711, and which Mr. Barnes ſurvived only ten months, without obtaining any preferment, is extant in the Britiſh Muſeum, from whence it has been tranſcribed by Mr. Towers (9).

(9) Britiſh Biography, Vol. vii. p. 414, 415.

The character which hath been given of Joſhua Barnes, with regard to his learning, is, that he had read a great many books, retained a great many words, and could write Greek in what is called the Anacreontic meaſure readily, but was very far from being a judicious or an able critic. If he had ſome enemies at firſt, his abuſe and vanity did not afterwards leſſen their number, though it is probable, more men laughed at, than either envied or hated him. They ſaid he was ονος προς λυραν, *Aſinus ad Lyram*; and perhaps it is not the worſt thing Barnes ever ſaid in reply, that they who ſaid this of him, had not underſtanding enough to be poets, or wanted the ὁ νως προς λυραν (10). By the way, the tranſlation of the Greek Anacreontics, from Barnes's epitaph, in the note [*H*], is burleſque; and ſo, indeed, are the original lines, though the author of them had no ſuch intention. The witticiſm recommended to be inſcribed on Joſhua Barnes's monument is not new. Menage uſed it in his ſatire upon Pierre Montmaur. The turn of the expreſſion ſuits the French and Engliſh languages as well as it does the Latin (11). If it is to be conſidered as a mere pun, it is a very happy one, and ſhews that even puns may ſometimes approach towards real wit.

(10) Monthly Review, ubi ſupra.

(11) From a valuable correſpondent.

If we are not miſtaken, Mr. Granger relates an anecdote concerning Mr. Barnes's having generouſly refuſed two thouſand a year, which was offered to be ſettled upon him. Not having happened to mark the place where this fact is recorded, we cannot now point it out to our readers.] K.

BARNWALL (ROBERT), was of a family which has yielded many conſiderable men in times paſt [*A*], but of which branch of it this Robert was, we cannot with certainty declare. It was originally French, from Little Bretagne, where, we are told (*a*), the ſurname is conſiderable to this day. This gentleman was born in the county of Dublin, and educated in the ſtudy of the Law at Gray's-Inn, London; where he became a writer while he was a youth. What progreſs or figure he made at the bar in his riper years, or when he died, we know not, nor ſhould we have known thus much, if the dedication to the book underneath mentioned, had not informed us of it [*B*].

(*a*) Iriſh Compend. p. 133.

[*A*] *Yielded many conſiderable men.*] As Barnwall, Lord Viſcount Kingſland; Barnwall, Lord Baron of Trimelſton; of which family John Barnwall, Lord Trimelſton was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and made ſo (1), on the 16th of Auguſt, 1534; and before that was made Lord Treaſurer (2) of Ireland, on the 30th of September, 1524. There was alſo a Baronet's title in the family, and many gentlemen of conſiderable eſtates.

(1) Rot. Canc. 26 Hen. VIII.

(2) *Ibid.* 16 Hen. VIII.

[*B*] *Dedication to a book he publiſhed.*] It is intitled Syntomotaxia del ſecond Parte del Roy Henry le ſixt, per quel facilement cy troveront ſoubs apt Titles tout choſes conteinue en de dit liver. Printed, London 1601, fol. 1679, fol.—A table to the ſecond part of the year book of King Henry the ſixth, by which may be readily found under proper titles, all matters contained in the ſaid book.———This book, being more properly an index of matter, containing many caſes concerning Iriſh affairs, he dedicated to Sir Robert Gardiner, Lord Chief Juſtice of Ireland, and in his dedication obſerves, 'That among all the volumes 'of the law he had read, the ſecond part of Henry the 'ſixth, was the worthieſt to be heeded, and ſpecially 'regarded by all who ſhould intend the manner of 'proceeding of Law, within the realm of Ireland, 'which was the motive to writing ſuch an index, as 'may ſerve both as an abridgment and table to the 'ſaid volume.' D.

BARO, or BARON (PETER), a learned Divine in the XVIth century, was born at Eſtampes in France, and educated in the univerſity of Bourges, where he was admitted a Licentiate in the Law (*a*): But being of the Proteſtant religion, he was obliged to leave his native country, to avoid perſecution. Whereupon, withdrawing into England, he was kindly received, and charitably maintained by the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, who admitted him to eat at his own table (*b*). He afterwards ſettled at Cambridge, upon the invitation of Dr. Andrew Perne, Maſter of Peter-Houſe, by whom he

(*a*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 113. Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. iv. p. 231.

(*b*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, edit. 1718, fol. p. 93.

he was entertained (*c*). In 1574 [*A*], at the recommendation of the Lord Burghley, Chancellor of that univerſity, he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor there (*d*). But finding, after ſome years, that his income was not ſufficient for his maintenance, as he was a married man and had ſcarcely any thing elſe to depend upon but his ſalary; he prevailed upon Dr. Perne, to petition the Lord Burghley to make ſome addition to his livelihood (*e*). This Lord accordingly promiſed that he would take care of him: but not performing his promiſe ſoon, Dr. Baro wrote him, on the twenty-firſt of November, a modeſt and handſome letter, wherein he put him in mind of his mean condition, and deſired his aſſiſtance when any occaſion ſhould offer (*f*). For ſome years he quietly enjoyed his Profeſſorſhip: but, at length, either out of envy, or on account of ſome unfaſhionable opinions of his, a reſtleſs faction aroſe, which rendered his place ſo uneaſy to him, that he choſe to leave the univerſity. At that time, Abſolute Predeſtination, in the moſt rigid and Calviniſtical ſenſe, was ſtrenuouſly maintained, as the only orthodox and true principle, and as the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England. The chief promotors of it at Cambridge, were, Dr. Whitacre, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity; Dr. R. Some, Dr. Humphrey Tyndal, and in general the oldeſt members in the univerſity (*g*). On the contrary, Dr. Baro, with ſome of the younger ſtudents, had a more rational and moderate notion of that doctrine. The Doctor having mentioned it in ſome of his lectures, that occaſioned a conteſt between him and Mr. Lawrence Chadderton, in the year 1581, which came to ſuch a height, that Chadderton attempted to confute him publickly in one of his ſermons (*h*). Dr. Baro thinking himſelf injured, cauſed Mr. Chadderton to be ſummoned into the Conſiſtory, before the Vice-Chancellor and ſome others, when the latter utterly denied he had ever preached againſt the Doctor; and after ſome papers had paſſed between them upon thoſe points (*i*), the affair was dropped (*k*). The chief objections made by the rigid Calviniſts againſt Dr. Baro were theſe, 1. That in his lectures upon Jonah (*l*), he taught the Popiſh Doctrine of the co operation of faith and works in order to juſtification; which, though in terms a little changed, yet the doctrine was in effect one and the ſame. 2. That he endeavoured to perſuade mankind, that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches was not ſo widely different from that of Rome, but that by diſtinctions they might be reconciled, and therefore concluded that both profeſſions might be tolerated. 3. That in his lectures he taught, that the Heathen may be ſaved without the faith of the Goſpel; and other ſtrange matters, which were looked upon as damnable errors:——Moreover, that he brought the Popiſh ſchoolmen into credit, and diminiſhed the honour of the learned Proteſtant writers: ſince which time, the courſe of ſtudies in Divinity, and the manner of preaching, had been changed in the univerſity, by ſome, who left the ſtudy of ſound writers, as they ſtiled them, and applied themſelves to the reading of Popiſh, barbarous, and fantaſtical ſchoolmen, delighted with their curious queſtions and quiddities, whereby they drew all points of Chriſtian faith into doubt, being the highway not only to Popery but to Atheiſm (*m*). Some years after, a controverſy aroſe between Dr. Baro and Dr. Some about the indefectibility of faith; but this diſpute was ſoon compoſed (*n*). The next diſpute Baro was engaged in, was of much longer continuance, and in the end proved his ruin. For Dr. Whitacre having, in the beginning of November 1595, preached a ſermon before the univerſity, in defence of Abſolute Predeſtination, on purpoſe, as he ſaid (*o*), to ſtay the minds of the ſcholars, and to maintain what he called the doctrine of our Church, againſt innovations; he was not ſatisfied therewith, but endeavoured to have his weak arguments ſtrengthened with the irreſiſtible ones of authority and force. To bring that about, he and Dr. Tyndal were deputed by the heads of the univerſity, to Archbiſhop Whitgift. They loudly complained to him, that Pelagianiſm was getting ground in the univerſity, and that no better method could be uſed to ſtop the progreſs of it, than the confirmation of ſome propoſitions they had brought along with them (*p*). Theſe, according to their requeſt, were eſtabliſhed and approved on the 20th of November, by the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of London, the Biſhop-elect of Bangor, and a very few other Divines (*q*), and came to be known by the title of the *Lambeth-Articles* [*B*]. The Archbiſhop recommended them to the univerſity, as the private judgment only of thoſe that had

(*c*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 94.

(*e*) Which was but 20*l.* a year. See Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 472.

(*f*) Strype, *ibid.* and Appendix of Records, p. 38.

(*g*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 435.

(*h*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 145.

(*i*) *Ibid.* and Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. iii. p. 47, 48.

(*k*) See Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, in the article BARON (PETER).

(*l*) Particularly on chap. iii. ver. 4.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 113, 114.

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, &c. p. 448, 449.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 460.

(*p*) Articulorum Lambethæ exhibitorum hiſtoria. Amſtelod. 1700. 12*mo*, p. 4.

(*q*) *Ibid.* and Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 229.

[*A*] *In* 1574, ——— *he was choſen the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor.*] Mr. Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (1), and Mr. T. Baker, in the liſt of the Lady Margaret's Profeſſors (2), place Dr. Baro's election under the year 1575. But by his letter to the Lord Burghley, mentioned a little below, it appears, that when he wrote it, in November 1580, he had been Profeſſor ſix whole years ——— *jam totos ſex hoſce annos* ——— (3).

(1) Vol. ii. p. 383.

(2) Placed before her Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London 1708, 8*vo*.

(3) See that Letter, in the Appendix to Archbiſhop Whitgift's Life, p. 38.

[*B*] *The Lambeth-Articles.*] They were as follows: I. God hath from eternity predeſtinated ſome perſons to life, and ſome he hath reprobated to death. II. The moving, or efficient cauſe of predeſtination to life, is not the foreſight of faith, or perſeverance, or good works, or of any other quality in the predeſtinated perſons; but the ſole will and good pleaſure of God. III. The number of the predeſtinate is before limited and certain, and can neither be increaſed nor leſſened. IV. Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins. V. A true, lively, and juſtifying faith, and the ſanctifying ſpirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, doth not fail, nor vaniſh away in the Elect, either totally, or finally. VI. A man who is truly one of the faithful, that is, endued with juſtifying faith, is certain, with full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt. VII. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, ſo as that they may be ſaved by it if they will. VIII. No one can come to Chriſt unleſs

had made them, and not as laws and decrees, but as things neceſſary for the obſervation of peace; and deſired them to take care that nothing ſhould be publickly taught to the contrary (*r*). They were immediately communicated to Dr. Baro (*s*), againſt whom probably they were more immediately deſigned. But he, either diſregarding them, or being provoked thereby, preached a contrary doctrine, in a ſermon before the univerſity on the 12th of January following (*t*). In that diſcourſe, he ſtudied not to exaſperate any; and therefore did not ſo much deny, as moderate thoſe propoſitions; and ſtate, as he apprehended, the true ſenſe of them (*u*), and ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles [*C*]. However, his adverſaries judging of it otherwiſe, the Vice-Chancellor conſulted the ſame day with Dr. Clayton and Mr. Chadderton, what ſhould be done. The next day he wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wherein he informed his Grace of the affair; and as he intended to call the Profeſſor to an account for his ſermon, and for breaking the peace of the univerſity, but knew not what courſe to take, nor upon what ſtatute to proceed, he deſired his aid and advice; unleſs they were pleaſed to call him before the High Commiſſion (*w*). The Archbiſhop returned for anſwer, on the 16th, that they ſhould call Baro before them, and require a copy of his ſermon; or, at leaſt, cauſe him to ſet down the principal heads thereof: and to demand of him what ſhould move him to continue that courſe, notwithſtanding order taken, and ſo many advertiſements to the contrary; but not to proceed to any determination againſt him, till they had advertiſed him of his anſwer, and the particular points of his ſermon (*x*). In the mean time, Dr. Baro finding what great offence was taken at his ſermon, wrote, on the 14th of January, to the Archbiſhop to this effect (*y*). 'That when his Lordſhip 'lately ſpake with him about the nine Articles [*D*], he ſpake freely that which he thought 'good, and what then occurred to him. But becauſe many things came not ſo ſoon, 'into his mind, which might be ſaid for a favourable expoſition of them, he thought it 'would not be unacceptable, if he wrote ſomething more ample and particularly con-'cerning each.'——Then he adds, 'That he ſpake in his ſermon according to thoſe old 'and orthodox Articles*, and did not ſo much as touch the New†.' And for a witneſs of it, ſent his Grace an expoſition of theſe laſt nine Articles (*z*). However, according to the Archbiſhop's directions, Baro was cited before Dr. Goad the Vice-Chancellor in the Conſiſtory; and appeared there the 17th, 21ſt, and 29th of January,

(*r*) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 462.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 467.

(*t*) His Text was *James* i. 27.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 466.

Jan. 12.

Jan. 13.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 468.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 469.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 466. He ſays, p. 468, that Baro went to London to the Archbiſhop. But that does not appear.

* The XXXIX Articles.

† The Lambeth Articles.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 466, 467. and Appendix, p. 201.

leſs it is given him, and unleſs the Father draws him; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son. IX. It is not in every one's will or power to be ſaved (4). When Queen Elizabeth heard of theſe articles, and the manner in which they were framed, ſhe was exceſſively angry. It was a maxim with her, not to have ſo tender a point, and ſo dangerous to weak, ignorant minds, diſputed, and brought in queſtion. Beſides, ſhe thought ſuch an aſſembly, and their framing articles or canons without her ſpecial licence, derogatory to her Royal dignity. She therefore immediately ſends for Whitgift, and accoſts him thus, 'My Lord, I am informed you are heaping 'up riches, and now I ſhall want no money.' The Archbiſhop replied, 'That he had but little, how-'ever, it was at her Majeſty's ſervice.' Nay, ſays the Queen, 'It is mine already, for you are fallen 'into a Premunire, by calling a Council without my 'conſent (5).' Whitgift, in his own excuſe, ſaid, that thoſe articles were not deſigned for a ſtanding rule to direct the Church, but only for the appeaſing of ſome unhappy differences in the univerſity of Cambridge. Whereby the Queen, being ſomewhat appeaſed, proceeded to no extremities, but only commanded thoſe articles to be ſpeedily recalled and ſuppreſſed; which was performed with ſuch care and diligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after (6). The Lord Burghley alſo diſliked them: For when Dr. Whitacre preſented them to him, he reaſoned with him upon thoſe points; and drew by a ſimilitude, a reaſon from an earthly Prince. Inferring thereby, that they charged God with cruelty, and might cauſe men to be deſperate in their wickedneſs. ——— As the Queen was angry with the framers and contrivers of thoſe articles, ſo was ſhe alſo diſpleaſed with Dr. Baro, for diſputing upon ſuch abſtruſe points. For, in a diſcourſe ſhe had of thoſe matters with the Archbiſhop, ſhe wondered Baro ſhould meddle in that controverſy, he being an alien, and ſo ought to have carried himſelf quietly and peaceably, in a country where he was ſo humanely harboured, and infranchiſed both himſelf and his family. The Archbiſhop informed Dr. Baro of this, who wrote a letter to his Grace, on the 13th of December, wherein he expreſſed the utmoſt affection and loyalty for her Majeſty (7); and declared it as his opinion, 'That God is 'not the author of ſin, nor would that it ſhould be com-'mitted; when he openly forbids it, and reproves men 'for nothing, but becauſe of ſin, which he hateth. 'And, that the faithful, or the Elect, ought not to be 'ſecure of their ſalvation (8).'

(4) *Articuli Lambethani*, printed at the end of Dr. Ellis's *Articulorum* 39 *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Defenſio*, 12mo. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Church, B. ix. p. 230.

(5) Fuller, *ibid.* p. 232. and *Articulorum Lambethanorum Hiſt.* ubi ſupra, p. 7, 8.

(6) Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſt. c. x. § 3.

(7) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 464, 465.

(8) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *And ſaid nothing in his ſermon concerning thoſe Articles.*] In that ſermon he aſſerted particularly theſe three things; I. That God created all men according to his own likeneſs in Adam, and ſo conſequently to eternal life; from which he chaſed no man, unleſs becauſe of ſin. As Damaſus taught, lib. 2. *de Fide orthodox.* II. That Chriſt died ſufficiently for all; againſt Joh. Piſcator, a German Divine, who denied it: Whoſe opinion, he ſhewed, was contrary to the confeſſion of the Church of England, and the XXXIX articles; and for proof thereof repeated the XXXIſt article. III. That the promiſes of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally underſtood, as is ſet down in the XVIIth article. But theſe three points were diſagreeable to ſome unreaſonable men, who endeavoured to perſuade the world, that God did on purpoſe create the greateſt part of men to deſtruction, that by the perdition of them he might get glory to himſelf: and that Chriſt did not die for all; not, for that many refuſed to accept his benefits, but becauſe he would not that his death ſhould profit them. And, moreover, becauſe they were not created to ſalvation, as others, but to deſtruction. And, for the ſame cauſe, they would not have the promiſes to be general, but reſtrained them to thoſe perſons alone, who, they ſaid, were created by God to be ſaved (9).

[*D*] *When his Lordſhip ſpake to him about the nine Articles.*] It ſeems evident, from Mr. Strype's account of this whole matter (10), That when Dr. Baro heard of the confirmation of the nine articles, [and not after the preaching of his ſermon as that author aſſerts (11)] he waited upon the Archbiſhop, about the beginning of December; who ſhewed him thoſe articles, and demanded his opinion of every one of them ſeverally, and at two ſeveral times. The laſt time, he ſeemed to make ſome ſmall objections againſt one or two of them only; yet confeſſed that they were all true. Upon this, the Archbiſhop admoniſhed him not to diſpute any more on thoſe points, which he faithfully promiſed to obſerve (12).

(9) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 466.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 466—469.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 468.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 468, 469.

nuary (*a*), when ſeveral articles were exhibited againſt him [*E*]. At his laſt appearance, the concluſion againſt him was; 'That whereas Baro had promiſed the Vice-Chancellor, 'upon his demand, a copy of his ſermon, but his Lawyers adviſed him not to deliver 'the ſame; the Vice-Chancellor did now, by virtue of his authority, peremptorily com-'mand him to deliver him the whole and entire ſermon, as to the ſubſtance of it, in 'writing. Which Baro promiſed he would do the next day, and did it accordingly **. 'And, laſtly, he did peremptorily, and by virtue of his authority, command Baro, that 'he ſhould wholly abſtain from thoſe controverſies and articles, and leave them alto-'gether untouched, as well in his lectures, ſermons, and determinations, as in his diſpu-'tations and other his exerciſes (*b*).' The Vice-Chancellor, who had proceeded thus far without the knowledge of the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, thought fit to acquaint him, January 29, with their proceedings, and to deſire his wiſe and honourable advice (*c*). And, on the other hand, Dr. Baro being informed of his enemies invidious aſperſions of him to that Lord; took care to repreſent his own caſe to him in a true light: Aſſuring him, that he had only defended the truth of the Goſpel againſt *Piſcator*; whoſe book he ſaw was in the hands of many of the younger ſtudents; and begged of him, not to reſolve any thing concerning him, till he had diligently enquired into the truth of what he had written. The diſcountenance hereupon given to this affair by the Chancellor [*F*], ſtopped all further proceeding againſt Dr. Baro (*d*). He continued in the univerſity the February and March following (*e*), but with much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr. Goad, and Mr. Chadderton [*G*]. But Archbiſhop Whitgift (though he had weakly yielded in many reſpects to the ſolicitations of his enemies) being fully ſatisfied at laſt of his learning and integrity, protected him againſt all attempts that could hurt either his learning or reputation. Only he charged him, to forbear ſuch arguments as would provoke contentious diſputations, that ſo peace might be preſerved in the univerſity, and by that means religion and learning flouriſh there (*f*). The Doctor, notwithſtanding his troubles, had many friends and adherents in the univerſity, as Mr. Overal, Dr. Clayton, Mr. Harſnet, and Dr. Andrews; and his diſciples were ſo far from being ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the Lambeth Articles, that they were become more united (*g*): So that, had he ſtood again for his Profeſſorſhip, when it became vacant on the 25th of March 1596 (*h*), he would undoubtedly have been choſen in again. But he had met with ſo much vexation, and ſuch ill uſage, from the *Elect*, that for the ſake of peace, he choſe to retire to London, and fixed his abode in Crouched-Friers (*i*). There he died about three or four years after, and was decently buried in the pariſh church of St. Olave Hart-ſtreet, his pall being ſupported by ſix Doctors of Divinity, and his corpſe attended by the moſt eminent Miniſters in the city, according to an order of Dr. Bancroft, then Biſhop of London (*k*). Dr. Baro left ſeveral children, who ſettled in and about Boſton in Lincolnſhire (*l*). His eldeſt ſon, Samuel Baro, was a Phyſician, and lived and died at Lynn Regis in Norfolk (*m*), and in all like-

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 470, 471.

** See *Ibid.* p. 475.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 471.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 471, 472.

Feb. 9.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 473.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 474.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 476.

(*g*) Dr. Heylin's Quinquarticular Hiſtory, B. iii. c. xxi. § 9.

(*h*) *Ibid.* § 4. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 125, 126.

(*i*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 114.

(*k*) *Ibid.* and Heylin, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*m*) Strype's An. Vol. iv. p. 231.

[*E*] *Several articles were exhibited againſt him.*] He was charged with having aſſerted, I. That God, by an abſolute will, created all, and every man, to eternal life: Becauſe, he created all according to his own image; and therefore for happineſs; conſequently, he deprives no one of ſalvation, but for his ſin. II. That there is a two-fold will in God, an antecedent and conſequent will. By his antecedent will God hath rejected no body, otherwiſe he would have condemned his own work. To explain this, he alledged the inſtance of a King, a father, and a huſbandman: A King makes laws for the good of his ſubjects; a father does not beget a ſon to have him hanged, or to diſinherit him; a huſbandman does not plant a tree to root it up again. III. That Chriſt died for all men, and for every one in particular; that all, and every man, might know they have a remedy in Chriſt; according to what is ſaid, *That Chriſt came to ſave that which was loſt* (13). Now all, and every man were loſt in Adam: Therefore, &c. For the remedy is as extenſive as the diſeaſe; and *God is no reſpecter of perſons* (14). IV. That God's promiſes to life are univerſal; and belong to Cain as well as to Abel, to Eſau as well as Jacob, to Judas as well as to Peter. And that Cain was no more rejected of God than Abel, before he had excluded himſelf: That men exclude themſelves from Heaven, and God does not exclude them; according to what is ſaid, *O Iſrael, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf* (15).——Theſe were ſubſcribed by Jo. Allenſon, Will. Nelſon, Obadiah Aſhton, James Crowther, John Hooke, George Downham.—— Dr. Baro alledged in his own defence, that he had not preached doctrines contrary to the nine articles. And with regard to the grace of God ſufficient to eternal life being offered to all; he ſaid, that grace was indeed offered to all, but in a different meaſure: For to ſome was given greater grace, to others leſs; to ſome more talents, to others leſs (16).

(13) Matth. xviii. 11.

(14) Acts x. 34.

(15) Hoſea xiii. 9.

(16) Strype, ubi ſupra, p. 470, 471.

[*F*] *The diſcountenance given to this affair by the Chancellor.*] He told them in his letter among other things, that they ſifted Dr. Baro with interrogatories, as if he were a thief;——and that their proceedings againſt him ſeemed to be done 'of ſtomach,' out of paſſion and prejudice (17). However, his enemies not diſcouraged thereby, wrote another letter to the Chancellor, on the 8th of March, wherein they informed him——'That Dr. Baroe (18) had not 'only in the ſermon, but alſo for the ſpace of fourteen 'or fifteen years taught in his lectures, preached in his 'ſermons, determined in the ſchools, and printed in 'ſeveral books, divers points of doctrine not only con-'trary to himſelf, but alſo contrary to that which had 'been taught and received ever ſince her Majeſty's 'reign, and agreeable to the errors of Popery (19).'

(17) See Strype ubi ſupra, p. 473.

(18) So his name is written in this letter. In other places it is ſometimes written Barow.

(19) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Lond. 1714, Vol. ii. p. 647.

[*G*] *With much oppoſition and trouble, eſpecially from Dr. Goad, and Mr. Chadderton.*] Dr. Goad had been his private enemy a long while. For about ten or eleven years before, in a clandeſtine ſynod at London, held probably by Cartwright and his adherents, ſome things had been decreed againſt him unheard. Of which being informed, he takes a journey to London, complains to Dr. Goad who had been in that aſſembly, and deſires him at leaſt to ſhow him, what they had decreed concerning, or againſt him. But he could not obtain a ſight of it, till Dr. Bancroft ſhewed it him a few years after. And from that time, they hated him; and having always privately watched him, they at laſt took occaſion from that ſermon of his, to endeavour to caſt him out of the univerſity with ſhame (20).

(20) Strype, *ibid.* p. 476.

lihood

lihood was the ſame that was choſen Fellow of Peter-Houſe, in 1584 (*n*). We ſhall give an account of Dr. Baro's works, in the note [*H*].

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, P. 94.

[*H*] *We ſhall give an account of Dr. Baro's works.*] They are, I. *In Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones XXXIX.* II. *Conciones tres ad Clerum Cantabrigienſem habitæ in templo B. Mariæ.* III. *Theſes publicæ in Scholis peroratæ et diſputatæ.* [Theſe Theſes, being only two, were tranſlated into Engliſh by John Ludham, under theſe titles; Firſt, 'God's purpoſe and decree taketh 'not away the liberty of man's corrupt will.' The ſecond, 'Our conjunction with Chriſt is altogether 'ſpiritual.' Printed at Lond. 1590, 8vo.] IV. *Precationes quibus uſus eſt author in ſuis prælectionibus inchoandis & finiendis.* All theſe were publiſhed at London 1579, fol. by the care of Oſmund Lake, B. D. Fellow of King's Coll. Cambr. who corrected them before they went to the preſs. V. *De Fide ejuſque ortu et natura plana et dilucida explicatio*, &c. Lond. 1580, 8*vo*. VI. *De præſtantia & dignitate divinæ Legis, lib.* 2. Printed in 1586, 8*vo*. VII. *Tractatus in quo docet expetitionem oblati a mente boni et fiduciam ad fidei juſtificantis naturam pertinere.* VIII. *Summa trium ſententiarum de prædeſtinatione*, &c. Hardr. 1613, 8*vo*. printed with the Notes of Joh. Piſcator, Diſquiſition of Franc. Junius, and Prelection of Will. Whitacre. IX. 'Special treatiſe of God's providence, and 'of comforts againſt all kind of croſſes and calamities 'to be fetched from the ſame; with an expoſition on 'Pſalm cvii.' X. Four Sermons; the firſt on Pſalm 'cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3; the ſecond, on Pſalm xv. 1, 2, 3, '4, 5, &c (21). 1560, 8*vo* (22). M.

(21) Wood, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 114.

(22) Catal. of Engl. Writers on the Old and New Teſtament, &c. ſecond edit. Lond. 1668, 8*vo*.

BARON (Bonaventure), whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald [*A*], was deſcended from a branch of the Fitz-Geralds of Burnchurch in the county of Kilkenny, a family ſettled in Ireland ſoon after the Engliſh acquiſitions in that country, which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church [*B*]. But he has been more remarkable in the learned world for his maternal genealogy, being the ſon of a ſiſter of Luke Wadding, that eminent Franciſcan Friar, who in the laſt century demonſtrated his great abilities and induſtry, by many voluminous treatiſes of genius and labour. His uncle Wadding took great care of his education in his youth, which he ſaw rewarded by an uncommon diligence; and when he was of a proper age procured his admiſſion into the Franciſcan order, and ſent for him to Rome; where he lived under his own eye in the college of St. Iſidore, a ſociety of that order founded by himſelf in 1625, for the education of Iriſh ſtudents in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts, Divinity, and Controverſy, to ſerve as a ſeminary, out of which the miſſion into England, Scotland, and Ireland, might be ſupplied. Baron, after ſome time, grew into high reputation, and became eſpecially remarkable for the purity of his Latin ſtyle, which firſt fell under the notice of the public, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal [*C*]; from which time his fame increaſed, and he became the author of many books both in proſe and verſe, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks [*D*]. He was for a conſiderable time Prælector of Divinity in the college aforeſaid, and in all reſided at Rome about ſixty years, where he died, very old and totally deprived of ſight, on the 18th of March 1696, and was buried at St. Iſidore's. D.

[*A*] *Whoſe true name was Fitz-Gerald.*] His family were anciently Palatine Barons of Burnchurch, who had no ſeats in the Houſe of Lords, but were created titular Barons by the Count Palatine of that juriſdiction, by virtue of a royal ſeignory granted by the Crown; of which kind of Barons there were many in England. As in Cheſhire (according to Camden) (1) the Barons of Haulton, Malbank, Malpas, and Kinderton, &c. who were made ſo by Hugh Lupus, the firſt Count Palatine of Cheſhire, immediately upon his creation. Of the ſame ſort were the Barons of Walton, in the Palatinate of Lancaſter, and the Baron of Hilton in the Biſhopric of Durham. In Ireland alſo were the Barons of Skrine, Navan, Galtrim, Nerraghmore, Rheban, &c. and the Barons of Burnchurch, from whence many of the Fitz-Geralds, in proceſs of time took the names of Baron, and it is now become a family name.

(1) Britannia, paſſim.

[*B*] *Which has produced ſeveral men of figure in the Church.*] As Milo Baron, who was Prior of Iniſtioch, an Auguſtinian abbey in the county of Kilkenny, and from thence tranſlated to the Biſhopric of Oſſory in 1527; and Roland Baron, who was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Caſhel in 1553.

[*C*] *His Latin ſtyle firſt fell under the notice of the Public, by means of the ignorance of a Roman Cardinal.*] The ſtory I had in a letter from Rome, containing many curious remarks on the college of Cardinals, which are foreign to the preſent purpoſe—'A certain Cardinal '(ſays the letter writer) writ a ſmall piece in Italian, 'but for fame ſake deſired to have it put into good 'Latin. He employed Luke Wadding to find him 'out a proper perſon to undertake the taſk, and Wad'ding committed it to his nephew Baron's care, 'with whoſe talents that way he was well acquainted. 'The Cardinal, not underſtanding a word of Latin, 'to conceal his ignorance, condemned the tranſla'tion, and blamed Wadding for recommending to 'him ſuch a dunce. This accident made a great 'noiſe in Rome, and became the table-talk of the 'town. For Wadding, who wanted no preferments, 'and Baron who deſpiſed every thing in compariſon 'of his reputation, appealed to the college of Jeſuits, 'who, upon examination, unanimouſly allowed the 'verſion to be extremely well done, to the no ſmall 'confuſion of the Cardinal, and the merriment of 'the Public.'

[*D*] *A catalogue of which may be ſeen in the remarks.*] They are theſe, *viz.*

I. Orationes Panegyricæ Sacro-Prophanæ decem. Romæ 1643, 12*mo*.

II. Metra Miſcellanea, ſive Carminum diverſorum Libri duo; Epigrammatum unus; alter Silvulæ; quibus adduntur Elogia illuſtrium virorum. Romæ 1645, 24*to*.

III. Proluſiones Philoſophicæ. Romæ 1651, 12*mo*.

IV. Harpocrates quinque Ludius; ſeu Diatriba ſilentii. Romæ 1651, 12*mo*.

V. Obſidio et Expugnatio Arcis Duncannon in Hibernia, ſub Thoma Preſtono.

VI. Boëtius Abſolutus; ſive de Conſolatione Theologiæ, lib. iv. Romæ 1653, 12*mo*.

VII. Controverſiæ et Stratagemata, Lugduni 1656, 8*vo*.

VIII. Scotus Defenſus, Coloniæ 1662, folio.

IX. Curſus Philoſophicus, Coloniæ 1664, folio.

X. Epiſtolæ Familiares Paræneticæ, &c. Theſe are among his

XI. Opuſcula varia Herbipoli, 1666, folio.

XII. Theologia (2), 6 vol. Paris 1676.

(2) Lipenius. Biblioth. Theol. Vol. ii. p. 839.

[XIII. 'Johannes Duns Scotus, Ordinis minorum, 'Doctor ſubtilis de Angelis contra adverſantes de'fenſus, nunc quoque Novitate amplificatus. 'Flo'rentiæ, 1678.'

XIV. 'Annales Ordinis S. S. Trinitatis Redemp'tionis Captivorum, Fundatoribus S. S. Johanne de 'Matha, et Felice de Valois in vol. folio. The 'firſt volume was printed at Rome in 1686, and be'gins with the year 1198, in which Pope Innocent 'the Third gave habit to the founders, and is car'ried down to the year 1297, juſt one hundred years. 'In this volume we have an account of the founda'tions of their convents, their privileges, and bene'factions, the eminent fathers of their order, their 'miracles and actions; as alſo, the number of ſlaves 'delivered by them from bondage (3).'] K.

(3) Harris's edit. of Ware's Works, Vol. ii. p. 254.

[BARRINGTON (JOHN SHUTE) Lord Viſcount Barrington, a nobleman of conſiderable learning, and author of ſeveral books, was the youngeſt ſon of Benjamin Shute, merchant, youngeſt ſon of Francis Shute, of Upton, in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq; [*A*]. He was born at Theobald's, in Hertfordſhire, in the year 1678 *; and received part of his education at Utrecht, as appears from a Latin oration which he delivered at that univerſity, and which he publiſhed there in 1698, in 4*to*, under the following title: 'Oratio, de Studio Philoſophiæ conjungendo cum 'Studio Juris Romani; habita in inclyta Academia Trajectina Kalendis Junii, 1698, 'a Johanne Shute, Anglo, Ph. D. & L. A. M.' After his return to England, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law in the Inner Temple (*a*). In 1701, he publiſhed, but without his name, 'An Eſſay upon the Intereſt of England, in reſpect to Proteſtants 'diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed Church [*B*],' 4*to*. This was reprinted two years after, with conſiderable alterations and enlargements [*C*]. Sometime after this he publiſhed another piece in 4*to*, intitled, 'The Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters, in two parts [*D*].' During the proſecution of his legal ſtudies, he was applied to by Queen Anne's Whig Miniſtry, at the inſtigation of Lord Somers, to engage the Preſbyterians in Scotland to favour the important meaſure, then in agitation, of an union of the two kingdoms. Flattered, at the age of twenty-four, by an application, which ſpoke the opinion entertained of his abilities and influence, by the greateſt Lawyer and Stateſman of the age, he readily ſacrificed the opening proſpects of his profeſſion, and undertook the arduous employment. The happy execution of it was rewarded in 1708 by the place of Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms; from which he was removed by the Tory Adminiſtration in 1711,

* His mother was a daughter of the famous Mr. Caryll, author of the Commentary on Job. From private information.

(*a*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict.

[*A*] *Was youngeſt ſon of Francis Shute, of Upton, in the county of Leiceſter, Eſq;*.] Mr. Salmon ſays, that the Shute family 'is of Norman extraction, in which dutchy, whilſt it continued annexed to the Engliſh 'crown, there were to be ſeen the remains of a caſtle bearing the name of Shute, and formerly in the 'family, with other monuments in ſeveral towns of 'that dutchy. The family hath been long ſeated 'in the counties of Leiceſter and Cambridge, in 'the latter of which, at Hockington, reſided Sir 'Chriſtopher Shute, a deſcendant of the Norman family, who was father of Robert, appointed ſecond Baron of the Exchequer (with a very 'particular clauſe in his patent, ſee Dugdale 'Or. Jud.) in 1579, and a Judge of the King's 'Bench in 1585, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Francis, who, by Frances, daughter of Hercules 'Mewlas, Eſq; (who re-married after his death to 'Robert Ratcliff, Earl of Suſſex) had ſeveral children, of whom Francis Shute of Upton, in the 'county of Leiceſter, Eſq; left three ſons, James, 'Samuel, and Benjamin. James had a ſon of 'his own name, who died without iſſue; Samuel 'had three ſons, who all died young; and Benjamin 'died in the year 1683, leaving by Mrs. Mary 'Caryll his wife, three ſons and three daughters (1),' and the youngeſt of theſe ſons was John Lord Barrington, the ſubject of this article.

(1) Short View of the families of the preſent Iriſh Nobility, edit. 1759, p. 157, 158.

[*B*] *An Eſſay upon the intereſt of England, in reſpect to Proteſtants diſſenting, &c.*] In this piece the author endeavoured to make it appear, that it would be unjuſt and impolitic to paſs any new laws unfavourable to the Diſſenters, and in particular to prevent occaſional conformity. He ſays, 'I confeſs if the 'Diſſenters were all of them an inconſiderable parcel of people, poor and ignorant, without intereſt or 'influence; their being eaſy could do us no ſervice, 'nor their uneaſineſs any hurt. But ſince a great 'many of the Diſſenters are men of ſenſe and ſubſtance, conſiderable by their monies veſted in trade, 'and the ſhare they have in the lands of England; 'and who, with the aſſiſtance of the government, 'could make a conſiderable intereſt for its ſupport; it 'would be worth the while to conſider, whether any 'of the little ends, that the enemies of the Diſſenters 'ſhould propoſe to themſelves, by diſobliging them, 'could counterbalance the loſs of their direction and 'their purſe (2).'—'Diſſenters are conſiderable for 'their number, as well as their ſubſtance. Some 'who pretend to have conſidered the matter, compute 'them, according to the moſt modeſt calculation, to bear 'the proportion of one to four. Would it be good 'policy then to diſoblige a fourth part of the people 'of England, and to ſhake them off from every dependance on the government, but that of dread and 'fear? Would it be prudence to tempt them to murmur and repine, and ſome violent wicked ſpirits 'perhaps to do what is worſe? And that at a time 'when, to the great grief of every true Engliſhman, 'people ſeem to be ſo univerſally diſcontented and 'uneaſy, ſo jealous and apprehenſive (3).'—'He 'who ſhould adviſe the government to diſoblige the 'Diſſenters, upon a ſuppoſition that they would reſent it, is an enemy to England. And he who 'ſhould give that advice, in expectation that they 'would bear it with a virtuous patience, is a ſworn 'enemy to the Chriſtian faith (4).'

(2) Eſſay upon the intereſt of England, &c. p. 14, 15.

(3) Eſſay, p. 17.

(4) Eſſay, p. 18.

Our author obſerves farther, that 'the Whigs, 'of which the Diſſenters have always made a conſiderable part (and with whom that intereſt is ſo 'cloſely connected and interwoven, that it can't fail 'to ſhare the ſame fortune), have been the men 'noted for their popular principles, and for having 'always acted ſuitably thereto. They have been a 'firm rampart to the liberties of the people againſt all 'the aſſaults of arbitrary power; and have ſo heartily 'oppoſed the deſigns of ill reigns, as to get the names 'of *Commonwealth's men*: but who to ſhew, that they 'were thorough friends to our conſtitution, and were 'for defending the prerogative veſted in a good 'prince, who they knew would uſe it to their advantage, and who deſerved marks of their gratitude, 'for the great deliverance he had wrought, have gone 'ſo far on the obliging ſide in this reign, as to be 'termed apoſtates and courtiers, in reproach (5).'—'If the preſervation of the balance or conſtitution of 'England depend upon a preſervation of the prerogative on the one hand, and the liberties of the 'people on the other; if moreover the prerogative 'can't be preſerved, nor the liberties of the people 'deſtroyed (which are the only alterations we can 'fear), but by an inclination in the people to preſerve the one, and not to give up the other: if 'moreover theſe inclinations depend upon popular 'principles; and the Whigs are the men noted for 'thoſe principles, and a ſteady practice conformable 'thereto: and if the Diſſenters are known to be the 'men, with whom the Whig-intereſt muſt riſe or fall; 'it is certain, that to weaken the Diſſenters, is to 'deſtroy the balance of England (6).'

(5) Eſſay, p. 26.

(6) Eſſay, p. 28.

[*C*] *This was reprinted*, &c.] In the ſecond edition the title was ſomewhat varied. It was then called, 'The Intereſt of England conſidered, in reſpect to Proteſtants diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed 'Church, with ſome Thoughts about occaſional 'Conformity.'

[*D*] *He publiſhed, The Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters*, &c.] The ſecond edition of this was printed in 1705. It was dedicated to Queen Anne. In the *firſt* part, the author treated of the reaſons of diſſent from the eſtabliſhed church, of the occaſional conformity of the Diſſenters, of the right they have to a toleration, and the intereſt the government has to maintain it. The *ſecond* part was a vindication of the right of the Diſſenters to an abſolute toleration, from the objections of Sir H. Mackworth, in his treatiſe, intitled, 'Peace at home,' &c.

for

for his avowed oppoſition to their principles and conduct. How high Mr. Shute's character ſtood in the eſtimation even of thoſe who differed moſt widely from him in religious and political ſentiments, appears from the teſtimony borne to it by Dr. Swift (*b*). In the reign of Queen Anne, John Wildman, of Becket, in the county of Berks, Eſq; adopted him for his ſon after the Roman cuſtom, and ſettled his large eſtate upon him, though he was no relation, and is ſaid to have been but ſlightly acquainted with him (*c*). Some years after, he had another conſiderable eſtate left him by Francis Barrington, of Tofts, Eſq; who had married his firſt couſin, and died without iſſue. This occaſioned him to procure an act of parliament, purſuant to the deed of ſettlement, to aſſume the name, and bear the arms of Barrington. On the acceſſion of King George I. he was choſen member of parliament for the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

(*c*) Supplement to the New and Gen. Biog. Dict.

On the 5th of July, 1717, he had a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, which he ſurrendered the 10th of December 1731. King George I. was alſo pleaſed, by privy ſeal, dated at St. James's the 10th of June, and by patent at Dublin, July 1, 1720, to create him Baron Barrington of Newcaſtle, and Viſcount Barrington of Ardglaſs. In 1722, he was again returned to parliament as member for the town of Berwick; but in 1723, the houſe of commons taking into conſideration the affair of the Harburgh lottery [*E*], a very ſevere and unmerited cenſure of expulſion was paſſed upon his Lordſhip, as ſub-governor of the Harburgh Company, under the Prince of Wales.

In

(*b*) Dr. Swift writes thus to Archbiſhop King, in a letter dated London, Nov. 30. 1708. 'One Mr. Shute is named for ſecretary to Lord Wharton. He is a young man, but reckoned the ſhrewdeſt head in England; and the perſon in whom the Preſbyterians chiefly confide; and if money be neceſſary towards the * *good work*, it is reckoned he can command as far as 100,000 l. from the body of the Diſſenters here. As to his principles, he is a moderate man, frequenting the church and the meeting indifferently.' Small 12*mo.* edit. 1768, Vol. xiv. p. 50.

* He probably means the taking off the ſacramental teſts, alluded to in another part of the letter.

[*E*] *The Houſe of Commons taking into conſideration the affair of the Harburgh lottery.*] The account given by Mr. Tindall, in his continuation of Rapin, of the affair of the Harburgh lottery, is not very favourable to Lord Barrington. But the following paper on this ſubject, written by Sir Michael Foſter, and which was never before publiſhed *, will greatly contribute to extenuate, if not juſtify, the conduct of his lordſhip in this tranſaction.

* This paper was obligingly communicated by Michael Dodſon, Eſq; of Clifford's Inn, nephew to Judge Foſter.

'His late Majeſty King George the firſt was deſirous to introduce trade and manufactures into his German dominions: and the town of Harburgh being thought a proper place for that purpoſe, a ſcheme was offered to him, which met with his approbation, for making the port of Harburgh capable of receiving ſhips of burden, and for carrying on the intended trade and manufactures principally at that place. Accordingly his Majeſty, by charter under the great ſeal of the Electorate, about Midſummer 1720, incorporated a number of gentlemen and merchants of London, for ſetting up and carrying on certain manufactures by a joint ſtock at Harburg; and divers privileges were granted to the company, whoſe capital was to be 500,000 l. and a charter for commerce was promiſed to that company. As ſoon as the manufacture charter was paſſed, and ſubſcriptions taken in for raiſing the ſtock, ſhares ſold at an exorbitant price, 50 l. being commonly given for a ſhare on which only 2 l. had been advanced; and I think that ſome ſhares were ſold at 80 l. a ſhare. So great was the madneſs of that memorable year!

'This exorbitant riſe upon the ſtock put ſome gentlemen and merchants of London, who thought themſelves not enough conſidered in the manufacture charter, upon ſoliciting for a ſeparate charter, for opening the port of Harburgh, and carrying on the foreign commerce there; and agents on behalf of the manufacture company, with others on behalf of the ſeparate charter, followed his Majeſty to Hanover, each party for ſome time endeavouring to carry their reſpective points; the manufacture company to get likewiſe the charter for commerce, the other party to get a ſeparate charter for commerce, excluſive of the manufacture company. At length both ſides agreed to accept one charter for commerce and manufactures, which ſhould take in the members of the old company, and thoſe who ſolicited for the ſeparate commerce charter; and that the capital of the united company ſhould be 1,500,000 l. It was likewiſe agreed, that the members of the old company ſhould, over and above the 500,000 l. already ſubſcribed, be intitled to a certain ſhare of the new ſtock upon advancing as before 2 l. upon each ſhare, and that the reſidue of the ſtock ſhould be divided amongſt the new members and their friends. One gentleman in particular, ſecured to himſelf, as I am informed, no leſs than 300,000 l. to be diſpoſed of by him amongſt his friends.

'At this time ſhares were commonly ſold at 20 l. a ſhare; but before the end of the year Harburgh ſtock ſunk, as all other projects of that kind did; and no money having been paid on the new ſtock, and no charter for commerce being paſſed, the gentlemen who ſolicited the new charter refuſed to be any farther concerned in the affair, ſince the opportunity for exorbitant profits was loſt, and a new ſet of gentlemen and merchants, with the members of the old company, undertook to carry it on, and were incorporated by charter under the great ſeal of the Electorate, for opening the port and carrying on the trade and manufactures at Harburgh.

'It was, as I have been informed, part of the original ſcheme, that the expence of opening the port, which was computed at 100,000 l. ſhould be defrayed by the profits of a lottery to be drawn at Harburgh. Accordingly after the new charter was paſſed, his Majeſty by warrant under his ſign manual and the privy ſeal of the Electorate, impowered and required the company to lay before him a ſcheme for the lottery, which they did; and ſome time afterwards his Majeſty by a ſecond warrant under his ſign manual and privy ſeal of the Electorate, ſigned his approbation of the ſcheme, and impowered the company to proceed upon it, and to deliver out tickets here for the lottery, and he named truſtees to manage and direct the drawing at Harburgh. Before the lottery was opened, Lord Barrington, who was ſub-governor of the company, (his Royal Highneſs the preſent Prince of Wales being named Governor) thought it neceſſary to procure a Britiſh charter of incorporation, and meaſures were taken for that purpoſe with the Britiſh miniſters; for hitherto every thing touching the company had been tranſacted with the German miniſters.

'His lordſhip, as I have reaſon to believe, was perſuaded that the miniſters intended that the company ſhould have a Britiſh charter; and things went ſo far in that way, that a draught of a Britiſh charter was prepared and laid before the Attorney General. While things were in this ſtate, ſome of the gentlemen in London concerned in the affair opened a ſubſcription for the lottery, Lord Barrington being then in the country. This ſtep they took contrary to his lordſhip's opinion and advice.

'Within a few days after the ſubſcription for the lottery was opened, advertiſements were publiſhed by ſome of the gentlemen who had formerly ſolicited the commerce charter, and afterwards when the price of ſtock fell, had refuſed to accept their ſhares, treating the affair as a public cheat; and

'the

In 1725, he publiſhed, in two volumes, 8*vo*, his ‘ *Miſcellanea Sacra* [*F*]; or a new ‘ Method of conſidering ſo much of the Hiſtory of the Apoſtles, as is contained in ‘ Scripture; in an abſtract of their Hiſtory, an Abſtract of that Abſtract, and four criti- ‘ tical Eſſays.’ In this work the noble author has traced, with great care and judgment, the methods taken by the apoſtles, and firſt preachers of the goſpel, for propagating Chriſtianity; and explained with great diſtinctneſs, the ſeveral *Gifts of the Spirit*, by which they were enabled to diſcharge that office. Theſe he improved into an argument for the truth of the Chriſtian religion; which is ſaid to have ſtaggered the infidelity of Mr. Anthony Collins [*G*]. In 1725, he publiſhed in 8*vo*, ‘ An Eſſay on the ſeveral ‘ Diſpenſations of God to Mankind, in the order in which they lie in the Bible: or, a ſhort ‘ Syſtem of the Religion of Nature and Scripture [*H*],’ &c. He was alſo author of ſeveral other tracts, which will be mentioned in the notes [*I*]. He ſometimes ſpoke in parliament, but appears not to have been a frequent ſpeaker. On the 12th of April 1717,

‘ the matter was ſoon brought before the houſe of ‘ commons.

‘ While it was there depending, I was, in Lord ‘ Barrington's abſence, conſulted by the gentlemen ‘ concerned touching the beſt method for avoiding ‘ the ſtorm which ſeemed to be gathering, and threat- ‘ ened the ruin of the company. My advice was, ‘ that the company ſhould, without any heſitation, ‘ lay their charter, with the two warrants for the lot- ‘ tery, before the houſe; and ſubmit their caſe up- ‘ on the foot of thoſe powers; ſince it would appear ‘ by thoſe powers, that what they had done in the af- ‘ fair was done by virtue of powers received from his ‘ Majeſty. But this advice was ſoon laid aſide, and ‘ the ſecretary (Mr. Ridpath) was inſtructed to ac- ‘ quaint the houſe, as he did, that the company ‘ having acted under powers received from his Ma- ‘ jeſty as Elector, in an affair concerning his Electo- ‘ rate, they did not think themſelves at liberty to ‘ lay ſuch powers before the houſe without his Ma- ‘ jeſty's permiſſion. This anſwer exactly ſuited the ‘ views of thoſe people who intended to ruin the ‘ company, without ſeeming to do a thing which re- ‘ flected diſhonour on his Majeſty. Accordingly the ‘ houſe was ſatisfied with the anſwer, ſo far as not to ‘ inſiſt on a ſight of the charter and warrants; and ‘ immediately came to a reſolution, that the perſons ‘ concerned in the affair, had acted therein without ‘ any authority from his Majeſty; and Lord Barring- ‘ ton, who then ſerved for Berwick upon Tweed, was ‘ expelled the houſe.

‘ This matter was made an occaſion of bringing ‘ this ſevere cenſure on Lord Barrington; who was ‘ ſuſpected to have formerly taken ſome ſteps very ‘ diſagreeable to the reigning miniſter, Sir Robert ‘ Walpole. His lordſhip was firmly attached to the ‘ adminiſtration during the time of Lord Sunderland's ‘ miniſtry, and employed all his credit and influence ‘ with the Diſſenters, which was then very great, to ‘ keep that body in the ſame intereſt: but upon the ‘ death of Lord Sunderland, Sir Robert Walpole, ‘ who, for many years during Lord Sunderland's ad- ‘ miniſtration, had oppoſed every public meaſure, ‘ ſucceeded him, as Prime Miniſter, and could not ‘ forget the part which Lord Barrington had acted ‘ againſt him.’

Copied from Sir MICHAEL FOSTER's hand-writ- ing. M. DODSON.

[*F*] *In* 1725, *he publiſhed, in two volumes*, 8*vo*. *his Miſcellanea Sacra*.] A ſecond edition of this work, with large additions and corrections, was publiſhed by his ſon the preſent Lord Biſhop of Landaff, in 1770, in three volumes, 8*vo*. It is obſerved in an advertiſement prefixed to this edition, that the work had received ſuch improvements from the author, as add new force to his arguments, and elucidation to his criticiſms. ‘ He employed the interval between its ‘ publication in 1725, and his death in 1734, in re- ‘ viewing, correcting, and enlarging it. The addi- ‘ tions, which bear no ſmall proportion to the ori- ‘ ginal work, are now faithfully given to the world, ‘ from an interleaved copy written in the author's ‘ own hand.’ To this edition is alſo added, a Diſ- ſertation on Heb. xii. 22—25, which had not been be- fore publiſhed: and it is obſerved in the advertiſe- ment juſt referred to, that it is believed there will be diſcovered in this ‘ the ſame critical ſagacity, and ‘ the ſame accurate knowledge of ſcripture, which ‘ ſo peculiarly characteriſe the other writings of this ‘ author.’ The four critical eſſays in this work are on the following ſubjects. I. On the witneſs of the Holy Spirit. II. On the diſtinction between Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren. III. On the time when Paul and Barnabas became Apoſtles. IV. On the Apoſto- lical Decree.

In the preface to the *Miſcellanea Sacra*, Lord Bar- rington, ſpeaking of the deſign of his work, ſays, I have endeavoured ‘ to give a ſhort abſtract, in the ‘ order of time, of all the Scripture-hiſtory of the ‘ apoſtles; and chiefly with regard to thoſe parts of ‘ their hiſtory that may ſhew us what the apoſtolical ‘ work and office was, as diſtinguiſhed from other ‘ miniſters of the firſt Chriſtian church; and what ‘ were the ſteps by which they were directed by pro- ‘ vidence to ſpread the Chriſtian religion in the ‘ world; in which, I think, the greateſt wiſdom, ‘ harmony, beauty, and proportion, will appear: ‘ ſuch as will ſhew the new creation every way wor- ‘ thy of the word and wiſdom by which God not ‘ only made the world, but introduced this new ‘ ſyſtem of religion into ours (8).’

(8) Pref. p. viii. edit. 1770.

[*G*] *Staggered the infidelity of Mr. Anthony Collins*.] This gentleman, who lived in Eſſex, often viſited Lord Barrington at Tofts, his ſeat in that county, where Dr. Jeremiah Hunt alſo ſometimes viſited his lordſhip. They therefore occaſionally met there; and it is ſaid to have been their cuſtom, after dinner, to have a Greek Teſtament laid upon the table, as they were all men of letters, and had a taſte for ſcripture criticiſm. In one of their converſations, Mr. Collins obſerved that he had a very great reſpect for the memo- ry of St. Paul; and added, ‘ I think ſo well of him, ‘ who was both a man of ſenſe and a gentleman, that ‘ if he had aſſerted he had worked miracles himſelf, I ‘ would have believed him.’ Lord Barrington im- mediately produced a paſſage in which that apoſtle aſſerts his having wrought miracles: Mr. Collins ſeemed ſomewhat diſconcerted, and ſoon after took his hat, and quitted the company (9). When Lord Barrington, in another converſation, aſked Mr. Col- lins, what was the reaſon, that though he ſeemed him- ſelf to have very little faith in the doctrines of religion, he yet took great care that his ſervants ſhould attend re- gularly at church. His reply was, that he did this to prevent their robbing or murdering him.

(9) From the in- formation of the Rev. Dr. Ca- leb Fleming, to whom Dr. Jer. Hunt communi- cated this par- ticular.

[*H*] *An eſſay on the ſeveral Diſpenſations of God to mankind*, &c.] After this had paſſed through a ſecond edition, ſome acute and learned remarks were pub- liſhed upon it in 1733, by Joſeph Dodſon, M. A. a clergyman of Marlborough, but without his name. A third edition of the *Eſſay on the ſeveral Diſpenſa- tions*, &c. was publiſhed in the third volume of the *Miſcellanea Sacra*, edit. 1770.

[*I*] *He was alſo author of ſeveral other tracts*, &c.] Theſe were, I. *A Diſſuaſive from Jacobitiſm; ſhewing in general what the nation is to expect from a Popiſh King; and in particular, from the Pretender*. The fourth edition of this was printed in 8*vo*, in 1713. II. *A Letter from a layman, in communion with the church of England, though diſſenting from her in ſome points, to the Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of* ———. *With a Poſtſcript, ſhewing how far the bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, is inconſiſtent with the act of tolera- tion*,

1717, he made a ſpeech in favour of the motion for a ſupply (*d*). On the 7th of January 1718-19, he ſpoke in ſupport of the bill for ſtrengthening the proteſtant ſucceſſion (*e*); as he did alſo the 17th of June, 1721, in favour of the ſubſidy to Sweden (*f*). He died at his ſeat at Becket in Berkſhire, after a ſhort illneſs, on the 14th of December 1734, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age (*g*). He generally attended divine worſhip among the Diſſenters, and, for many years, received the ſacrament at Pinner's-Hall, when Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, an eminent and learned Nonconformiſt divine, was paſtor of the congregation that aſſembled there. He had formerly been an attendant on Mr. Thomas Bradbury, but quitted that gentleman on account of his bigotted zeal for impoſing unſcriptural terms upon the article of the Trinity (†). His lordſhip was a diſciple and friend of Mr. Locke (*), had a high value for the ſacred writings, and was eminently ſkilled in them. As a writer in theology, he had great merit; and contributed much to the diffuſing of that ſpirit of free ſcriptural criticiſm, which has ſince obtained among all denominations of Chriſtians. As his attention was much turned to the ſtudy of divinity, he had a ſtrong ſenſe of the importance of free inquiry in matters of religion [*K*]. In his writings, whenever he thought what he advanced was doubtful, or that his arguments were not ſtrictly concluſive, though they might have great

(*d*) Chandler's Debates, Vol. vi. p. 123.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 192.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 253.

(*g*) Supplement, *ubi ſupra.*

(†) From private information.

(*) See Mr. Locke's Life, prefixed to the fifth edition of his works.

tion, and the other laws of this realm. The ſecond edition of this was printed in 1714, 4*to*. In this letter the author obſerves, that, 'As to break in upon 'a man's liberty in the indifferent things of life, is an 'encroachment on the rights of human nature; ſo 'to break in upon it in religious matters that are not 'injurious to another, is not only an encroachment, 'which is called perſecution for conſcience ſake, but 'is an uſurpation of the divine prerogative over the 'minds of men.' Beſides, it will appear very plainly, 'that government can have no rightful power over 'men's profeſſions or practices in points of this nature; becauſe government can't in any wiſe *affect men's ſentiments.* For penalties, which is all the 'force that government can exert over its ſubjects, 'have not the leaſt tendency to alter men's opinions. 'All that a government can do, is to reſtrain men's 'profeſſions or practices. But to reſtrain their profeſſions or practices in points that are not injurious 'to others, when they can't alter their belief, tends 'only to make men hypocrites, that is, to believe 'one thing, and to profeſs and practiſe another: 'which, as it by conſequence tends to damn the man 'that is thus tempted to hypocriſy, ſo it tends to deſtroy all government, by looſing men from the ties 'of their conſciences, the beſt ſecurity a government 'can poſſibly have for the trueſt obedience of its ſubjects (10).' III. *The Layman's Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor.* The ſecond edition of this was publiſhed in 1716, 4*to*. IV. *An account of the late proceedings of the Diſſenting-miniſters at Salters-Hall; occaſioned by the differences amongſt their brethren in the country: with ſome thoughts concerning the impoſition of human forms for articles of faith. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Gale,* 8*vo*, 1719. The differences referred to in the title of this piece, it is obſerved by the author, 'had their 'riſe from ſome diſputes concerning the doctrine of 'the Trinity; whereupon ſome weak Chriſtians, of 'more zeal than charity, took it into their heads to 'be uneaſy in communion with ſuch as they were 'jealous of on that account; and inſiſted upon a defection from ſome articles, or forms upon that head, 'to be a ſufficient ground of excommunication, or 'excluſion (11).' But at the meeting of Diſſenting-miniſters at Salters-Hall, of which this piece gives an account, it was carried by a majority againſt the impoſition of 'human compoſitions, or interpretations of 'the doctrine of the Trinity.' Our author's pamphlet, however, gave offence to the violent ſticklers for orthodoxy, and indeed ſome of the paſſages in it were rather ſevere upon Mr. Thomas Bradbury, a Diſſenting-miniſter of ſome note, but of more zeal than judgment, who had much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this affair, though in a manner not greatly to his honour. However, he publiſhed a piece the ſame year, intitled, 'An Anſwer to the reproaches caſt on thoſe 'Diſſenting-miniſters, who ſubſcribed their belief of 'the Eternal Trinity. In a letter to John Barrington-Shute, Eſq; by Thomas Bradbury.' V. *A Diſcourſe of natural and revealed Religion, and the relation they bear to each other,* 8*vo*, 1732. VI. *Reflections on the* 12*th query, contained in a paper, intitled, Reaſons offered againſt puſhing for the repeal of the Corporation and Teſt-Acts, and on the animadverſions on the anſwer to it,* 8*vo*, 1733.

(10) Letter from a Layman, &c. p. 8, 9. 2d edit.

(11) Account, p. 3.

[*K*] *He had a ſtrong ſenſe of the importance of free inquiry in matters of religion.*] Thus he ſays, in the preface to his *Miſcellanea Sacra*, that 'nobody who 'has read hiſtory with any attention, but muſt have 'obſerved, that there have been certain diſpoſitions 'which have reigned in certain periods of the world: 'owing perhaps to ſome great genius, in whom that 'diſpoſition has been firſt kindled and ſhone, and by 'whom it has been communicated to others; till at 'length it has ſpread ſo far as to become the prevailing humour of the age. Nor is there any one, 'who has but curſorily examined our own times in 'particular, but muſt have taken notice, that a very *inquiſitive* turn has prevailed in them, eſpecially 'in philoſophy, and in natural and revealed religion; 'and that likewiſe a happy temper has grown up 'along with it, of bearing with one another in the 'reſult of our inquiries.'

'As theſe are in themſelves ſome of the beſt diſpoſitions that can have place in mankind (the one 'being the ſeed-plot of all truth and virtue, and the 'other that which, like warmth and moiſture, cheriſhes them whereever they ſpring); and being 'both of them the only promiſing ſymptoms (I mean, 'of a moral nature), among a great many threatening 'appearances, that a curious obſerver will find among 'us; there is no man, who has been bleſſed by God 'with having had any ſhare in exciting or advancing 'this happy temper, but has found reaſon for the 'higheſt ſatisfaction in his own breaſt, as well as for 'the greateſt thankfulneſs to God, the author of 'every good and perfect gift, on that account; and 'that, notwithſtanding all the neglects, the diſappointments, and the ill uſage, which he may have 'met with at any time, for his attempts or ſucceſs 'this way, from the powerful, the ſtupid, the lazy, and the corrupt part of mankind.'

'Such treatment is what muſt be generally expected 'from the great and the powerful, who have their views 'too much fixed on power, wealth, and honours, to 'take them off, in order to purſue truth or virtue. 'Inſtead of looking after theſe ſpiritual poſſeſſions 'themſelves, they are generally afraid, leſt the purſuits that are made after them by others ſhould 'diſturb them in their daily acquiſitions of another 'kind; and therefore ſeldom fail to raiſe a cry of 'danger to ſomething or another, that really is, or 'that is thought to be, valuable, by the ſtupid, the 'lazy, and the corrupt; the conſtant tools and confederates of the mighty, and who are at the ſame 'time the ſworn enemies of all enquiries; hating 'to be diſturbed in their ſentiments, eſpecially in 'thoſe that tend to their worldly eaſe and advantage. 'Thus the men of power generally keep the moſt 'jealous eye on theſe *honeſt* and *diligent enquirers*, 'and worry them by the others; apprehending a 'ſpeedy diſcovery of their own ſecret ways of corruption, from their penetration and integrity, and 'perhaps ſome trouble and oppoſition of one kind or 'other by that means; were it no more than their 'making it appear to the world, that ſometimes when 'the

great weight, he expreſſed himſelf with a becoming diffidence [*L*]. He was remarkable for the politeneſs of his manners, and the gracefulneſs of his addreſs, as we are aſſured by thoſe who perſonally knew him (*b*). He married Anne, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Daines, by whom he left ſix ſons and three daughters. William, his eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded to his father's honours; was elected, ſoon after he came of age, member for the town of Berwick; and in the late and preſent reigns, has paſſed through the ſucceſſive offices of Lord of the Admiralty, Maſter of the Wardrobe, Secretary at War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Treaſurer of the Navy. Francis, the ſecond, died young. John, the third, was a Major General in the army, commanded the land-forces at the reduction of the Iſland of Guadaloupe in 1758, and died in 1764. Daines, the fourth, King's Counſel, and one of the Welch Judges, is author of 'Obſervations upon the ancient ſtatutes,' a work which hath gone through four editions, and of ſeveral curious and valuable papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and in the Archæologia of the Antiquarian Society. Samuel, the fifth, is Rear-Admiral of the Red, who greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars of 1741 and 1756. Shute, the ſixth, had his education at Eaton-ſchool, and the univerſity of Oxford; took Orders in 1756, the degree of LL. D. in 1762, and was promoted to the Biſhoprick of Landaff in 1769; who hath obligingly communicated to us ſome of the facts above mentioned, as well as ſeveral pieces written by his Lordſhip's father, and which have been enumerated in this article. Of the three daughters, who ſurvived their father, Sarah, married Robert Price, Eſq; of Foxley in Herefordſhire; Anne, Thomas Clarges, Eſq; only ſon of Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart.; and Mary died unmarried.] T.

(*b*) See Letters of deceaſed Perſons, 8*vo*, 1773.

'the powerful are doing what are, or are thought to 'be, high acts of juſtice, or even endeavouring to 'procure ſome conſiderable advantage to the public, 'it is but as a neceſſary part of their private ſcheme, 'beyond which they ſeldom run the riſk, or give 'themſelves the trouble, ſo much as to aim at the 'good of ſociety.'——'But whatever is generally to 'be expected from men in power, and from thoſe who 'are in a combination with them, yet there is no 'good man but will endeavour to feed and cheriſh 'theſe happy diſpoſitions in all the ways he can. 'And as this *inquiſitive turn* has brought men to 'look more curiouſly into the ſcriptures, from ſeeing 'that they alone muſt be the ſtandards of truths 'which are not diſcoverable by the light of na-'ture; and to judge of the books of the Old and 'New Teſtament more according to the rules of 'criticiſm, from a better taſte that obtains; they 'will contribute all the help they can to aſſiſt others 'in reading them with greater advantage.'

[*L*] *In his writings, &c. he expreſſed himſelf with a becoming diffidence.*] He ſays, in his firſt eſſay, 'I 'cannot but have a very mean opinion of writers, 'who will put on the appearance of aſſurance and 'certainty, that they may carry the guiſe of perfect 'knowledge and judgment to the bulk of their 'readers, in points where they are far from being at 'that certainty which they affect ſo much to be 'thought to have; and every one muſt have a much 'worſe opinion of thoſe who give themſelves this 'air, only to ſerve party or private views. The firſt 'proceeds from a degree of pride, to which human 'nature is more eaſily carried; while the ſecond ariſes 'from a degree of diſhoneſty, that has been contract-'ed by lower acts of it, repeated from time to time, 'till it has grown habitual, and ends in venturing 'on this high injury to mankind. The firſt moral 'virtues of a writer are to diveſt himſelf of theſe 'enormous paſſions; to ſearch for truth alone, and 'to propoſe it to his reader, with that degree of evi-'dence and certainty, or of doubt and difficulty, 'which it has in his own mind. Conſidering him-'ſelf as accountable to God, for miſleading any 'man by the ſuperiority of his talents; and as ac-'countable to his reader, for the inſolence of en-'deavouring to impoſe on him, by means of any 'real or imagined advantage he has over him. If 'theſe virtues were practiſed by every writer, we 'ſhould receive more profit from the beſt, and leaſt 'hurt from the worſt, than we now reap from either 'of them; and writing would then be in the beſt 'ſtate that this ſtate of imperfection would allow '(12).']

(12) Miſcellanea Sacra, Vol. i. p. 157, 158. edit. 1770.

BARROW (Isaac), Biſhop of St. Aſaph in the reign of King Charles II., was ſon of Iſaac Barrow of Spiney-Abbey in Cambridgeſhire, and uncle of the famous Dr. Iſaac Barrow, Maſter of Trinity-College in Cambridge (*a*). He had his education at Peter-houſe in Cambridge, and became Fellow of that college; but was ejected by the Preſbyterians about the year 1643: whereupon going to Oxford, he was appointed one of the Chaplains of New-College by the Warden Dr. Pink (*b*). It is ſaid, he was created Bachelor of Divinity in that univerſity the 23d of June 1646; but his name is not to be found in the regiſter (*c*). He continued at Oxford till the garriſon of that place ſurrendered to the Parliament, after which time he ſhifted from place to place, and ſuffered with the reſt of the loyal and orthodox clergy, till the Reſtoration of King Charles II., when he was not only reſtored to his fellowſhip in Peter houſe, but elected likewiſe one of the Fellows of Eaton-College near Windſor. July the 5th, 1663, he was conſecrated Biſhop of the Iſle of Man, in Henry the VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter; and the year following he was appointed, by Charles Earl of Derby, Governor of the Iſle of Man; which office he diſcharged with great reputation all the time he held that See, and ſome time after his tranſlation to that of St. Aſaph. He held his fellowſhip of Eaton *in commendam* with the biſhopric of Man, and was a conſiderable benefactor to that iſland, and eſpecially the clergy thereof (*d*) [*A*]. Afterwards going into England for the ſake of his health, and lodging in a houſe belonging to the Counteſs of Derby in Lancaſhire called Croſs-Hall, he

(*a*) *See the following article.*

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxonienſis*, Vol. ii. col. 1140.

(*c*) *Id. Faſti Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 56.

(*d*) *Id. Athen. Oxon.* ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He was a conſiderable benefactor to the iſland of Man, and eſpecially to the Clergy thereof.*] He collected with great care and pains from pious perſons one thouſand eighty-one pounds, eight ſhillings, and four pence; with which he purchaſed of the Earl of Derby all the impropriations in the iſland, and ſettled them upon the Clergy in proportion to their ſeveral wants. He obliged them all likewiſe to teach ſchool in

he there received the news of his Majesty's conferring on him the bishopric of St. Asaph, to which he was translated March the 21st 1669, and to which diocese he was no inconsiderable benefactor [*B*]. This worthy Prelate died in the 67th year of his age, at Shrewsbury, the 24th of June 1680, and was buried the first of July following at the cathedral church of St. Asaph [*C*]. His epitaph [*D*] gave great offence to the Presbyterians (*e*) [*E*].

(*e*) *Ib.* col. 1154.

in their respective parishes, and allowed thirty pounds *per annum* for a free-school, and fifty pounds *per annum* for academical learning. He procured also from King Charles II., one hundred pounds a year (which, Mr. Wood says, had like to have been lost) to be settled upon his Clergy, and gave one hundred thirty-five pounds of his own money for a lease upon lands of twenty pounds a year, towards the maintenance of three poor scholars in the college of Dublin, that in time there might be a more learned body of Clergy in the island. He gave likewise ten pounds towards the building a bridge over a dangerous water; and did several other acts of charity and beneficence (1).

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxonienſis*, Vol. ii. col. 1141.

[*B*] *He was no inconsiderable benefactor to the diocese of St. Asaph.*] He repaired several parts of the cathedral church, especially the north and south isles, and new covered them with lead, and wainscotted the East part of the choir. He laid out a considerable sum of money in repairing the episcopal palace, and a mill thereunto belonging. In 1678, he built an alms-house for eight poor widows, and endowed it with twelve pounds *per annum* for ever. The same year, he procured an act of parliament for appropriating the rectories of Llaurhaiader and Mochnant in Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, and of Skeiviog in the county of Flint, for repairs of the cathedral church of St. Asaph, and the better maintenance of the choir therein, and also for the uniting several rectories that were sinecures, and the vicarages of the same parishes, within the said diocese. He designed likewise to build a free-school, and endow it, but was prevented by death. Nevertheless, in 1687, Bishop Lloyd, who succeeded Bishop Barrow in the see of St. Asaph, recovered of that Prelate's executors two hundred pounds, towards a free-school at St. Asaph (2).

(2) *Ib. ib.* col. 1154.

[*C*] *He died at Shrewsbury —— and was buried —— at the cathedral church of St. Asaph.*] Six days after his death, his corpse was removed to his house called Argoed-Hall in Flintshire, and from thence carried to his palace at St. Asaph, and the same day interred, after divine service and a sermon, by Dr. Nicholas Stratford, Dean of St. Asaph, on the south side of the West door in the cathedral church-yard, which was the place he had appointed (3).

(3) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *His epitaph.*] Over his grave was laid a large flat stone, and another over that supported by pedestals; on the last of which is the following inscription engraven: *Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. Obiit dictus reverendus pater festo Divi Johannis Baptistæ, anno Domini* 1680, *ætatis* 67, *et translationis suæ undecimo*; i. e. 'The 'remains of Isaac, Bishop of St. Asaph, deposited in 'the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resurrec- 'tion through the alone merits of Jesus Christ. This 'reverend father died on the feast of St. John Bap- 'tist, in the year of our Lord 1680, the 67th of 'his age, and the eleventh of his translation.' On the lower stone, which is even with the ground, is the following inscription, engraven on a brass plate fastened thereunto, which was made by the Bishop himself. *Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensis Episcopi, in manum Domini depositæ, in spem lætæ resurrectionis per sola Christi merita. O vos transeuntes in domum domini, domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro, ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini*; i. e. 'The 'remains of Isaac, Bishop of St. Asaph, deposited in 'the hand of the Lord, in hope of a joyful resur- 'rection through the alone merits of Jesus Christ. O 'ye who are passing into the house of the Lord, the 'house of prayer, pray for your fellow-servant, that 'he may find mercy in the day of the Lord.' The said brass plate was fastened at first, as is reported there, over the said West door, but was afterwards taken down, and fastened to the lower stone next the body (4).

(4) *Ibid.*

[*E*] —— *gave great offence to the Presbyterians.*] What they excepted against in this epitaph was, no doubt, the latter part of the second inscription, as savouring too much of the Popish doctrine of *Prayers for the dead*. But let us cite Anthony Wood (5). 'As soon as this last epitaph was put up, the contents 'thereof flew about the nation by the endeavours of the '*godly faction* (then plumped up with hopes to carry on 'their diabolical designs upon account of the Popish 'plot, then in examination and prosecution) to make 'the world believe that the said Bishop died a Papist, 'and that the rest of the Bishops were Papists also, 'or at least popishly affected, and especially for this 'reason, that they adhered to his Majesty, and took 'part with him at that time against the said faction, 'who endeavoured to bring the nation into confusion 'by their usual trade of lying and slandering, which 'they have always hitherto done to carry on their 'ends, such is the religion of the *Saints*. But so it 'is, let them say what they will, that the said Bishop 'was a virtuous, generous, and godly man, and a true 'son of the Church of England; and it is to be 'wished that those peering, poor-spirited, and sneak- 'ing wretches would endeavour to follow his example, 'and not to lie upon the catch, under the notion of 'religion, to obtain their temporal ends, private 'endearments, comfortable importances, filthy lusts, '&c.' B.

(5) *Ibid.*

[However blameable the Nonconformists might be, either in reality, or according to Anthony Wood's representation of them, for reflecting upon Bishop Barrow's general character, they certainly were not wrong in their disapprobation of his epitaph. Every member of the Church of England, who is a sound and consistent Protestant, will join in the same disapprobation. The epitaph undoubtedly favours the Popish Doctrine of prayers for the dead; and if it was agreeable to the Bishop's sentiments, or put up according to his direction, shews him to have been extremely superstitious. Without disputing the excellency of his heart, it must be acknowledged that he had not an enlarged understanding, and that his ideas of religion were very unbecoming a Protestant Prelate. His admirable nephew would not have admitted any thing so degrading into his character.] K.

BARROW (Isaac), an eminent Mathematician and Divine of the last century, was descended from an ancient family of that name in Suffolk (*a*). His father was Mr. Thomas Barrow [*A*], a reputable citizen of London (*b*) and Linen-Draper to King Charles I. (*c*); and his mother, Anne, daughter of William Buggin of North-Cray in Kent,

(*a*) Mr. John Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

(*b*) Mr. Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of Dr.* Isaac Barrow, prefixed to the first Volume of the Doctor's English Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *The pages are not numbered.*

(*c*) Dr. Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr. Seth Ward, *Bishop of Salisbury*, 8vo. Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(1) Mr. Abr. Hill's *Account of the Life of* Dr. Isaac Barrow, prefixed to the first Volume of the Doctor's English Works, fol. Lond. 1716. *and* Mr. John Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College*, fol. Lond. 1740, p. 157.

[*A*] *His father was Mr.* Thomas Barrow.] He was son of Isaac Barrow, Esq; born at Gazeby in Suffolk, in 1563, but afterwards of Spiney-abbey at Wickham in Cambridgeshire; a gentleman of a good estate, and forty years in the commission of the peace for that county. This Isaac Barrow was son of Philip Barrow, who published a *Method of Physic*, and whose brother Isaac was a Doctor in that faculty, a benefactor to Trinity-College in Cambridge, a Fellow of that college, and tutor therein to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer of England (1). They were the sons of John Barrow of Suffolk, and grandsons of Henry

Kent, Eſq; whoſe tender care he did not long experience, ſhe dying when he was about four years old. He was born at London in October 1630 [*B*], and was placed firſt in the Charter-houſe ſchool for two or three years, where his behaviour afforded but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar [*C*], for which his father deſigned him. But being removed from thence to Felſtead ſchool in Eſſex, his diſpoſition took a more happy turn, and he quickly made ſo great a progreſs in learning, that his maſter appointed him a kind of tutor to the Lord Viſcount Fairfax of Emely in Ireland, who was then his ſcholar (*d*). During his ſtay at Felſtead, he was admitted, December the 15th 1642, being then fourteen years of age, a Penſioner of Peter houſe in Cambridge, under his uncle Mr. Iſaac Barrow, afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and then Fellow of that college. But when he was qualified for the univerſity, he was entered a Penſioner in Trinity-College, the 5th of February 1645; his uncle having been ejected, together with Seth Ward, Peter Gunning, and John Barwick, who had written againſt the Covenant (*e*). His father having ſuffered greatly in his eſtate by his attachment to the royal cauſe, our young ſtudent was obliged at firſt for his chief ſupport to the generoſity of the learned Dr. Hammond, to whoſe memory he paid his thanks, in an excellent epitaph on the Doctor (*f*). In 1647, he was choſen a ſcholar of the houſe (*g*); and, though he always continued a ſtaunch Royaliſt, and never would take the *Covenant*, yet, by his great merit and prudent behaviour, he preſerved the eſteem and good-will of his ſuperiors [*D*]. Afterwards, when the *Engagement* was impoſed, he ſubſcribed it; but, upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he applied himſelf to the Commiſſioners, declared his diſſatisfaction, and prevailed to have his name razed out of the liſt. He applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of all parts of literature, eſpecially Natural Philoſophy; and though he was yet but a young ſcholar, his judgment was too great to reſt ſatisfied with the ſhallow and ſuperficial Philoſophy, then taught and received in the ſchools. He applied himſelf therefore to the reading and conſidering the writings of the Lord Verulam, M. Des Cartes, Galileo, *&c.* who ſeemed to offer ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial (*h*). In 1648, Mr. Barrow took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*i*). The year following, he was elected Fellow of his college, merely out of regard to his merit; for he had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party [*E*]. And now, finding the

(*d*) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Printed among his* Opuſcula, edit. 1687, p. 301.

(*g*) Hill, *ibid.*

(*h*) Hill, *ibid.*

(*i*) Ward, *ibid.*

(2) *Communicated by* Mr. Werthington, *apud* Ward, *ibid.*

(3) Dr. Walter Pope's *Life of* Dr. Seth Ward, *Biſhop of Saliſbury*, 8vo. Lond. 1697, p. 130.

(4) *See his article.*

(5) Wood, *Ath. Oxonienſes*, Vol. ii. col. 1140.

(6) *See the remark* [*W*].

(7) *Lives of the Profeſſors*, &c. ubi ſupra.

(8) *Life of* Dr. Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 129.

Henry Barrow (2). Mr. Thomas Barrow, our Divine's father, adhered to the intereſts of King Charles I. whom he followed to Oxford; and, after the murder of that Prince, he went to his ſon Charles II. then in exile, whom he attended till the reſtoration (3). He had a brother whoſe name was Iſaac, afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph (4), whoſe conſecration ſermon, his nephew and name-ſake preached at Weſtminſter-Abbey (5).

[*B*] *He was born —— in October* 1630.] The year of his birth is evidently inferred from that of his death, which, according to his funeral inſcription (6), written from the information of his father, was the year 1677; from which ſubſtracting the years of his life, ſaid in the ſame inſcription to be 47, we find he was certainly born in the year 1630. And this is farther confirmed by the date of his admiſſion in Peterhouſe, which, Mr. Ward tells us (7), was in 1643, at which time, according to the expreſs words of the college regiſter *(annum agens decimum quartum)* he was entered upon the fourteenth year of his age. Notwithſtanding all which, Dr. Pope will have it, that the date aſſigned by Mr. Hill is not right. 'Mr. Hill, *ſays* 'he (8), fixes Dr. Barrow's birth in the month of 'October, *A. D.* 1630. But I hope he will not be 'offended, if I diſſent from him, both as to the year and 'month, and produce reaſon for ſo doing; 'tis this: 'I have often heard Dr. Barrow ſay, he was born 'upon the twenty-ninth of February; and if he ſaid 'true, it could not be either in October, or in 1630, 'that not being a Leap year. I would not have aſ'ſerted this upon the credit of my memory, had it 'been any other day of any other month, it being 'told me ſo long ſince, had I not this remarkable 'circumſtance to confirm it; he uſed to ſay, "It is, in "one reſpect, the beſt day in the year to be born "upon; for it afforded me this advantage over my "fellow-collegiates, who uſed to keep feaſts upon "their birth-day; I was treated by them once every "year, and I entertained them once in four years, "when February had nine and twenty days." Theſe accounts are ſo inconſiſtent, that we muſt either ſuppoſe, that Dr. Barrow's father was miſtaken as to the year of his ſon's birth, and that his age was falſely entered in the regiſter of Peter-houſe; or (which is no improbable conjecture) that Dr. Pope has, thro' forgetfulneſs, aſcribed that to Dr. Barrow, which he had heard of ſome other friend.

[*C*] *He gave but little hopes of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a ſcholar.*] His greateſt recreation, Mr. Hill tells us (9), was in ſuch ſports as brought on fighting among the boys; to which he adds, his negligence of his cloaths, and (which was much worſe) that of his book. Nay, there was then ſo little appearance of that comfort, which his father afterwards received from him, that he often ſolemnly wiſhed, that if it pleaſed God to take away any of his children, it might be his ſon Iſaac, *ſo vain a thing*, as my author judiciouſly obſerves, *is man's judgment, and our providence unfit to guide our own affairs.* It is obſervable, that Dr. Barrow always retained a natural courage though he had perfectly ſubdued all inclination to quarrelling, and that the neglect of his dreſs continued with him to the laſt.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *He preſerved the eſteem and good will of his ſuperiors.*] Of this we have an inſtance in Dr. Hill, Maſter of the college, who had been put in by the parliament in the room of Dr. Comber, ejected for adhering to the King (10). One day laying his hand upon our young ſtudent's head, he ſaid, *Thou art a good lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavalier*; and when, in an oration on the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, Mr. Barrow had ſo celebrated the former times, as to reflect much on the preſent, ſome Fellows were provoked to move for his expulſion; but the Maſter ſilenced them with this, *Barrow is a better man than any of us* (11). This, Dr. Pope obſerves (12), is very remarkable, and an evident teſtimony of our young ſcholar's irreſiſtible merits, which could, as the Poets feign of Orpheus,

(10) Dr. Pope, *ubi ſupra*, p. 132.

(11) Mr. Hill, *ibid.*

(12) *Ibid.*

------ *lenire tigres rabidoſque leones*,
Make ſavage tygers and fierce lions tame;

that is, as the Doctor interprets it, *make a Preſbyterian kind to a Cavalier and Malignant*, which names the adherents to the King, Church, and Laws, went under in thoſe days.

[*E*] *He had no friend to recommend him, as being of the oppoſite party.*] Dr. Pope, having mentioned this particular circumſtance attending Mr. Barrow's election, ſays, 'This brings to my memory a certificate

the times not favourable to men of his opinions in matters of Church and State, he turned his thoughts to the profeſſion of Phyſic, and made a conſiderable progreſs in the knowledge of Anatomy, Botany, and Chemiſtry: but afterwards, upon deliberation with himſelf, and with the advice of his uncle, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, to which he was further obliged by his oath on his admiſſion to his fellowſhip. By reading Scaliger on Euſebius, he perceived the dependance of Chronology on Aſtronomy; which put him upon reading Ptolemy's *Almageſt*: and finding that book and all Aſtronomy to depend on Geometry, he made himſelf maſter of Euclid's *Elements*, and from thence proceeded to the other ancient Mathematicians. He made a ſhort eſſay towards acquiring the Arabic language, but ſoon deſerted it. With theſe ſeverer ſpeculations, the largeneſs of his mind had room for the amuſements of Poetry, to which he was always ſtrongly addicted (*k*) [*F*]. In 1652, he commenced Maſter of Arts (*l*), and, on the 12th of June the following year, was incorporated in that degree at Oxford (*m*). When Dr. Duport reſigned the chair of Greek Profeſſor, he recommended his pupil Mr. Barrow to ſucceed him; who juſtified his tutor's opinion of him by an excellent performance of the probation exerciſe: but being looked upon as a favourer of Arminianiſm, the choice fell upon another (*n*); and this diſappointment, it is thought, helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad (*o*) [*G*]. In order to execute this deſign, he was obliged to ſell his books. Accordingly, in the year 1655, he went into France; where, at Paris, he found his father attending the Engliſh court, and out of his ſmall *Viaticum* made him a ſeaſonable preſent (*p*). The ſame year his *Euclid* was printed at Cambridge, which he had left behind him for that purpoſe (*q*). He gave his college an account of his journey to Paris in a poem (*r*), and ſome farther obſervations in a letter (*s*) [*H*]. After a few months, he went into Italy, and ſtayed ſometime at Florence, where he had the advantage of peruſing ſeveral books in the Great Duke's Library, and of converſing with Mr. Fitton his Librarian (*t*) [*I*]. Here the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances muſt have put an end to his travels, had he not been generouſly ſupplied with money by Mr. James Stock, a young merchant of London, to whom he afterwards dedicated his edition of Euclid's *Data* (*u*). He was deſirous to have ſeen Rome; but the plague then raging in that city, he took ſhip at Leghorn, November the 6th 1656, for Smyrna. In this voyage they were attacked by a corſair of Algiers, who, perceiving the ſtout defence the ſhip made, ſheered off and left her; and upon this occaſion Mr. Barrow gave a remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity (*w*) [*K*]. At Smyrna, he made himſelf welcome to Mr. Bretton the Conſul (upon whoſe death he afterwards wrote an elegy (*x*),) and

(*k*) Hill, *ibid.*

(*l*) Ward, *ibid.*

(*m*) Wood, *Faſt. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 103.

(*n*) Mr. Ralph Widdrington.

(*o*) Hill, *ibid.*

(*p*) Hill *and* Ward, *ibid.*

(*q*) Ward, *ibid.*

(*r*) *Printed among his* Opuſcula, p. 317.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 351.

(*t*) Hill, *ib. and* Ward, *ib.* p. 152.

(*u*) Dr. Worthington's *Letter to Mr. Hartlib*, Auguſt 5, 1656, MS. *apud* Ward, *ibid.*

(*w*) Hill *and* Ward, *ib.* Dr. Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 136.

(*x*) *Inter* Opuſcula, p. 302.

'or teſtimonial, which my worthy friend Dr. Gilbert 'Ironſide, then Warden of Wadham-College in Oxford, and now Biſhop of Hereford, gave to a member of that college, who was candidate for a fellowſhip in another college; it was to this purpoſe: *If 'this perſon, whom I recommend to you, be not a better 'ſcholar than any of thoſe who are his competitors, 'chooſe him not*; and he did, upon examination and 'trial, ſo far ſurpaſs the reſt, that they could not refuſe him, without being and appearing partial and 'unjuſt. I mention this as parallel to Dr. Barrow's 'caſe (13).'

(13) *Life of Biſhop* Ward, p. 133.

(14) Ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *He was always ſtrongly addicted to Poetry.*] This is ſufficiently evident from the many performances he has left us in that art. Mr. Hill tells us (14), he was particularly pleaſed with that branch of it, which conſiſts in deſcription, but greatly diſliked the hyperboles of ſome modern poets. As for our *plays*, he was an enemy to them, as a principal cauſe of the debauchery of the times; the other cauſes he thought to be, the French education, and the ill example of great perſons. For *ſatires*, he wrote none; his wit, as Mr. Hill expreſſes it, was *pure and peaceable*.

[*G*] *This diſappointment helped to determine him in his reſolution of travelling abroad.*] His other motives, according to Dr. Pope (15), were the melancholy aſpect of public affairs, and a deſire to ſee ſome of thoſe places mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors. But whatever they were, there is no doubt, as Mr. Hill obſerves (16), but that he, who, in leſſer occurrences, did very judiciouſly conſider all circumſtances, had on good grounds made this reſolution.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) *Ibid.*

[*H*] *Some obſervations in a letter.*] This letter, which ſhews Mr. Barrow's piercing judgment in political affairs, when he turned his thoughts that way, gives a particular account of the controverſy between M. Arnaud the Janſeniſt and the Jeſuits, and mentions the favourable diſpoſition of the King and Queen of France towards the Proteſtants of that kingdom, which plainly appeared upon the following remarkable occaſion. The Archbiſhop of Thouloufe, being come to Paris, waited upon the Queen, and in diſcourſe with her Majeſty began to complain that the Proteſtants enjoyed too great a liberty in his dioceſe; to which that Princeſs replied by aſſuring him, that ſhe had ſufficiently experienced their loyalty, and had found them to be more faithful ſubjects than thoſe who accuſed them of ſedition. The King coming in during the converſation, joined with the Queen in her opinion of the Proteſtants, and declared he would continue to them the liberty, which had been granted them by the edicts of his predeceſſors. In ſpeaking of the univerſity of Paris, Mr. Barrow tells them, that it produced at that time very few men of diſtinguiſhed learning and abilities, and that it's colleges were remarkable for nothing but their ſtructures, though, even in that reſpect, the Univerſity of Cambridge had no reaſon to envy that of Paris, ſince Trinity-college alone equalled, if not exceeded, the Colleges of the Sorbonne, Navarre, and Clermont, thrown together.

[*I*] *Mr. Fitton, the Great Duke's Librarian.*] This gentleman, who was an Engliſhman, had been appointed by the Great Duke of Tuſcany to take upon him the charge of that valuable treaſure of antiquity, his library, on account of his extraordinary abilities in that ſort of learning (17). This is ſo clearly expreſſed by Mr. Hill, that one would wonder how Dr. Pope came to miſtake him ſo far, as to aſſert (18), that, upon Mr. Fitton's recommendation, Mr. Barrow was invited by the Great Duke to accept of the office of his Librarian.

(17) Hill, *ibid.*

(18) Ubi ſupra, p. 134.

[*K*] *A remarkable inſtance of his natural courage and intrepidity.*] Take it in Dr. Pope's words: 'In 'his paſſage from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, the ſhip 'he ſailed in was attacked by an Algerine Pirate: 'during the fight, he betook himſelf to his arms (*), 'ſtayed upon the deck chearfully and vigorouſly 'fighting,

(*) Mr. Hill ſays *he ſtood to the gun appointed him with great courage.*

and to the Engliſh factory. From thence he proceeded to Conſtantinople, where he met with a very friendly reception from Sir Thomas Bendiſh the Engliſh Ambaſſador, and Sir Jonathan Daws, with whom he afterwards kept up an intimate friendſhip and correſpondence. This voyage, from Leghorn to Conſtantinople, he has deſcribed in a Latin Poem (y) [*L*]. At Conſtantinople, he read over the works of St. Chryſoſtom, once Biſhop of that See, whom he preferred to all the other Fathers. Having ſtayed in Turkey above a year, he returned from thence to Venice, where, ſoon after they were landed, the ſhip took fire, and with all the goods was conſumed. From thence he came home, in 1659, through Germany and Holland, and has left a deſcription of ſome parts of thoſe countries in his poems. Soon after his return into England, the time (z) being ſomewhat elapſed, before which all Fellows of Trinity-college are obliged to take orders, or quit the ſociety, Mr. Barrow was epiſcopally ordained by Biſhop Brownrig, notwithſtanding the unſettled ſtate of the times, and the declining condition of the church of England. Upon the King's Reſtoration, his friends expected he would have been immediately preferred on account of his having ſuffered and deſerved ſo much; but it came to nothing, which made him wittily ſay (which he has not left in his poems)

(y) *Ibid.* p. 302.

(z) Viz. *Seven years after the degree of Maſter of Arts.*

Te magis optavit rediturum, Carole, nemo,
Et nemo ſenſit te rediiſſe minus (*a*).

(a) Hill, *Ibid.*

That is,

Thy Reſtoration, Royal Charles, I ſee,
By none more wiſh'd, by none leſs felt, than me.

However, he wrote an ode upon that occaſion, in which he introduces *Britannia* congratulating the King upon his return (*b*). In 1660, he was choſen, without a competitor, Greek Profeſſor of the univerſity of Cambridge (*c*). His oration, ſpoken upon that occaſion [*M*], is preſerved among his *Opuſcula* (*d*). When he entered upon this province, he deſigned to have read upon the *Tragedies* of Sophocles: but, altering his intention, he made choice of Ariſtotle's *Rhetoric* (*e*). Theſe Lectures, having been lent to a perſon, who never returned them, are irrecoverably loſt (*f*). The year following, which was 1661, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*g*). July the 16th 1662, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college, in the room of Mr. Lawrence Rooke, and chiefly through the intereſt and recommendation of Dr. Wilkins, Maſter of Trinity-college, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. In this ſtation, he not only diſcharged his own duty, but ſupplied, likewiſe, the abſence of Dr. Pope the Aſtronomy Profeſſor. Among his Lectures, ſome were upon the projection of the ſphere; which being borrowed and never returned, are loſt (*h*). But his Latin Oration, previous to his

(b) Opuſc. p. 309.

(c) Hill, *ibid.*

(d) Page 100.

(e) Dr. Worthington to Mr. Hartlib, Oct. 21, 1661, MS. Mr. Worthington, *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 160.

(f) Hill, *ib.*

(g) Ward, *ib.*

(h) Hill, *ib.*

' fighting, till the Pirate, perceiving the ſtout de-
' fence the ſhip made, ſheered off and left her. I
' aſked him why he did not go down into the hold,
' and leave the defence of the ſhip to thoſe to whom
' it did belong: he replied, " It concerned no man
" more than myſelf; I would rather have loſt my
" life, than have fallen into the hands of thoſe mer-
" cileſs Infidels." This engagement, and his own
' ſtout and intrepid behaviour in it, to defend his
' liberty, which he valued more than his life, as he
' aſſerts in that verſe,

' Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,

(19) *It is entitled,* Iter maritimum a portu Liguſtico ad Conſtantinopolim. *See his* Opuſcula, *or* fourth *Vol. of his Works*, p. 211.

(20) *Life of Dr.* Seth Ward, *&c.* p. 136, 137.

' he deſcribes at large in a copy of verſes (19) in the
' fourth volume of his works (20).' Dr. Pope adds to this another accident, which, becauſe it is a farther proof of Dr. Barrow's natural courage and intrepidity, I ſhall inſert in this place. ' He was at a
' gentleman's houſe in the country, if I miſtake not
' in Cambridgeſhire, where the neceſſary-houſe was
' at the end of a long garden, and conſequently at a
' great diſtance from the room where he lodged: as
' he was going to it very early, even before day, for
' he was ſparing of ſleep, and a very early riſer, a
' fierce maſtiff, who uſed to be chained up all day,
' and let looſe at night for the ſecurity of the houſe,
' perceiving a ſtrange perſon in the garden at that
' unſeaſonable time, ſet upon him with great fury.
' The Doctor catched him by the throat, threw him,
' and lay upon him, and, whilſt he kept him down,
' conſidered what he ſhould do in that exigent; once
' he had a mind to kill him, but he quite altered
' this reſolution, judging it would be an unjuſt
' action; for the dog did his duty, and he himſelf
' was in fault for rambling out of his lodgings before
' 'twas light. At length he called out ſo loud, that
' he was heard by ſome of the houſe, who came
' preſently out, and freed both the Doctor and
' the dog from the imminent danger they were both
' in (21).'

(21) *Ibid.*

[*L*] *This voyage —— he has deſcribed in a Latin poem.*] The time of his ſailing from Leghorn is, at the head of this poem, through miſtake, printed *Nov.* 6. *anno* 1657; it ſhould be 1656; otherwiſe he could not have ſtayed above a year in Turkey, as Mr. Hill aſſures us he did, and is manifeſt from his letter to the Maſter and Fellows of Trinity-college, dated at Conſtantinople *Aug.* 1, 1658 (22).

(22) It is printed in Mr. Ward's *Lives*, &c. Appendix, No. 10. p. 39.

[*M*] *His oration ſpoken upon that occaſion.*] In this ſpeech Dr. Barrow pays a high compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Downs, Chrichton, and Dr. Duport; and particularly commemorates Eraſmus, who had been ſo nobly inſtrumental in reviving the ſtudy of the learned languages. He compliments the univerſity of Cambridge upon the good ſenſe, true judgment, real wit, and extenſive learning with which it abounded; in which reſpects it had the advantage over all the univerſities he had ſeen in his travels. He apologizes for his own inſufficiency and inability to fill that chair: but, as he had the honour to be elected, he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſupply the want of genius, by induſtry and diligent application. He congratulates his hearers upon the revival and encouragement of good literature and the politer arts by his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration. Laſtly, he expatiates upon the great antiquity, extenſive uſe, peculiar energy, and ſuperior advantages of the *Greek language*; and diſplays the ſeveral merits of its writers in every branch of learning.

Lectures,

Lectures, is ſtill extant [*N*]. The ſame year 1662, he wrote an *Epithalamium* on the marriage of King Charles and Queen Catherine, in Greek verſe (*i*). About this time, Mr. Barrow was offered a very good Living, but the condition annexed of teaching the patron's ſon, made him refuſe it, as too like a ſimoniacal contract (*k*). Upon the 20th of May 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the firſt choice made by the Council after their charter (*l*). The ſame year, Mr. Lucas having founded a Mathematical Lecture at Cambridge, Mr. Barrow was ſo powerfully recommended, by Dr. Wilkins, to that gentleman's executors Mr. Raworth and Mr. Buck, that he was appointed the firſt Profeſſor; and the better to ſecure the end of ſo noble and uſeful a foundation, he took care that himſelf and his ſucceſſors ſhould be obliged to leave yearly to the Univerſity ten written Lectures (*m*). We have his *Prefatory Oration* [*O*], ſpoken in the public Mathematical ſchool, March the 14th 1664 (*n*). Though his two Profeſſorſhips were not inconſiſtent, he choſe to reſign that of Greſham-college; which he accordingly did, May the 20th 1664. He had been invited to take the charge of the Cotton Library; but, after a ſhort trial, he declined it, and reſolved to ſettle in the Univerſity. In 1669, he reſigned the Mathematical chair, to his very worthy friend and learned ſucceſſor Mr. Iſaac Newton, being determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity [*P*]. In 1670, he wrote a Latin poem upon the death of the Ducheſs of Orleans (*o*), an *Epicedium* upon the Duke of Albemarle (*p*), and a Latin Ode upon the Trinity (*q*). He was only a Fellow of Trinity-college, when he was collated by his uncle, the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, to a ſmall *Sine-Cure* in Wales, and by Dr. Seth Ward, Biſhop of Saliſbury, to a Prebend in that cathedral [*Q*]; the profits of both which he applied to charitable uſes, and afterwards reſigned them, when he became Maſter of his college (*r*). This year, 1670, he was created Doctor in Divinity by mandate (*s*). In 1672, Dr. Pearſon, Maſter of Trinity-college, being, upon the death of Biſhop Wilkins, removed to the Biſhoprick of Cheſter (*t*), Dr. Barrow was appointed by the King

(*i*) Opuſc. P. 275.
(*k*) Hill, *ib.*
(*l*) Ward, *ib.*
(*m*) Hill, *ib.*
(*n*) Opuſc. P. 78.
(*o*) *Ib.* p. 293.
(*p*) *Ib.* p 294.
(*q*) *Ib.* p. 273.
(*r*) Hill, *ibid.*
(*s*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 162.
(*t*) Dr. Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 138.

[*N*] *His Latin oration, previous to his Lectures, is ſtill extant.*] It is printed in his *Opuſcula*, or fourth volume of his *Works* (23), and opens with a compliment to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, founder of the college. From thence the Orator proceeds to celebrate his predeceſſors in the Geometry Lecture, Mr. Henry Briggs, Sir Chriſtopher Wren, and Mr. Laurence Rooke; and laments his own want of abilities to ſupply the place of ſuch great men. The reſt of the oration is taken up in diſplaying the ſolid foundation, and great advantages, of *Geometry*, to which the world has been obliged for ſo many noble and uſeful diſcoveries.

(23) Page 90.

[*O*] *His* Prefatory *Oration.*] In this piece the Doctor gives us a fine encomium on Mr. Lucas, founder of the Lecture, and pays a compliment to his executors Mr. Raworth and Mr. Buck. He then mentions the reaſons, which induced him to reſign the Greek Profeſſorſhip for that of the Mathematics, which were chiefly, that the bent of his genius led him more ſtrongly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy than of Philology, the knowledge of things than of words; and that, having undertaken the Greek lecture, at a time when the duty of it was very great and the profits very ſmall, he thought himſelf at liberty, eſpecially now that the circumſtances of that lecture were altered very much to its advantage, to quit it, and exchange a very laborious duty for one of leſs fatigue. He employs the reſt of the oration on the praiſes of the *Mathematics*, and their excellent uſe in freeing the mind from credulity, fortifying it againſt the vanity of Scepticiſm, reſtraining it from raſhneſs and preſumption, inclining its aſſent to proper evidence, ſubjecting it to the juſt authority of reaſon, and ſetting it free from the unjuſt tyranny of deluſive prejudices; in fixing the volatility of the imagination, ſharpening the dull and heavy genius, pruning the luxuriant, bridling the impetuous, and ſpurring the ſlow and indolent.

[*P*] *He determined to quit entirely the ſtudy of the Mathematics for that of Divinity.*] What contributed not a little to detach him from the farther purſuit of mathematical knowledge, was, the little notice that had been taken of his *Geometrical Lectures*; which had now been ſome time publiſhed, and yet Mr. Hill tells us (24), he had heard of very few that had read and conſidered them thoroughly, beſides M. Sluſius of Liege, and Mr. Gregory of Scotland, two that might, indeed, be reckoned inſtead of many: but the little reliſh that ſuch things met with helped to looſen him from theſe ſpeculations, and the more engage his inclination to the ſtudy of Morality and Divinity, which had always been ſo predominant, that, when he commented on *Archimedes*, he could not forbear in diſcourſe to prefer and admire much more Suarez for his book *de Legibus*.

(24) Ubi ſupra.

[*Q*] *He was collated by Biſhop Ward to a Prebend in the cathedral church of Saliſbury.*] That Prelate, Dr. Pope tells us (25), had invited Dr. Barrow to live with him, not as a Chaplain, but rather as a friend and companion, though he frequently officiated in the abſence of the domeſtic Chaplain. About this time, the archdeaconry of North Wiltſhire becoming void, the Biſhop made an offer of it to Dr. Barrow, who modeſtly and abſolutely refuſed it, for a reaſon, which Dr. Pope thinks it not neceſſary to declare. Soon after, a Prebendary of Saliſbury being dead, and the Biſhop offering Dr. Barrow the Prebend, he gratefully accepted it, and was inſtalled accordingly. 'I remember about that time, *ſays Dr. Pope*, I heard 'him once ſay, *I wiſh I had five hundred pounds.* I 'replied, *That's a great ſum for a Philoſopher to de-'ſire; what would you do with ſo much? I would,* 'ſaid he, *give it my ſiſter for a portion, that would procure her a good huſband:* Which ſum, in few 'months after, he received, for putting a life into 'the corps of his new Prebend; after which he re-'ſigned it to Mr. Corker of Trinity-college in Cam-'bridge.' Dr. Pope relates a circumſtance during Dr. Barrow's reſidence in the Biſhop's family, which, however trifling it may be thought, I ſhall here ſet down in that writer's own words: 'We were once 'going from Saliſbury to London, he in the coach 'with the Biſhop, and I on horſeback: as he was 'entering the coach, I perceived his pockets ſtrutting 'out near half a foot, and ſaid to him, *What have 'you got in your pockets?* He replied, *Sermons*; *Ser-'mons*, ſaid I, *give them me, my boy ſhall carry them 'in his portmanteau, and eaſe you of that luggage. But*, 'ſaid he, *ſuppoſe your boy ſhould be robbed. That's 'pleaſant*, ſaid I; *do you think there are Parſons pad-'ding upon the road for ſermons? Why, what have 'you*, ſaid he; *it may be five or ſix guineas*; *I hold 'my ſermons at a greater rate*; *they coſt me much pain 'and time. Well then*, ſaid I, *if you'll inſure my five 'or ſix guineas againſt Lay-Padders, I'll ſecure your 'bundle of ſermons againſt Eccleſiaſtical Highwaymen.* 'This was agreed; he emptied his pockets, and filled 'my portmanteau with Divinity, and we had the 'good fortune to come ſafe to our journey's end, 'without meeting either ſort of the padders before-'mentioned, and to bring both our treaſures to London (26).'

(25) Ubi ſupra, p. 142, &c.
(26) *Ib.* p. 144.

to ſucceed him [*R*]; and his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that occaſion, *he had given it to the beſt ſcholar in England* (*u*). His patent [*S*] bears date February the 13th 1672, and he was admitted the 27th of the ſame month (*w*). He gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to that ſociety, whoſe intereſt he conſtantly and carefully conſulted (*x*) [*T*]. In 1675, he was choſen Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity (*y*). This great and learned Divine died of a fever [*U*], the 4th of May 1677, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected to him by the contribution of his friends. His epitaph [*W*] was written

(*u*) Hill, *ib.*
(*w*) Ward, *ib.*
(*x*) Hill, *ib.*
(*y*) Ward, *ib.*

[*R*] *He was appointed by the King* Maſter of Trinity-college.] The Doctor being at that time one of the King's Chaplains, his Majeſty had often done him the honour to converſe with him, and in his facetious way uſed to call him *an unfair Preacher*, becauſe he exhauſted every ſubject, and left no room for others to come after him (27). This preferment was not at all obtained by faction or flattery: it was the King's own act, though Dr. Barrow's merit made thoſe of the greateſt power forward to contribute towards it, particularly, Gilbert Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of Cambridge, and formerly a member of Trinity-college (28).

(27) Ward, *ib.*

(28) Hill, *ib.*

[*S*] *His patent.*] His patent, according to Mr. Hill (29), being drawn up, as it had been for ſome others, with permiſſion to marry, he was at the charge of getting it altered, as thinking it not agreeable to the ſtatutes, from which he deſired no diſpenſation. Dr. Pope pretends, he procured a *new patent*, 'Nay, 'ſays *that Life writer* (30), he choſe rather to be at 'the expence of double fees, and procure a new pa-'tent, *without the marrying clauſe*, than perpetually 'to ſtand upon his guard againſt the ſieges, batteries, 'and importunities, which he foreſaw that ho-'nourable and profitable preferment would expoſe 'him to;

'- - - - - Imitatus Caſtora, qui ſe
'Eunuchum ipſe facit, &c.

'in this wiſely imitating the *beaver*; who knows for 'what he is hunted. Thus making matrimony a 'forfeiture of his preferment, it was as effectual a way 'to ſecure him from all dangers of that kind, as '*caſtration* itſelf could have been; for *women*, in 'this age, *like hens, deſire only to lay where they ſee* '*neſt-eggs*.' But it is not true, that Dr. Barrow procured a new patent, the original inſtrument, in the hands of the Earl of Oxford, having a blank occaſioned by the eraſement (31).

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) Ubi ſupra, p. 165.

(31) *Communicated by the late Rev. Mr.* Baker *of* Cambridge. *See* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 162.

[*T*] *He conſtantly and carefully conſulted the intereſt of that ſociety.*] Particularly, he excuſed them from ſome expences, and allowances, which they had made to his predeceſſors (32). Among other inſtances, he remitted to them the charge of keeping a coach for him, as had been done for other maſters (33). Upon the ſingle affair of building their library, which was begun under his maſterſhip, he wrote out quires of paper in letters, chiefly to thoſe who had been of the college, firſt to engage their benefactions, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted. He kept no copies of theſe letters; but by the generous returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no ſmall value (34).

(32) Hill, *ib.*

(33) Dr Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 165.

(34) Hill, *ib.*

[*U*] *He died of a fever.*] It pleaſed God, Mr. Hill tells us (35), that being invited to preach the *Paſſion-Sermon*, April 13, 1677, at Guild-Hall, (which, by the way, was the ſecond ſermon, for which he received any pecuniary recompence) he never preached but once more, preſently after falling ſick of a fever. The like diſtemper he had once or twice before, though otherwiſe of a conſtant health; but this fatally prevailed againſt the ſkill and diligence of many Phyſicians his good friends. Dr. Pope is more particular in relating the circumſtances of Dr. Barrow's death. 'The laſt time he was in 'London, *ſays that writer* (36), whither he came, 'as it is cuſtomary, to the election of Weſtminſter, 'he went to Knightſbridge to give the Biſhop of 'Saliſbury a viſit, and then made me engage my 'word to come to him at Trinity-college immediately 'after the Michaelmas enſuing. I cannot expreſs 'the rapture of the joy I was in, having, as I 'thought, ſo near a proſpect of his charming and 'inſtructive converſation; I fancied it would be a 'heaven upon earth, for he was immenſely rich in 'learning, and very liberal and communicative of it, 'delighting in nothing more than to impart to 'others, if they deſired it, whatever he had attained 'by much time and ſtudy: but of a ſudden all my 'hopes vaniſhed, and were melted like ſnow before 'the ſun. Some few days after he came again to 'Knightſbridge, and ſat down to dinner, but I ob-'ſerved he did not eat. Whereupon I aſked him 'how it was with him; he anſwered, that he had 'a ſlight indiſpoſition hanging upon him, with 'which he had ſtruggled two or three days, and 'that he hoped by faſting and *opium* to get it off, as 'he had removed another and more dangerous ſick-'neſs, at Conſtantinople, ſome years before. But 'theſe remedies availed him not: his malady proved, 'in the event, an inward, malignant, and inſuper-'able fever, of which he died *May* 4, *Anno Dom.* '1677, in the 47th year of his age, in mean lodg-'ings, at a ſadler's near Charing-Croſs; an old, 'low, ill-built houſe, which he had uſed for ſeveral 'years: for though his condition was much bet-'tered by his obtaining the maſterſhip of Trinity-'college, yet that had no bad influence upon his 'morals; he ſtill continued the ſame humble perſon, 'and could not be prevailed upon to take more re-'putable lodgings.' The ſame writer informs us (37), that my Lord Keeper ſent a meſſage of condolance to Dr. Barrow's father, who had then ſome place under him, importing that he had but too great reaſon to grieve for the loſs of ſo good a ſon; but that he ſhould mitigate his ſorrow upon that very conſideration.

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) Ubi ſupra, p. 166, &c.

(37) *Ibid.*

[*W*] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

ISAACUS BARROW
S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.
Vir prope Divinus, et vere Magnus, ſi quid magni habent
Pietas, Probitas, Fides, ſumma Eruditio, par Modeſtia,
Mores ſanctiſſimi undequaque et ſuaviſſimi.
Geometriæ Profeſſor *Londini Greſhamenſis*,
Græcæ linguæ et Matheſeos apud *Cantabrigienſes ſuos*.
Cathedras omnes, Eccleſiam, Gentem, ornavit.
Collegium S. S. *Trinitatis* Præſes illuſtravit,
Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ fundamentis auxit.
Opes, Honores, et univerſum vitæ ambitum,
Ad majora natus, non contempſit, ſed reliquit ſeculo.
Deum quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus eſt
Pauciſſimis egendo, benefaciendo quam plurimis,
Etiam poſteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non deſinit.
Cætera et penè majora ex ſcriptis peti poſſunt.
Abi, Lector, et æmulare.
Obiit 4 Die *Maii*. Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.
Ætat. ſuæ XLVII.
Monumentum hoc Amici poſuere.

In *Engliſh*.

'ISAAC BARROW, Doctor in Divinity, and Chaplain 'in Ordinary to King Charles II. A godlike, and 'truly great man, if piety, probity, fidelity, the moſt 'extenſive learning, and no leſs modeſty, together with 'moſt holy and ſweet manners, can confer that title. 'He was Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college, 'London; and of the Greek tongue and Mathema-'tics, at Cambridge: An ornament to all his chairs, 'to the Church, and to the nation. He added luſtre to 'Trinity-college, as Maſter, and improved it by laying 'the foundation of a truly Royal Library. Riches, 'honours, and whatever elſe men eagerly purſue, he 'did not deſpiſe, but neglect, being born to greater 'and nobler views. God, whom he had ſerved from 'his youth, he imitated in wanting but few things, 'and doing good to all, even poſterity, to whom, 'though dead, he yet preacheth. The reſt, and 'even greater things than theſe, may be found in his 'writings.

written by his dear friend Dr. Mapletoft (z). He left his manuſcripts to Dr. Tillotſon and Mr. Abraham Hill, with permiſſion to publiſh of them what they ſhould think fit (a). We ſhall give a catalogue, with ſome account, of Dr. Barrow's Works in the remark [X]. He

(z) Hill, *ib.*

(a) Dr. Pope, ubi ſupra, p. 167.

' writings. Go, reader, and imitate him. He ' died the 4th of May 1677, in the 47th year of ' his age. His friends erected this monument to his ' memory.'

[X] *A catalogue, with ſome account of Dr. Barrow's works.*] The following were publiſhed in his lifetime: I. *Euclidis Elementa*; i. e. ' Euclid's Ele- ' ments.' Printed at Cambridge in 1655, and oftner, 8vo. This is an edition of *all* the books and propoſitions of Euclid, demonſtrated in a more compendious manner than had been done before. It was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed at London, 1660, &c. 8vo. II. *Euclidis Data*; i. e. ' Eu- ' clid's *Data*.' Cambridge 1657, 8vo. This was ſubjoined to the *Elements* in ſome following editions. III. *Lectiones Opticæ* XVIII. *Cantabrigiæ in Scholis publicis habitæ, in quibus Opticorum Phænomenon genuinæ rationes inveſtigantur et exponuntur*; i. e. ' Op- ' tical Lectures, read in the public ſchools at Cam- ' bridge, in which the true reaſons of the Optical ' *Phænomena* are inveſtigated and explained.' London, 1669, 4to. It is dedicated to Robert Raworth and Thomas Buck, Eſquires; the executors of Mr. Lucas, founder of the Mathematical Profeſſorſhip. In the preface, he acquaints us, that Mr. Iſaac Newton reviſed the copy, pointed out ſeveral things which wanted correction, and made ſome additions of his own. An account of this book is publiſhed in the *Philoſophical* Tranſactions, No. LXXV. pag. 2258 for September, 1671. Theſe Lectures being ſent to the learned Mr. James Gregory, Profeſſor of the Mathematics at St. Andrews in Scotland, and peruſed by him, he gave the following character of the author in a letter to Mr. John Collins (38): ' Mr. Barrow in his *Optics* ſheweth ' himſelf a moſt ſubtil Geometer, ſo that I think him ' ſuperior to any that ever I looked upon. I long ' exceedingly to ſee his *Geometrical Lectures*, eſpecially ' becauſe I have ſome notions upon that ſame ſubject ' by me. I entreat you to ſend them to me preſently, ' as they come from the preſſe, for I eſteem the author ' more than yee can eaſilie imagine.' Being informed by letter, that an account of theſe Lectures, together with thoſe on Geometry, was deſigned to be printed in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, he ſhews by his anſwer (39), how cautious he was, that nothing might be ſaid to recommend them to the reader. ' Con- ' cerning the character (ſays he) which you ſpeake ' of my bookes, I ſhall eſteem myſelf obliged to you, ' if you will effect, that there be nothing ſaid of them ' in the *Philoſophical Reports*, beyond a ſhort and ' ſimple account of their ſubject. I pray, let there ' be nothing of commendation, or diſcommendation ' of them; but let them take their fortune or fate, ' *pro captu lectoris*. Any thing more will cauſe me ' diſpleaſure, and will not do them, or me, any good.' IV. *Lectiones Geometricæ* XIII., *in quibus præſertim generalia linearum curvarum ſymptomata declarantur*; i. e. ' Thirteen Geometrical Lectures, treating more ' eſpecially of the Properties of Curve Lines.' London, 1670, 4to. An account of this book is publiſhed in the abovementioned *Tranſaction*, pag. 2260; with *An Addition of ſome Corollaries communicated by the author, belonging to the ſecond Problem of his third Appendix to the twelfth Lecture.* Theſe Lectures were firſt printed ſeparately from the former upon Optics; but afterwards, in the years 1672 and 1674, they were publiſhed together with them, but without the *Corollaries* now mentioned, whence it is probable they were not re-printed, but only a new Title-page prefixed to them. V. *Archimedis Opera, Apollonii Conicorum libri* IV., *Theodoſii Sphærica, methodo nova illuſtrata, et ſuccinctè demonſtrata*; i. e. ' The Works of Archi- ' medes, the four Books of Apollonius's Conic Sec- ' tions, and Theodoſius's Sphærics, explained in a ' new method, and briefly demonſtrated.' London, 1675, 4to. As to the *Lemmata* of Archimedes publiſhed in this volume, we are told in the Preface, that they now appear in Latin, from two tranſlations; the one by the learned John Gravius, publiſhed, with ſome Animadverſions, by Mr. Samuel Foſter, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham-college, in 1659; the other by Abraham Ecchellenſis, publiſhed at Florence with notes by that excellent Mathematician, Alphonſus Borellus. An account of this work may be ſeen in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXIV. pag. 314. May 1675. And the copy of all the books of Archimedes, publiſhed in it, except the ſecond book *De Æquiponderantibus*, the two books, *De inſidentibus humido*, the *Lemmata*, and the book *De Arenæ Numero*, written in Dr. Barrow's own hand, in one *octavo* volume, and the four books of Apollonius in another volume in *quarto*, are repoſited in the library of the Royal Society (40). Before his *Apollonius* Dr. Barrow wrote the following divine ejaculation. Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ. ' Tu autem, Do- ' mine, quantus es Geometra? Quum enim hæc ' ſcientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in ſempiter- ' num novorum theorematum inventioni locus relin- ' quatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium; tu uno ' hæc omnia intuitu perſpecta habes, abſque catena ' conſequentiarum, abſque tædio demonſtrationum. ' Ad cætera penè nihil facere poteſt intellectus noſter; ' et tanquam Brutorum phantaſia videtur non niſi in- ' certa quædam ſomniare; unde in iis quot ſunt ho- ' mines, tot exiſtunt fere ſententiæ. In his conſpiratur ' ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium ſe poſſe ali- ' quid, imo ingens aliquid et mirificum viſum eſt, ut ' nihil magis mirum; quod enim in cæteris penè in- ' eptum, in hoc efficax, ſedulum, proſperum; &c. ' Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te ſuſpicor, ' atque illum diem deſidero ſuſpiriis fortibus, in quo ' purgata mente et claro oculo non hæc ſolum omnia ' abſque hac ſucceſſiva et laborioſa imaginandi cura, ' verum multo plura et majora ex tua bonitate et im- ' menſiſſima ſanctiſſimaque benignitate conſpicere et ' ſcire concedetur, &c.' i. e. *God acts the Geometrician. But how great a Geometrician art thou, O Lord! For whereas this ſcience has no bounds, and there is room even for human wit to diſcover infinite new theorems, thou perceiveſt all theſe truths at one view, without a chain of conſequences, and without the tireſome length of demonſtrations. In other points our underſtanding is almoſt entirely at a ſtand, and, like the imagination of brutes, ſeems only to dream of ſome uncertain objects; whence in ſuch matters there are almoſt as many opinions as there are men. But in theſe there is an univerſal agreement; in theſe the human mind ſeems capable of ſomething great and wonderful; for notwithſtanding its inability in other reſpects, here it exerts itſelf with diligence and ſucceſs, &c. Thee, therefore, even upon this account, I rejoice to love; to thee I look up, and with ardent wiſhes expect that day, when thy immenſe goodneſs ſhall enable me to perceive and underſtand, not only all theſe things, but even more truths, and of much greater importance, with a mind purged from error and prejudice, and without this ſucceſſive and laborious effort of the imagination.*

(38) Dat. 29 Jan. 1670, MS. Mr. Jones, *apud* Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(39) Dat. 25 Ap. 1670, MS. Mr. Jones, *apud* Ward, *ib.* p. 162.

(40) In the *Catalogi librorum Manuſcriptorum Angliæ*, &c. printed at Oxford. Theſe two manuſcripts are thus imperfectly deſcribed: *Iſaacus Barrow in Apollonii Conica.* 2 Vol. tom. ii. p. 84.

Theſe, which follow, were publiſhed after Dr. Barrow's deceaſe: I. *Lectio in qua Theoremata Archimedis de Sphæra et Cylindro, per methodum indiviſibilium inveſtigata, ac breviter demonſtrata, exhibentur*; i. e. ' A Lecture, in which Archimedes's Theorems ' of the Sphere and Cylinder are inveſtigated and ' briefly demonſtrated by the method of Indiviſibles.' London, 1678, 12mo. This was written in Engliſh, but ſoon after the author's death being turned into Latin, was ſubjoined to the editions of Euclid's *Elementa* and *Data*. II. *Mathematicæ Lectiones, habitæ in Scholis publicis Academiæ Cantabrigienſis, Ann. Dom.* 1664, 5, 6, &c. i. e. ' Mathematical Lectures, ' read in the public ſchools of the univerſity of Cam- ' bridge, in the years 1664, 1665, 1666, &c.' London 1683, 8vo. Theſe were ſome of his Lucaſian Lectures; to which the editor, Mr. Wells, has prefixed the author's *Oratio Præfatoria* (41), made at the opening of them. III. *The* WORKS *of the learned* ISAAC BARROW, D. D. *late Maſter of* Trinity-College *in* Cambridge *(being all his* Engliſh Works) *in* THREE VOLUMES. *Publiſhed by his Grace* Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, *late Archbiſhop of Canterbury*. The firſt edition of

(41) *See the* remark [O].

He was not only remarkable for the excellence, but for the extraordinary length likewiſe, of

theſe works was in 1685, when Dr. Tillotſon was Dean of Canterbury; to whom Mr. Abraham Hill addreſſes his *Account of the Life of Dr. Iſaac Barrow*, prefixed to the firſt volume. There have been ſeveral editions, the laſt in 1741. It is dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord-Chancellor, by the author's father Mr. Thomas Barrow. The firſt volume contains, *Thirty-two Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions*; *A Brief Expoſition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue*; to which is added, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments*; and *A Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, to which is added, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Unity of the Church*. The excellency of Dr. Barrow's *Sermons* is ſo thoroughly underſtood at this time of day, as to ſtand in need of no Elogium. M. Le Clerc ſays of them; *Les Sermons de cet auteur ſont plûtôt des traitez, ou des diſſertations exactes, que des ſimples harangues pour plaire à la multitude* (42); i. e. 'This author's ſermons are rather treatiſes, or 'compleat diſſertations, than mere harangues to 'pleaſe the multitude.' The editor, Dr. Tillotſon, gives us the following account of the ſubject-matter, and ſome other particulars relating to theſe ſermons (43). The deſign of the *five* firſt is, to recommend religion to our eſteem and practice, from the conſideration of the manifold excellencies and advantages of it. The *four* next treat of the two great duties of religion, and parts of Divine worſhip, prayer and thankſgiving; and contain likewiſe a very powerful perſuaſive to the practice of them. The *three* following were preached upon three ſolemn occaſions; the firſt of them upon the 29th May, 1676, the anniverſary of his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration; the ſecond upon the 5th of November 1675, in commemoration of our deliverance from the Powder-Treaſon; both in the year of his Vice-Chancellorſhip; the third, at the conſecration of the Biſhop of *Man* (afterwards Lord Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*) his uncle; in which he pleads for the due reſpect and revenue of the Clergy, with ſo much modeſty, and yet with ſo great force of reaſon and eloquence, that the whole profeſſion may juſtly think themſelves for ever indebted to him. Some of theſe *twelve* ſermons were the very firſt that he made; by which we may judge with what preparation and furniture he entered upon this ſacred employment. The *firſt* of them was preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge, June 30, 1661, and was (the editor thinks) the firſt that he ever preached. Thoſe *two* excellent ſermons of thankſgiving were, it is ſaid, the next. The *fourth* in order was the firſt that he preached before the King. In placing of them as they now ſtand, the editor had very little regard to the order of time, but rather to ſome ſmall reaſon taken from the ſubject-matter of them. The next *ten* ſermons were placed together, becauſe of their affinity to one another, all of them relating to the ſame argument, and tending to reform the ſeveral vices of the tongue. The *two* laſt of them indeed, againſt *pragmaticalneſs*, and meddling in the affairs of others, do not ſo properly belong to this ſubject; but conſidering that this vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and is almoſt ever attended with ſome irregularity and indiſcretion of ſpeech, they are not altogether ſo foreign and unſuitable to it. The *eight* following ſermons are likewiſe ſorted together, becauſe they explain and enforce the two great commandments of the law, the love of God, and of our neighbour. The *two* next were publiſhed by himſelf, and only theſe two. The firſt of them, concerning *the duty and reward of bounty to the poor*, was preached at the *Spital*, and publiſhed at the deſire of the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen: 'This (ſays the editor) was received 'with univerſal approbation; and perhaps there is 'nothing extant in *Divinity* more perfect in its kind: 'it ſeems to have exhauſted the whole argument, and 'to have left no conſideration belonging to it un-'touched.' The other, on *the Paſſion of our bleſſed Saviour*, 'was the laſt he preached but one, and, I 'think, the occaſion of his death, by a cold he then 'got, which, in all probability, was the cauſe of the 'fever of which he died, to our unſpeakable loſs.' This he ſent to the preſs himſelf, but did not live to ſee it printed off. The *Expoſition on the Creed*, &c. Mr. Ward tells us (44), was a taſk enjoyned him by the College, being obliged by the ſtatutes to compoſe ſome Theological diſcourſes; and theſe, he ſays (45), ſo took up his thoughts, that he could not eaſily apply them to any other matter. The excellent and elaborate *Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy* was written after his promotion to the Headſhip of Trinity-college. 'He underſtood Popery (ſays the writer of his life) 'both at home and abroad: he had narrowly obſerved 'it, *militant* in *England*, *triumphant* in *Italy*, *diſ-'guiſed* in *France*; and had earlier apprehenſions than 'moſt others of the approaching danger, and would 'have appeared with the forwardeſt at a needful time '(46).' The learned author, upon his death-bed, gave Dr. Tillotſon a particular permiſſion to publiſh it, with this modeſt character of the performance, that *he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life.* He deſigned indeed to have tranſcribed it again, and to have filled up thoſe many ſpaces, which were purpoſely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illuſtration of ſeveral things by more teſtimonies and inſtances, which probably he had in his thoughts. However, as it is, (to uſe the editor's words) *it is not only a juſt, but an admirable diſcourſe upon this ſubject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhauſted it; inſomuch that no argument of moment, nay, hardly any conſideration properly belonging to it, hath eſcaped his large and comprehenſive mind. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence the controverſy for ever, and to deter all wiſe men, of both ſides, from meddling any farther with it.* 'And I dare ſay (adds Dr. Tillotſon, with ſome 'warmth) whoever ſhall carefully peruſe *this Treatiſe*, 'will find, that this point of the *Pope's Supremacy* '(upon which Bellarmine hath the confidence to ſay, '*the whole of Chriſtianity depends*) is not only an in-'defenſible, but an impudent cauſe, as ever was un-'dertaken by learned pens. And nothing could have 'kept it ſo long from becoming ridiculous in the 'judgment of all mankind, but it being ſo ſtrongly 'ſupported by a worldly intereſt. For there is not one 'tolerable argument for it, and there are a thouſand 'invincible reaſons againſt it. There is neither from 'ſcripture, nor reaſon, nor antiquity, any evidence 'for it; the paſt, and the preſent ſtate of Chriſten-'dom, the hiſtory and records of all ages, are a per-'petual demonſtration againſt it; and there is no 'other ground in the whole world for it, but that 'now of a long time it hath been by the Pope's *Ja-'nizaries* boldly aſſerted, and ſtiffly contended for 'without reaſon. So that any one might with as 'much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that 'the *Grand Seignor* is of right, and for many ages 'hath been acknowledged, ſovereign of the whole 'world, as that the *Biſhop* of *Rome* is of Right, and 'in all ages from the beginning of Chriſtianity hath 'been owned to be the *Univerſal Monarch* and *Head* 'of the Chriſtian Church (47).' The *ſecond volume* of Dr. Barrow's *Engliſh Works* conſiſts of *Sermons and Expoſitions upon all the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed.* They are dedicated by his father to the *King*, and are in number *thirty-four*. The *third* and laſt volume, containing *Forty-five Sermons upon ſeveral Occaſions*, is dedicated by his father to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, and has the following *Imprimatur: C. Alſton*, R. P. D. *Hen. Epiſc. Lond. à Sacris, Feb.* 11, 1685-6. IV. *Iſaaci Barrow, S. S. T. Profeſſoris Opuſcula*, viz. *Determinationes, Conciones ad Clerum, Orationes, Poemata*, &c. *Volumen quartum*; i. e. 'The 'fourth volume of Dr. Barrow's Works, conſiſting 'of *Determinations* in the Divinity-Schools, Sermons 'ad *Clerum*, Speeches, Latin Poems, &c.' London 1687, *folio*. This is called *Volumen quartum*, becauſe it was printed after the three Engliſh volumes in *folio*. It is dedicated by his father to Dr. Montague the Maſter, and the Senior Fellows of Trinity-college in Cambridge. The *Diſſertatiuncula de Seſtertio*, page 356, was reprinted the ſame year in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. CXC. p. 383. V. There are two letters written by Dr. Barrow to Mr. Willoughby, and printed in the *Philoſophical Letters between Mr. Ray and his Correſpondents*, p. 360. 362, upon the following ſubjects. The former, dated March

(42) Bibliotheq. Univerſelle, tom. iii. p. 325.

(43) *See the Publiſher to the Reader.*

(44) Ubi ſupra, p. 161.

(45) *Letter to Mr.* John Collins, dated on Eaſter-Eve, 1669, MS. Mr. Jones, *apud* Ward, *ib.*

(46) Hill, ubi ſupra.

(47) Dr. Barrow's *Works*, Preface to the *Treatiſe*, &c.

of his ſermons [*Y*], which he generally tranſcribed three or four times, his greateſt difficulty being always to pleaſe himſelf (*b*). He left little behind him, except books, which were ſo well choſen, that they ſold for more than the prime coſt. Though he could never be prevailed with to ſit for his picture (*c*), ſome of his friends contrived to have it taken (*d*) without his knowledge, whilſt they diverted him with ſuch diſcourſe as engaged his attention (*e*). As to his perſon, he was low of ſtature, lean, and of a pale complexion, and negligent of his dreſs to a fault [*Z*]; of extraordinary ſtrength, a thin ſkin,

(*b*) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 164.

(*c*) Hill, *ib.*

(*d*) *This picture was painted by Mrs.* Beale, *and was in the poſſeſſion of the late* James Weſt, *Eſq;*

(*e*) Ward, *ib.* p. 163.

March 26, 1662, contains *the Method, whereby Monſ. Robervell was ſaid to have demonſtrated the Equality of a Spiral Line with a Parabola.* And in this letter he ſignifies his intention of reading lectures upon Archimedes *De Æquiponderantibus*; but whether he afterwards put that deſign in execution is uncertain. In the latter, dated October 5, 1665, he approves Mr. Willoughby's *Diſcourſe, inferring the Solidity of the Sphere from the Surface, by comparing the concentrical Surfaces of the Sphere with the parallel Arches of the Cone,* and acquaints him with his own method of doing it.

Here follows a ſhort account of ſeveral curious papers of Dr. Barrow, written in his own hand, and communicated by William Jones, Eſq; to the author of the *Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College* (48). I. A Latin volume in *quarto*, wherein are contained: 1. *Compendium pro Tangentibus.* 2. *Æquationum Conſtructio per Conicas Sectiones.* 3. *Æquationum Conſtructio Geometrica.* 4. *Additamenta de Curvis.* Theſe tracts ſeem to have been written before his *Geometrical Lectures.* II. *Theorema generale ad lineis curvis tangentes, et curvarum figurarum areas, per motum determinandas*; i. e. 'A general Theorem for determining 'the tangents to curve lines, and the areas of curve 'figures, by motion.' *folio*, half a ſheet. III. *Letters* to Mr. John Collins upon various mathematical ſubjects; viz. 1. *Concerning Parabolical Conoids:* without a date. 2. *Rectifying a miſtake of Mr. Collins, concerning the parallel Sections of the cubical parabolical Conoid:* without a date. 3. *Rules to compute the portions of a Sphere or Spheroid.* September 5, 1664. 4. *A Character of Mengolus's* Elementa Geometriæ Specioſæ, *with whom he is diſpleaſed for his affectation of new Definitions, and uncouth terms.* November 12, 1664. 5. *He thanks him for a Catalogue of Mathematical books which he ſent him. Gives a character of Alſted's* Admiranda Mathematica, *which he thinks a work of no great importance.* November 29, 1664. 6. *Concerning a parabolical Conoid cut parallel to the Axis.* January 9, 1664. 7. *About printing his* Archimedes, Apollonius, *and* Theodoſius; *as alſo a new edition of his* Euclid. March 3, 1665. 8. *Concerning the Area of the common Hyperbola, found by Logarithms.* February 1, 1666. 9. *Containing a variety of Rules relating to the Circle and Hyperbola, with Theorems concerning the curve ſurfaces of Conoids ana Spheroids.* March 6, 1667. 10. *A Continuation of much the ſame ſubject.* March 26, 1668. 11. *A farther Continuation of the ſame ſubject.* May 14, 1668. 12. *Concerning the* Linea Secantium; *with two papers, one of the figure of Secants and Tangents, applied to the Arch or Radius; the other concerning the Ciſſoidal Space.* March 13, 1668. 13. *Concerning the publication of his* Lectiones Opticæ. Eaſter-Eve, 1669. 14. *Sends him ſome few things to be inſerted in his* Lectiones Geometricæ, *which were then printing.* March 29, 1670. 15. *Concerning the publication of thoſe Lectures.* April 23, 1670. 16. *Sends him his* Apollonius *and* Perſpective Lectures. October 11, 1670.

(48) Page 166, 167.

[*Y*] *The extraordinary length of his ſermons.*] Dr. Pope gives us (49) the following inſtances hereof. 'He was once requeſted by the Biſhop of Rocheſter, 'Dean of Weſtminſter, to preach at the Abbey, and 'withal deſired not to be long; for that auditory 'loved ſhort ſermons, and were uſed to them. He 'replied, *My Lord, I will ſhew you my ſermon*; and 'pulling it out of his pocket, put it into the Biſhop's 'hands. The text was the 10th chapter of the *Proverbs*, the latter end of the 18th verſe; the words 'theſe; *He that uttereth a ſlander is a liar.* The 'ſermon was accordingly divided into two parts; one 'treated of ſlander, the other of lyes. The Dean 'deſired him to content himſelf with preaching only 'the firſt part, to which he conſented, not without 'ſome reluctancy; and in ſpeaking that only, it took 'up an hour and a half. Another time, upon the ſame 'perſon's invitation, he preached at the Abbey on an 'holiday. Here I muſt inform the reader, that it is a 'cuſtom for the ſervants of the church, upon all holidays, Sundays excepted, betwixt the ſermon and 'evening prayers, to ſhew the tombs and effigies of 'the Kings and Queens in wax, to the meaner ſort of 'people, who then flock thither from all quarters of 'the town, and pay their two-pence to ſee the *Play of the Dead Volks*, as I have heard a Devonſhire 'clown not improperly call it. Theſe perceiving 'Dr. Barrow in the pulpit, after the hour was paſt, 'and fearing to loſe that time in *hearing*, which they 'thought they could more profitably employ in *receiving*; theſe, I ſay, became impatient, and cauſed 'the organ to be ſtruck up againſt him, and would not 'give over playing 'till they had blowed him down. 'But the ſermon of the greateſt length was that concerning charity, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen at the Spital; in ſpeaking which he ſpent three 'hours and an half. Being aſked, after he came 'down from the pulpit, whether he was not tired; '*yes indeed*, ſaid he, *I began to be weary with ſtanding ſo long.*

(49) Ubi ſupra, p. 147.

[*Z*] *He was negligent of his dreſs to a fault.*] This could not but expoſe him to ſome inconveniences, and was apt to prejudice his hearers againſt him, where he was not known; of which Dr. Pope gives us (50) the following very remarkable inſtance. 'Dr. Wilkins, then Miniſter of St. Laurence-Jury, being 'forced by ſome indiſpoſition to keep his chamber, 'deſired Dr. Barrow to give him a ſermon the next 'Sunday, which he readily conſented to do. Accordingly, at the time appointed, he came, with an 'aſpect pale and meagre, and unpromiſing, ſlovenly 'and careleſsly dreſſed, his collar unbuttoned, his 'hair uncombed, &c. Thus accoutred, he mounts 'the pulpit, begins his prayer, which whether he did 'read or not, I cannot poſitively aſſert or deny. 'Immediately all the congregation was in an uproar, 'as if the church were falling, and they ſcampering to 'ſave their lives, each ſhifting for himſelf with great 'precipitation: there was ſuch a noiſe of pattens of 'ſerving-maids and ordinary women, and of unlocking of pews, and cracking of ſeats, cauſed by the 'younger ſort haſtily climbing over them, that, I 'confeſs, I thought all the congregation were mad: 'but the good Doctor, ſeeming not to take notice of 'this diſturbance, proceeds, names his text, and 'preached his ſermon, to two or three gathered, or 'rather left together, of which number, as it fortunately happened, Mr. Baxter, that eminent Non-'conformiſt, was one; who, afterwards gave Dr. 'Wilkins a viſit, and commended the ſermon to that 'degree, that he ſaid, he never heard a better diſcourſe. There was alſo amongſt thoſe who ſtayed 'out the ſermon, a certain young man, who thus 'accoſted Dr. Barrow as he came down from the pulpit, *Sir, be not diſmayed, for I aſſure you, it was a good ſermon.* By his age and dreſs, he ſeemed to 'be an apprentice, or at the beſt a foreman of a 'ſhop, but we never heard more of him. I aſked 'the Doctor, what he thought, when he ſaw the 'congregation running away from him? *I thought*, 'ſaid he, *they did not like me, or my ſermon, and I have no reaſon to be angry with them for that. But what was your opinion*, ſaid I, *of the apprentice?* '*I take him*, replied he, *to be a very civil perſon, and if I could meet with him, I'd preſent him with a bottle of wine.* There were then in the pariſh a 'company of formal, grave, and wealthy citizens, 'who having been many years under famous Miniſters, as Dr. Wilkins, Biſhop Ward, Biſhop Reynolds,

(50) *Ib.* p. 139, &c.

ſkin, and very ſenſible of cold; his eyes grey, clear, and ſomewhat ſhort-ſighted; his hair a light brown, very fine, and curling (*f*). He was of a healthy conſtitution, very fond of tobacco, which he uſed to call his *Panpharmacon* or *Univerſal Medicine*, and imagined it helped to compoſe and regulate his thoughts (*g*). If he was guilty of any intemperance, it ſeemed to be in the love of fruit, being of opinion that if it kills hundreds in autumn, it preſerves thouſands (*b*). He ſlept little, generally riſing in the winter months before day (*i*). His conduct and behaviour were the moſt amiable imaginable: for he was always ready to aſſiſt others, open and communicative in his converſation, in which he generally ſpoke to the importance, as well as truth, of any queſtion propoſed; facetious in his talk upon fit occaſions, and ſkilful to accommodate his diſcourſe to different capacities; of indefatigable induſtry in various ſtudies, clear judgment on all arguments, and ſteady virtue under all difficulties; of a calm temper in factious times, and of large charity in mean eſtate; he was eaſy and contented with a ſcanty fortune, and with the ſame decency and moderation maintained his character under the temptations of proſperity (*k*). In ſhort, he was, perhaps, the greateſt ſcholar of his times; and, as an ingenious writer expreſſes it, 'he may be eſteemed as having ſhewn a compaſs 'of invention equal, if not ſuperior, to any of the moderns, Sir Iſaac Newton only 'excepted (*l*).' B.

(*f*) Hill, *ib.*

(*g*) Dr. Pope, *ib.* p. 145.

(*b*) Hill, *ib.*

(*i*) Dr. Pope, *ib.*

(*k*) Hill, *ib.*

(*l*) *Preface to Dr.* Pemberton's *View of Sir* I. Newton's *Philoſophy.*

'Mr. Vines, &c. had a great opinion of their ſkill in 'Divinity, and their ability to judge of the goodneſs 'and badneſs of ſermons. Many of theſe came in a 'body to Dr. Wilkins, to expoſtulate with him, why 'he ſuffered ſuch an ignorant, ſcandalous fellow, 'meaning Dr. Barrow, to have the uſe of his pulpit. 'I cannot preciſely tell, whether it was the ſame day, 'or ſome time after in that week, but I am certain it 'happened to be when Mr. Baxter was with Dr. Wil'kins. They came, as I ſaid before, in full cry, 'ſaying, they wondered he ſhould permit ſuch a man 'to preach before them, who looked like a ſtarved 'Cavalier, who had been long ſequeſtered, and out 'of his living for delinquency, and came up to Lon'don to beg, now the King was reſtored; and much 'more to this purpoſe. He let them run their ſelves 'out of breath: when they had done ſpeaking, and 'expected an humble, ſubmiſſive anſwer, he replied 'to them in this manner. *The perſon you thus deſpiſe, 'I aſſure you, is a pious man, an eminent ſcholar, and 'an excellent preacher: for the truth of the laſt, I 'appeal to Mr. Baxter here preſent, who heard the 'ſermon you ſo vilify. I am ſure you believe Mr. Baxter 'is a competent judge, and will pronounce according to 'truth.* Then turning to him, *Pray, Sir,* ſaid he, '*do me the favour to declare your opinion concerning 'the ſermon now in controverſy, which you heard at 'our church the laſt Sunday.* Then did Mr. Baxter 'very candidly give the ſermon the praiſe it deſerved: 'nay more, he ſaid that *Dr. Barrow preached ſo well, 'that he could willingly have been his auditor all day 'long.* When they heard Mr. Baxter give him this 'high encomium, they were pricked in their hearts, 'and all of them became aſhamed, confounded, and 'ſpeechleſs; for though they had a good opinion of 'their ſelves, yet they durſt not pretend to be equal 'to Mr. Baxter: but at length, after ſome pauſe, 'they all, one after another, confeſſed, *they did not 'hear one word of the ſermon, but were carried to 'miſlike it, by his unpromiſing garb, and mien, the read'ing of his prayer, and the going away of the congre'gation:* for they would not by any means have it 'thought, if they had heard the ſermon, they ſhould 'not have concurred with the judgment of Mr. Bax'ter. After their ſhame was a little over, they ear'neſtly deſired Dr. Wilkins to procure Mr. Barrow 'to preach again, engaging themſelves to make him 'amends, *by bringing to his ſermon their wives and 'children, their man-ſervants, and maid-ſervants, in 'a word, their whole families, and to enjoyn them not 'to leave the church till the bleſſing was pronounced.* 'Dr. Wilkins promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavour 'for their ſatisfaction, and accordingly ſolicited Dr. 'Barrow to appear once more upon that ſtage, but 'all in vain; for he would not by any perſuaſions be 'prevailed upon to comply with the requeſt of ſuch 'conceited, hypocritical coxcombs.'

[Too much cannot well be ſaid in praiſe of Dr. Barrow, who was one of the greateſt Divines and Mathematicians which this country, fruitful in eminent men of that kind, hath produced. We remember that in the earlier editions of Thomſon's Seaſons, where that Poet, in a fine apoſtrophe to Britain, celebrates the illuſtrious characters ſhe has given birth to, there uſed to be the two following lines:

And for the ſtrength and elegance of Truth,
A Barrow and a Tillotſon are thine.

For what reaſon theſe lines were afterwards omitted by Mr. Thomſon, we are not informed.

Mr. Granger ſays, that Dr. Barrow, 'in his ex'cellent Sermons on the Creed, ſolved every diffi'culty, and removed every obſtacle that oppoſed itſelf 'to our Faith, and made Divine Revelation as clear 'as the demonſtrations in his own "Euclid'" (51). This however, is not a ſtrictly accurate mode of expreſſion. For though the evidence in favour of the Chriſtian religion may be, and, we are perſuaded, is entirely ſatisfactory and deciſive to every impartial man who fully conſiders the ſubject, yet it cannot be conſidered as properly demonſtrative, at leaſt in the ſame ſenſe in which that word may be applied to Euclid's propoſitions. If that were the caſe, the proof, where a man was capable of underſtanding the terms made uſe of, and of purſuing the chain of reaſoning, would be abſolutely irreſiſtible. Moral writers have ſometimes called that *demonſtration*, which only includes ſuch a high degree of probability as can admit of no rational doubt.

(51) Biographical Hiſt of Eng. Vol. i. p. 281. 8vo edition.

The following circumſtances, concerning Dr. Barrow's death, are related by Mr. Roger North, in his Life of Dr. John North. 'The good Dr. Barrow 'ended his days in London, in a Prebend's houſe 'that had a little ſtair to it out of the Cloiſters, 'which made him call it a *Man's Neſt*, and I pre'ſume it is ſo called at this day. The Maſter's 'diſeaſe was an high fever. It had been his cuſtom, 'contracted when (upon the fund of a travelling 'Fellowſhip) he was at Conſtantinople, in all his 'maladies, to cure himſelf with opium. And, being 'very ill (probably) augmented his doſe, and ſo in'flamed his fever, and at the ſame time obſtructed 'the criſis: for he was as a man knocked down, and 'had the eyes as of one diſtracted. Our Doctor '(Dr. North) ſeeing him ſo, was ſtruck with hor'ror; for he, that knew him ſo well in his beſt 'health, could beſt diſtinguiſh; and when he left 'him, he concluded he ſhould ſee him no more; and 'ſo it proved (52).] K.

(52) Lives of Sir Dudley North, and Dr. North, p. 253, 254.

BARRY (GIRALD), better known by the name of GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *i. e. Girald of Wales*, and by ſome called *Silveſter Giraldus Cambrenſis*, (which addition of *Silveſter* is certainly (*a*) erroneous) is one of thoſe writers, whoſe ſtyle is ſo puerile and affected, ſo diffuſe and full of quibbles, and gingling conceits, (eſpe-

(*a*) Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112. Whart. Angl. Sacra Pref. to Vol. ii. p. xx.

cially in his treatiſes relating to Ireland, which were written in his younger years) that it can by no means pleaſe men of ſober taſte. He was born (*b*) near Pembroke in South Wales, in the caſtle of Mainarpir, about the year 1146, and was deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care that the world ſhould not be unacquainted [*A*], ſince he often repeats it in his Works. While he was a boy, the omens of his future learning and reputation were ſo extraordinary, that he could not paſs them over in ſilence, and yet in themſelves ſo trifling, that it is irkſome to repeat them [*B*]. He was not very lucky in his early education: for keeping company with his brothers, he followed them in their play, grew a truant, and neglected his books, and had like to have diſappointed thoſe omens, which were conceived of him. But his uncle, the Biſhop of St. Davids, took him to taſk, and his maſters wrought a reformation in him, which was effected more out of a principle of ſhame than fear: from which time he altered his courſe, and applied himſelf to his books with ſuch diligence, that he ſoon got the ſtart of all his ſchool-fellows. He was three times ſent to France for the ſake of improvement, and at firſt continuing there three years, he obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick [*C*], which upon his return in 1172, ſoon brought him into notice, and he was promoted to ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Livings in Wales and England, in the laſt of which places he was Canon of Hereford (*c*). His buſy temper, eſpecially in what related to Church affairs, ſoon made him notorious, and, as he deſigned it, proved no ſmall motive to his advancement, in an age, when the temporal intereſt and ſplendor of the Church were more conſidered, than the piety and virtue of its members. He gives two inſtances (*d*) of his vigilance in this particular, one of which, it muſt be confeſſed, does not redound much to his honour [*D*]. Being inveſted with the Archdeaconry of Brechin, in the manner mentioned in the remarks, he behaved himſelf with great activity in his Archidiaconal viſitations, and reformed many abuſes. In 1176, he was elected, by (*e*) the Chapter of St. Davids, Biſhop of that See, being not then more than thirty years of age: but he declined the election, fearing to be foiled; as alſo, becauſe the King had not been previouſly conſulted, nor iſſued his licence to go to election, as the law required. King Henry II. was

(*b*) Whart. Pref. to Vol. ii. of the Anglia Sacra, p. xx. & Camb. de Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. cap. i.

(*c*) Whart. Angl. Sacr. Pref. to Vol. ii. p. xxiii.

(*d*) De Geſt. Girald, cap. iii. iv.

(*e*) *Ib.* cap. vi.

[*A*] *Deſcended of a noble family, with which circumſtance he takes care, that the world ſhould not be unacquainted.*] 'Patre (inquit) natus Willielmo de 'Barri, viro egregio, matre Angareth filiâ Neſtæ, no-'bilis filiæ Rhæſi, Principis Sudwalliæ, ſcilicet, filii 'Theodori (1). — *My father (ſays he) was William* 'de Barry, *a man of extraordinary fame, my mother,* 'Angareth, *the daughter of Neſta, who was the* 'noble daughter of Rhees, *Prince of South-Wales, the* 'ſon of Tudor.' This, in fact, was his genealogy; but it would have come with more decency out of the mouth of a Herald than his own.

(1) De Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. i. c. i.

[*B*] *Omens irkſome to repeat.*] 'Ex fratribus qua-'tuor germanis et uterinis minor, tribus aliis nunc 'caſtra, nunc oppida, nunc palatia puerilibus, ut ſolet 'hæc ætas, præludiis in ſabulo vel pulvere protrahen-'tibus ac conſtruendis modulo ſuo, ſolus hic (i. e. Gi-'raldus) ſimili præludio ſemper eccleſias et monaſteria 'erigere ſatagebat, Pater hæc conſiderans, ductus 'prognoſtico quodam ipſum literis et liberalibus diſ-'ciplinis applicandum præſaga mente decrevit, eum-'que ſuum epiſcopum vocare conſuevit. — *Being the* 'youngeſt of four brothers by the ſame mother, *while the* 'other three employed themſelves, *as children will do,* 'in raiſing caſtles, towns and palaces in dirt, Girald 'alone, *though he buſied himſelf in the like work, yet his* 'employment was to erect churches and monaſteries. 'His father taking this matter into his conſideration, 'and prognoſticating what his child would come to, 'ominouſly determined to educate him to learning, and 'the liberal arts, and uſed frequently to call him 'his little Biſhop.' ——— And then he proceeds to tell us, that in ſome hoſtile invaſion, when all people were running to their arms, he deſired to be carried to the church, declaring, by a wonderful forethought in a child, that the immunity of the houſe dedicated to God ought to be ſecured; from whence people made a judgment, that in time to come he would prove a champion and protector of the liberties and immunities of the Church. ——— It is certainly the moſt difficult taſk in the world, for a man to write the hiſtory of his own actions; nor ſhould any body attempt it but a man of mortified paſſions, which was by no means Girald's caſe. Self-love, on the one hand, will not ſuffer him to vend any thing to the diſadvantage of himſelf: on the other hand, if he ſpeaks in his own praiſe, every mortal will cry out on his vanity. This laſt particular has been the fate of the author now under conſideration: every page of his book, entitled *de Rebus a ſe geſtis*, is ſtuffed with this kind of vanity; and ſo full is he of himſelf, his learning, his importance, and his conduct in great affairs, that it is impoſſible to turn him over without being ſurfeited: and the ſame ſelf-ſufficiency runs through all his other writings, ſo that he often ſtops ſhort, and rambles from his ſubject, in order to dwell upon his dear ſelf: and thus much enough to obſerve in this place once for all.

[*C*] *Obtained a great reputation in Rhetorick.*] Probably it was during this firſt journey that he was made Rector of the public ſchools in Paris, which (as he (2) ſays) he governed for ſome time.

(2) Epiſt. Girald. ad Capit. Hereford.

[*D*] *Two inſtances of his vigilance, one of which does not redound to his honour.*] He tells us (3), that obſerving through the dioceſe of St. Davids that by the negligence of the Prelates, neither tithes of wool nor cheeſes were payed, he informed Robert, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then the Pope's Legate, of this loſs to the Church, and by that means, in 1175, obtained a Vice-Legantine authority from the Archbiſhop through all Wales, to viſit and ſee theſe and other exceſſes amended; and by a ſtrict diſcipline he effected a thorough reformation. This would have been tolerable, and might have been imputed to zeal for the ſervice of the Church; but the other inſtance carries in it the appearance of covetouſneſs, and a ſordid baſeneſs: The ſtory is beſt heard from his own mouth (4). Being informed that an aged Archdeacon of Brechin, in the dioceſe of St. Davids kept a concubine (a crime not very uncommon among the the Eccleſiaſtics of England in that age, as will appear in the ſequel of Girald's life), he ſuſpended him and ſeized his Archdeaconry, which he put into the hands of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop made Girald a complement of the fruits of his information, and advanced him to the Archdeaconry in the room of the degraded old man. Virtue or honour would have perſuaded him to have refuſed the promotion; and by that means he would have convinced the world, that conſcience, and the good of the Church, were the motives to this action, and not covetouſneſs, or the deſire of ſtepping over the head of his brother. His refuſal would have been the reſult of an honourable principle, as his acceptance implied, that he was actuated by ſomething oppoſite: and as this was the caſe of an aged man (who do not often keep concubines, as younger Clerks might have done) it gives a ſtrong preſumption, that he had caſt his eye upon the warm Archdeaconry, and made his appetite to that, the motive of his information.

(3) De Geſt. Girald. cap. iii. iv.

(4) *Ib.* cap. iv.

a Prince

a Prince exceeding jealous of his prerogative; and though the Archdeacon's ſeeming modeſty might have excuſed this over-haſty ſtep in the Chapter, yet the King did not like to ſee even the appearance of his growing intereſt, which would be a means of fortifying the power and grandeur of his relations in Wales, in his Majeſty's opinion too conſiderable already; and ſo he expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion [*E*], which was followed by the election and conſecration of another Biſhop. Notwithſtanding this ſhew of modeſty in declining the election, yet he could not well digeſt the diſappointment, and the more ſo, as it afforded him a proof of the King's inclinations, and a demonſtration that thoſe qualities, which would have advanced another man, ſerved only to depreſs him. Being informed of what paſſed at the conſultation, he at once determined to quit his country for a time; and accordingly the ſame year he paſſed a ſecond time (*f*) into France, in order to purſue his ſtudies at Paris, that is, to add to his knowledge in the Arts and Sciences, the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws, with the more important one of Divinity. With his uſual vanity he boaſts (*g*), what a prodigious fame he acquired here, eſpecially in the knowledge of the Decretals [*F*]. In 1179, he was elected Profeſſor of the Canon Law in the univerſity of Paris; but rejected the honour, out of an expectation of more ſolid advantages in his own country. In 1180, he returned (*b*) home through Flanders and England, and in his way ſtopped at Canterbury, where he emphatically deſcribes (*i*) (what may be well allowed him) the great luxury of the Monks of that Place. At length he got home, where he found the whole country in a flame, the Canons and Archdeacons of Menevia having joined with the inhabitants, in driving out the Biſhop of that See [*G*], the adminiſtration of which was committed (*k*) to our author, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Under this authority he governed the See of St. Davids for three or four years, and made wonderful reformations in it. The abdicated Biſhop, whoſe name was Peter, did not acquieſce in the conduct of his Clergy; but by letters he ſuſpended and excommunicated the Canons and Archdeacons, uncited and unheard: and at length, Girald, not having power to redreſs them, reſigned his charge to the Archbiſhop, who abſolved the excommunicated. Biſhop Peter imputed his diſgrace, or at leaſt the continuance of it, to Girald; upon which great conteſts and bickerings aroſe; appeals upon the occaſion were made to Rome: but at length they were reconciled, and the Biſhop reſtored. About the year 1184, King Henry II. ſent (*l*) for Girald to Court, and made him his Chaplain, and at times he attended the King for ſeveral years, and was very uſeful to him in keeping all matters quiet in Wales. Yet though the King approved of his ſervices, and in private often commended his prudence and fidelity, yet he never could be prevailed on to promote him to any eccleſiaſtical benefices, on account of the relation he bore to Prince Rhees, and other grandees of Wales. In 1185, the King ſent (*m*) him to Ireland with his ſon John, in quality of Secretary and Privy-Counſellor to the young Prince: but the expedition did not meet with ſucceſs, becauſe Earl John made uſe only of youthful counſels, and ſhewed no favour to the old adventurers, who were men experienced in the affairs of Ireland. While Girald thus employed himſelf in Ireland, the two Biſhopricks of Ferns and Leighlin fell vacant, which Earl John offered to unite and confer on him (*n*); but he rejected the promotion, and gave the Earl an anſwer worthy of a great and good man [*H*]. He took this opportunity of collecting materials for writing two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after [*I*]. In the ſpring of the year 1186, John

(*f*) *Ib.* lib. ii. c. i.

(*g*) *Ib.* cap. iv.

(*b*) *Ibid. ibid.*

(*i*) *Ib.* cap. v.

(*k*) *Ib.* cap. vi.

(*l*) *Ib.* cap. viii.

(*m*) *Ib.* cap. x. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

(*n*) *Ib.* cap. xiii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 439. Waræus de Script. Hib. p. 112.

[*E*] *And ſo the King expreſſed himſelf, in a conſultation held with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury upon the occaſion.*] When the King had information given him of the election of Girald, he was much moved, and ſent (5) for the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſuffragans, to conſult what ſhould be done in the election of a Biſhop of St. Davids. They were of opinion, that Girald ought to be conſecrated, both on account of his birth and learning, and as he was a man of courage, parts, and activity. But the King told them, that for the reaſons they had given, he by no means thought Girald a fit perſon to fill that ſtation; becauſe his advancement would ſtrengthen the power and intereſt of Rhees, Prince of South-Wales, to whom the Archdeacon was a near relation, as he was to moſt of the grandees of that country.

(5) *Ib.* cap. x.

[*F*] *Acquired great fame in the knowledge of the Decretals.*] The Decretals are that part of the Canon Law that conſiſts of the Papal Conſtitutions, called *Litteræ Decretales*, or Reſcripts of Popes, by which ſome difficulties in the Eccleſiaſtical laws are cleared up.

[*G*] *In driving out the Biſhop of Menevia.*] Menevia is an ancient Epiſcopal See, ſeated on the weſt ſide of Pembrokeſhire in Wales, ſubject to the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and known better by the name of St. Davids, from the founder of a church here, St. David, the patron of Wales. The land about Menevia, is called (*) *Kantrev Dewi*; *i. e.* David's Cantred, but Ptolemy's name for it is *Octapitarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the Octapitæ. A late Antiquary (6) thinks this word of Ptolemy to be corrupted, and that it ought to be *Octo Petrarum Promontorium*, or the promontory of the eight rocks, ὀκτὼ πετρῶν, which eight rocks are thoſe called the Biſhop and his Clerks. The notion carries with it a good deal of weight.

(*) Camd. Brit. Vol. i. p. 756.

(6) Baxter in Gloſſario, p. 186.

[*H*] *An anſwer worthy of a great and good man.*] He told the Prince, that if he ſaw him inclined to be beneficial to the Church of Ireland, he would chearfully accept the honour he offered him; but becauſe he found by his actions that he had no regard to that particular, he choſe rather to continue in a private ſtation, than, being unprofitably placed in power, to be able to do no ſervice.

[*I*] *Materials for two books, which he compiled and publiſhed a few years after.*] They bear this title, namely, *Topographia Hiberniæ*; 'A Topography of 'Ireland:' and *Hiſtoria Vaticinalis de expugnatione Hiberniæ*; 'The Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of 'Ireland.' The reaſon he gave ſuch a whimſical title to the laſt of theſe treatiſes, appears in the firſt preface to his Deſcription of Wales, where he ſays, 'that he 'had given the name Vaticinal, to the ſaid hiſtory, 'becauſe he had ſprinkled up and down in it, the 'prophecies of Caledonius and Ambroſius Merlin, in 'ſuch convenient places as the ſubject required.' He might

John Comyn (o), Archbiſhop of Dublin, convened a Synod of his Clergy, in Chriſt-church in that city. The firſt day of the meeting, the Archbiſhop himſelf preached on the

(o) *Ib.* cap. xiii. Harris's Biſhops, p. 315. 439.

might have added alſo, the prophecies of Moling, Braccan, Patrick, and Columbkille, which he has alſo inſerted in the ſaid work. The Topography contains three books or diſtinctions, and not four, as Bale ſays (7), and the Vaticinal Hiſtory contains only two books and not three; and thus they came originally out of Girald's hands. For he himſelf ſays (8), '*Se Hibernicam Topographiam, cum abditis ſuis, et naturæ ſecretis, in tribus diſtinctionibus trennii labore digeſſiſſe, & Vaticinalem expugnationis Hibernicæ ſubſequenter Hiſtoriam, duabus diſtinctionibus biennali lucubratione compleviſſe.*—That he had employed three years labour in digeſting the Topography of Ireland, with the hidden things thereof, and the ſecrets of nature in three diſtinctions; and that by the ſtudy of two years, he had afterwards compleated the Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland in two diſtinctions.' He wrote indeed a preface (9) to a third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory; but it ſeems he never finiſhed it: Bale (10) alſo makes him the author of a Vaticinal Hiſtory diſtinguiſhed from that on the conqueſt of Ireland; but the error of that writer manifeſtly appears in the reaſons given before by Girald (11), why he called his book Vaticinal; as alſo from the catalogue he has himſelf furniſhed (12) of his writings, wherein he mentions not a word of any other Vaticinal Hiſtory than that of the Conqueſt of Ireland. The ſame reaſon extends to ſet aſide other inventions of Bale in aſcribing (13) to Girald, *one book of the Caledonian Merlin*, and *one book of Merlin Ambroſius*, as alſo, *Illuſtrationes Merlinorum*;—'Illuſtrations on the Merlins in two books,' beginning *Quoniam in Prioribus Libris Merlini*. For theſe words are taken from the beginning of the preface of the third book of the Vaticinal Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, which he intended to have written. Bale makes him the author of another book called *Diſtinctiones Giraldi*, beginning, —*Nunc ad ea quæ contra naturæ curſum*; but this is manifeſtly the ſame with the ſecond book of the Topography of Ireland. Girald began his Topography and Vaticinal Hiſtory while he was in Ireland; but finiſhed them after his return to Wales. They lay in manuſcript from about the year 1190 to the year 1602, when they were firſt publiſhed by Mr. Camden at Frankfort, as appears from what Peter Lombard ſays (14), who being educated under Mr. Camden at Weſtminſter-ſchool muſt probably have known the matter; and he having written his Commentary on Ireland, a ſhort time before the Frankfort edition of Girald came out, though not publiſhed till after, taking occaſion to mention this author's Topography, ſays *Topographia iſta non eſt excuſſa typis*—'That Topography of Girald's is not yet printed.' When it firſt came out in manuſcript, Girald heavily complains (15) of the Carpers and Critics who had then taken it to taſk: but when it appeared in print, the many invectives contained in it againſt Ireland, and the natives of it, the fables with which it abounded, and the groſs errors through the whole, alarmed many of the Iriſh, and ſet their pens a going. Stephen White, a Jeſuit of that country, firſt took up arms upon the occaſion; and in an Hiſtorical Treatiſe confuted thoſe baſe and ſcandalous aſperſions related by that writer. A part of this work was in the cuſtody of John Lynch (16), though ſo imperfect that it could not be fitted for the preſs, a loſs to be lamented, ſince ſo good a judge as Archbiſhop Uſher (17), calls the author: 'Virum Antiquitatum, non Hiberniæ ſolum ſuæ, ſed aliarum etiam gentium, ſcientiſſimum;—'*A man of exquiſite knowledge not only in the antiquities of his own country, Ireland, but alſo of other nations* (*).' Philip O-Sullevan next took Cambrenſis to taſk, a writer much inferior to White, who in a treatiſe entitled Zoilomaſtix, or a Whip for Zoilus, expoſed that writer, as well as Stanihurſt: but it does not appear that this Treatiſe of O-Sullevan's was ever printed. For in an encomiaſtick copy of verſes prefixed to another work (18) of O-Sullevan's by George Mendoza, a Portugueſe, there are the following lines; where the Poet having firſt complimented his publiſhed works, proceeds thus:

(7) De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.

(8) Prima Præfat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(9) Uſſerii Sylloge Epiſt. Hib.

(10) De Script. Centr. III. cap. vi.

(11) Prima Præfat. in Deſcript. Cambr.

(12) Wharton's Angl. Sacra, Part ii. p. 445.

(13) Waræus de Script. p. 116.

(14) Commentatio de Hib. p. 9.

(15) Præfat. Prima ad Expugn.

(16) Cambrenſis everſus, cap. i. p. 1. cap. xiv. p. 127.

(17) Primord. 4to, p. 400.

(*) See Steph. White.

(18) Patriciana decas.

Divulgata typis hæc; ſed ſunt condita plura,
Quæ tamen in tenebris aurea ſcripta latent.
Invidiæ partus, mendacia magna Gyraldi.
Rejicit, et Stolidus quæ Stanihurſtus habet.
Notitiâ variâ pulchrum, ſermone politum,
Zoilomaſtix et dicitur illud opus.

The next who undertook Girald was John Lynch (‖), under the feigned name of Gratianus Lucius; who doubtleſs had good aid from White's Fragment, which, he confeſſes, was in his hands: and it may be not imbrobable, but that he had White's whole treatiſe, and deſtroyed it to inhance the value of his own performance. Such things have been done in ancient and modern times, and will be done again till pride be rooted out of the human conſtitution. Lynch's book, entitled, *Cambrenſis Everſus*, was printed in folio in 1662, and in that he has purſued Girald ſtep by ſtep, and chapter by chapter; wherein he ſhews not only his ignorance and malice; but has demonſtrated, that he had not one quality fit for an Hiſtorian. Nor has Giraldus eſcaped the cenſure of Sir James Ware (19), who expreſſes himſelf with an aſperity uncommon to him: 'Admonendus eſt (inquit) interim lector, Topographiam eam cautè legendam, id quod ipſe Giraldus quodamodo fatetur in apologia, quam habemus in primâ ſuâ prefatione in librum Expugnationis Hibernicæ, cum ob fabuloſa, jam dictæ Topographiæ inſerta, inſimularetur; cui hanc etiam admonitionem è retractationum ſuarum tractatu hic adjicere viſum.—— *De Topographiâ Hibernicâ, labore ſcilicet, noſtro primævo ferè nec ignobili, ubi multa nova, aliiſque regionibus prorſus incognita (ideoque magis miranda) ſcribuntur, hoc pro certo ſciendum, quod quorundam, quinimo et quamplurium per diligentem et certam indagationem, a magnis terræ illius, et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus, de cæteriſque, totius terræ famam potius ſecuti fuimus. De quibus omnibus cum Auguſtino ſentimus, qui in libro de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ ſolum fama celebrat, nec certa veritate fulciuntur, loquens, nec ea affirmanda plurimum, nec prorſus abneganda decrevit.*—— Sic ipſe Giraldus. —— Atqui non poſſum non mirari viros aliquos hujus ſæculi, alioquin graves et doctos, figmenta ea Giraldi mundo iterum pro veris obtruſiſſe.——Yet (ſays the learned Knight) I muſt admoniſh the reader to turn over that Topography of Cambrenſis with great caution; which Cambrenſis himſelf in ſome ſort acknowledges in an Apology made by him in his firſt Preface to the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Ireland, after he had been taxed with the fabulous reports inſerted in his ſaid Topography, to which it is proper alſo to add this admonition taken out of a treatiſe of his called, his Retractations.—— *Concerning the Topography of Ireland* (ſays he) *our firſt and not altogether contemptible labour, in which many things new, and unknown to other countries, and therefore the more wonderful, are written, the reader may with certainty be convinced, that we have obtained the knowledge of ſome, nay, of moſt of the things therein related by a diligent and painful inquiry from the authentick teſtimonies of men of weight and reputation in that country, and in other particulars we have contented ourſelves to follow the reports and fame of the whole kingdom. Concerning all which we are of opinion with St. Auguſtin, who, in his book de Civitate Dei, ſpeaking of things which fame only has ſpread abroad, and which are not ſupported by indiſputable evidence, ſays, that as ſuch things are not poſitively to be affirmed, ſo neither are they to be wholly rejected.* —— Thus much Cambrenſis himſelf owns: —— But I cannot forbear expreſſing my aſtoniſhment, that ſome men of this age, who in other reſpects, are men of gravity and learning, ſhould again obtrude theſe fictions of Cambrenſis upon the world for truths.'——Yet Cambrenſis himſelf had the confidence (20) to obtrude them on a body of grave and learned men. For in a catalogue that he furniſhes of his own works, this is what he ſays of his Topography: —— 'Item de Topographia

(‖) *See the article* LYNCH (JOHN).

(19) Antiq. cap. xxiii.

(20) Nicolſon's Iriſh Hiſt. Library, p. 3.

the Sacraments of the Church. The ſecond day, Albin O-Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglas, afterwards Biſhop of Ferns, made a prolix diſcourſe on the continence of the Clergy, wherein he inveighed bitterly againſt the Clergy that came from England and Wales to Ireland, and by their evil examples, had vitiated the probity and innocence of the Iriſh Clergy, and ſhewed how great their chaſtity was, before they had contracted contagion from the evil examples of corrupted foreigners. After the ſermon was ended, the Engliſh Clergy of Wexford were accuſed and convicted by the teſtimony of witneſſes, for cohabiting publicly with harlots, and received ſentence of ſuſpenſion, which gave no ſmall mirth and triumph to the Iriſh Clergy. The third day Girald mounted the pulpit, by order of the Archbiſhop, and preached on the paſtoral duty. He did not conceal what he had truly to ſay in praiſe of the Iriſh Clergy: but afterwards he took occaſion to enlarge on their vices, and taxed them with that of drunkenneſs; and turning his diſcourſe to the Prelates, he proved their neglect of the paſtoral charge, by irrefragable reaſons. He ſeems to have valued himſelf much upon this ſermon, ſince he has given it to the world at large, both in his Topography (*p*), and in his Life (*q*). The ſame evening, Felix, Biſhop of Oſſory, happening to ſup with the Archbiſhop, was aſked, How he approved Girald's ſermon? Felix, who was ſuſpected to be an eunuch Monk [*K*], anſwered, That it was true, Girald ſaid many ſcandalous things well, and with a good grace; but he called us, added he, drunkards. Indeed, I could ſcarce contain myſelf from flying in his face, or at leaſt from returning him in words a like treatment. It ſeems to have been at this ſame Synod, that Maurice, Archbiſhop of Caſhel, made that ſtinging and poignant repartee, that Girald (*r*) takes notice of [*L*]. Having obtained a great fame in Ireland, as he has the modeſty to tell us himſelf (*s*), between Eaſter and Whitſuntide 1187, he returned to Wales, and employed all his time in writing and and reviſing his Topography, to which, when he had put the laſt hand, he took a journey to Oxford, and repeated it in a public audience of the univerſity; and as it conſiſted of three diſtinctions, he repeated one every day of three ſucceſſively: and in order to captivate the people, and ſecure their applauſe, the firſt day he entertained all the poor of the town, the next day the Doctors and ſcholars of fame and reputation, and the third day the ſcholars of the lower rank, the ſoldiers, townſmen, and burgeſſes. In the year 1188 (*t*), he accompanied Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in a journey through the rough and mountainous parts of Wales, in order to preach up to the people the neceſſity of taking the croſs, and engaging in an expedition in defence of the Holy Land. Here our author runs riot in his own praiſe, and ſhews the vaſt ſucceſs his eloquence met with, in perſuading the greateſt part of the country to engage in this fooliſh adventure; whereas the Archbiſhop was able to do nothing. Girald himſelf took the croſs at this time, and it afforded him the opportunity of writing a book, mentioned below in the remarks [*M*]. The ſame year he poſted over into France, in the retinue of King Henry II., which he did by the advice of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ranulph de Glanville, Chief-Juſtice of England:

(*p*) Diſtinct. laſt.

(*q*) Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

(*r*) Topogr. Hiſt. diſt. iii. cap. xxxii. Waræi Comment. de Præſul. p. 163.

(*s*) De rebus a se Geſtis, lib. ii. cap. xvi.

(*t*) *Ib.* cap. xvii, xviii.

' graphiâ Hibernicâ, liber, ſcilicet, de ſitu terræ illius, ' et mirabilibus ejuſdem multis exaratus, apud Oxo- ' niam per tres dies continuos in publicâ cleri audientiâ ' recitatus: —— *This book* (ſays he) *of the ſitu- ' ation of Ireland, and the wonderful things in it, ' written at large, was read over at Oxford for ' three whole days in a public audience of the Clergy.*' In an epiſtle (21) to William Vere, Biſhop of Hereford, he is in raptures upon that part of the third diſtinction of his Topography, wherein he treats of the Iriſh harp and other muſical inſtruments, and with vanity enough imagines, that he has handled the ſubject with an elegance ſuitable to the dignity of it. The author (22) of Cambrenſis Everſus hints, that Girald had malicioufly deſtroyed a great many old annals of Ireland, that his own performance might carry the greater weight: but the conſequence drawn by Stillingfleet (23) from this action is not juſt; namely, that he had therefore better authorities to build his hiſtory on than Keating: but unfortunately, whatever number of Iriſh annals might have been in his hands, he could make no uſe of them, as he had not the leaſt knowledge in the language.

(21) Uſſer. Epiſt. Hib. Sylloge, p. 115.

(22) Lynch, p. 40, 41.

(23) Orig. p. 268.

(24) *Ib.* cap. xv.

[*K*] *Suſpected to be an eunuch Monk.*] Girald's (24) words are, ' Monachus mutilatus, ut videbatur, et ' eunuchatus: —— *A mutilated Monk, as it ſeemed, ' and one gelt.*'

[*L*] *A poignant repartee that Girald takes notice of.*] Cambrenſis objected to Archbiſhop Maurice, ' that there never were any martyrs in Ireland, who ' ſuffered for the faith: It is true, ſaid the Archbiſhop; ' for though our country be looked on as barbarous, ' uncultivated, and cruel, yet they always have payed ' reverence and honour to the Eccleſiaſtics, and never ' would ſtretch out their hands againſt the Saints of ' God. But now, added he, there is come a people ' among us, who know how, and are accuſtomed, to ' make martyrs.' Alluding to the affair of Thomas Becket.

[*M*] *Gave him the opportunity of writing a book mentioned below in the remarks.*] This book paſſes under different titles: Bale (*) calls it in two words, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. Mr. Wharton (25) enlarges the title from ſome of the manuſcripts of Girald, and ſhews us not only what the book was, but the time and intention of writing it; namely, *Itinerarium Giraldi, et laborioſa Baldwini Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi legatio, devotaque per Walliam in crucis obſequium prædicatio*; *i. e.* The Itinerary of Girald, and the laborious embaſſage of Baldwin, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his devout preaching up the duty of taking the croſs through Wales. Girald (26) himſelf calls it, *Itinerarium laborioſum per hiſpida et inæqualia Walliæ loca*; *i. e.* A laborious Itinerary through the rough and mountainy places of Wales. Bale (27) has ſplit this treatiſe into two, one of which he calls, *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, and the other, *Itinerarium Baldwini*, both which are manifeſtly one and the ſame work; nor does it contain three or four books, as he ſays, but two. It has been printed (28), with the annotations of David Powell, under the title of *Itinerarium Cambriæ, ſeu laborioſæ Baldwini Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi per Walliam legationis accurata deſcriptio*. Probably, it was at the ſame time he compiled, *Kambriæ totius Mappam* (29); *i. e.* A Map of all Wales, wh ch Bale (30) calls, *Cambricæ Mappæ expoſitionem, lib.* 1. whereas it is a coloured Geographical Map yet extant, as Mr. Wharton ſays, and beſides, rivers, mountains, and the ſea-coaſts, and the neighbouring places of England, it lays down 43 towns of Wales.

(*) Cent. III. No. 59.

(25) Anglia Sacra, Vol. ii. p. 445.

(26) Epiſtola ad Capitulum Hereforden ſe, in Wharton, Angl. Sacra, Vol. ii. p. 439.

(27) Cent. III. No. 59.

(28) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

(29) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereſ. ut ſupra.

(30) Cent. III. No. 59.

but the King dying the year after, he was diſpatched back by King Richard I., to aſſiſt upon this alteration in keeping the peace in Wales, which was then in great confuſion. He effected this commiſſion with great addreſs, and the King the ſame year, going to the aſſiſtance of the Holy Land, left the chief government of the kingdom in the hands of William Longchamp, Biſhop of Ely, Lord-Chancellor, and joined Girald in commiſſion with him [*N*]: but he was under the neceſſity of obtaining a diſpenſation from the Pope's Legate, for not purſuing the voyage to the Holy Land, having been ſigned with the croſs for that purpoſe, in the year 1188. In the year 1190, the Biſhop of Ely, and the Pope's Legate, offered to advance him to the See of Bangor, then void by the death of the Biſhop of it, which he declined. About the ſame time he adviſed Earl John, the King's brother, to go over to Ireland, and make a final conqueſt of it; but without ſucceſs, the Earl aſpiring to uſurp the kingdom of England in his brother's abſence. In 1191, Earl John having obtained the chief rule in England, by expelling the Biſhop of Ely, offered to advance Girald to the Biſhoprick of Landaff; but this promotion he alſo refuſed, waiting for the opportunity of ſtepping into the See of St. Davids, which he had his heart ſet upon from his youth. In the year 1192 (*u*), Girald retired from Court, where he ſaw promotions did not go according to merit, and removed to Lincoln for the ſake of ſtudying Divinity, as to a more ſecure and quiet port; and here, it is ſaid, he remained ſix or ſeven years (*w*). In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works [*O*]. Upon the death of Peter, Biſhop of St. Davids, in 1198, he was adviſed by the Chapter and the Barons of that country, to beſtir himſelf in ſeeking this promotion, and in procuring the intereſt of the King, to whom and his father he had been upon many occaſions eminently ſerviceable. But he rejected the motion, and made uſe of a memorable ſaying [*P*], which perhaps was the faſhion of the age, and equivalent to the term, *Nolo epiſcopari*, I won't canvas or make intereſt for a Biſhoprick. Yet being put in nomination for it the beginning of the year following, he was active enough in ſupporting his intereſt. For two of the Archdeacons, and four of the Canons of St. Davids, in September, nominated three perſons for the Biſhoprick, to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, then Chief-Juſticiary, and in the firſt place the Archdeacon of Brecknock, Girald; to whom they added Reginald Foliot, an Engliſhman, of whoſe ſucceſs they did not think there was any likelihood. The Archbiſhop rejected Girald, and when the Canons expoſtulated with him, and deſired to know his reaſons, why he refuſed a diſcreet and learned man, a gentleman, and one born in lawful matrimony; he told them, 'That the King would have no Welſhman a Biſhop in 'Wales, and eſpecially him, who was ſo near in blood to the Prince of Wales.' And the Archbiſhop rejected not only Girald, but all the Welſhmen who were put in nomination. Beſides the political reaſons before mentioned, the Archbiſhop had a private one of his own, namely, a particular pique againſt Girald. On the twenty-ninth of June 1199, the Chapter went again to election, and without one diſcordant voice, choſe Girald. The day following he paſſed over into Ireland (where his kinſman Meiler Fitz-Henry was then Lord-Juſtice), in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt among his great relations there, and probably to ſupply himſelf with money to proſecute his claim. Having received promiſes of their aſſiſtance, in leſs than three weeks he returned to St. Davids, where he was informed, that, during his abſence, the Canons had received a mandate from the Archbiſhop and Juſticiary, to elect and admit Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, for their Biſhop. Girald appealed to the Pope, and the Canons by letter requeſted his Holineſs to conſecrate him. Furniſhed with theſe credentials, he took a journey to Rome, where he arrived, about the feaſt of St. Andrew, and preſented his letters to the Pope. The Prior of Lhanthony was not behind him in ſupporting his intereſt; and he alſo went armed with letters from the Archbiſhop, ſtuffed, as Girald ſays (*x*), with nothing but calumnies and lies. All the letters being read, and the ſuit canvaſſed during the whole winter, the Pope perceived that the cauſe would not ſoon be determined, and therefore

(*u*) De Rebus a ſe Geſt. lib. iii. cap. i.

(*w*) Angl. Sacra, Vol. ii. ut ſupra.

(*x*) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, ut ſupra, where the letters are ſet forth at large.

[*N*] *Joined Girald in the commiſſion of government with the Biſhop of Ely.*] This fact is unnoticed by the Hiſtorians of England, and for what we know, only told by Girald (31) himſelf, out of a vanity to inhance his own importance. As the Biſhop of Ely was Chancellor, as well as chief governor, perhaps he appointed Girald, his deputy, or co-adjutor in the cuſtody of the Great Seal, to eaſe him of part of the burthen, that was too heavy in the whole adminiſtration of the kingdom; and this is the moſt we can upon this occaſion allow to our author.

(31) De Rebus a ſe Geſtis, lib. ii. cap. xxi.

[*O*] *In this retirement he employed his pen in writing ſome works.*] In 1193 he wrote *the Life of Geoffrey, Archbiſhop of York*, called by Bale (32), *Certamina Galfridi Eboracenſis*; i. e. *The Strifes of Geoffrey Archbiſhop of York:* lib. 1. but he himſelf (33) entitles it, *Librum de promotionibus et perſecutionibus Gaufredi Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopi*; *i. e.* A book of the promotions and perſecutions of Geoffry, Archbiſhop of York, divided into two books. About 1197 he wrote *Gemmam Eccleſiaſticam, ſubſequenter de ſacramentis eccleſiaſticis ſaluti animarum perneceſſariis, et de Clericali continentia et honeſtate.* This is the title he gives it himſelf (34); and ſome (35) think it is the ſame book with the *Gemma Animæ*, publiſhed at Mentz, by John Cochlæus, an. 1549, without prefixing the author's name to it; which opinion ſeems no way improbable, ſince both books begin with the ſame words, (viz.) Agmen in caſtris æterni Regis. ——— Certainly the latter part of this tract, called de Clericali continentiâ, is the ſame with a book inſcribed to him by Bale, entitled, *de Honeſtate Clericali*, lib. 1.

(32) Cent. III. No. 59.

(33) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereford. de libris a ſe ſcriptis, in Wharton Angl. Sacra, Vol. ii. P. 439.

(34) Epiſt. ad Capit. Hereford. ut ſupra.

(35) Waræus de Script. p. 117.

[*P*] *He made uſe of a memorable ſaying.*] He tells (36) us himſelf the ſaying, namely, *Virum Epiſcopalem peti non petere debere:* —— That a man ought to be courted to accept a Biſhoprick, inſtead of ſuing for it.

(36) De Reb. a ſe Geſt. lib. iii. cap. iii.

to

to provide in the mean time that the See ſhould receive no detriment, and to give Girald ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, in May 1200, he appointed him Adminiſtrator both in ſpiritualities and temporalities of the biſhoprick of St. Davids, during the continuance of the litigation, and ſent him home. At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes mentioned in the remark [Q]. In the year 1201, about Midlent, he again went to Rome, and finding his ſuit not far advanced, he returned to England before the end of ſummer; and in November 1202, he took his third journey to Rome, where he continued till the fifteenth of April 1203, on which day the Pope gave a definitive ſentence in the cauſe, and vacated both candidates claims, and in Auguſt, Girald returned home to ſolicit a new election. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by him, Geoffry, Prior of Lhanthony, was elected by the Canons, and Girald, finding it to no purpoſe to withſtand the Archbiſhop's weight, deſiſted from all farther pretences to the See of St. Davids, and ſoon after reſigned the archdeaconry of Brechin, to a nephew of his called William. He ſeems to have ſpent the remainder of his life in a ſtate of inaction, and for the moſt part buried in retirement, where he wrote many books, of which the reader may ſee a catalogue below [*R*], partly collected from his own works, and partly from the obſervations and collections

[Q] *At this time he publiſhed one of his treatiſes mentioned in the remark.*] The treatiſe here mentioned, was that, *De Rebus a ſe Geſtis*; lib. 2. which Ward (37) calls *de Vitâ ſuâ*; lib. 2. There are two reaſons that induce us to think, that the birth of this piece was at the time mentioned. Firſt, As it ſets forth all the great actions in which Girald was concerned, in lively colours, and with no little ſhare of vanity; ſo it ſeems calculated to fortify his intereſt with the Pope, by letting him ſee how fit a man he was to ſerve the Pope's views in point of activity and conſequence, a matter of no mean conſideration with Innocent the third: Secondly, As the book breaks off abruptly juſt at the time the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's letters againſt Girald were read before the Pope, after which he returned to Wales.

(37) Script. p. 315.

[*R*] *The reader may ſee a catalogue of ſuch books as he wrote after his retirement.*] Several of our author's books are mentioned before in the remarks *I*, *M*, *O*, *Q*, which therefore we ſhall not repeat. The others are theſe, namely:

Epiſtola ad Capitulum Heretordenſe de libris a ſe ſcriptis; — i. e. *An Epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford concerning the books written by himſelf.*

Chronographia Metrica, et Mundi naſcentis Deſcriptiuncula;—i. e. *A Chronology in Metre, or a Deſcription of the growing World.*

Coſmographia pentametris verſibus exornata; i. e. *A Coſmography embelliſhed with pentameter verſes.*—— Bale calls this piece Coſmographia Mundi, lib. I.

Eccleſiæ Speculum, ſive de Monaſticis Ordinibus ex Eccleſiaſticis Religionibus variis Diſtinctionum, Lib. IV.—i. e. *The Mirror of the Church, or four books of Diſtinction concerning Monaſtick Orders, or Eccleſiaſtical Religious.*——— Mr. Wharton (38) ſays, 'That 'Girald bore an immortal hatred to the Monks, inſo- 'much that to his Litany he added this deprecation; — 'A Monachorum malitiâ, libera nos Domine—*From 'the malice of the Monks, good Lord deliver us*;— 'which he uſed in his daily prayers, and adviſed his 'friends to do the like; and in all his writings he 'takes a delight in railing at their hypocriſy, frauds, 'and ignorance. But he took three years in compil- 'ing his Speculum, that he might to the full indulge 'his ſpleen againſt the Monks, and lay an eternal 'brand of infamy on them.' Bale has given us the title of Eccleſiæ Speculum; but then has formed two other tracts out of it (viz.) de Monachis et Clericis, lib. I. and de Ciſtertientium Nequitiis, lib. I.

(38) Pref. to Angl. Sacra, p. xx.

Librum de Invectionibus; —i. e. *A book of Invectives*;——which Bale calls, *Invectiones Triennales*, alluding to his three years journies to Rome, in each of which it is not improbable, but that Archbiſhop Hubert wrote ſharp letters againſt him, to which this book of invectives was an anſwer. Bale multiplies theſe invectives in his catalogue, and thereby makes Girald the author of another book called, Ad Invectiones Huberti, lib. 1. which manifeſtly is the ſame with the former. In another place (*) our author enlarges his former title, and ſhews therein the cauſe of his writing it. Thus he calls it, Liber Invectionum Romæ in Giraldum acriter inchoatus, et ibidem ab ipſo, Papa monente, in pleno Conſiſtorio ad injurias reſpondente, et objecta crimina non incompetenter evacuante pariter et refundante; nec non et utilia quædam adjiciente conſummatus.—i. e. *A book of Invectives ſeverely ſet on foot at Rome againſt Girald, and by the advice of the Pope, an anſwer given in a full Conſiſtory to the injuries and crimes objected; wherein the ſame are ſufficiently retorted and confuted, and ſome other uſeful things added.*

(*) Cambrenſis Catal. brev. Libr. ſuorum in Angl. ſacra, Vol. ii. p. 445.

Epiſtolas:—Theſe are what Bale calls Remordentes Epiſtolas; and he has ſome reaſon for it. Becauſe our author ſays (39), that to his ſpeculum Duorum he hath added, Epiſtolas paucas ad injurias illatas reſpondentes ac remordentes, quaſi querulum carmen.

(39) Epiſt. ad Com. Hereford.

Symbolum Electorum, ſive Epiſtolæ variæ a ſemet ipſo collectæ. In his ſunt plures invectivæ adverſus Wibertum, Abbatem de Bethleſdene, ordinis Ciſtertienſis, Epiſtola prolixa ad Petrum Menevenſem Epiſcopum de officio Epiſcopi; altera ad Adamum, Abbatem Eveſhemenſem de laude amicitiæ et alia.— i. e. *A collection of pieces, or various Epiſtles collected by himſelf. In which are many invectives againſt Wibert, Abbot of Bethleſdene, a Ciſtertian Monk; a prolix Epiſtle to Peter, Biſhop of St. Davids, concerning the office of a Biſhop; another to Adam, Abbot of Eveſham, in praiſe of friendſhip, and other things.*

Speculum Duorum, Commonitorium et Conſolatorium, et quod ſola peperit indignatio, quaſi querulum carmen emiſſum.— i. e. *A double Mirror, Commonitory and Conſolatory, ſet forth in the form of a querulous copy of verſes, produced by indignation alone.* Bale makes two ſeparate books of this one, which conſiſts of two parts.

Liber de Principis Inſtructione;—i. e. *A book for the Inſtruction of a Prince*; in three diſtinctions.

Dialogum; i. e. *A Dialogue.* This ſingle Dialogue Bale has enlarged into a volume, intituled Dialogos Proſaicos, lib. 1. and indeed it may be well called a volume, if (as is highly probable) it be the ſame tract, which is called, Liber de Geſtis Giraldi laborioſiſſimis, Menevenſi Eccleſiæ futuris fortè diebus perneceſſarius; — i. e. *A book of the moſt laborious actions of Girald, which in future times may be very neceſſary for the Church of Menevia*; written in the form of a dialogue between *Quærens* and *Solvens*; from whence Bale takes occaſion to father on him a treatiſe, de Quærente et Solvente, lib. 1. but it is the ſame with the dialogue de Jure Statûs Menevenſis Eccleſiæ, divided into ſeven diſtinctions.

De Fidei orthodoxæ fructu, Fideique defectu.—— i. e. *Of the advantages of the orthodox Faith, and of the failing of Faith.*

Vita S. Ædelberti Martyris Herefordenſis egregii, S. Davidis, S. Caradoci, loci ejuſdem Heremitæ nobilis et Preſbyteri, S. Remigii, Lincolnienſis Epiſcopi primi, et S. Hugonis, ſedis ejuſdem Epiſcopi. — i. e. *The life of St. Adelbert, the excellent Martyr of Hereford, the life of St. David, the life of St. Caradoc, a noble Hermit and Prieſt of the ſame place; the life of St. Remigius, the firſt Biſhop of Lincoln; the life of St. Hugo, Biſhop of the ſame.* In the ſhort catalogue he gives (40) of his own works, he intitles this piece, de Legendis Sanctorum; i. e. *of the Legends of the Saints*, and then enumerates the foregoing lives.

(40) Wharton, as before.

Topographiæ Cambriæ, et tam terræ quam morum gentis illius compendioſa deſcriptio; cujus in fine ſatis ſuccinctus ac dilucidus, tam Retractationum Tractatus, quam

collections of Mr. Wharton; and though he lived till after the year 1220, yet we do not find that he engaged in any public buſineſs, except that in the year 1215, he was offered his favourite biſhoprick of St. David's, upon ſome terms that he look ed upon as unreaſonable, and therefore rejected it. The time of his death is not mentioned by any author that we know of. Bale (*y*), in giving his character, deſcribes his perſon as particularly as if he had been his intimate acquaintance.——— 'Adoleſcens ſtaturâ pro-'cerus, facie & formâ nitidus, &c.——— *A young man tall of ſtature, and of a delicate 'form and countenance.*' It is more certain that he was a man of learning, and of conſiderable addreſs and merit; but that his other good qualities were much tarniſhed by an exceſſive vanity; and whoever reads his works cannot but ſee, that he was either extremely credulous or diſhoneſt, in endeavouring to impoſe manifeſt falſhoods on the world for truths.

D.

(*y*) Cent. III. 4to. 60.

quam librorum noſtrorum catalogus non incompetenter eſt appoſitus.——— i. e. *A Topography of Wales, and a compendious deſcription of both the land and cuſtoms of that nation; to which is added, a Treatiſe of Retractations ſuccinct and clear enough, and a catalogue of our books is not incompetently annexed.* This is the title Girald himſelf gives. Bale divides this Topography into four books; but it conſiſts only of two, the firſt of which intituled, de Laudabilibus Cambrorum; —i. e. *of the Praiſes of the Welch*, was publiſhed by David Powell with annotations; but the ſecond intitled, de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum, out of zeal to his country, was left by him unpubliſhed; which omiſſion has been ſince ſupplied by Mr. Wharton (41), and intitled, Giraldi Cambrenſis liber ſecundus, de Deſcriptione Walliæ, ſeu liber de Illaudabilibus Walliæ; —i. e. *The ſecond book of the Deſcription of Wales written by Girald Cambrenſis, or a book of the Diſpraiſes of Wales.* In ten chapters. This book eſcaped the induſtry of Sir James Ware (42), who unjuſtly imputes it as an invention of Bale, that Girald wrote de Illaudabilibus Cambrorum.

(41) *Ibid.* p. xxi. Præf.

(42) De Scriptor. p. 117.

Retractationes: ——— Catalogus librorum ſuorum, mentioned under the foregoing head.

Epiſtola ad Stephanum Langton, Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem; —i. e. *An Epiſtle to Stephen Langton, Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the purport of which is to adviſe him not to reſign his See.

Epiſtola ad Willielmum Vere Epiſcopum Hereford-enſem; ſee before under remark [*I*].

Carmen de Miſeriâ conditionis humanæ. — i. e. *A copy of verſes on the Miſery of Man's Condition.* It begins with *Unde ſuperbit homo.*

Liber Carminum et Epigrammatum. — i. e. *A book of Verſes and Epigrams.*

De Proëmiis operum ſuorum.—i. e. *Of the Prefaces to his own works.* This piece is mentioned in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford.

Epiſtolas et Dictamina ad varias perſonas variis temporibus deſtinata, lib. 1.

Rhetoricas Orationes; theſe were diſperſed through his other works as they were occaſionally written.

De Dictis Quatuor, per totidem diſtinctas particulas artificioſè contextas, ſicut delectabilet, ſic et opus non inutile compaginare curavit:— ſays he in his epiſtle to the Chapter of Hereford. This treatiſe contained a collection of the four immediately preceding pieces.

Bale, who upon many occaſions was fond of multiplying the works of writers, has been liberal to Girald, and has aſcribed many treatiſes to him, which nobody elſe ever dreamed of, ſome of which have been obſerved before, as they occurred in the remarks. Among the ſpurious pieces, are the Topographia Britanniæ Primæ, lib. 4.—Relationem Dormientium, lib. 1.—In Opera quædam Senecæ, lib. 1.—De Planctu Lachrymabili, lib. 1.—Pro reddenda Talione, lib. 1.—It is probable this is another title for his Liber de Invectionibus, the ſubject being the ſame, and contains returns to the Archbiſhop's invective letters againſt him.—Acta Regis Johannis, lib. 1.—De Avibus et earum naturis, lib. 1. This is manifeſtly a part of his Topography of Ireland.—Querulum Carmen.—the ſame as his ſpeculum Duorum.—De Floſculis Philoſophicis.—De Mahumeto et ejus nequitiis, lib. 1.—Pro Guidone Warwicenſi, lib. 1.—Prerogativarum Computum, lib. 1—De Mundi Mirabilibus, lib. 1.—Deſcriptiones Magnorum Virorum:—i. e. *the Characters of Great Men*—are certainly a part of the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Ireland.

(43) Append. ad Geſner. Biblioth. Ware, de Script. p. 117.

Joſias Simler (43) erroneouſly aſcribes to Girald, a book de Viſi-Saxonum Regibus, lib. 1. And another called Anglorum Chronicon, lib. 1. But he was led aſtray by the firſt edition of Bale's writers of Britain; for they are not mentioned in the ſecond.—The books alſo Demonâ Inſulâ, and de Vitâ S. Patricii, which are extant in manuſcript in the public library at Cambridge, are none of his; though ſome have made a handle from their being mentioned by Dr. Thomas James in his Eclogâ Oxonio-Cantabrigienſi to aſcribe them to Girald. But that writer only enumerates them as bound together in one volume with ſome works of Girald.

[Perhaps in the foregoing article, and eſpecially in the introduction and the notes [*A*], [*B*], and [*D*], Giraldus Cambrenſis is treated with too much ſeverity. His mentioning his family ſeems to have no extraordinary vanity in it; and the defects of his ſtile muſt, in part, be imputed to the times in which he lived. The ſame may be alledged with relation to his ſpeaking ſo much of himſelf. The delicacy and decorum which would now be required on ſuch a ſubject were not then underſtood. We are by no means inſenſible of Giraldus's faults: but, in eſtimating the merit of any writer, a regard ſhould undoubtedly be had to the literature, manners, and other circumſtances of the age to which he belonged. A conſiderable, and, indeed, a very natural prejudice againſt our author, hath ariſen from his treatiſes concerning Ireland. Mr. Walter Harris, ſpeaking of his Retractationes, at the end of his deſcription *De Illaudibilibus Cambriæ*, ſays, that 'it is only a very 'ſlight apology for the many baſe ſcandals and in-'vectives he had heaped together concerning Ire-'land in his Topography, many of which he con-'feſſes he had picked up only from (that public lyer) 'Common-Fame; and yet has not remorſe enough 'to diſown them; concluding only, that he would 'not for the moſt part affirm them, nor would he al-'together deny them.' Mr. Harris adds, that John Lynch, whoſe work is mentioned in the note [*I*], 'has to ſome purpoſe taken him to pieces, and with 'a ſharp and judicious pen, expoſed the numberleſs 'miſtakes, falſehoods, and calumnies of that mali-'cious writer (44).'

(44) Harris's edit. of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. 2d. p. 317.

Mr. Thomas Warton, whoſe knowledge and taſte will not be diſputed, hath given a very favourable account of Giraldus: 'Gyraldus Cambrenſis deſerves 'particular regard for the univerſality of his works, 'many of which are written with ſome degree of 'elegance. He abounds with quotations of the beſt 'Latin poets. He was an hiſtorian, an antiquary, a 'topographer, a divine, a philoſopher, and a poet. 'His love of ſcience was ſo great, that he refuſed 'two biſhopricks; and from the midſt of public buſi-'neſs, with which his political talents gave him a 'conſiderable connection in the court of Richard the 'firſt, he retired to Lincoln for ſeven years, with a 'deſign of purſuing theological ſtudies. He recited 'his book on the topography of Ireland in public at 'Oxford, for three days ſucceſſively. On the firſt 'day of this recital he entertained all the poor of 'the city; on the ſecond, all the Doctors in the ſe-'veral faculties, and ſcholars of better note; and on 'the third, the whole body of ſtudents, with the 'citizens and ſoldiers of the garriſon. It is probable 'that this was a ceremony practiſed on the like oc-'caſion in the univerſity of Paris; where Giraldus 'had ſtudied for twenty years, and where he had been 'elected profeſſor of canon law in the year 1189. 'His account of Wales was written in conſequence of 'the obſervations he made on that country, then al-'moſt unknown to the Engliſh, during his attendance 'on an archiepiſcopal viſitation. I cannot reſiſt the

'pleaſure of tranſcribing from this book his picture 'of the romantic ſituation of the abbey of Lantony 'in Monmouthſhire. I will give it in Engliſh, as 'my meaning is merely to ſhew how great a maſter 'the author was of that ſelection of circumſtances 'which forms an agreeable deſcription, and which 'could only flow from a cultivated mind. "In the 'deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowſhot 'over, and encloſed on all ſides with high moun-'tains, ſtands the abbey church of St. John, a ſtruc-'ture covered with lead, and not unhandſomely built 'for ſo loneſome a ſituation: on the very ſpot, where 'formerly ſtood a ſmall chapel dedicated to St. Da-'vid, which had no other ornaments than green moſs 'and ivy. It is a ſituation fit for the exerciſe of 'religion; and a religious edifice was firſt founded 'in this ſequeſtered retreat to the honour of a ſolita-'ry life, by two hermits, remote from the noiſe of 'the world, upon the banks of the river Hondy, 'which winds through the midſt of the valley.—The 'rains which mountainous countries uſually produce, 'are here very frequent, the winds exceedingly tem-'peſtuous, and the winters almoſt continually dark. 'Yet the air of the valley is ſo happily tempered, as 'ſcarcely to be the cauſe of any diſeaſes. The monks 'ſitting in the cloiſters of the abbey, when they chuſe 'for a momentary refreſhment to caſt their eyes a-'broad, have on every ſide a pleaſing proſpect of 'mountains aſcending to an immenſe height, with 'numerous herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the 'higheſt extremity of this lofty horizon. The body 'of the ſun is not viſible above the hills till after 'the meridian hour, even when the air is moſt clear.' 'Giraldus adds, that Roger, biſhop of Saliſbury, prime 'miniſter to Henry the firſt, having viſited this place, 'on his return to court told the King, that all the 'treaſure of his Majeſty's kingdom would not ſuffice to 'build ſuch another cloiſter. The biſhop explained 'himſelf by ſaying, that he meant the circular ridge 'of mountains with which the vale of Ewias was en-'cloſed (45).'

(45) Hiſt. of Poetry, Diſſertation 2d.

Mr. Warton's note concerning the entertainment which Giraldus gave at Oxford is too curious to be omitted.—'Wood inſinuates, that this ſumptuous 'entertainment was partly given by Giraldus, as an 'inceptor in the arts. Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. 'i. p. 25, col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, 'Sect. ix. p. 290. infr. And I will here add other 'inſtances, eſpecially as they are proofs of the eſti-'mation in which letters, at leaſt literary honours, 'were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil 'law at Oxford were ſo numerous, and attended by 'ſuch a number of gueſts, that the academical houſes 'or hoſtels were not ſufficient for their accommoda-'tion: and the company filled not only theſe, but 'even the refectory, cloiſters, and many apartments of 'Oſeney abbey, near the ſuburbs of Oxford. At which 'time many Italians ſtudying at Oxford were admit-'ted in that faculty. Wood, ubi ſupr. p. 25, col. 1. 'It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford 'were conſtantly invited to theſe ſolemnities. In 'the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Chriſt 'Church in Canterbury were ſeverally admitted to 'the degree of Doctor in Divinity and Civil Law at 'Oxford. The expences were paid by their mo-'naſtery, and amounted to 1181. 3s. 8d. Regiſtr. 'Priorat. pergamen. MSS. Tanner, Oxon. Num. '165, fol. 212. a. Among other articles there is, "In ſolutione facta HISTRIONIBUS." fol. 213. a. '[See Sect. ii. p. 91. infr.] At length theſe ſcho-'laſtic banquets grew to ſuch exceſs, that it was or-'dered in the year 1434, that no inceptor in arts 'ſhould expend more than "3000 groſſos Turonen-"ſes." Vet. Stat. See Leland, Coll. P. ii. tom. i. 'p. 296, 297, edit. 1770. But the limitation was a 'conſiderable ſum. Each is ſomewhat leſs than an 'Engliſh groat. Notwithſtanding, Neville, after-'wards archbiſhop of York, on his admiſſion to the 'degree of maſter of arts in 1452, feaſted the acade-'mics and many ſtrangers for two ſucceſſive days, at 'two entertainments, conſiſting of nine hundred 'coſtly diſhes. Wood, ibid. 219, col. 1. 2. Nor 'was this reverence to learning, and attention to its 'inſtitutions, confined to the circle of our univerſi-'ties. Such was the pedantry of the times, that 'in the year 1503, Archbiſhop Wareham, chancellor 'of Oxford, at his feaſt of inthronization, ordered 'to be introduced in the firſt courſe a curious diſh, 'in which were exhibited the eight towers of the 'univerſity. In every tower ſtood a bedell; and un-'der the towers were figures of the King, to whom 'the Chancellor Wareham, encircled with many 'Doctors properly habited, preſented four Latin 'verſes, which were anſwered by his Majeſty. The 'eight towers were thoſe of Merton, Magdalene, and 'New College, and of the monaſteries of Oſeney, 'Rewley, the Dominican, Auguſtine, and Franciſ-'can Friars, which five laſt are now utterly deſtroy-'ed. Wood, ubi ſupr. lib. 1. p. 239, col. 1. Com-'pare Robertſon's Charles V. i. 323, ſeq. (46).'] K.

(46) *Ibid.* note (*w*).

BARRY (JAMES), Lord Baron of Santry. The family of the Barrys were originally Welch, ſeated in Pembrokeſhire, and deſcended from the Princes of that country by a female line. Several of them paſſed into Ireland among the firſt adventurers in 1169 [*A*], of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Girald Barry (*a*) [*B*], commonly called Cambrenſis, who was of the ſame family. Camden (*b*) makes this Robert an Engliſhman, meaning, it may be preſumed, that he was born within the allegiance of the King of England, to whom the Princes of Wales paid homage, and to underſtand that careful writer in any other ſenſe, would be to detract from his ſkill in genealogy, of which indiſputably he was a great maſter; and yet it may be doubted, whether one ſmall error in relation to this family of the Barrys ſettled in Ireland may not be imputed to him [*C*]. It is certain therefore, that Robert de Barry was a Cambro-Briton,

(*a*) Expugn. Hib. Lib. i. cap. iv.

(*b*) Brit. N. edit. p. 1339.

[*A*] *Several of the Barrys paſſed into Ireland in* 1169.] We read in hiſtory of four principal adventurers of the name of Barry, who arrived in Ireland upon the firſt invaſion undertaken by Robert Fitz-Stephens, namely, 1. Robert Barry the elder. 2. Robert Barry the younger. 3. Philip Barry, and 4. Walter Barry; beſides Girald Barry (1) the Hiſtorian, an Eccleſiaſtick, who went thither in Earl John's retinue in the year 1210.

(1) *See the preceding article.*

[*B*] *Of whom Robert de Barry is highly celebrated by Gerald Cambrenſis.*] The character Cambrenſis gives of Robert de Barry is this: 'That he was a 'young gentleman ambitious rather to be really great 'than to ſeem ſo; was by nature both noble and 'valiant, and could not bear either to glorify his own 'actions, or to hear others do it; that he was of a 'ſedate, ſtayed courage, one whom no ſudden miſ-'adventure could terrify; was always ready at his 'arms, forward in battle, and the firſt that received 'a wound in the conqueſt of Ireland.'

[*C*] *Whether one error in relation to the Barrys may not be imputed to Camden.*] Camden makes Robert de Barry the anceſtor of the family of Barry-mor, or Barry the great (one of whom was created Baron Barry, afterwards Viſcount Buttevant, and they are now Earls of Barrymore): Whereas it is ſtrongly to be preſumed, that that branch of the family are deſcended from Philip de Barry, to whom his uncle, Robert Fitz-Stephen, made large grants in the county of Cork, which that family enjoy to this day, as appears from King John's Charter of confirmation (2). For then (ſays the Charter) 'Johannes Rex confirma-'vit Willielmo de Barry donationem quam Robertus 'Filius Stephani fecit Philippo de Barry, (ejus et ſo-'rore nepoti) patri ejuſdem Willielmi, cujus hæres 'ipſe fuit de tribus Cantredis in terra ſua de Corcaiâ. 'ſcilicet Olethan, cum omnibus pertinentiis ſuis, et 'aliis duobus, ſcilicet, Muſcherie Dunegan, et Can-'tredo de Killede, per ſervitium decem militum, ſi-'cut charta prædicti Roberti, quam inde habebat 'teſtabatur.

(2) Pat. in Rot. tur. Birmingham de anno nono Johan.

Briton, and nephew to Robert Fitz-Stephen, who firſt invaded Ireland in aid of Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Leinſter, a year or two before Earl Strongbow's arrival. From which of the four branches mentioned in the remark [*A*], the gentleman, who is now our ſubject, is deſcended, muſt be left to the heralds to trace: but both his father and grandfather were bred to merchandiſe in the city of Dublin, by which they not only acquired a conſiderable eſtate, but alſo enjoyed, and with ſufficiency executed, the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city [*D*]; which his father repreſented more than once in parliament. He educated this his ſon in the ſtudy of the Law, who did not diſappoint his expectations: for being called to the bar, he practiſed his profeſſion for ſeveral years, with great reputation and ſucceſs. In 1629, the King thought him a proper perſon on whom to confer the office of his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law (*c*), for the kingdom of Ireland, at a yearly fee of twenty pounds ten ſhillings ſterling, and in as full a manner as the ſame office was granted before to Sir John Brereton, Knt. This was a prelude only to his future advancement. For the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, found him in this poſt when he firſt arrived Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and ſoon diſcovered his abilities, and took him under his protection. His Excellency laid hold of the firſt opportunity he had to promote him; and accordingly on the fifth of Auguſt 1634, he obtained a grant (*d*) of the office of Second Baron of the Exchequer of Ireland, to hold during pleaſure, with ſuch fees, rewards, and profits, as Sir Robert Oglethorpe, Sir Lawrence Parſons, Sir Gerard Lowther, or any other Second Baron did or ought to receive; and he ſoon after received the honour of knighthood. He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another [*E*]; and it was merely the fruit of the Lord Wentworth's friendſhip, of which he had occaſion ſoon after of making a public acknowledgment [*F*]. In the times that followed in the year 1640, when the Parliament of Ireland were upon the point of ſending over a Committee of their body to England, to impeach the Earl of Strafford, he joined all his weight and intereſt with Sir James Ware (*e*), and other members of the Houſe of Commons, to oppoſe thoſe meaſures; though the torrent was ſo violent, that all he or his party could do to ſtop it was vain and fruitleſs, and he had nothing left him but prayers to avert the fate of his noble friend. Times of diſtraction and confuſion afforded only a few opportunities to gentlemen of the long robe, to diſplay their talents in: the gown upon ſuch occaſions muſt give way to the ſword; and therefore we hear not much of our Baron during the long courſe of the rebellion, till a little before the reſtoration of King Charles II. in the year 1660, when he was appointed Chairman of the Convention, which voted his Majeſty's reſtoration without any previous conditions, in which reſolution no doubt he was inſtrumental, ſince we find his Majeſty took his merit into conſideration a very ſhort time after. For on the ſeventeenth of November that year, the King iſſued a privy-ſeal (*f*), for advancing him to the office of Chief-Juſtice in the King's-Bench in Ireland, and another (*g*) on the eighteenth of December following, in conſideration of his eminent fidelity and zeal, ſhewn in his Majeſty's ſervice, for creating him Lord Baron of Santry in the kingdom of Ireland, to him and the heirs male of his body; and ſeparate patents (*h*) accordingly paſſed

(*c*) In Offic. Rot. Hib. 6th. Octob. 5 Car. I.

(*d*) Pat. in Offic. Rot. Canc. Hib. 5 Aug. 10 Car. I.

(*e*) Autograph. Jacob Ware.

(*f*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 17 Nov. 12 Car. II.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) *Ibid.*

' teſtabatur.—*King John, (ſays the Charter) confirmed* ' *to William de Barry, the donation which Robert Fitz-* ' *Stephen made to Philip de Barry, his ſiſter's ſon, father* ' *of the ſaid William, whoſe heir he is, of three Can-* ' *treds, or hundreds, in his land of Cork; namely, Ole-* ' *than with all his apurtenances, and two others, namely,* ' *Muſcry-Dunnagan, and the Cantred of Killede, to* ' *hold by the ſervice of ten Knights, as the ſaid Ro-* ' *bert's charter, in the hands of the ſaid William,* ' *teſtifies.*'

[*D*] *His father and grand father enjoyed the ſeveral poſts of honour in the government of the city.*] His grand father, James Barry, was one of the ſheriffs (3) of the city of Dublin in 1577. His father, Richard Barry, was alſo ſheriff (4) of the ſame city in 1604, and Mayor thereof in 1610. He likewiſe ſerved as member of parliament (5) for the city in 1613, with his colleague, Sir Richard Bolton, Recorder; and again in 1634 (6), with Serjeant Catelin, who was the King's Serjeant Recorder, and Speaker of the ſame Parliament. Lord Wentworth ſpeaks of him to Mr. Secretary Coke in terms of reſpect, and as a good Proteſtant.

(3) Archives in the chamber of the city of Dublin, MS.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Liſt of Members, MS.

(6) Strafford's Letters, 24 June, 1634.

[*E*] *He obtained this favour, notwithſtanding a powerful recommendation from England in behalf of another.*] This recommendation was from Dr. Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in behalf of Mr. Chadwick. Lord Wentworth takes notice of it in a letter (7) to his Grace of Canterbury at that time. ' Your Grace (ſays ' he) recommends unto me Mr. Chadwick, in your ' letter of the 23d of June, for a ſecond Baron's place ' in the Exchequer: But I had, with the advice of the ' Chief Baron, promiſed it before to Serjeant Barry, ' the King's Serjeant, ſo as I could not with honeſty ' recall it. Beſides, Mr. Chadwick is not held here ſo ' fit as yet for the Bench; nay, the Chief Baron has ' a very mean opinion of his judgment in his own ' profeſſion. But I will be anſwerable to your Grace, ' he ſhall be by me effectually remembered in virtue of ' your Lordſhip's recommendation, at one time or ' other, and as ſoon as ever any occaſion ſhall preſent ' itſelf.'

(7) Strafford's Letters, 23 Aug. 1634.

[*F*] *Of which favour he had occaſion ſoon after to make a public acknowledgment.*] This acknowledgment appears in a book he publiſhed in the year 1637, intitled, *The caſe of Tenures upon the Commiſſion of defective Titles, argued by all the Judges of Irelana, with the Reſolution and the Reaſons of their Reſolution.* Dublin 1637, folio; ibid. 1725, 12mo. In the report of this caſe he diſplays his own abilities in the Law, and in the dedication of it to the Lord Strafford, he acquaints the world with his gratitude to his patron in terms very full and expreſſive: ' This work (ſays he) ' my Lord, is your's by more than one intereſt, and ' therefore it returns naturally unto you; for to lay aſide ' my particular reſpects (it being by your Lordſhip's ' favour that I ſerve his Majeſty in this place) you are ' *Pater Patriæ*, and not more ſo by your office, than ' by your love to this nation, and your moſt equal, ' and indifferent diſpenſation of juſtice (next under ' his Majeſty) the father of this Church and Common- ' wealth: And for whom can an oblation of this na- ' ture be more proper? Beſides, all that is here, as it ' was at firſt ſpoken, in an humble obedience to your ' Lordſhip's order, ſo it was after upon a noble invi- ' tation from you digeſted into this form, and it is ' now

ſed on the eighth of February enſuing, and he was preſently after called unto the Privy-Council. He died ſome time in March 1672, and was buried in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, having left behind him iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title [*G*].

' now made public by your commandment; ſo that in ' all the paſſages of it, it carries your image, your ſu-' perſcription, and therefore by this dedication, I do ' not ſo much give it, as reſtore it. If there be any ' thing in it, that is mine, that anſwers your expecta-' tion, even in that, that it anſwers your expectation, ' I have my reward; for all that are below your Lord-' ſhip, I hope it ſhall have their uſe, to ſatisfy them ' that your Lordſhip's proceedings in this buſineſs have ' been in all points agreeable both to honour and ' juſtice, &c.'

[*G*] *Having left iſſue to inherit his eſtate and title.*] He married Catherine, daughter to Sir William Parſons of Bellamont in the county of Dublin, Baronet, one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in the year 1640, and anceſtor to the Earl of Roſs; and by her had iſſue Richard, Lord Santry, the father of Henry, Lord Santry, who by Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas Domville of Temple-Oge, Baronet, and half ſiſter to Sir Compton Domville, had iſſue Henry, Lord Santry, who unfortunately forfeited the title.

D.

BARRY (Gerat), a gentleman deſcended from the noble family of Barrymore, Earls of that title in Ireland, as he tells us himſelf in a book of his writing, mentioned in the remarks [*A*]. He ſerved many years with reputation as an inferior officer in the armies of the King of Spain, in Germany and the Low Countries, being (as we apprehend) of the Popiſh religion, from the circumſtance of his not being employed at home; and in the Spaniſh ſervice he never roſe higher than to the office of a Captain of foot, few foreigners in that age obtaining conſiderable poſts. At leaſt he ſtiles himſelf only Captain in the title of his book, which was in the library of Dr. King, late Archbiſhop of Dublin, and is now in the Dioceſan library at Caſhell; a ſcarce piece, but of little intrinſic value. What became of the author, or when he died, I know not, having met with no account of him, but in his own Preface. But of whatever ſufficiency he was in the army, he ſeems to have been very ignorant in other reſpects, not being able even to ſpell in the manner uſed in his time; of which his title-page and the whole work are manifeſt proofs.

[*A*] *A book of his writing mentioned in the remarks.*] The title of the book here referred to is as follows. A Diſcourſe of Military Diſcipline, divided into three bookes, declaringe the Partes and Sufficiencie ordained in a private Souldier, and in each Officer ſerving in the Infanterie, till the Election and Office of the Captain-General; and the laſt booke treatinge of Fire-Wourks of rare Executions by Sea and Lande; as alſo of Firtifaſions. Compoſed by Captain Gerat Barry Iriſh. Bruſſels 1634, folio. Dedicated to David Earl of Barrymore. D.

[A learned correſpondent, who has ſeen the 'Diſ-' courſe of Military Diſcipline,' hath informed us, that the great blunder of ſpelling is in the word *Firtifaſions*; and that this is plainly an error of the Printer, who did not underſtand Engliſh. In the book itſelf the word is ſpelt properly.] K.

BARRY (Lodowick), a gentleman of Iriſh birth, flouriſhed in England about the middle of the reign of King James I.; and, it ſeems, muſt have been a man of ſome figure, ſince Anthony Wood (*a*) is pleaſed to compliment him with the title of Lord Barry, which is certainly a miſtake; nor ſhould we have thought him worth introducing into this work, but to correct that error. Mr. Langbaine (*b*) ranks him among the dramatick poets, and makes him the author, as well as Anthony Wood (*c*) does, of a Comedy, intituled, *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*, printed at London, 1611, acted by the children of the King's revels, before the year 1611, but printed that year. Some have aſcribed this Play to Philip Maſſinger; but the author (*d*) above quoted clears that miſtake. The plot in this play of Will. Smallſhanks decoying the widow Taffeta into marriage, is the ſame with that in Killigrew's *Parſon's Wedding*, and both taken from the *Engliſh Rogue* (*e*), where a ſervant is introduced decoying his miſtreſs into a wedding, by bribing the city muſick to play under her window, and wiſh her joy of her marriage, when at the ſame time he appeared at the window of her bed-chamber in his ſhirt, and threw them money. D.

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 629.

(*b*) Engliſh Dramatic Poets.

(*c*) Athen. *ibid.*

(*d*) Athen. *ibid.*

(*e*) Part iv. cap. xix.

BARTON (Elizabeth) (*a*), when or where born we do not find. It is more than probable ſhe was of no great extraction or family, ſince we firſt meet with her in the character of a ſervant to one Thomas Knob of Aldington in Kent, in the year 1525, in whoſe ſervice, and much about which time, ſhe firſt began her pranks (*b*): for being troubled with hyſterical fits, and the uſual ſymptoms of riſings in her throat, faintings, deliria, &c. which ſtrangely diſtorted her limbs, and threw her body into very unuſual agitations; it was no difficult matter in an age of credulity and ſuperſtition, to make people believe, there was ſomething more in her fits than a bare paroxyſm of the diſeaſe (*c*); and ſhe accordingly became the object of their wonder and ſurprize: thus her ſtrange fits and odd geſticulations, together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination [*A*], ſoon ſpread her fame abroad, and made people believe ſhe was really inſpired

(*a*) Stapleton calls her *Anne Berton*, Vita Th. Mori, p. 281. Several other authors call her *Berton*, but none elſe *Anne*.

(*b*) Hall's Chron. fol. 279. *Thomas Cobbs.* Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24.

(*c*) Godwin's Annals, 1534. Fox's Martyrs, p. 333. Holinſhed's and Speed's Chronicles.

(1) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. See alſo a Pamphlet (called *A New-Year's Gift*, dedicated to the Pope's Holineſs, and all Catholics addicted to the See of Rome, 1579, 4to. which contains about thirteen pages, about this Holy Maid, in *Bibliotheca Med i Temp.* Vol. lxxxviii. of Miſcellan. Tracts, No. 12.

[*A*] *Together with a little ſucceſs (ſhe accidentally met with) in divination.*] It happening, that a child of her maſter's, that was ſick in the cradle by her, being near death, juſt as ſhe was come out of one of her fits; ſhe aſked, with great pain and groaning, whether it were dead or not? And hearing it was alive, ſhe ſaid it would die anon; which words were ſcarce out of her mouth, but the child fetched a deep ſigh and died; as might be naturally ſuggeſted without any great ſkill in divination (1): This ſucceſs however,

inſpired of God. This affair coming to the ears of Maſters, the parſon of Aldington, he immediately reſolved to ſet her up for a propheteſs, in hopes perhaps thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church (though the event turned out directly the contrary) [*B*]. This, or at leaſt the hopes of making his chapel famous, that he might reap thereby the advantages of pilgrimages, offerings, &c. (*d*) made him very ready to contribute to, and carry on the impoſture. To this end his firſt care was, to adviſe her to pretend (or at leaſt to perſuade her to believe) ſhe had a ſupernatural impulſe, and that what ſhe ſaid was truly prophetic: for when her fits were over, and ſhe had forgotten all ſhe had ſaid in them, Maſters, the Prieſt, took care it ſhould not go ſo; but perſuaded her, all ſhe had ſaid was of the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe ought publicly to confeſs it was ſo (*e*). This diſtemper holding her for ſome time, ſhe had thereby an opportunity (as it were by daily habit and experience) of attaining ſuch perfection in counterfeiting her fits, that when cured, ſhe could ſo exactly imitate them, as would have deceived any body, ſo ready and expert was ſhe at it, to which her own application and obſervance, and the diligent tuition of her preceptors, *Maſters* and other Monks and Friars, did not a little contribute (*f*): For having by her art brought the fit upon her, ſhe would lie as it were in a trance for ſome time, then coming to herſelf (after many ſtrange grimaces and odd geſticulations) ſhe would break out into devout ejaculations, hymns, and prayers, ſometimes delivering herſelf in ſet ſpeeches, ſometimes in uncouth monkiſh rhymes, pretending to propheſy, and that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions, heard heavenly voices and melody, and had the revelations of many things, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, &c. [*C*] declaiming againſt the wickedneſs of the times, and evil life, in no bad manner; and was always particularly vehement againſt Hereſy and innovations, exhorting to frequent the church, to hear maſſes, to uſe frequent confeſſion, and to pray to our Lady and all Saints, and to all the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church. The artful management of this impoſture, together with her pretended piety, virtue, and auſterity of life, gained her undoubted credit to all ſhe ſaid; the common people looking on her with a kind of reverence, as a perſon truly

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 150.

(*e*) Hall's Chron. fol. 219. See her Speech.

(*f*) Collier's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 86. Hall's Chron. p. 220. Holinſhed's Chr. Vol. i. p. 936. Burnet, ubi ſupra.

however, ſimple as it was, together with her odd fits, ſoon ſet her up for a Propheteſs: For a little while after this, ſhe took upon her to tell things that were done at church, court, and other diſtant places, where ſhe could not be preſent, or have any apparent information; nay ſo low did her divinations deſcend, that ſhe would alſo tell in particular on any night, what meat the Hermit of that chapel had for his ſupper, and many other things told ſhe concerning him, to the great admiration of thoſe about her; delivering her ſpeeches, as ſhe lay immoveable, and as it were dead, all which ſhe ſeemed (by ſigns that ſhe gave) moſt lively to behold, as it were with her eyes—— See more of her pretended miracles in note [*C*].

[*B*] *In hopes thereby to prop the ſinking foundation of the Romiſh Church, though the event turned out directly the contrary.*] For the foulneſs and wicked deſigns of this impoſture, ſays Burnet (2), did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people; inſomuch that it was generally believed, or at leaſt ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles, by which religious orders had raiſed their credit ſo high, were of the ſame nature; on which account, it was not a little inſtrumental in making way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England, though all the ſeverity which at that time followed on it, was that the Obſervant Friars at *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcaſtle*, were removed out of their houſes, and with the other Grey Friars and Auguſtine Friars put in their houſes (3).——This however, was the firſt thing that provoked the King againſt the regular clergy, and drew after it all the ſeverities that were done in the reſt of this reign, and not undeſervedly; for had it fallen out in a darker age, in which the world went mad after viſions, the King might have loſt his crown by it *.

(2) Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. i. B. ii. p. 153.

(3) Stowe, p. 570.

(*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation.

[*C*] *Saying that ſhe had been honoured by God with many ſtrange viſions, and heard heavenly voices and melody, and that ſhe had the revelations of many things to come, talking much about religious matters, as Heaven, Hell, Purgatory,* &c.] In her trances ſhe would often ſay, that ſhe would *go home*; and ſometimes when ſhe came out of them, that *ſhe had been at home*; and being aſked where her *home* was; ſhe ſaid it was in Heaven, where St. Michael weighed ſouls, and St. Peter carried the keys; and where ſhe had the company of our Lady of Court of Strete, who had commanded her, to offer a taper up to her in her chapel, and that then ſhe would immediately be cured; diſcovering great pleaſure in the thoughts of being talked of for the miracles: Saying, our Lady would ſhow more miracles there ſhortly, and *that if any one ſhould chance to depart this life ſuddenly, or by miſchance, or in deadly ſin; if they vowed heartily to our good Lady at* Court of Strete, *they ſhould be reſtored to life again, to receive ſhrift and houſell, and ſhould after depart this life with God's bleſſing* (4).

It was alſo given out that ſhe had much converſation with, and many revelations from, *Mary Magdalen*, who gave her a letter that was written in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being written in golden characters: this was however afterwards found to be written by one Haukherſt, a Monk of Canterbury (5).

She pretended alſo to be preſent at Henry the VIII.'s interview with the French King at Calais, and that God being diſpleaſed with King Henry, an angel, when he was at maſs, took away the ſacrament out of the Prieſt's hand inviſibly, as he was going to adminiſter it to the King, and gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, and that ſhe was immediately wafted over ſea again to her monaſtery, as ſhe had been carried from it (6).

In the chapel of St. Giles in the monaſtery of Chriſt Church, Canterbury, ſhe is ſaid to have been particularly honoured by God with the ſight of heavenly lights, the ſound of celeſtial voices and melody, and ſenſation of unſpeakable joys; to which chapel, ſhe, by the peculiar command of God, is ſaid oftentimes to have reſorted (eſpecially by night) to receive viſions and revelations, the door of the dormitory opening itſelf to her by the power of God, and not only to her, but to Dr. Bocking and ſome others: however, her ſtealing forth of the dormitory by night (which ſhe did four or five times a week), was at laſt found not to be for ſpiritual buſineſs, nor to receive revelations of God, but rather for bodily communication and pleaſure with her friends, who could not have ſo good leiſure and opportunity with her in the day (7).——

The books and papers written about her, mentioned the devil's having appeared to her, and tempted her in diverſe forms and faſhions, ſometimes like a man wantonly dreſſed, &c. ſometimes like a deformed bird, and ſometimes in other ſhapes (8).—

One of her propheſies or revelations was, that there was *a root with three branches*, and till they were plucked up, it ſhould never be merry with England; interpreting the root to be the late Lord Cardinal, the firſt branch the King, the ſecond, the Duke of Norfolk, and the third, the Duke of Suffolk (9).—

(4) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 24. Alſo the Pamphlet, as quoted in note [*A*].

(5) Hall's Chron. p. 220.

(6) Hall's Chron. The Pope's New Year's Gift, by B. G. Citizen of London, as before in note [*A*].

(7) Hall's Chron. Pamphlet, *ibid.*

(8) Hall's Chron. See Sir Thomas More's converſation with her, in note [*K*].

(9) Hall's Chron.

inſpired of God; and not only the commonalty were deceived, but ſeveral learned men of uncommon underſtanding, and perſons of great characters were wrought upon to give credit to her pretended revelations (*g*). Among the reſt was Sir Thomas More, and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, who are by ſome reported (though falſely) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her [*D*]; as alſo Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; to whom Maſters having ſet this holy Nun off in an extraordinary manner, by relating her pretended revelations, divinations, and long ſpeeches (*h*), Warham ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a farther report of any new trances, *&c.* ſhe might afterwards fall in; to whom was joined Dr. Bocking a Canon of Chriſt-Church in Canterbury, and Mr. Hadley and Barnes, two Monks of the ſame place, together with Father Lewis his official of Canterbury (*i*), and others, as commiſſioners to examine further into this affair (*k*). However, for all this piece of outward ceremony, Warham was not a little ſuſpected, with ſome others, to have countenanced this impoſture underhand. And if he was not really privy to the contrivance, he muſt have been moſt egregiouſly impoſed on. For Fiſher, in his letter of excuſe to Cromwell (*l*), ſeems to throw the chief of his credit or belief in this affair, upon the teſtimonies and accounts he received from Warham. His words are theſe: 'Finally, my Lord of Can-'terbury, that then was both her Ordinary, and a man reputed of high wiſdom and 'learning, told me that ſhe had many great viſions: and of him I learned greater 'things, than ever I heard of the nun herſelf, *&c.*' (*) Maſters, and the reſt (thus commiſſioned by Archbiſhop Warham) finding her upon examination a ſtanch Catholic, that they might reap ſome benefit from the noiſe her inſpiration and revelations had made in the world, inſtructed her to ſay, in her counterfeit trances, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and that ſhe never could recover, till ſhe went and viſited her image, in the famous chapel that was dedicated to her, and was called the Chapel of our Lady, of *Court of Strete* (†). Accordingly, the day being made public that ſhe intended to go and viſit the image of the Virgin, a mob of above 3000 people gathered together to attend her there, as did likewiſe ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, and the hopeful commiſſioners made a part of the ſolemn proceſſion (*m*). At her entrance ſhe was ſaluted in a hymn, with *Ave Regina Cœlorum:* when ſhe came before the image of our Lady, ſhe fell down before it in one of her trances, delivering therein rhymes, ſpeeches, *&c.* all tending to the honour of that Saint, and the Popiſh religion (*n*): ſhe wiſhed alſo that there were a ſinging Prieſt to attend the chapel; and ſaid, that ſhe herſelf was by the inſpiration of God called to be a Religious; and that it was alſo the will of our Lady, that Bocking ſhould be her Ghoſtly Father, but there were violent ſuſpicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was her carnal as well as ſpiritual Father (*o*). It was now given out, that ſhe was, by the interceſſion of our Lady, miraculouſly recovered of her former diſtemper; and on the report made by the faithful commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop ordered the wench to be put into the nunnery of St. Sepulchre's in Canterbury, where ſhe feigned to have frequent returns of her former trances, viſions, and revelations, working (as was pretended) many miracles, on all ſuch as would but make a good profitable vow to our Lady, at Court at Strete. The deſign of the contrivance was now in ſome meaſure anſwered; the Prieſts had made plentiful gains of her, the Hermit thrived well on the offerings, and the convent was much pleaſed with the new Nun, who was in ſuch great credit and vogue, that there were ſeveral books written, about her ſanctity of life,

(*g*) Cotta's Trial of Witchcraft, p. 64.

(*h*) Hall's Chron. fol. 219.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. i. p. 150.

(*k*) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 25.

(*l*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 550.

(*) See the Letter at large, in Bibliotheca Cotton.

(†) For *Court at Strete.*

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. i. p. 150.

(*n*) Hall's Chron.

(*o*) Harris's Hiſt of Kent, p. 24. See the latter end of note [*C*].

[*D*] *Among the reſt were Sir Thomas More, and Biſhop Fiſher, who are by ſome reported (though falſely) to have been afterwards appointed by the King to examine her.*] Sanders (10) has the following paragraph, 'Quam fœminam, cum inter cæteros *Roffenſis & Mo-'rus* diligenter examinâſſent, confeſſi ſunt ſe nullo 'indicio deprehendere potuiſſe, eam fanatico ſpiritu '(quod in ejus invidiam tunc ſpargebatur) agitatam 'fuiſſe: Unde et ipſi in ſuſpicionem, apud Regem 'venerunt, quod cum illa ſentirente, *&c.*—*Which wo-'man (ſpeaking of the Holy Maid of Kent) when, among 'the reſt, Biſhop* Fiſher *and* More *had carefully exa-'mined, they confeſſed, that they could not by any ſign 'or token find out, that ſhe was poſſeſſed by a fanatical 'ſpirit (as was then reported in her diſpraiſe), upon which 'they themſelves, as agreeing with her in ſentiments, be-'came ſuſpected by the King*, &c.' Stapleton (11) in his life of Sir Thomas More is ſtill ſtronger in this reſpect; his words are theſe: 'Hujus rei invidia in 'Thomam Morum, qui illam, juſſu Regis examina-'verat, devolvitur, quod præter examinationis tem-'pora, ſecreto cum ipſam contulerit; quodque lite-'ras ad eam miſerat, ab eâque acceperit: Jamque 'adeo accuſatur, *&c.*—*The blame of this affair turned 'chiefly on Sir Thomas More, who having examined 'her by the King's command, did nevertheleſs, after the 'time of examination was over, hold private con-'ferences with her, writing and receiving letters from 'her, for which reaſon*, &c.' Both theſe authors, but eſpecially the laſt quoted, make Sir Thomas, as one among the reſt, appointed by the King to examine her and her aſſociates in this affair: But this ſeems highly improbable; for in the firſt place, we find no other circumſtances in hiſtory to corroborate it; and in the next place, Sir Thomas, in his long letter of juſtification to Cromwell (in note *K*) tells us, the manner of his being brought acquainted with her, the ſeveral conferences, *&c.* he had with herſelf and her accomplices about her; but throughout all his letters in no way intimates any command he ever had to viſit her, or inſpect into the affair, which had it been true, beſides being too material a point to be omitted by inadvertency, would have been too good an excuſe, to have been paſſed by in ſilence: nay, the paſſage marked with an aſteriſm thus *, in his long letter (note *K*) indicates directly the contrary.—In this letter he acknowledges he had eſteemed her highly, not ſo much out of any regard he had to her propheſies, but for the opinion he conceived of her holineſs and humility; but he adds (12) that he was then convinced, that ſhe was the moſt falſe, diſſembling hypocrite, that had been known; and guilty of the moſt deteſtable hypocriſy, and deviliſh diſſembling falſhood: he alſo believed that ſhe had communication with an evil ſpirit, and had, we find by his other letters, as well as this, a very mean opinion of her; looking on her as a weak woman, and in diſcourſe with his beloved daughter Roper, he commonly called her the *Silly Nun* (13): ——And Fiſher diſowned her when the cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before (14): See note [*F*] for Fiſher's opinion of her, *&c.*

(10) De Schiſmate Anglicano, lib. i. p. 106, 107.

(11) Tres Thomæ Vitæ—In Vita Thomæ Mori, per Stapleton, p. 281.

(12) Burnet's Abridgment of the Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. i. p. 115. See his Letter in note [*K*].

(13) Roper's Letter in Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1435.

(14) Burnet's Errors and Falſehoods of Sanders's Book of Engliſh Schiſm.

viſions,

visions, revelations, and prophesies [*E*]: and thus matters went glibly on for divers years together. But now the Roman clergy being apprehensive, that the King's marriage with Anna Bullen would prove very detrimental to their religion; they set every engine at work to prevent it, and among the rest, Bocking and her other associates were prevailed upon, to persuade her to menace the King, with death or the loss of his crown: she, puffed up with her former success, and the credit she bore in the world as to her sanctity, *&c.* was hardy enough to be governed by this advice, and made no scruple to declare publicly, that God had revealed to her, that in case the King went on in the divorce, and married another wife while Queen Catherine was living, he should not be King of England a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God, not one hour longer, but should die a villain's death. This she said was revealed to her, in answer to the prayer she had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's proceedings or not (*p*). This coming to the ears of the Bishop of Rochester, and some others who adhered to the Queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices [*F*], concealing what she spoke concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others, to draw them from their allegiance; and prevailed with several of the Fathers of the Nuns of Sion, and the Charter-House in London, and Shene, and of the Observants of Richmond, Canterbury, and Greenwich, and a great many other persons, which appeared, however, most signally at Greenwich [*G*]. Nor was this all: but the Fathers that were in the conspiracy, had agreed to publish these revelations in their sermons up and down the kingdom: for by Sir Thomas More's long letter, as well as by the act itself, we find, that Rich, Risby, and several other Monks and Friars, made it their business to travel up and down the country, artfully introducing and insinuating themselves, not only to the commonalty, but into every family of note, and all degrees of men. They every where took an opportunity to report, in the most advantageous manner and terms, the hypocritical holiness, and feigned revelations, miracles, *&c.* of this impostor. By this means they poisoned and prepossessed the minds of the people, not only against the King's intended marriage, but against the King himself, declaiming against the wickedness of his life, and declaring, that he had abused the sword and authority committed to him by Almighty God; stirring up rebellion, withdrawing and absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him, by publicly preaching and declaring, that he was no longer King according to revelation. They had also given notice of these her prophesies to the Pope's Embassadors, and had the maid brought

(*p*) Hall's Chron. Cotta of Witchcraft p. 64. Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. i. an. 1534.

[*E*] *That there were several books written about her sanctity of life, visions, revelations, and prophesies.*] Among which books, one pamphlet contains twenty-four leaves, printed by Robert Red Man, intitled, A marvellous work done of late at Court of Strete in Kent, and published to the devout people of their time for their consolation. John Deering, a Monk in the monastery of Christ-Church (says the act) made, wrote, or caused to be wrote, sundry books, both great and small, both printed and written, concerning the particularities of the false and feigned hypocrisy and revelations of Elizabeth Barton in defence and great praise of the same:—And one Edward Thwaites, Gentleman, translated and wrote diverse quires and sheets of paper, concerning the said false, feigned revelations of the said Elizabeth: ——— And Thomas Laurence of Canterbury, being Register to the Archbishop, at the instance and desire of the said Edward Bocking, wrote a great book of the false and feigned miracles and revelations of the said Elizabeth in a fair hand, and ready to be a copy to the Printer; Laurence was also her interpreter to one of the Pope's Legates (15).

(15) Hall's Chron.

[*F*] *This coming to the ears of the Bishop of Rochester, and some others who adhered to the Queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with her and her accomplices*, &c.] Not to break into the life of *Fisher* *, and to avoid being tedious, we shall only give extracts of the two letters that passed between Cromwell and Fisher on this occasion, the original whereof may be found as in the margin. ——— Upon the first discovery of this cheat, Cromwell sent Fisher's brother to him, to reprove him, for his carriage in that affair, and to advise him to ask the King's pardon, for the encouragement he had given the Nun, which he was confident the King would grant him: But Fisher by letter (16) excused himself, and said, he had done nothing, but only tried whether her revelations were true or not? He confessed, that upon the reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any falsehood in her; it is true, she had said some things to him concerning the King's death, which he had not revealed; but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King herself. She had named no person that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him, if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. Upon that, Cromwell wrote him a sharp letter (17), wherein he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that affair, being so partial in the matter of the King's divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it: he shewed him also, how necessary it was to use great caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as revelations; since otherwise the peace of the world would be in the hands of every bold and crafty impostor: yet, in the conclusion, he advised him again to ask the King's pardon for his rashness, and he assures him, that the King was ready to forgive that and every thing else by which he had offended him. But *Fisher* was obstinate and would make no submission, and so was included within the act; yet it was not executed till a new provocation drew him into further trouble.

(*) See the Article FISHER, (John) Bishop of Rochester.

(16) Bibliothec. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 166. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 87.

(17) Cotton Libr. Cleopat. E. 4. Burnet's Hist of the Reformation, Vol. i. collect. 49.

[*G*] *This appeared most signally at Greenwich.*] The King chiefly residing there in the summer, one *Peto*, an Observant, being to preach in the King's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face. His text was the Prophet Elijah's reproof of *Ahab*; where the fate of that Prince is denounced in these words: *In the place where dogs licked the blood of* Naboth, *shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine. Peto* quickly discovered what his meaning was in taking this text, and drove the application strong upon the King: he told him, notwithstanding the countenance and opinion of learned men, his second marriage was altogether unlawful; and as for himself, he was resolved, like Micajah, to deliver some unacceptable truths; though he was sensible he should suffer for his plain-dealing; but pretended a divine commission for his freedom. Upon presumption of this warrant, he told the King, his Highness was furnished with a great many Preachers to justify his marriage with Mrs. Boleyn; but that these were men of no sincerity, that courted the King's fancy, and applied to his inclination for wealth and promotion in the church. These were extraordinary sallies: however, the King bore the reprimand with great temper, and suffered *Peto* to go off without trouble (18).

(18) See more of this in Stowe, and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. *&c.*

to

to declare her revelations to them. They likewiſe ſent an account of them to Queen Catherine, to encourage her to ſtand out, and not ſubmit to the laws (q). Of this confederacy Thomas Abel (r) was one. The thing being now far from a ſecret, the King, who had hitherto deſpiſed it, thinking it now proper to take notice of it, ordered that, in November 1533, the maid and her accomplices (Richard Maſters, Dr. Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold a parſon in London, Hugh Rich an Obſervant Friar, Richard Riſby, Thomas Gold, and Edward Thwaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence) ſhould be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a numerous appearance of Lords, &c. Upon examination, they did all, without any rack or torture, confeſs the whole to be a contrivance and impoſture [H], and were firſt ſentenced to ſtand at St. Paul's Croſs, on a ſcaffold built on purpoſe for them, all ſermon-time, and after ſermon the King's officers were to give every one of them their bill of confeſſion, to be opened and publicly read by each before the people, which was accordingly done the Sunday after; the Biſhop of Bangor preaching, and giving an account of their treaſonable practices to the audience. This public manner was thought, upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfy the people, of the impoſture of the whole affair; and it did very much convince them, that the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it (s). From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the meeting of the Parliament, during which time, ſome of their accomplices ſent meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad, of her being forced or cheated into a confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being brought before, and conſidered in Parliament (t), it was judged a conſpiracy againſt the King's life and crown, and the Nun, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high-treaſon; and Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaites, John Adeſon, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure (u). But in the concluſion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance, by theſe impoſtures, except the perſons abovenamed, were, at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen Anne, (as it is expreſſed in the act) pardoned. On the reading the bill about them the third time, on the ſixth of March, the Lords addreſſed the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at leaſt as concealers, might not be heard for themſelves in the Star-Chamber (*). By this we find, Sir Thomas More was at firſt inſerted in the bill of attainder, and though the King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to let his name be eraſed, yet he was nevertheleſs ſo highly diſpleaſed with him for the conference and correſpondence he had carried on with the Nun herſelf, and her accomplices, that this was afterwards laid hold on, and made the ground-work of his ruin [I]. And yet the care

(q) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Vol. i. p. 151, &c.

(r) See the article ABLE or ABEL (THOMAS.)

(s) Burnet, Hall, &c. as before.

(t) 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

(u) Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

(*) 12 in the Statute Book. 31 in the Record. 7 in the Journal.

[H] *And upon examination, did all, without any rack or torture, confeſs the whole to be a contrivance and impoſture.*] Sanders nevertheleſs has the following encomiums on her, calling her and thoſe that ſuffered with her, Martyrs. His words are, 'Celebre erat 'his diebus Elizabethæ Bartonæ Monialis, nomen, 'quæ propter famam ſanctitatis, Virgo ſancta Cantiana, vulgo appellabatur. Hæc aſſerebat Henricum 'non amplius jam eſſe Regem, eo quod ex Deo non 'regnaret, Mariam vero Catherinæ filiam, quæ tunc 'minus legitime nata habebatur, ad Regni gubernacula ſuo jure ſeſſuram eſſe: Ob quæ verba in 'jus vocata & in publicis regni comitiis una *cum* '*cæteris* —— (qui omnes eam Spiritu Dei afflatam 'credebant) capitis condemnata fuit, & poſt ludibria 'publica, omnes conſtanter ſupplicium ultimum ſu-'bierunt, &c. (19) ——— *Much about this time,* '*Elizabeth Barton, the Nun, was in great eſteem, who* '*was ſo highly famed for her ſanctity as to acquire the* '*title of the Holy Nun of Kent, She affirmed that* '*Henry the eighth was no longer King, becauſe he did not* '*now reign of God* (*), *and that Mary, the daughter of* '*Catherine, though then eſteemed illegitimate, ſhould ſuc-*'*ceed by her own right to the government of the kingdom;* '*on account of which words ſhe was, with her accom-*'*plices, accuſed in Parliament, and there with them,* '*who all believed her inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, con-*'*demned to die; which, after having been publicly ex-*'*poſed, they all did with great conſtancy.*'

Upon this paragraph of Mr. Sanders's, Burnet has the following evident remarks, viz. That her aſſociates knew ſhe was not inſpired, and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had inſtructed her to play ſuch tricks; was proved by their own confeſſions and other evidences. Sanders alſo ſays, 'that they all died with great con-'ſtancy; and in the margin calls them ſeven Mar-'tyrs.' ——— Now the Nun herſelf acknowledged the impoſture at her death, and laid the heavieſt weight of it on the Prieſts that ſuffered with her, who had taught her the cheat; ſo that they died both for treaſon and impoſture; and this being *Sanders*'s faith, as appears by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it (20).

(19) Sanderus de Schiſmate Anglicano, p. 196.

(*) Alluding to her Prophecy.

[I] *The King was at laſt, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon, that no bill of attainder ſhould paſs againſt him: he was nevertheleſs ſo highly diſpleaſed with him, &c. that it was made the ground-work of his ruin.*] 'Now after the report made of this their exa-'mination of Sir Thomas to the King, by the Lord 'Chancellor and the reſt, King Henry was ſo highly 'diſpleaſed with Sir Thomas More, that he plainly 'told them, that he was reſolutely determined that 'the aforeſaid Parliament bill ſhould undoubtedly paſs 'againſt them. Yet to this the Lord High Chancellor and the reſt ſaid, that they had perceived that 'all the Upper-Houſe, was ſo powerfully bent to hear 'Sir Thomas ſpeak in his own defence, that if he 'were not put out of the bill, it would be utterly overthrown, and have no force againſt the reſt; which 'words although the King heard them ſpeak, yet needs would he have his own will therein, adding, 'that he would be perſonally preſent himſelf at the 'paſſing of it. But Lord Audley and the reſt, among 'whom was Cromwell (*), ſeeing him ſo violently bent 'upon it, fell down on their knees, and beſought his 'Majeſty not to do ſo; conſidering, that if in his own 'preſence he ſhould be confronted and receive an o-'verthrow, it would not only encourage his ſubjects 'ever after to contemn him, but alſo redound to his 'diſhonour for ever throughout Chriſtendom; and 'they doubted not in time, but to find ſome other fitter matter againſt him; for in this caſe of the Nun, 'they ſaid all men accounted him ſo clear and inno-'cent, that for his behaviour therein, every one rec-'koned him rather worthy of praiſe than of reproof; 'at

(20) Burnet's Appendix concerning the Errors and Falſehoods in Sanders's Book of the Engliſh Schiſm, p. 288, 289.

(*) Which alſo appears by Sir Thomas's Letters. See his Works, p. 1423.

care and caution he uſed in this affair was very extraordinary, and his grandſon ſays (*w*), 'That he demeaned himſelf ſo diſcreetly in all his talk with her, that he deſerved no blame, 'but rather great commendation, as was afterwards evidently proved, when it was ſore 'laid to his charge.' The ſame was alſo very conſpicuous from his letter of juſtification to Secretary Cromwell, which lays open the artifices, by which he was drawn in to have ſo high an opinion of her, as he at firſt had, as likewiſe that he was at laſt thoroughly convinced of the forgery and impoſture of the whole: but as this letter contains ſeveral remarkable paſſages of the Nun herſelf, and will give ſome light into her character and genius, as well as into thoſe of the clergy that adhered to the intereſt of the Court of Rome, we think it not improper to give it at length, as below in note [*K*]. Soon after the

(*w*) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 209.

'at which words of theirs, the King, at their earneſt 'perſuaſion, was contented to condeſcend to their pe-'tition; yet was not his diſpleaſure againſt Sir Tho-'mas More any whit aſſwaged, but much more in-'cenſed (21).' Sir Thomas, however, wrote a letter to the King upon that occaſion, to this effect (22).

He clears himſelf of having any communication with the Maid of Kent to the King's diſpleaſure (23); and for this he refers his Majeſty to his long letter lately written to Secretary Cromwell; he takes the freedom to tell the King, that if he ſhould miſcarry and fall under the forfeiture of the Law, either by bill of attainder or otherwiſe, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction, after his own ſhort life, and the King's long one (as he wiſhes it) was over, after this he ſaid, he ſhould have the ſatisfaction to meet his Highneſs once again, and be merry with him in Heaven, where, among other pleaſures, this would be one, that his Majeſty would clearly ſee there, whatever his opinion might be now, that he had always been his faithful ſubject. In the cloſe of the letter he deſires the King, that no bill of attainder may paſs againſt him, becauſe it muſt be drawn upon untrue ſuggeſtions, miſreport him to the world, and ſtick a blemiſh upon his memory.

(21) More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 216, 217. Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 36. Hoddeſdon's Hiſt. of Sir Thomas More, chap. xii. p. 83. *ibid.* xxxix. p. 87.

(22) Biblioth. Cotton. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 181.

(23) Sir Thomas More's Works, by Raſtal, p. 1423.

[*K*] *We thought it not improper to give it at length.*]

'Right Worſhipful,

Taken from the Norfolk MS. in the Royal Society Library.

'AFTER my moſt hearty recommendations, with 'like thanks for your goodneſs, in accepting my 'rude long letter; I perceive that of your farther 'goodneſs and favour towards me, it liked your 'Maſterſhip to break with my ſon *Roper*, of that, 'that I had had communication, not only of divers 'that had acquaintance with the lewd Nun of Canter-'bury, but alſo with herſelf; and had over that, by 'my writing declaring favour towards her, given her 'advice and council; of which my demeanour, that 'it liked you to be content to take the labour and the 'pain to hear, by myne own writing, the truth, I 'very heartily thank you, and reckon myſelf therein 'right deeply beholden to you.

'It is, I ſuppoſe, about eight or nine years ago, 'ſith I heard of that houſe-wife firſt, at which time 'the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, that then was, God 'aſſoyl his ſoul, ſent unto the King's Grace a roll 'of paper, in which were written certain words 'of hers, that ſhe had, as report was then made, 'at ſundry times ſpoken in her trances; whereup-'on it pleaſed the King's Grace, to deliver me the 'roll, commanding me to look thereon, and after-'wards ſhew him what I thought therein; where-'unto at another time, when his Highneſs aſked me, 'I told him, in good faith, *I found nothing in theſe 'words, that I could any thing regard or eſteem*; for 'ſeeing that ſome part fell in rhyme, and that, God 'wot, full rude alſo, for any reaſon God wots that 'I ſaw therein; a right ſimple woman, might, in 'my mind, ſpeak it of her own wit, well enough: 'Howbeit, I ſaid, *becauſe it was conſtantly reported 'for a truth, God wrought in her, and that a miracle 'was ſhewed upon her, I durſt not nor would not be 'bold, in judging the matter*; and the King's Grace, 'ſome thought, eſteemed the matter as light, as after 'it proved lewd.

'From that time till about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-'month, albeit that there was continually much talk-'ing of her, and her holineſs, I never heard of any talk 'rehearſed, either of revelation of her's or miracles, 'ſaving that I heard divers times in my Lord Cardi-'nal's days, that ſhe had been both with his Lord-'ſhip and with the King's Grace, but what ſhe ſaid 'either to the one or the other, upon my faith I 'never heard any one word. Now, as I was about 'to tell you, about *Chriſtmas* was twelve-month, Fa-'ther *Riſby*, Friar Obſervant, then of *Canterbury*, 'lodged one night at mine houſe, where, after ſupper, 'a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in 'communication with me of the Nun, giving her 'commendation of holineſs, and that it was wonder-'ful to ſee and underſtand the works that God 'wrought in her; which thing I anſwered, that I 'was glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof: 'Then he told me, that ſhe had been with my Lord 'Legate in his life, and with the King's Grace too, 'and that ſhe had told my Lord Legate a revelation 'of her's of three ſwords, that God had put into my 'Lord Legate's hand, which if he ordered not well, 'God would put it ſore to his charge; the firſt he 'ſaid was, the ordering the ſpirituality under the Pope 'as Legate; the ſecond, rule he bore, in order of the 'temporality under the King as his Chancellor; and 'the third ſhe ſaid was, the meddling he was put in 'truſt with by the King, concerning the great mat-'ter of his marriage; and therewithal, I ſaid unto 'him, that any revelation of the King's matters, I 'would not hear of. I doubt not but the goodneſs 'of God ſhould direct his Highneſs with his grace 'and wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as 'God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's honour 'and the ſurety of the realm: When he heard me 'ſay theſe words or the like, he ſaid unto me, that 'God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the 'King; and forthwith he break again into her reve-'lations concerning the Cardinal, that his ſoul was to 'be ſaved by her mediation, and without any other 'communication went into his chamber; and he and 'I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of 'matter; nor ſince his departing on the morrow, I 'never ſaw him afterwards to my remembrance, till 'I ſaw him at St. Paul's Croſs.

'After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto 'me a little before ſupper, Father *Rich*, Fryar Obſer-'vant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I 'aſked him of Father *Riſby*, how he did? Upon that 'occaſion he aſked me, whether Father *Riſby* had any 'thing ſhewed me of the holy Nun of Kent? And I 'ſaid yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her 'virtue: I would not, quoth he, tell you again what 'you have heard of him already; but I have heard 'and known many great graces that God hath 'wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I 'would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard 'them already; and therewith he aſked me, whether 'Father *Riſby* had told me any thing of her being 'with my Lord Cardinal? And I ſaid yea; then he 'told you (quoth he) of the three ſwords? yea, verily, 'quoth I: Did he tell you (quoth he) of the revela-'tions ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay, 'forſooth (quoth I), nor if he would have done, I 'would not have given him the hearing: nor verily, 'no more I would indeed; for ſith ſhe have been with 'the King's Grace herſelf, and told him, methought 'it a thing needleſs to tell me, or any man elſe: 'And when father *Riſby* perceived, that I would not 'hear her revelation concerning the King's Grace, he 'talked on a little of her virtue, and let her revela-'tions alone; and therewith my ſupper was ſet upon 'the board, where I required him to ſit with me; 'but he would in no wiſe ſtay, but departed to Lon-'don. After that night I talked with him twice; 'once in mine own houſe, another time in his own 'garden at the Fryars, at every time a great ſpace, 'but not of any revelations touching the King's Grace, 'but only of other mean folk I know not of whom; 'which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were 'very

the condemnation of theſe delinquents, *viz.* on the twenty-firſt of April (*x*), the Nun, and Bocking, Maſters, Deering, Riſby, and Gold (Rich is not named, being perhaps dead or (*y*) pardoned) were drawn to Tyburn, where the Nun made a ſpeech, as in the note below,

(*x*) Several authors have it the twentieth of April.

(*y*) Hall's Chron.

‘ very childiſh. But albeit that he ſaid he had ſeen her ‘ lie in a trance in great pains, and that he had at other ‘ times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her communi- ‘ cation; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told ‘ him thoſe tales herſelf; for if he had, I would for ‘ the tale of Mary Magdalene, which he told me, and ‘ for the tale of the hoſtie, which I have heard ſhe ‘ hath ſaid, ſhe was houſeled at the King's maſs at ‘ *Calice*; if I had heard it of him, as told unto him- ‘ ſelf by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both ‘ liked him and her the worſe. But whether ever I ‘ heard the ſame tale of *Rich* or of *Riſby*, or of nei- ‘ ther of them both, but of ſome other man, ſince ‘ ſhe was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I ‘ wot well, when and whereſoever I heard it, me- ‘ thought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very ‘ likely that ſhe had told ſome man of her dream, ‘ who told it out for a revelation; and, in effect, I ‘ little doubted but that ſome of thoſe tales that were ‘ told of her were untrue: but yet, ſince I never ‘ heard them reported as ſpoken by her mouth, I ‘ thought, nevertheleſs, that many of them might be ‘ true, and ſhe be a virtuous woman too; as ſome lies ‘ be peradventure written of ſome that be Saints in ‘ Heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them ‘ for all that.

‘ After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talk- ‘ ing with divers of the Fathers together at the grate, ‘ they ſhewed me that ſhe had been with them, and ‘ ſhewed me divers things, that ſome of them miſliked ‘ in her, and in this talking they wiſhed I had ſpoken ‘ with her, and ſaid, they would fain ſee how I ſhould ‘ like her: whereupon afterwards when I heard ſhe ‘ was there again, I came thither to ſee her and ‘ to ſpeak with herſelf. At which communication ‘ had in a little chapel, there were none preſent but ‘ we two. In the beginning where I ſhewed, that my ‘ coming to her was not of any curious mind, any ‘ thing to know of ſuch thing as folks talked that it ‘ pleaſed God to reveal and ſhew unto her; but for ‘ the great virtue I had heard ſo many years, every day ‘ more and more ſpoken and reported of her, I there- ‘ fore had a great mind to ſee her and be acquainted ‘ with her, that ſhe might have ſomewhat the more ‘ occaſion to remember me to God in her devotion and ‘ prayers; whereunto ſhe gave me a good virtuous ‘ anſwer, that as God did of his goodneſs far better ‘ by her than ſhe, a poor wretch, was worthy; ſo ſhe ‘ feared, that many folks yet beſides that, ſpoke of ‘ their own favourable minds many things for her far ‘ above the truth; and that of me, ſhe had many ſuch ‘ things heard, that already ſhe prayed for me, and ‘ ever would, whereof I heartily thanked her. I ‘ ſaid unto her, *Madam, one* Hellen, *a maid at* Tot- ‘ nam, *of whoſe trances and revelations, there hath* ‘ *been much talking, ſhe hath been with me of late,* ‘ *and ſhewed me that ſhe was with you; and that* ‘ *after the rehearſal of ſuch viſions as ſhe had ſeen,* ‘ *you ſhewed her that they were no revelations, but* ‘ *plain illuſions of the* Divel, *and adviſed her to caſt* ‘ *them out of her mind; and verily ſhe gave therein* ‘ *good credit unto you, and thereupon hath left to* ‘ *lean any longer to ſuch viſions of her own, where-* ‘ *upon ſhe ſayeth, ſhe findeth your words true; for ever* ‘ *ſince ſhe has been the leſs viſited with ſuch things, as* ‘ *ſhe was wont to be before:* To this, ſhe anſwered me, ‘ *forſooth, Sir, there is in this point no praiſe unto me;* ‘ *but the goodneſs of God, as it appears, hath wrought* ‘ *much meekneſs in her ſoul, which hath taken my rude* ‘ *warning ſo well, and not grudged to hear her ſpirit* ‘ *and her viſions reproved.* I liked her, in good faith, ‘ better for this anſwer, than for many of thoſe things ‘ that I heard reported of her. Afterwards ſhe told ‘ me, upon that occaſion, how great need folk have ‘ that are viſited with ſuch viſions, to take heed, and ‘ prove well of what ſpirit they come of; and in that ‘ communication ſhe told me, that of late the Divel, ‘ in the likeneſs of a bird, was flying and fluttering ‘ about her in her chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be ‘ taken, and being in hands, ſuddenly changed in their ‘ ſight that were preſent, unto ſuch a ſtrange, ugly- ‘ faſhioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw ‘ him out at a window.

‘ For concluſion, we talked no word of the King's ‘ Grace, nor any great perſonages elſe, nor in effect, ‘ of any man or woman, but of herſelf and myſelf; ‘ but after no long communication had, for as ſoon as ‘ ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her ‘ a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and ‘ mine, and ſo departed from her, and never ſpake ‘ with her after. Howbeit, of a truth I had a great, ‘ good opinion of her, and had her in great eſtima- ‘ tion, as you ſhall perceive by the letter I wrote unto ‘ her: for afterwards, becauſe I had often heard, ‘ that many right worſhipful folks, as well men as ‘ women, uſed to have much communication with ‘ her; and many folks are of nature inquiſitive and ‘ curious, whereby they fall ſometimes into ſuch talk- ‘ ing, as better were to forbear, of which things I no- ‘ thing thought, while I talked with her of charity; ‘ therefore I wrote her a letter thereof, which, ſith it ‘ may be peradventure that ſhe brake or loſt, I ſhall ‘ inſert the very copy thereof in this preſent letter, ‘ theſe were the very words:

‘ Good Madam, and my right dearly beloved Siſter ‘ in the Lord,

‘ AFTER moſt hearty commendations, I ſhall ‘ beſeech you to take my good mind in good ‘ worth; and pardon me, that I am ſo homely, as of ‘ myſelf unrequired, and alſo without neceſſity, to ‘ give counſel to you, of whom, for thy good inſpira- ‘ tions and great revelations, that it liketh Almighty ‘ God of his goodneſs, to give and ſhew to many ‘ wiſe and well learned, and very virtuous folk, teſtify, ‘ I myſelf have need, for the comfort of my ſoul, to ‘ require and aſk advice; for ſurely, good Madam, ‘ ſith it pleaſeth God ſometimes to ſuffer ſuch as are ‘ far under, and of little eſtimation, to give yet fruit- ‘ ful advertiſement to ſuch as are in the light of the ‘ Spirit far above them, that there were between them ‘ no compariſon, as he ſuffered his prophet Moſes to ‘ be, in ſome things, adviſed and counſelled by Jethro; ‘ I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, ‘ refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, ‘ which, in my poor mind, I think highly neceſſary ‘ to be by your wiſdom conſidered, referring to the ‘ end and the order thereof, to God and his Holy ‘ Spirit to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not ‘ but you remember, that, in the beginning of my ‘ communication with you, I ſhewed you that I never ‘ was, nor would be curious of any knowledge of other ‘ mens matters; and leaſt of all of any matter of ‘ Princes, or of the realm, in caſe it ſo were that God ‘ had, as to many folks beforetime, he hath any time ‘ revealed unto you ſuch things; I ſaid unto your ‘ Ladyſhip, I was not only not deſirous to hear of, ‘ but alſo would not hear of. Now, Madam, I con- ‘ ſider well, that many folk deſire to ſpeak with you, ‘ which was not all, peradventure, of my mind, in ‘ this point, but ſome hap to be curious and inquiſitive ‘ of things that little pertain unto their parts; and ‘ ſome might, peradventure, hap to talk of ſuch things ‘ as might afterwards turn to much harm, as I think ‘ you have heard how the late Duke of Buckingham, ‘ moved with ſome one who was reputed a holy Monk, ‘ and had ſuch talking with him, as after was a great ‘ part of his deſtruction, and diſinheriting of his blood, ‘ and great ſlander and infamy of religion. It ſuffices ‘ me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of ‘ ſuch things, as I nothing doubt your wiſdom, and ‘ the Spirit of God ſhall keep you from talking with ‘ any perſon, eſpecially with high perſons of ſuch ‘ manner and things, as pertain to Princes affairs or ‘ the ſtate of the realm, but only to commune and talk ‘ with any perſon, high or low, of ſuch a manner of ‘ things, as may to the ſoul be profitable for you to ‘ ſhew, and for them to know. And thus my good ‘ Lady, and dearly beloved Siſter in our Lord, I make

below, acknowledging her crime, and the juſtneſs of her ſentence [*L*], and was then executed with her abovenamed five accomplices, who were all beheaded, and their heads ſet

‘ an end of this my needleſs advertiſement unto you, ‘ whom the Bleſſed Trinity preſerve and increaſe in ‘ grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and ‘ mine unto him in your devout prayer :

‘ At Chelſea this Tueſday, by the hand of

‘ Your hearty loving Brother, and Beadſman,

‘ THOMAS MORE, Kt.

‘ At the receipt of this letter, ſhe anſwered my ſervant, that ſhe heartily thanked me: ſoon after this, there came to mine houſe the Prior of the *Charter Houſe* at *Sheen*, and one Brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the great joy they took in her virtue; but of any of her revelations they had no communication: but at another time Brother Williams came unto me, with a long tale of her being at the houſe of a Knight in Kent, that was ſore troubled with temptations to deſtroy himſelf; and none other thing we talked of, nor could have done of likelihood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took ſo great pleaſure, good man, to tell the tale with all the circumſtances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was profeſſion, ſome of the Fathers aſked me how I liked the ſaid Nun, and I anſwered, that in good faith I liked her very well in her talking: howbeit, quoth I, ſhe's never the nearer tried by that, for, I aſſure you, ſhe were likely to be very bad if ſhe ſeemed good, e'er I ſhould think her other, till ſhe happened to be proved naught; and, in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were ſet to ſearch and examine the truth, upon likelihood of ſome cloaked evil; for in that caſe, although I nothing ſuſpected the perſon myſelf, yet no leſs than if I ſuſpected him ſo, I would, as far as my wit would ſerve me, ſearch to find out the truth, as you yourſelf hath done very prudently in this matter, wherein you have done in my mind, to your great laud and praiſe, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable hypocriſy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh diſſembled falſehoods, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this woman ſo handled herſelf, with the help of that evil ſpirit that inſpired her, that, after her own confeſſion declared at Paul's Croſs, when I ſent word by my ſervant to the *Prior* of the *Charter Houſe*, that ſhe was undoubtedly proved a falſe deceiving hypocrite, the good man had had ſo good opinion of her ſo long, that he could at the firſt ſcarcely believe me therein: howbeit, it was not he alone that thought her ſo very good, but many another right good man beſides, as little marvel was, upon ſo good report, till ſhe was proved naught: I remember me farther, that in communication with Father *Rich* and me, I counſelled him, that in ſuch ſtrange things as concerned ſuch folk as had come unto her, to whom, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe had told the cauſes of their coming, e'er themſelves ſpake thereof, and ſuch good fruit, as they ſaid, that many men had received by her prayer, he and ſuch other ſo reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof ſhould much return to the glory of God, ſhould firſt cauſe the things to be well and ſure examined by the Ordinary, and ſuch as had authority thereunto, ſo that it might be ſurely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermixt among them, or elſe the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of the things that were true; and when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I ſaid unto him, Father *Rich*, that ſhe is a good virtuous woman in good faith I hear ſo many folk ſo report, that I verily think it true, and think it well likely, that God wrought ſome good and great things by her; but yet are you wot well theſe ſtrange tales no part of our Creed, and therefore, before you ſee them ſurely proved, you ſhall have my poor counſel not to wed yourſelf ſo far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very ſurely for true, leaſt that if it ſhould hap, that they were afterwards proved falſe, it might miniſh your eſtimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loſs: to this he thanked me for my counſel, but how he uſed it after, that I cannot tell.

‘ Thus have I, good Mr. Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myſelf can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or ſaid in this matter; wherein I am ſure, that not one of them all ſhall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man elſe, report of them, as I truſt verily no man will, I wot well, truly no man can, any word or deed by me ſpoken or done, touching any breach of my legal truth and duty towards my moſt redoubted Sovereign and natural liege Lord; I will come to mine anſwer, and make it good, in ſuch wiſe as becometh a true poor man to do, that whoſoever any ſuch thing ſhall ſay, ſhall therein ſay untrue; for I neither in this matter have done evil or ſaid evil, nor ſo much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad and rejoiced of them that were reported for good, which condition I ſhall nevertheleſs keep toward all other good folk, for the falſe cloaked hypocriſy of any of theſe, no more than I ſhall eſteem Judas the true Apoſtle for Judas the falſe Traytor.

‘ But ſo propoſe I to bear myſelf in every man's company while I live, that neither good man or bad, neither Monk, Fryar, nor Nun, nor other man or woman in this world, ſhall make me digreſs from my truth and faith either towards God, or towards my natural Prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, ſo I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good will, as you ſhall be ſure of my poor daily prayer, for other pleaſures can I not do you; and may the Bleſſed Trinity, both bodily and ghoſtly, long preſerve and proſper you.

‘ I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you of mine own hand-writing, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reaſon of this diſeaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my breaſt that I have uſed in writing; and thus eftſoons I beſeech our Lord long to preſerve you.’

Concerning this Letter, a curious diſcovery has been made, viz. That *Raſtal*, who publiſhed Sir Thomas More's works in Queen Mary's time, hath omitted the above long letter concerning the Nun, though he hath printed other letters of Sir Thomas's, to which this more immediately relates. Now it is a little unaccountable, that the referring letters ſhould be preſerved, and the original letter, referred to in all the others, ſuppreſſed—— but it is highly probable this was done on purpoſe, and with deſign: for in Queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that ſtory of the Nun, and canonize her, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her mother's account, and was called a Martyr to her mother's marriage, and there was no want of miracles to juſtify it; therefore a letter ſo plain and full againſt her was thought fit to be kept out of the way: and that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was thought fit to ſuppreſs it: this, however, Burnet acknowledges to be only a conjecture, leaving it to the judgment of the reader to determine (24).

[*L*] *The Nun made a ſpeech, acknowledging her crime and the juſtneſs of her ſentence.*] Her dying words, as recorded in Hall's Chronicle, are, *Hither I am come to die, and I have not only been the cauſe of mine own death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe perſons which at this time here ſuffer; and yet to ſay the truth, I am not to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me could not proceed in no ſuch ſort: but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but becauſe the thing which I have feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praiſed*

(24) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. i. Book i. p. 149.

ſet up in different parts of the town: as to the Nun's head, Stowe informs us, that was ſet upon London Bridge.

praiſed me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghoſt, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praiſes, fell into a certain pride and fooliſh fantaſie with myſelf, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this caſe; and for which now I cry God and the King's Highneſs moſt heartily mercy, and deſire you all good people to pray God to have mercy on me, and on all them that ſuffer here (25). O.

(25) Hall's Chronicle.

BARWICK (John), an eminent Engliſh Divine in the XVIIth century, and Dean of St. Paul's. He was born at Wetherſlack, a little village in Weſtmoreland, the twentieth of April, 1612 (*a*). His father's name was George Barwick, and his mother's, Jane Barrow. They were far from being conſiderable, either for rank or riches; but were otherwiſe both of them perſons of great merit, and remarkably happy in their family [*A*]. John was the third ſon, and his parents intended him from his childhood for the Church. In his nonage he went to ſchool in the neighbourhood, and loſt much time under maſters deficient alike in diligence and in learning. At length he was ſent to Sedberg ſchool in Yorkſhire, where, under the care of a tolerable maſter, he gave early marks both of genius and piety (*b*) [*B*]. In the year 1631, and the eighteenth of his own age, he was admitted of St. John's College at Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Fothergill, who proved at once a Guardian and a Preceptor, ſupplying his neceſſities as well as inſtructing him in learning (*c*). By this Gentleman's help Mr. Barwick quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf to ſuch a degree in his college, that when a diſpute aroſe about the election of a Maſter, which at laſt came to ſuch a height as to be heard before the Privy-Council, the college choſe Mr. Barwick, then little above twenty, to manage for them, by which he not only became very conſpicuous in the Univerſity, but was alſo taken notice of at Court, and by the Miniſtry (*d*). In 1635 he became Bachelor of Arts while theſe affairs were ſtill depending [*C*]. April the 5th, 1636, he was created Fellow without oppoſition, though a party was already formed againſt him in the college, by ſuch as were inclined to Puritaniſm. In 1638 he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. When the civil war broke out, and the King wrote a letter to the Univerſity, acquainting them that he was in extreme want, Mr. Barwick concurred with thoſe loyal perſons who firſt ſent him a ſmall ſupply in money, and afterwards their college plate (*e*), and upon information had, that Mr. Cromwell, afterwards the Protector, lay with a party of foot at a place called Lower Hedges, between Cambridge and Huntington, in order to make himſelf maſter of this ſmall treaſure, Mr. Barwick made one of the party of horſe, which conveyed it through by-roads ſafely to

(*a*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 1. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, where it is (perhaps by miſtake) printed *Wappenſlacke*, p. 610.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(*c*) E Regiſtro Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(*d*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 9. See alſo the Engliſh Tranſlation of that Life, p. 11. Vit. Richard Holdſworth, à Richard Pearſon. Script. & ſuis Oper. præfix.

(*e*) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 167. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 16.

[*A*] *Perſons of great merit and remarkably happy in their family.*] Mr. George Barwick was deſcended of a very ancient family of that name in Lancaſhire. The village of Wetherſlack, where his ſmall eſtate lay, is about ſix or ſeven miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland, but is conſiderably nearer the borders of Lancaſhire. Old Mr. Barwick was a great œconomiſt, and, though he bred up a large family, made a handſome figure, and did a great deal of good in the neighbourhood where he dwelt. He was bleſſed with five ſons, who lived to mens eſtate, beſides one who died young. Nicholas and William, the two eldeſt, ſettled in the country, each having a farm; Nicholas that which deſcended from his anceſtors; and William another purchaſed by his father. John and Peter we have particularly accounted for, and as for the youngeſt, Edward, he was bred a Herald-painter, and became a very eminent man in his profeſſion; as well as very remarkable for his loyalty and ſteady courage, as will be obſerved in the courſe of this life (1).

(1) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 2, 3, 4.

[*B*] *He gave early marks both of genius and piety.*] The maſter of this ſchool at that time was Mr. Gilbert Nelſon, who, we are told, taught his ſcholars Latin very well, and Greek indifferently. Dr. Peter Barwick ſays, 'He was a very pleaſant, facetious man, and by his 'merry comments rendered ſo very agreeable what uſes 'to give moſt uneaſineſs in learning, that his ſcholars 'became fond of their books though never ſo hard. 'They were wonderfully delighted, when he undertook to explain any of the dramatic Poets, particularly Terence or Plautus; for whatſoever in them 'ſeemed difficult to the weaker capacity of the boys, he 'expounded with ſo much wit and merriment, that all 'who had the leaſt ingenuity were extremely in love 'with that ſort of learning. In order alſo more clearly 'and thoroughly to explain the meaning of thoſe Poets, 'whether Comedians or Tragedians, he uſed to teach 'ſuch of his ſcholars as he found fit for it, to tread 'the ſtage now and then for their diverſion, and act 'the ſeveral parts of thoſe plays; without which kind 'of knowledge he knew he might fit them for the lives 'of Monks or hermits, but not to bear any offices in 'the ſtate, or perform the duties of civil life. Among 'ſuch as were moſt ſkilful in acting plays, he took 'greateſt delight in John Barwick, and was mightily 'pleaſed to ſee him act ſo much to the life, the 'part of Hercules raving in the tragedy, as to gain 'the applauſe of all the ſpectators. This ſhewed that 'our young ſcholar had now laid aſide all childiſh 'ſports, and was fit to converſe with men before he 'left ſchool; for Hercules's buſkins (as the proverb 'ſays) are not fit for children. But he never ſuffered 'theſe diverſions to interrupt the ſteady courſe of 'piety, to which he had been remarkably accuſtomed 'from his childhood; for I remember when at a 'breaking-up for Eaſter holidays, he came home from 'ſchool (as is uſual at thoſe great feſtivals), he ſpent 'all Good-Friday at church in devotion, ſuitable to 'that ſolemn occaſion; when every one elſe came 'home after morning prayer, and went not to church 'again till evening ſervice (2).'

(2) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 6, 7.

[*C*] *While theſe affairs were ſtill depending.*] The author of the Engliſh tranſlation of Doctor Barwick's Life, ſeems to be a good deal embarraſſed as to the chronology of this fact. Dr. Gwin, the old maſter, died in June 1633, upon which a ſtruggle followed between Dr. Lane and Mr. Holdſworth, wherein though the latter is thought to have had a clear majority of legal votes, yet it was held moſt for the peace of the Univerſity to ſet both candidates aſide; and, in conſequence of this expedient, Dr. Beale was admitted Maſter the 20th of February, 1633-4 (3). Now the difficulty lies here: Mr. Barwick at this time was not ſo much as Bachelor of Arts, nor is there any entry in the college books, of his being appointed Proctor for the ſociety upon this occaſion. I am therefore inclined to believe, there might be a ſubſequent hearing before the Council, in relation to the ſettlement of St. John's college, at which Mr. Barwick might aſſiſt. Dr. Holdſworth was ſoon after Maſter of Emanuel-college, and both Dr. Beale and he were ejected by the Parliament (4).

(3) E Regiſt. Coll. S. Johan. Cantab.

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 170. See alſo the Latin Life of Dr. Rich. Holdſworth, prefixed to his Lectures by Dr. Pearſon.

Notting-

Nottingham, where his Majeſty had ſet up his ſtandard (*f*). By this act of loyalty the Parliament was ſo provoked, that they ſent Cromwell with a body of troops to quarter in the Univerſity, where they committed ſuch outrages, as would ſcarcely have been credible in ſucceeding times, if Mr. Barwick, in conjunction with many other learned members of that celebrated ſociety, had not tranſmitted an authentic account of them to poſterity (*g*) [*D*]. Mr. Barwick alſo publiſhed a Piece againſt the Covenant, and having thereby provoked ſuch as were then in power, he thought proper to retire to London, there to render all the ſervice that he was able to the royal cauſe (*h*) [*E*]. Soon after he ſettled there, he was intruſted with the management of the King's moſt private concerns, and carried on with great ſecrecy a conſtant correſpondence between London and Oxford, where the King's head-quarters then were: a nice and arduous employment, and for which there never was a man perhaps better fitted than he. For with great modeſty, and a temper naturally meek, he had a cool ſettled courage, and ſo much prudence and ſagacity, that as, on the one hand, he never wanted preſence of mind, ſo, on the other, he was never at a loſs for expedients (*i*). He lived upon his firſt coming to town with Dr. Morton, then Biſhop of Durham, at Durham-houſe, which being an old ſpacious building, afforded him great conveniencies for hiding his papers (*k*), and at the ſame time his reſidence with that Prelate as his Chaplain, countenanced his remaining in London. One great branch of his employment, was the bringing back to their duty ſome eminent perſons who had been miſled by the fair pretences of ſome of the great ſpeakers in the long Parliament. Amongſt thoſe who were thus reclaimed by the care of this religious and loyal Gentleman, were Sir Thomas Middleton and Colonel Roger Pope, both perſons of great credit with the party, and both very ſincere converts [*F*]. By his application likewiſe Mr. Creſſet was convinced of his errors, and became an uſeful aſſociate in the dangerous employment of managing the King's intelligence (*l*) [*G*]. Even after the King's affairs became deſperate, Mr. Barwick ſtill maintained his correſpondence; and when his

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 17.

(*g*) Querela Cantab. p. 2, 3, &c.

(*h*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 25.

(*i*) See the grant of an honourable addition of arms to this family, on account of the ſervices performed by the two brothers John and Peter, in the Preface to the Latin Life.

(*k*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 26.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 33. Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 143. Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles, p. 188.

[*D*] *An authentic account, &c.*] The account given by Dr. Peter Barwick of theſe ſeverities runs thus: 'The rebels at that time threatened ſome of the 'greateſt men and moſt learned heads, ſuch as Dr. 'William Beale of St. John's, Dr. Edward Martin of 'Queen's, and Dr. Richard Sterne of Jeſus-college, 'with tranſportation into the iſlands of America, and 'even with ſelling them to the Algerines. For theſe 'great men, with ſeveral other eminent Divines, were 'kept cloſe priſoners in a ſhip on the Thames, under 'hatches, almoſt killed with ſtench, hunger, and 'watching; and treated by the ſenſeleſs mariners with 'more inſolence than if they had been the vileſt 'ſlaves, or had been impriſoned there for ſome in'famous robbery, or cruel murder: nay, one Rigby, 'a mean fellow, and of the very dregs of the people, 'did at that time expoſe theſe venerable perſons to 'ſale, and would actually have ſold them for ſlaves, 'if any would have bought them (5).' Sir William Dugdale carries this ſtill farther; he ſays, 'That this 'Mr. Alexander Rigby twice moved the Houſe of 'Commons, that thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, who 'were priſoners for being malignants, ſhould be ſold 'as ſlaves to Algiers, or ſent to the new plantations in 'the Weſt-Indies, becauſe he had contracted with two 'Merchants for that purpoſe (6).' Dr. Fuller, who was a very cautious writer, and rather inclined to favour, than to exaggerate the proceedings of theſe people, is pleaſed to own, that ſoldiers were quartered in their colleges, their chapels abuſed, their bridges broken down, materials for building taken away, Jeſus-college grove cut down, and a noble collection of ancient coins belonging to St. John's-college, ſold by weight for twenty-two pounds (7). Such were the effects of ſome mens zeal for liberty and reformation! But the beſt and moſt authentic account of this perſecution, becauſe written at the time, and wherein our author had a large ſhare, is intitled, *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, or the Univerſity of Cambridge's Complaint, at the end of which there is a liſt of the Heads and Fellows, &c. ejected and plundered, &c.

(5) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 23.

(6) Short View of the Troubles, chap. xliv. p. 577.

(7) Hiſt of Cambridge, p. 171.

[*E*] *All the ſervice he was able to the royal cauſe.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus: 'Certain 'Diſquiſitions and Conſiderations, repreſenting to the 'Conſcience the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath intitled, 'A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, '&c. as alſo the Inſufficiency of the Arguments uſed 'in the Exhortation for taking the ſaid Covenant. 'Publiſhed by Command. *Oxford*, 1644.' It contains forty-nine pages in quarto, beſides the Printer's Poſtſcript to the Reader. It ſeems this was but the ſecond impreſſion; for the firſt was diſcovered, and the greateſt part of it burnt. The learned perſons who joined with our author in compoſing this piece, were Mr. William Lacy of St. John's-college, Mr. Iſaac Barrow of Peter-houſe, Mr. Seth Ward of Sidney-college, Mr. Edmund Baldero, and Mr. William Quarles of Pembroke-hall, and Mr. Peter Gunning of Clare-hall, each of whom took his particular ſhare of this Covenant to confute; and bringing his part of the work to Mr. Gunning's chamber, there they all conferred, and agreed upon the whole (8).

(8) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 50. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 40.

[*F*] *Both very ſincere converts.*] This Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, had been a Colonel under the Earl of Eſſex, but was afterwards eminently loyal, which ſo far irritated General Lambert, that he pulled his fine ſeat quite down to the ground. As for Colonel Roger Pope, he ſoon after died of the plague, and upon this occaſion, Mr. Barwick performed an act of piety worthy of immortal memory. The Colonel, it ſeems, was under great trouble of mind, and exceedingly deſirous of receiving the ſacrament; but at the ſame time afraid of ſending for any Clergyman on account of his infectious diſtemper. Mr. Barwick being informed of this, though he never had either the meaſles or ſmall-pox, went immediately to aſſiſt his dying friend, and remained with him till he had yielded his laſt breath (9).

(9) *Ibid.* p. 51.

[*G*] *Managing the King's intelligence.*] This Gentleman had lived long in the Biſhop of Durham's family, and afterwards entered into the ſervice of the Earl of Pembroke, who made ſo great a figure on the ſide of the Parliament. He found it impracticable to bring his Lord to a better way of thinking, and was therefore forced to content himſelf with making him an inſtrument in doing good without his knowledge. Thus he obtained paſſports for certain London Pedlars to carry wares into all the quarters of the Parliament army: and under the pretext of this commerce, Mr. Barwick procured a ſafe-conveyance as far as to the King's quarters, which joined upon thoſe of the Rebels; for not a few meſſages of great importance, ſlid in as it were by ſtealth among the Pedlar's wares, and ſometimes alſo for money and ammunition, furniſhed by certain Citizens in his Majeſty's intereſt, to be conveyed thence to Oxford by ſome of the King's party, who waited in thoſe places to receive them. In the mean time, Mr. Barwick himſelf (lying as it were behind the curtain) was known to very few of thoſe of whoſe help he made uſe, either by fight, or ſo much as by name; and thoſe few only perſons of the greateſt probity, and who knew hardly any thing of what was doing, or indeed deſired to know it, but as it were through a lattice, and enveloped in a miſt, to the end that they might more eaſily clear themſelves if they ſhould happen to be taken (10).

(10) *Ibid.* p. 59.

Majeſty was in the hands of the army, Mr. Barwick had frequent admittance to him, and received his verbal orders, which he executed both punctually and ſucceſsfully. To perform his duty the more effectually, he had the King's expreſs command to lay aſide his clerical habit; and in the dreſs of a private Gentleman, with his ſword by his ſide, he remained without ſuſpicion in the army, and gave the King the trueſt lights poſſible as to the humour both of officers and ſoldiers, till all intelligence of this ſort became unneceſſary, by the army's throwing off all pretences to loyalty, and even ſhew of tenderneſs towards the King's perſon. When his Majeſty came to be confined in Cariſbrook Caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, ſo cloſely, that guards were poſted at all the avenues to his chamber, and even at his windows, to prevent his having any correſpondence, Mr. Creſſet, who was placed about him, through the dexterous management of Mr. Barwick, defeated all their diligence, and preſerved his Majeſty a free intercourſe with his friends: for this purpoſe he firſt depoſited with Mr. Barwick a cypher, and then hid a copy of it in a crack of the wall in the King's chamber. By the help of this cypher, the King both wrote and read many letters every week, all of which paſſed through the hands of Mr. Barwick (*m*). He likewiſe was concerned in a very well laid deſign for procuring the King's eſcape, which however was unluckily diſappointed [*H*]. Theſe labours, though they were very fatiguing, did not hinder him from undertaking ſtill greater: for when Mr. Holder, who had managed many correſpondencies for the King, was diſcovered and impriſoned, he had ſo much ſpirit and addreſs as to procure admittance to, and a conference with him, whereby his cyphers and papers were preſerved, and Mr. Barwick charged himſelf with the intelligence which that Gentleman had carried on [*I*]. After this he had a large ſhare in bringing about the treaty at the Iſle of Wight, and upon this occaſion

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 51. Sanderſon's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 990. Life of King Charles I., by Dr. Perinchief, p. 95.

[*H*] *Which however was unluckily diſappointed.*] The Earl of Clarendon was miſinformed as to this project for the King's eſcape. He tells us that it was concerted by Oſborn and Rolph, the latter deſigning to kill the King; that his Majeſty coming to the window at midnight and putting himſelf out, diſcerned more perſons to ſtand there than uſed to do, thence ſuſpecting ſome diſcovery, ſhut the window and retired to bed; and this, ſays his Lordſhip, was all the ground of a diſcourſe which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out of the window, and could neither draw his body after nor get his head back, and ſo was compelled to call out for help; which was a meer fiction (11). To the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, I oppoſe that of King Charles I, who wrote the following letter with his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved by the deſcendant of the gentleman to whom it is addreſſed; 'D (which in the cypher 'ſtands for Henry Firebrace, *i. e.* Sir Henry Firebrace, 'to whom it was directed), ſince I ſee that A, *i. e.* 'Creſſet cannot ſtay, you muſt take the more care to 'ſettle the intelligence between my friends and me 'at London; to which end, I hope you have ſhewn 'the packet to F, *i. e.* Doucet. I have written to W, '*i. e.* Titus, but it is only to refer him to you: wherefore let him know, that the narrowneſs of the window was the only impediment of my eſcape, and 'therefore that ſome inſtrument muſt be had to remove 'the bar, which I believe is not hard to get, for I 'have ſeen many, and ſo portable, that a man might 'put them in his pocket, and yet of force ſufficient to 'do more than this comes to; I think it is called the 'Endleſs Screw, or the Great Force. Likewiſe acquaint him with thoſe other ways that were in diſcourſe among us, deſiring him upon the whole matter (as well upon his own, as other mens inventions) 'to give his judgment, which is the moſt probable 'way to effect this buſineſs (12).'

(11) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. iii. p. 233.

(12) Appendix to Dr. Barwick's Life, p. 380.

[*I*] *Which that Gentleman had carried on.*] This Mr. Thomas Holder was Auditor-General to the Duke of York: he had the care of the King's correſpondence with the Lady Savile, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and other perſons of great quality. He gives the following account of the kindneſs he received from Dr. Barwick; but as he wrote it in the year 1671, the reader will find that he ſtiles him Dean of St. Paul's. 'On 'account of this correſpondence, ſays he, I took up 'my ſtation in London, where I had an intimate acquaintance with the late reverend Dean of St. Paul's, 'Dr. John Barwick, who, as he was a perſon of great 'zeal towards his Majeſty, ſo he was of great correſpondence alſo with many Lords, and other eminent perſons of the King's Party; and, beſides that, 'of indefatigable induſtry in the ſervice of his Majeſty; to promote which, he and I did often meet 'twice or thrice in a week, and ſometimes oftner, and 'communicated to each other what we had to make 'uſe of from time to time for his Majeſty's ſervice; 'and ſome poſt-days, when I was in danger, he was 'pleaſed to go himſelf, and take up my letters and 'packets at the Poſt-Office, and bring them to me, and 'ſtay with me until I had decyphered them to give 'him the contents thereof, that he might ſerve himſelf of what was fitting amongſt his correſpondents: 'and twice, by his means, I procured conveyance of 'diſpatches to, and of returns from, his Sacred Majeſty, in the time of no addreſs to him in the Iſle of 'Wight, touching ſome difficulties that did ariſe in 'ſome of his Majeſty's affairs within my correſpondences: and he told me ſince, that he was beholden 'to one Mr. Creſſet for effecting that matter of ſo great 'an undertaking and danger. And after I had carried 'on my correſpondences throughout the great buſineſs 'of the year, for the moſt part ſucceſsfully, I was at 'laſt betrayed, and, by order of the Junćto at Derby-'Houſe, committed to cloſe priſon; and then this 'worthy Dean, my dear friend and confident, adventured himſelf, and by my contrivance got to whiſper 'with me through the chinks of a door nailed up, 'and the hangings before it turned by, in the chamber 'next to mine at Peter-Houſe, where Major Polwheel 'was priſoner upon the King's account, by whoſe favour we conferred together; of which I made this 'good uſe, that by my directions the Dean found all 'my cyphers, papers, &c. and burnt them; and at 'my requeſt he alſo expoſed himſelf to give intimation 'to ſome worthy honeſt gentlemen (though ſtrangers 'to him) who had very faithfully acted with me in 'many things to provide for their own ſecurity, which 'I was very deſirous they might have notice of, becauſe I had heard them threatened by thoſe in whoſe 'cuſtody I then was. And when I ſaw myſelf thus 'ſhut up, and paſt hopes of coming again to be farther 'ſerviceable to his Majeſty, I aſked the good Doctor 'if he would adventure and engage himſelf to carry 'on my correſpondences (not knowing then what had 'befallen our friends in the North) which he chearfully 'reſolved on, if I would bring him into a confidence 'with thoſe perſons I had been engaged with; upon 'which I gave him a ſhort character of my moſt incomparable Lady Savile; for till that time I had 'never named her to any perſon but whom ſhe herſelf had truſted, and by letter recommended him to 'her, who received him with much eſteem and confidence, under the ſame truſts I had been with her 'and others: and the worthy Dean going on therein 'as I had done (but with more abilities), came at laſt 'to my misfortune of impriſonment, which it is likely 'might have befallen any other perſon that would have 'adventured to act as he and I did, in ſuch times, under ſuch diſadvantages, and with ſo much danger: 'and for my part, I thank God that I held out ſo 'long

sion rode from London thither in one day, and returned in another (*n*). By this time he was so well known by reputation to all the loyal party, that even those who had never seen him, readily trusted themselves to his care, even in the nicest and most dangerous conjunctures. Thus Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had been condemned to suffer death before the walls of Pomfret, which he had defended against the Parliament, and who, by the assistance of the Lady Savile, had made his escape while he lay under condemnation, after lying some weeks in a hay-stack, came boldly up to London in a Clergyman's habit, and remained under Mr. Barwick's protection as a poor Minister driven from his benefice in Ireland, till such time as an opportunity offered for his safe conveyance out of the kingdom (*o*). When the King was murdered, and the royal cause seemed to be desperate, Mr. Barwick still kept up his spirits, and though harassed with a continual cough, followed by a spitting of blood, and afterwards by a consumption of his lungs, yet would not interrupt the daily correspondence he maintained with the Ministers of King Charles II. At last, when he was become very weak, he was content that his brother Dr. Peter Barwick should take off a part of the burthen, by attending the Post-office, which he did for about six months; and then this office was devolved on Mr. Edward Barwick, another of his brothers. This Gentleman had not been engaged two months in this perilous business, before one Bostock, who belonged to the Post-office, betrayed both him and Mr. John Barwick, together with some letters which came from the King's Ministers abroad, into the hands of those who were then possessed of the government. These letters were superscribed to Mr. James Vandelft, Dutch merchant in London, which was a fictitious name made use of to cover their correspondence. Upon his examination, Mr. Barwick did all he could to take the thing upon himself, in order to free his brother Edward. Yet so careful he was of offending against truth, that he would not deny his knowledge of the letters, but insisted that he was not bound to accuse himself. Those who examined him were not ashamed to threaten him, though half dead with his distemper, with putting him to the torture, if he did not immediately discover all who were concerned with him. To this Mr. Barwick answered with great spirit, that neither himself, nor any of his friends, had done any thing which they knew to be repugnant to the laws; and if by the force of tortures, which it was not likely a dry and bloodless carcase like his would be able to bear, any thing should be extorted which might be prejudicial to others, such a confession ought to go for nothing. Mr. Edward Barwick behaved with the like firmness, so that not so much as one person fell into trouble through their misfortune; and as for Mr. John Barwick, he had the presence of mind to burn his cyphers and other papers before those who apprehended him could break open his door (*p*). This extraordinary fortitude and circumspection so irritated President Bradshaw, Sir Henry Mildmay, and others of the Council who examined them, that, by a warrant, dated the ninth of April, 1650, they committed both brothers to the Gatehouse, where they were most cruelly treated, and three days afterwards committed Mr. John Barwick to the Tower; and the reason they assigned for this change of his prison was, that he might be nearer to the rack, assuring him, that in a few days they would name Commissioners to examine him, who should have that engine for their Secretary. Mr. Francis West, who was then Lieutenant of the Tower, put him in a dungeon, where he was not only kept from pen, ink, and paper, and all books, but the Bible, with restraint from seeing any person except his keepers, but, as an additional punishment, had boards nailed before his window to prevent the coming in of the fresh air. In this melancholy situation he remained many months, during which time the diet he used was herbs or fruit, or thin water-gruel made of oatmeal or barley, with currants boiled in it, and sweetened with a little sugar, by which he recovered beyond all expectation, and grew plump and fat. A cure so perfect, and withal so strange, that many Physicians have taken notice of it in their writings, as a most pregnant instance of the power of temperance even in the most inveterate diseases (*q*) [*K*]. While he was thus shut up, his friends laboured incessantly for his service and relief, and his Majesty King Charles II., for whom he thus suffered,

(*n*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 63.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 151. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 67. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 549.

(*p*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 75.

(*q*) Lloyd's Memorials of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610. Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 89.

'long as I did, till the very day (viz. the 17th of 'August, 1648), on which my Lord Langdale's forces 'were worsted by Cromwell's army, in sight of the 'Scotch army, God in his providence so ordering his 'defeat and my imprisonment on the very same day, 'and thereby making an end of our correspondence 'and endeavours for his Majesty's service together. 'And I must not omit, in gratitude to the memory of 'my worthy friend the good Dean, to acknowledge 'the many comforts he afforded me during my im'prisonment, and the many kind visits and helps after 'my escape, until I got out of England. Thomas 'Holder (13).'

(13) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 94.

[*K*] *Even in the most inveterate diseases.*] Long before Dr. Peter Barwick wrote his brother's life, this circumstance was become famous. Lloyd tells us the Dean of St. Paul's was in the Tower fed several years with bread and water; which diet, by God's providence, having saved his life when his vein broke, he drank little or nothing but water almost all his life after, and eat nothing but once in twenty-four or thirty hours (14). A late writer mentions this case of Dr. Barwick's as a strong proof of the virtue of water (15). The celebrated Dr. Cheyne gives us the following account of it, wherein the reader will see that he has committed some slight mistakes: 'Dr. Barwick tells us 'in the life of his brother, who in the late civil wars 'had for many years been confined in a low room in 'the Tower, during the Usurpation, that at the time 'of his going in he was under a phthisis, atrophy, 'and dyscrasy, and lived on bread and water only 'several years there, and yet came out at the Resto'ration sleek, plump, and gay (16).'

(14) Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 610.

(15) The Miracles of Water, in answer to *Scelera Aquarum*, p. 93.

(16) The natural Method of curing the Diseases of the Body, and the Disorders of the Mind, p. 210.

gave the higheſt teſtimonies of his royal concern for ſo faithful a ſubject [*L*]. After fifteen months paſſed in this ſtrict confinement, Mr. Otway, and ſome other friends, procured a warrant from Preſident Bradſhaw to viſit him, who were not a little ſurpriſed to find him ſo luſty, and in ſo good health, whom they had ſeen brought ſo low, as to engage this very Mr. Otway to take care of his burial. His prudence and patience under this terrible perſecution was ſo great, that they had a happy effect on all who came about him; ſo that Mr. Robert Brown, who was Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, became firſt exceeding civil to him, and afterwards his convert, ſo as to have his child baptized by him; and, which was ſtill a ſtronger proof of his ſincerity, he quitted the very profitable poſt he held, and returned to his own buſineſs, which was that of a cabinet-maker (*r*). Nay, Mr. Weſt, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who treated him ſo harſhly at his entrance, and executed to the full, if he did not exceed the orders of his ſuperiors, abated by degrees of this rigour, and became at laſt ſo much ſoftened, that he was as ready to do him all offices of humanity as Mr. Brown was thoſe of duty and religion; for he removed him out of a noiſome dungeon, into a handſome convenient chamber, with a pair of leads over it, where he might enjoy freer air, and ſometimes alſo the company of his friends. He likewiſe made aſſiduous application to the Council of State, that while Mr. Barwick remained in the Tower, he might have an allowance granted him for his ſubſiſtence; and when he could not prevail, he ſupplied him from his own table. Indeed, after two years confinement, the Commonwealth did think fit to allow him five ſhillings a week, which he received for about four months. Then, through the ſame friendly interceſſion of Mr. Weſt, he was diſcharged on the ſeventh of Auguſt, 1652, but upon giving ſecurity to appear at any time within a twelvemonth before the Council of State (*s*). This procuring his diſcharge, was the laſt friendſhip Mr. Weſt did him, who within three days after died of an apoplexy, and was ſucceeded by Colonel Barkſted, a barbarous, bloody man, and ſo cruel to his priſoners, that Mr. Barwick thought it the greateſt mercy afforded in his life-time, that he became not one of the number (*t*). On his deliverance, he went and paid his reſpects to his old patron the Biſhop of Durham, his aged parents, and the incomparable Lady Savile; but the place he choſe for his reſidence, was the houſe of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Suſſex, a man of great integrity as well as learning, with whom he lived for many months (*u*). After the expiration of the year, to which the recognizance entered into by himſelf and his friends, Mr. Thomas Royſton, Student of Gray's Inn, and Mr. Richard Royſton of London, bookſeller, extended, he began to think of getting up his bond, and entering again into the King's ſervice. With this view he found it expedient to pay a viſit to Preſident Bradſhaw, who received him very civilly, and entered into ſuch a converſation, as deſerves particular notice (*w*) [*M*]. Having thus received ſatisfaction, as to his being out of danger from that recognizance, he began to enter again into buſineſs, and drew over ſeveral conſiderable perſons, ſuch as Colonel John Clobery, Colonel Daniel Redman, and Colonel Robert Venables, to the King's ſervice, with whom he conferred on ſeveral ſchemes for reſtoring monarchy, in all which they were long diſappointed by the craft and induſtry of Cromwell. His friend, Sir Thomas Eversfield, dying, and his widow retiring to the houſe of her brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, at Chirk-Caſtle in Denbighſhire, Dr. Barwick accompanied her thither, and remained for ſome time with Sir Thomas, who was his old friend. His own and the King's affairs calling him back to London, he lived with his brother, Dr. Peter Barwick, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and there managed the greateſt part of the King's correſpondence, with as much care, ſecrecy, and

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 96.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 98.

(*t*) See the Groans of the Priſoners in the Tower, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1657. Hiſtory of Independency, third and fourth Parts. Trials of the Regicides.

(*u*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 103.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 105.

[*L*] *So faithful a ſubject.*] About the time of Mr. Barwick's impriſonment, the Lady Savile ſent the King one thouſand pounds, out of which his Majeſty immediately ordered two hundred pounds to be employed for Mr. Barwick's relief. Afterwards he attempted to purchaſe his liberty in exchange for one who had made an attempt upon his own life, which Dr. Barwick thankfully acknowledges in a dedication of his (17). When the King lay encamped near the city of Worceſter, a few days before the battle, Dr. Peter Barwick coming to pay his duty, and mentioning ſlightly his brother's confinement, the King was pleaſed to ſay with great warmth, 'I well know that honeſt man, who for my 'ſake, and that of all my loyal ſubjects, has been 'treated with great indignity, and ſuffered the utmoſt 'hardſhips: but now, ſays he, the time is at hand 'when I ſhall either with theſe arms ſuccour him, and 'the reſt of my deareſt friends that groan under the 'cruel yoke of this Uſurpation, or willingly lay down 'this life for them (18).' Many more inſtances might be given of the King's gratitude, but it will be ſufficient to indicate the pages where they are ſet down in the margin (19).

(17) Prefixed to the Life of Dr. Morton, Biſhop of Durham.

(18) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 129.

(19) *Ib.* p. 178. 181. 227. 294, 295. 301.

[*M*] *As deſerves particular notice.*] The account of this converſation given in his Life runs thus: 'Mr. 'Barwick finding the year expired, and no indictment 'againſt him, goes to Bradſhaw, whom Cromwell had 'now turned out, to conſult with him what was to be 'done in order to get his bond cancelled, ſince it ought 'to lay him under no farther obligation to the Com'monwealth, now changed into a new tyranny. Brad'ſhaw receives him with great courteſy and civility, 'and profeſſes himſelf willing to do him any good of'fice, even with Cromwell himſelf, if he had intereſt 'enough in him. But, Sir, ſays he, there is no oc'caſion that you ſhould be very ſolicitous about this 'matter, for ſuch papers are either all loſt, or other'wiſe lie in ſo much diſorder and confuſion, that they 'are never like to give trouble to any one. Hence he 'took occaſion to expreſs himſelf with great bitter'neſs againſt Cromwell, and utter the moſt direful 'execrations againſt his arbitrary tyrannical govern'ment, but ſpake as reſpectfully of the Royal Autho'rity exerciſed within thoſe bounds preſcribed by the 'laws, as if he had had a mind to return into favour 'with Kings: But you Cavaliers (ſays he, ſmiling) 'muſt needs laugh in your ſleeves at our diſſentions, 'and the ſtruggle there is amongſt us who ſhall have 'the government; and promiſe your King, not with'out reaſon, great advantages from our diſagree'ment (20).'

(20) *Ibid.* p. 159, 160.

 ſucceſs,

(x) *Ibid.* p. 228. ſucceſs, as ever (*x*). While he was thus engaged, he received ſome interruption, by the revival of that old calumny on the Church of England, the Nag's Head Ordination, to which he furniſhed the materials for a full and concluſive anſwer [*N*]. His modeſty and private way of living preſerved him from much notice even in thoſe prying times; and yet, when proper occaſions called for more open teſtimonies of his principles, Mr. Barwick did not decline profeſſing them, as appeared by his aſſiſting Dr. John Hewet, while in priſon for a plot againſt Cromwell, and even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head (*y*) [*O*]. By the death of this Gentleman, his branch of intelligence, and the care of conveying ſome hundred pounds, which he had collected for the King's uſe, devolved upon Mr. Barwick; who, though he had already ſo much upon his hands, readily undertook, and happily performed it. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a perſon in his circumſtances, and ſo little uſed to an active life, was able to go through the drudgery of ſuch a correſpondence, wherein he met daily acceſſions of fatigue, and yet durſt not take in any aſſiſtance: but what is ſtill more wonderful, is the ſilence of the Earl of Clarendon as to this Gentleman's indefatigable ſervice, who never once mentions him, though he was his principal correſpondent, and his Lordſhip certainly drew from his intelligence, much of that hiſtory which he wrote of theſe times (*z*). The concern Mr. Barwick had for the King and for the State, did not hinder him from attending, when he was called thereto, the buſineſs of the Church, in which however he had a very worthy aſſociate, Mr. Richard Alleſtrey, who took the moſt troubleſome part on himſelf, by performing ſeveral dangerous journies into Flanders, in order to receive the King's commands by word of mouth: neither did Mr. Barwick's aſſiduity in this reſpect, proceed in any degree from that kind of ambition which is but too common amongſt churchmen; for with great modeſty he declined the epiſcopal dignity when offered him, and with unfeigned humility conſented to receive this office, in caſe the circumſtances of the Church abſolutely required it, and no fitter perſon could be found (*a*) [*P*]. In the riſing of Sir George Booth, he had a principal concern in the managing of the deſign, and in providing for the ſafety of ſuch as eſcaped after it miſcarried. Not long after he narrowly miſſed a new impriſonment, through the treachery of ſome who were

(y) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 723. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

(z) See the Appendix to Dr. Barwick's Life in Engliſh. See alſo the ſeventh volume of Thurloe's State Papers.

(a) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 139.

[*N*] *A full and concluſive anſwer.*] The revival of this diſpute was occaſioned by a little Piece publiſhed at Rouen under the title of *A Treatiſe of the Nature of the Catholic Faith, and of Hereſy*. The authors of this Piece, for there was more than one, aſſerted therein, that a Preſbyterian Nobleman, who ſat in the late Parliament, had written a book with intent to exclude the Biſhops from their ſeats in the Houſe of Peers, by ſhewing that they were not the legal ſucceſſors of the antient Biſhops for want of due conſecration; and, in anſwer to this, they pretended that the Biſhop of Durham ſtood up and made a ſolemn ſpeech; in which he averred, in expreſs words, that the firſt Biſhops, after the Reformation, were conſecrated in a tavern (the Nag's Head in Cheapſide); and added farther, that this was a fact notorious to all the world, and to this the book affirms the Biſhops then preſent aſſented. In all probability the coiners of this fine tale perſuaded themſelves, that the Biſhop of Durham, who was now in the ninety-fifth year of his age, had been in his grave, and ſo out of a capacity of contradicting them. But when that grave Prelate heard in the country of this ſtrange reflection caſt upon him, 'he ſent for his Chaplain Mr. 'Barwick, then at London, directing him to bring a 'Public Notary with him, that by a ſolemn proteſtation 'made before them, and other proper witneſſes, he (21) Signed July 17, 1658. 'might declare the falſehood of this ſtory (21). When 'his Lordſhip had made this proteſtation in due form, 'he employed Mr. Barwick to lay it before all thoſe 'Lords who had ſat in that Parliament, and were yet 'ſurviving, whether ſpiritual or temporal, living either 'at London or in the neighbouring counties; appealing to the faith of them all, that, preferring the ſacredneſs of truth to all other conſiderations whatever, 'if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed with this (22) Signed July 19, 1658. 'calumny, they would freely atteſt it by ſubſcribing 'their names (22). And this was readily done, not 'only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the 'proteſtation could be carried (and it was carried to a 'great many), but by all the Clerks alſo, and other 'Officers of the Houſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to regiſter 'in authentic journals all ſuch debates if there had 'been any; but they all declared there was not the 'leaſt footſtep to be found, either of any ſuch book as 'was pretended to be laid before the Houſe, or of any 'ſuch ſpeech, as the adverſaries alledged to have been 'made on that occaſion. The aged Biſhop, now paſt 'managing Church controverſies himſelf, lays his 'command on his Chaplain, Mr. Barwick, to publiſh this proteſtation, together with the noble teſtimony thereto ſubjoined: and this he deſigned to do 'in a volume; but when he heard that the learned 'Biſhop of Derry (23), then an exile in Holland, intended the ſame thing (having been engaged before 'with the ſame adverſaries in that controverſy) (24), 'he readily left his work to his Lordſhip's irrefragable pen, furniſhing him in the mean time with 'materials proper to end this diſpute (25).'

(23) Dr. John Bramhall.

(24) *Viz.* In his Juſt Vindication of the Church of England, p. 133. In his Replication to the Biſhop of Chalcedon, p. 253. And in Schiſm Guarded, in anſwer to Serjeant, p. 422.

(25) Which was done in his treatiſe, intitled, The Conſecration and Succeſſion of Proteſtant Biſhops juſtified; the Biſhop of Dureſme Vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nag's Head, clearly confuted. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 424.

[*O*] *Even on the ſcaffold when he loſt his head.*] This Dr. John Hewit was a Norfolk man by birth, and educated at the Univerſity of Cambridge, where very probably his acquaintance with Dr. Barwick commenced. He was employed by his Majeſty in keeping his friends together, and collecting money from them for his ſupport; in the courſe of which undertaking his own honeſty made him leſs ſuſpicious than was neceſſary, and ſo he fell into the hands of ſome of Thurloe's agents, by whom he was enſnared (26), and in virtue of a ſentence paſſed by a high court of juſtice for contumacy, loſt his head on the eighth of June, 1658. He was attended by Mr. Barwick, in conjunction with Mr. Wild and Dr. Warmeſtry (27); and the moment before he ſuffered he preſented Mr. Barwick with a ring, the motto of which was, *Alter Ariſtides*, which he wore to the day of his own death (28). His friendſhip went beyond the grave; for when he attended the King at Breda, he made it his requeſt that Dr. Hewet's widow might be taken under his Majeſty's care and protection, and that her fatherleſs ſon might have ſome place given him (29).

(26) Collection of Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. i. p. 707, *& ſeq.*

(27) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 553.

(28) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 175.

(29) *Ib.* p. 274.

[*P*] *And no fitter perſon could be found.*] The buſineſs then in agitation was the filling up the vacant Sees; a point of very great conſequence, and not more warmly puſhed by the Clergy themſelves than by the Chancellor Hyde: yet ſome unexpected difficulties ſprung up, which retarded it. Mr. Barwick declined the epiſcopal dignity, becauſe he thought it irregular at leaſt, if not ſomething more, for a Preſbyter to be made at once a Biſhop without paſſing through any of the leſſer dignities of the Church. When, however, the Biſhoprick of Man appeared to have no candidate, ſeveral eminent Divines looking upon it as a kind of baniſhment to be ſent thither, Mr. Barwick readily accepted of it, and, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, as readily reſigned the promiſe he had of it; when, upon a nearer view of poſſeſſing it, others thought it worth the ſeeking (30). The letters which paſſed between the Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Barwick upon this occaſion, and which may be found in the Appendix to his Life, are ſufficient to ſhew how large a ſhare he had in the ſettlement of the Church, and how honeſtly he diſcharged it.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 238. 246.

intruſted by the King's Miniſters: for by their intelligence, Mr. Alleſtrey was ſeized as ſoon as he landed at Dover, and one of Mr. Barwick's letters intercepted, part of which was, and all might have been decyphered by the famous Dr. Wallis, if in pity to thoſe concerned, or perhaps from ſome proſpect of a change in the King's affairs, he had not been content to appear leſs knowing than he really was (*b*) [*Q*]. Secretary Thurloe, with all his intelligence, never gained any notice of Mr. Barwick, though he carried on ſo long and regular a correſpondence with the King and Chancellor Hyde, of which there are ſtill in being a great variety of inſtances, which ſufficiently diſcover how induſtriouſly he enquired into all that paſſed here, as well as how true judgment he made of all the ſchemes of the Cromwellians, and how exact an account he tranſmitted of them to the King and Chancellor Hyde, which is a ſecret but lately revealed (*c*) [*R*]. In the midſt of theſe difficulties died the good old Biſhop of Durham, whom Mr. Barwick piouſly aſſiſted in his laſt moments, preached his funeral ſermon, and afterwards wrote his life, which he dedicated to the King (*d*) [*S*]. All the hopes that now remained of a Reſtoration reſted upon General Monk, and though it is certain that Mr. Barwick had no direct correſpondence with him, yet it is no leſs certain, that he furniſhed him with the principal inſtruments he employed in the moſt difficult parts of that arduous affair; as for inſtance, Colonel Daniel Redman, who carried over to Monk the Iriſh horſe, and Colonel Cloberry, whom he intruſted chiefly with the guard of the Parliament, as well as with his meſſages to them. After the affair was ſo far ripened, that there ſeemed to be no longer any doubt of the King's return, Mr. Barwick was ſent over by the Biſhops to repreſent the ſtate of eccleſiaſtical affairs. He was received by his Majeſty with the moſt endearing marks of cordial affection, preached before him the Sunday after his arrival, and was immediately appointed one of his Chaplains. Yet did not his great deſerts, or theſe extraordinary marks of the King's favour, induce him to make any requeſt for himſelf, though he did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of recommending effectually ſeveral of his friends, and procuring for them

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 167.

(*c*) See a more full account in the following note.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 50.

[*Q*] *Leſs knowing than he really was.*] When Chancellor Hyde was informed that letters written by him were not only intercepted, but decyphered, he would ſcarcely believe it; and upon this occaſion he wrote March 8, 1660, thus to Mr. Barwick: 'I confeſs to you, as I am ſure no copy could be gotten of 'any of my cyphers from hence, ſo I did not think it 'probable that they could be got on your ſide the water: but I was as confident, till you tell me you 'believe it, that the Devil himſelf cannot decypher a 'letter that is well written, or find that 100 ſtands for 'Sir Henry Vane. I have heard of many of the pre'tenders to that ſkill, and have ſpoken with ſome of 'them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks; 'nor did I ever hear that more of the King's letters 'that were found at Naſeby, than thoſe which they 'found decyphered, or found the cyphers in which 'they were wrote were decyphered. And I very well 'remember, that in the volume they publiſhed, there 'was much left in cypher which could not be under'ſtood, and which I believe they would have explained 'if it had been in their power; but you can eaſily 'ſatisfy yourſelf in this point, if you either make a 'cypher yourſelf, or write half a ſcore lines out of ſe'veral other cyphers, and ſend them to the artiſt, and 'you will then be convinced yourſelf, and be able to 'convince others; and then it will be to no purpoſe to 'traffick any more in thoſe commodities (31).' The account given by Dr. Peter Barwick of this accident, is to this purpoſe: Mr. Alleſtrey, as he was returning home from thence, *i. e.* Bruſſels, was betrayed (by whoſe prefidiouſneſs is unknown): but he was no ſooner landed on the Engliſh ſhore, than he was immediately made a cloſe priſoner; and Mr. Barwick's letter, with more ſent by Mr. William Rombald and others, were intercepted by the garriſon of Dunkirk, then at enmity with the King; and what was yet worſe, although every different perſon's letter was written in a diſtinct cypher, and that contrived with great thought, yet they were all decyphered by the art and ingenuity of a certain very famous Mathematician (Dr. Wallis), who was hired by the Rebels: for it was the very ſame artiſt that made theſe diſcoveries, who (too officious to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decyphered his Majeſty's papers written alſo in characters, and taken at Naſeby fight. Yet he had now at laſt this in him of a good ſubject, that at this time he diſcovered nothing to the Rebels, which much concerned the public ſafety; though he ſatisfied ſome of the King's friends, that he could have diſcovered a great deal: but all thoſe whom it concerned being ſufficiently aſſured that no key of any cypher had fallen into the enemy's hands, it was thought nothing but vain boaſting, when the Rebels bragged, that by the help of their friends they were able to find out the moſt hidden ſecrets of the Royaliſts, till Mr. Matt. Wren (ſon to the Right Reverend Biſhop of Ely), who was intimately acquainted with this Mathematician, obtained of him ſome copies of thoſe letters as he had decyphered them, and took care to have them delivered ſeverally to the perſons that wrote the letters, who all acknowledged them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's art (32).——By comparing theſe paſſages, the reader will eaſily diſcern that this enquiry by Mr. Wren, who was ſon to the Biſhop of Ely, was made in purſuance of my Lord Chancellor's direction; who yet ſeems, by another letter of his, to have remained fixed in his old opinion, that, without treachery, a good cypher could not be penetrated. There is a letter in Thurloe's collection, ſuppoſed to be written by Chancellor Hyde to Mr. Barwick, in which the names of perſons are not decyphered; yet upon carefully reviewing the letter, I am very poſitive that it was not directed to Mr. Barwick, becauſe it cannot be read by his cyphers, as all the other letters to him in that collection, which are not a few, may (33). If this was a letter from the Chancellor to any body elſe, then it would give ſome probability to his opinion; but as to that I can determine nothing.

(31) Appendix, to Dr. Barwick's Life, p. 503.

(32) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 251.

(33) Vol. vii. p. 857.

[*R*] *Which is a ſecret lately revealed.*] It is indeed ſomething ſtrange, that, in ſo long a correſpondence, Dr. Barwick ſhould never be detected, eſpecially if Thurloe had been as well furniſhed with intelligence as he is generally ſuppoſed. Yet in his voluminous collection I do not find one of Mr. Barwick's, or of any directed to him. Thoſe that are in the ſeventh volume of that work were communicated to the Editor, and not intercepted (34). This ſhews, that if a man be very prudent and cautious of converſing with ſtrangers, he may avoid great dangers in this way. It was Dr. Hewet's foible to converſe freely with every man who profeſſed himſelf a Royaliſt, and this undid him. Mr. Barwick, on the contrary, avoided being known as much as poſſible, and ſuffered none of his correſpondents to pry into each others affairs, by which means he eſcaped.

(34) Theſe Letters are in the poſſeſſion of Joſ. Radcliffe, Eſq; of the Inner Temple. See Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, Vol. vii. p. 415. 531. 613, 614, 615. 646. 658. 662. 666. 685, 686. 763, 853, 854. 859, 860. 870.

[*S*] *Which he dedicated to the King.*] He alſo drew up an Epitaph for him, in which is contained a very juſt, as well as very accurate, panegyric on this great man. A circumſtance from the dedication of Dr. Barwick's book has been before taken notice of, and the title of this Treatiſe will be given in another note. Here we ſhall only add, that an account of Biſhop Morton's life was written by another Chaplain of his, Dr. Joſeph Nelſon, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgfield.

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an acknowledgment ſuitable to each of their ſervices (*e*) [*T*]. On his return he viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where he gave a new proof of his diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity, by relinquiſhing his right to his fellowſhip in favour of an intruder, becauſe he had the reputation of being a young man of learning and probity (*f*). Before he left the Univerſity, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, upon which occaſion he performed his exerciſe, though that might have been well diſpenſed with, merely to ſupport the diſcipline of the Univerſity, for which he had a very warm and juſt concern. The theſis made choice of upon this occaſion was very ſingular, viz. That the method of impoſing penance, and reſtoring Penitents in the primitive Church, was a godly diſcipline, and that it is much to be wiſhed it was reſtored. The Latin diſputation upon this queſtion has been preſerved, and it was chiefly for the ſake of inſerting it, that Dr. Peter Barwick compoſed his brother's life in Latin. It is in that reſpect a moſt learned piece, and does our author's memory much honour (*g*) [*U*]. When the Church of England was reſtored in all its beauty by King Charles II., the Deans and Chapters revived, Dr. Barwick, according to his uſual modeſty, contented himſelf with recommending his Tutor, old Mr. Fothergill, to a Prebend in the cathedral church of York: but as to himſelf, he would have reſted content with the proviſion made for him by his late patron, the Biſhop of Durham, who had given him the fourth ſtall in his cathedral, and the rectories of Wolſingham, and Houghton in le Spring: nay, when he found of how great value theſe preferments were, he was inclined to think he had too much (*h*). Among other extraordinary offices to which he was called at this buſy time, one was to viſit Hugh Peters, in order to draw from him ſome account of the perſon who actually cut off the head of King Charles I.; but in this neither he nor Dr. Dolben, his aſſociate, had any ſucceſs (*i*). Before the Reſtoration there had been a deſign of conſecrating Dr. Barwick, Biſhop of Man; but the Counteſs of Derby deſiring to prefer her Chaplain to that dignity, the Doctor readily reſigned all title thereto in his favour, upon which, the King, of his own motive, would have promoted him to the See of Carliſle, which the Doctor ſteadily refuſed, that the world might not imagine, the extraordinary zeal he had ſhewn for epiſcopacy flowed from any ſecret hope of his one day being a Biſhop. Upon this he was promoted to the Deanery of Durham, with which he kept the rectory of Houghton, which is only four miles diſtant from the city. He took poſſeſſion of his deanery on the feaſt of All Saints, 1660 (*k*), and as he enjoyed a large revenue, ſo certainly never any man employed it better, or more conſcientiouſly ſtudied the laying it out for thoſe purpoſes for which it was given: he repaired public buildings, relieved the poor, and kept up great hoſpitality, both at the houſe of his deanery and at Houghton. But before the year was out, he was called from theſe cares, in which he would willingly have ſpent his whole life, by his being made Dean of St. Paul's, which though a preferment leſs in value, and attended with much more trouble than that he already poſſeſſed, yet Dr. Barwick readily accepted, becauſe he knew he was called thereto, purely for the ſervice of the Church (*l*). As ſoon as he had done this, he put an end to all granting of leaſes, even where he had agreed for the fine with the tenants, and did many other things for the benefit of his ſucceſſor, which ſhewed his contempt of ſecular advantages, and his ſincere concern for the rights of the Church (*m*) [*W*]. He took poſſeſſion of the deanery of St. Paul's, about the middle of October, 1661, and found, as he expected, all in very great diſorder with reſpect to the Church itſelf, and every thing that concerned it. He ſet about reforming theſe abuſes with a truly primitive ſpirit, and proſecuted with great vigour the recovery

(*e*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 199.

(*f*) This was Mr. John Tuckney, who yet loſt the fellowſhip for Nonconformity, Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 90.

(*g*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 257.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 197.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 203.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 50.

(*l*) Le Neve's Faſti Ecc. Angl. p. 185.

(*m*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 213.

[*T*] *To each of their ſervices.*] In his Life we have the inſtructions given by the Biſhops to Mr. Barwick, in relation to his laying before the King a ſtate of the Church; and we have alſo a paper of his containing the requeſts made by him to his Majeſty; ſuch as that he would be pleaſed to confer the honour of Knighthood on the eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Middleton, which was complied with; that his Majeſty would take care of Colonel Cloberry, which had alſo its proper weight; and that Gentleman, ſoon after the Reſtoration, had a grant made him of ſix hundred pounds a year; that ſome eminent mark of the King's favour might be ſhewn to Colonel Robert Venables, the reaſon aſſigned for it I muſt give in Mr. Barwick's own words, *viz.* Becauſe it was ſufficiently known that he formerly both could have reſtored his Majeſty to his throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the perfidiouſneſs of ſome to whom the King's buſineſs was truſted, but we are not told what return this repreſentation met with; that ſuch as had tranſmitted money through his or Dr. Hewet's hands might be admitted to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and that Dr. Hewet's family might be provided for (35).

(35) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 270. 273, 274.

[*U*] *Our author's memory much honour.*] The title of this piece in Latin runs thus: *Exomologeſis primitivæ Eccleſiæ eſt Diſciplina pia, ejuſque Reſtitutio eſt maximè optanda.* This diſſertation makes about forty pages at the end of the Latin life, and ſhews the author's perfect acquaintance with the diſcipline of the Primitive Church, and how diligently he ſtudied the ancient Fathers. It is indeed in every reſpect ſo well executed a piece, that it is ſurpriſing the editor of the Latin life, and tranſlator of it into Engliſh, did not take the pains to give us a verſion of it; for though it be true that the ſubject is handled in a ſcholaſtic ſtile, yet it is no leſs evident that its author was as much for Reformation, in what he thought a right courſe, as any man of his time.

[*W*] *For the rights of the Church.*] This induced him, upon his coming to Durham, to take great care that the prebendal houſes ſhould be repaired, and a grammar-ſchool erected from the ground. He brought water into the college, and took upon himſelf a very hard taſk, that of bringing all the officers of the Church under a good diſcipline and to a regular life, and at the ſame time to augment ſuch ſalaries as were too ſmall, not only of the Mother Church, but of all the Churches depending upon it; and the Chapter not only gave their conſent to this, but did all in their power to promote it: yet they were ſo far from exacting in the matter of fines, upon ſuch as had leaſes of the Church lands, and were ſo beneficial to all the poor, that, in an age very little favourable to the Clergy, they are mentioned with honour to this day for their humanity, candour, and piety: nay, in many caſes they were ſo bountiful, as to recede from their own right in favour of their ſucceſſors, that the revenues of the Church might deſcend to them with ſome augmentation (36).

(36) Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 103. 108.

of ſuch revenues, as in the late times of diſtraction had been alienated from the Church; though with reſpect to his own particular concerns, he was never rigid to any body, but frequently gave up things to which he had a clear title (*n*). By his intereſt with his Majeſty he obtained two royal grants under the Great-Seal of England, one for the repair of the cathedral, the other, for enumerating and ſecuring its privileges. In this reſpect, he was ſo tender, that he would not permit the Lord Mayor of London to erect there a ſeat for himſelf at the expence of the city, but inſiſted that it ſhould be done at the charge of the Church (*o*). Towards the repairing the cathedral, he, together with the Reſidentiaries, gave the rents of the houſes in St. Paul's Church-yard as a ſettled fund, beſides which they advanced each of them 500*l.* a piece, and, in many other reſpects, he demonſtrated, that neither the love of preferment, nor the deſire of wealth, had any ſhare in his acceptance of this dignity (*p*) [*X*]. Though this office might ſufficiently have employed, even as active a perſon as Dr. Barwick was, yet he was called to ſtill greater labours by the good opinion of the King, and the univerſal reſpect of the Clergy. In conſequence of the former, he was appointed one of the nine aſſiſtants to the twelve Biſhops, commiſſioned to hold a conference with the like number of Preſbyterian Miniſters upon the review of the Liturgy; which conference was held at the Biſhop of London's lodgings in the Savoy (*q*). As an effect of the latter, he was, by the unanimous ſuffrage of all the Clergy of the province of Canterbury aſſembled in Convocation, choſen Prolocutor on the 18th of February, 1661 (*r*); in which high office he behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, as added even to the great reputation he had before acquired. His application, however, to the diſcharge of ſo many and ſo great duties brought upon him his old diſtemper, ſo that in November, 1662, he was confined to his chamber: he heightened his diſeaſe by officiating at the Sacrament the Chriſtmas-day following, after which he was ſeized with ſuch a violent vomiting of blood, that he brought up whole baſons full. Upon this he was adviſed to a change of air, for the enjoyment of which he retired to Therfield in Hertfordſhire, of which he was Rector, but finding himſelf there too far from London, he returned to Chiſwick, where he in ſome meaſure recovered his health (*s*). As ſoon as he found he had a little ſtrength, he applied himſelf there to the putting in order the archives of St. Paul's church, and ſo threw himſelf down again. This was followed by an extraordnary flux of blood, which rendered him very weak, and defeated his favourite deſign of retiring to Therfield. When he firſt found his health declining, he made choice of and procured this living, intending to have reſigned his deanery and office of Prolocutor, to thoſe who had vigour enough to diſcharge them, and to ſpend the remainder of his days in the diſcharge of his paſtoral office, to which he thought himſelf bound by his taking orders (*t*). But Providence prepared for him a ſtill more quiet manſion; for coming upon ſome extraordinary occaſion to London, he was ſeized with a pleuriſy, which carried him off in three days. He was attended in his laſt moments by Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and as he lived, ſo he died with all the marks of an exemplary piety, on the 22d of October, 1664; after he had ſtruggled almoſt twelve years with this grievous diſtemper (*u*). Upon inſpection, all his entrails appeared to be decayed, particularly his liver and his lungs, and yet not ſo much vitiated, but that he might have lived conſiderably longer, if the maſs of blood had not been in a great meaſure, by continual evacuations, exhauſted. Many good and great men came of their own accord from all parts to his funeral, where Dr. Henchman, Biſhop of London, read the ſervice, and Dr. Gunning preached the funeral ſermon (*w*). By his will he bequeathed the greateſt part of his eſtate to charitable uſes, and this with a judgment equal to his piety (*x*) [*Y*]. His body was interred in the cathe-

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 50.

(*o*) Vit John Barwick, p. 219.

(*p*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 61. Wherein it appears, that theſe Reſidentaries were Dr. Thomas Turner, Dr. John Hacket, and Dr. Edward Layfield.

(*q*) See this commiſſion at the end of Dr. Nichols's Preface to his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, edit. in folio.

(*r*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 101.

(*s*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p 231.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 233.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 237.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 238. The particulars relating to his interment, are taken from a letter of the Rev. Mr. John Worthington, communicated to the Tranſlator of Dr. Barwick's Life, by his ſon.

(*x*) Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 239.

[*X*] *Accepting this dignity.*] One may ſafely ſay, that nothing could have happened more for the ſervice of the church of St. Paul's than Dr. Barwick's being appointed its Dean. He boldly entered into ſuits for the ſake of the Church, and was not to be terrified by any interpoſitions of the Great, or ill grounded calumnies of the many. He followed a cauſe even before the Privy Council, and though it came there with an ill grace, yet he procured a good end to it, and juſtified his own conduct to the ſatisfaction of every body. He would have gone a progreſs into Eſſex for the ſettling the eſtates of the Church there, if he had not ſwooned at ſetting out, and even then was hardly prevailed on to deſiſt, and this for no other reaſon, than becauſe he was afraid the tenants might be ſqueezed or haraſſed by ſuch as were employed in this affair (37).

(37) *Ibid.* p 312. 316, 317. 319, 320. 322, 323.

[*Y*] *Equal to his piety.*] He gave to the daughters of his brothers, four in number, one hundred pounds each; to his brother William's ſon, his only nephew, two hundred pounds; the works of King Charles I. to his dear friend Mr. John Otway; the reſt of his ſtudy to Mr. Samuel Howlet; to the ſchool at Sedberg forty pounds; to St. John's College, Cambridge, three hundred pounds; to St. Paul's church one hundred pounds, all to be employed in the repair of thoſe public buildings. He likewiſe purchaſed an eſtate of about fifty pounds a year, belonging formerly to the Church, but now alienated and applied to ſecular uſes for ſeven hundred pounds, and out of this he gave, by way of augmentation, to the poor endowment of the chapel of Wetherſlack, his native village, thirty pounds a year, which chapel in his life-time he rebuilt from the ground far more elegantly than it was before. The ſurplus of this eſtate he directed to be annually diſpoſed of in mending the highways, in the inſtruction of the ſons of the poorer ſort, or in marrying their daughters. Thus, for the moſt part, he diſpoſed of all he had, or was due to him from thoſe whom he thought would readily pay his executors. The reſidue of his eſtate, by reaſon of the doubtful credit of ſome of his debtors, or the leſs doubtful indigence of others, he could not reduce to any juſt eſtimate; but whatever it ſhould amount to, after his funeral expences and other debts paid, he directed it to be diſpoſed of either for the relief of poor families, or to other pious uſes, at his diſcretion, to whom he intruſted the care and execution of his will. And indeed this ſurpluſage of his eſtate, by the diligence and faithfulneſs of ſome perſons that had a juſt value for his memory, and were well verſed in the practice of the Law, amounted, beyond all expectation, to little leſs than one thouſand pounds; ſo faithfully did he diſcharge the public truſt committed to him, and ſo prudently manage his private fortune (38).

(38) *Ib.* p. 346.

dral of St. Paul's, and his epitaph, compoſed by Mr. Samuel Howlet, then not twenty years of age, is not inferior to the worth of him it celebrates (y) [Z]. The character of Mr. Barwick is ſo eaſily collected from theſe memoirs, that nothing in relation thereto can ſeem neceſſary in this place, as the extraordinary length of this article forbids any addition which is not abſolutely of that kind: I ſhall therefore conclude with obſerving, that as his was a life of action, and not a very long one either, dying at fifty-three, ſo we have no reaſon to wonder, that he did not leave behind him a greater number of writings, though what he has left are ſufficient to ſhew, how well he could have expreſſed his zeal and his loyalty by words, if he had not been better employed, I mean, in expreſſing them by his actions. Mr. Wood has given us a catalogue of his works (z) [AA], which, with thoſe already mentioned, may ſatisfy the reader on this head; only it may not be amiſs to remark, that abundance of his letters to Chancellor Hyde, may be found in the Collection of Thurloe's State Papers. C.

(y) Le Neve's Monum. Angl. Vol. i. p. 107. Whence we learn that he is buried in the ſouth iſle of St. Paul's Cathedral. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 50.

(z) *Ibid.* ubi ſupra.

[Z] *Of him it celebrates.*] In this epitaph, which has been often printed both in Latin and Engliſh, there is a conciſe hiſtory of Dean Barwick's life, in a very elegant and claſſic ſtile, though the author was ſo young a man. He had ſome relation to the family, being, as I take it, ſon to Dr. Peter Barwick's wife, by her firſt huſband Dean Howlet, and bred at Cambridge, in St. John's-college, under Mr. Fothergill, Dean Barwick's own tutor. The text, on which Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, preached on this occaſion, was *Philippians* i. *ver.* 22, 23, 24. His funeral was ſolemnized on the 27th of October, 1664 (39).

(39) This from Dr. Worthington's Letter above mentioned.

[AA] *A catalogue of his works.*] This worthy perſon, Dr. Barwick, ſays he, has publiſhed, 1. *The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of St. Paul*, accommodated to Thomas (Morton) late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme, in a ſermon preached at his funeral in the pariſh church of St. Peter at Eaſton Mauduit in Northamptonſhire, on Michaelmas-day, on 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, 8. Lond. 1660, 4to. 2. *A Summary Account of the Holy Life and Death of Thomas late Lord Biſhop of Dureſme*, printed with the ſaid ſermon, which Biſhop died at Eaſton Mauduit before mentioned on St. Matthew's day, *an.* 1659, aged 95 years. 3. *Deceivers deceived, or the Miſtakes of Wickedneſs*, &c. a ſermon at St. Paul's cathedral the 20th of October, 1661, on *Prov.* xiv. part of the 8th verſe. Lond. 1661, 4to. (40)

(40) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 56.

BARWICK (PETER), Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. He was brother to John before mentioned, and was born ſome time in the year 1619, at Wetherſlack in Weſtmoreland (a). He went to the ſame grammar ſchool with his elder brother, till ſuch time as he was fitted for the Univerſity, when he removed to St. John's-college in Cambridge. This was about the year 1637, and he continued there about ſix years, being much furthered in his ſtudies, by the care taken of him by his brother. In 1642, being then in the twenty fourth of his age, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). In 1644, he was nominated by the Biſhop of Ely, to a Fellowſhip of St. John's, in his gift (c) [A]. It is very probable that he had left the college before he obtained this preſentation; for as he was eminently loyal, as well as his brother, there is little reaſon to doubt his withdrawing from the univerſity, about the ſame time his brother did, which was in the foregoing year. It is uncertain, whether, at that time, he had made any choice of a profeſſion or not; ſo that being invited into Leiceſterſhire, in order to become Tutor to Ferdinando Sacheverell, Eſq; of Old Hayes in that county, a young gentleman of great hopes, he readily accepted the propoſition, and continued with him for ſome time (d). In 1647, he returned to Cambridge, and took his degree of Maſter of Arts, applying himſelf then aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of Phyſic. While he was thus engaged, he loſt his friend and former pupil, Mr. Sacheverell, who, as a teſtimony of his eſteem and affection, bequeathed our author an annuity of twenty pounds, which was very punctually paid him (e). How he diſpoſed of himſelf for ſome years, does not very clearly appear, becauſe he who ſo elegantly recorded the loyal ſervices of his brother, as ſtudiouſly concealed his own. It is however more than probable, that he was engaged in the ſervice of his Sovereign, ſince it is certain that he was at Worceſter in 1651, where he had acceſs to his royal maſter King Charles II., who teſtified to him a very kind ſenſe of the fidelity of his family (f). In 1655, he was created Doctor of Phyſic, and two years afterwards, being then near forty, he took a houſe in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and much about the ſame time, married the widow of an eminent merchant, who was a near

(a) Preface to the Life of Dr. John Barwick, Dean of St. Paul's.

(b) Regiſt. Coll. S. Joan.

(c) Regiſt. Eliens.

(d) Præfat. Vit. J. Barwick, S.T.P. à P. Barwick conſcript. p. 5.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) Heath's Chr. Vit. J. Barwick, p. 81.

[A] *To a fellowſhip of St. John's in his gift.*] The induſtrious and Reverend Mr. Bedford, editor of Dr. Peter Barwick's Life of his brother, the Dean of St. Paul's, had the firſt hint of our author's being not only a ſcholar, but a fellow of St. John's, from his daughter, Lady Dutton. Upon this, he applied to the late excellent Mr. Baker of the ſame college, who, of all men living, was the moſt capable of obtaining for him a true account. He ſearched the college regiſters to no purpoſe, which, to a leſs curious man, would have been a ſufficient proof that this report was ill-grounded: but he, to avoid all poſſibility of miſtake, conſulted the regiſtry of Ely, where he found an entry to this purpoſe, That on the third day of Dec. 1644, Peter Barwick, Bachelor of Arts, was preſented to a fellowſhip in St. John's college, void by the marriage of John Topping, Maſter of Arts, late Fellow, being in the gift of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Lord Biſhop of Ely. Dated the ſame day from the chamber in which his Lordſhip was then impriſoned in the Tower of London. This Biſhop was the famous Dr. Matthew Wren; and the reaſon why our author made no uſe of this preſentation is obvious enough: the Parliament was then poſſeſſed of the Univerſity, and none could be admitted there who were not well affected to them. Accordingly, in the college regiſter we find, that on April 26, 1650; John Heath, a Middleſex man, was admitted by the Viſitors into this fellowſhip without any notice taken whom he ſucceeded (1). This little circumſtance certainly deſerves notice, as it is an early proof of our author's modeſty, who, in the title of his books, ſtiles himſelf, formerly a ſcholar of that college, though, as we ſee, he might juſtly have written himſelf Fellow, as having for many years a legal title thereto.

(1) Præfat. in Vit. Johannis Barwick, S.T.P. à Pet. Barwick, M. D. conſcrip. p. 2, 3, 4.

relation of Archbiſhop Laud's [*B*]. Being thus ſettled, he ſoon gained a very great repute in the city, for his ſkill in his profeſſion, as amongſt the learned, by his judicious Defence of Dr. Harvey's Diſcovery of the Circulation of the Blood, which was then, and is ſtill, admired, as one of the beſt pieces written upon that ſubject (*g*) [*C*]. At this houſe of his, he entertained his worthy brother Dr. John Barwick, who repaired at his own expence an oratory he found there, wherein he daily read the ſervice of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and with a few ſteady Royaliſts, prayed for his exiled maſter. After the Reſtoration in 1660, he was made one of the King's Phyſicians in Ordinary (*b*), and in the year following, received a ſtill ſtronger proof of his Majeſty's kind ſenſe of his own and his brother's ſervices [*D*]. On the eighth of May 1661, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, then Biſhop of London, with ſeveral other Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* met in the morning at our author's houſe, and proceeded thence to the cathedral of St. Paul's in order to open the Convocation (*i*). In 1666, being compelled by the dreadful fire to remove from St. Paul's Church-Yard, where he had remained all the time of the plague [*E*], and been very active and ſerviceable in his profeſſion, he thought proper to take another houſe near Weſtminſter-Abbey, for the ſake of being near that cathedral, to which he conſtantly reſorted every morning at Six o'clock prayers (*k*). He was a very diligent Phyſician, and remarkably ſucceſsful in the ſmall-pox, and in moſt kinds of fevers. Yet he was far from making money the main object of his care; for during the many years that he practiſed, he not only gave advice and medicines gratis to the poor, but likewiſe charitably adminiſtered to their wants in other reſpects. He was very kind to all who had ſuffered for the Royal cauſe, to which he was a conſtant votary all his life; and with a view to its ſervice, in 1671, he drew up in Latin, which he wrote with unuſual elegance and purity, t Life of the Dean his brother, and took care to depoſit it, and the original papers ſervi ; to ſupport the facts therein mentioned, in the library in St. John's college at Cambridge (*l*) [*F*]. Twenty years after this, when our author was in the ſeventy-

(*g*) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. xiii.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. vii.

(*i*) Synod. Angl. Append. p. 60.

(*k*) Prefat. ad Vit. J. Barwick. p. 13.

(*l*) As I was informed by ſeveral members of that college.

[*B*] *A near relation of Archbiſhop Laud's.*] This Lady's maiden name was Brown, deſcended of the ancient family of Browns in Norfolk. She married firſt Dr. Richard Howlet, a Clergyman of great merit, who became a Dean in Ireland, but being driven from his deanery in the Rebellion, came over into England in very diſtreſſed circumſtances; on which account, as well as becauſe his wife was his relation, Archbiſhop Laud collated him to the rectory of Lachingdon in Eſſex. After his deceaſe ſhe married Mr. Sayon, a rich Merchant, whoſe widow ſhe was when our author eſpouſed her (2). He had by her ſeveral children, viz. a ſon who died an infant, two daughters who alſo died in their non-age, and one who ſurvived him, mentioned in the text.

(2) Preface to the Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. vi.

[*C*] *Which were then admired as the beſt pieces on that ſubject.*] The learned Dr. Harvey publiſhed his uſeful diſcovery of the circulation of the blood when our author was between eight and nine years old (3); and yet the diſputes about it were very warm after Dr. Barwick had taken his degree, the author himſelf being ſtill living. As two things were chiefly inſiſted on, firſt that the fact itſelf was ſtill dubious, and next, that admitting it certain, it was a thing known long ago even to Hippocrates, the Father of the Faculty, our author was excellently qualified to ſhine in this diſpute. The learned writings he left behind him on the human ſyſtem, though they were never publiſhed, ſufficiently demonſtrate his exquiſite ſkill in Anatomy, and his great ſagacity in applying the lights he drew from that ſcience. On the other hand, no man was ever better read than he in the ancient authors on Phyſic, whence he made it evidently appear, that ſuch as attributed this diſcovery to Hippocrates, did it only out of envy to his friend Dr. Harvey. As theſe ſuccours from ſo worthy a perſon were kindly acknowledged by that venerable old man, ſo our author himſelf, as he often told Dr. Woodward, reflected on no action of his life with greater ſatisfaction, than he did on this, of eſpouſing the cauſe of ſo worthy a perſon againſt a troop of malevolent opponents (4). To this we may add what is likewiſe a circumſtance much to our author's honour, that Dr. Woodward, late Profeſſor at Greſham-college, was his pupil, and very probably derived from him his fluency in writing and ſpeaking his elegant Latin.

(3) In his Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis, printed at Francfort, 1628.

(4) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, *&c.* p. 15.

[*D*] *His and his brother's ſervices.*] The patent under the hand and ſeal of Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter King at Arms, bears date the 20th of November 1661, and recites, That whereas nothing can be more juſt, than that ſuch as have deſerved well of their Prince and of their country, ſhould be properly diſtinguiſhed, and their merits pointed out to poſterity, and whereas nothing hath more effectually anſwered the former purpoſe, or furniſhed ſtronger incitements to loyalty, or virtuous atchievements in the latter, than the rules obſerved in bearing arms; and whereas the reverend John Barwick, Profeſſor of Divinity, Chaplain to his Majeſty, late Dean of Durham, and then of St. Paul's, and his brother, Peter Barwick, Doctor in Phyſic, and one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians in Ordinary, during the late troubleſome and diſtracted times, did conſtantly, faithfully, and aſſiduouſly, with their lives and fortunes, ſupport the royal cauſe, deſerving thereby not only an authentic conceſſion of arms to them and their poſterity, but alſo an addition and augmentation to be in them inſerted. Know therefore, that I Edward Walker, Principal King at Arms by the name of Garter, by virtue of the authority to me given by letters patents under the great ſeal of England, do hereby give, grant, and confirm, unto the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the following arms, which they have hitherto born by the ſurname of Barwick, viz. in a field argent, three bears heads ſable, muzzled, gules, and as a creſt on a helmet proper, a bear's head ſable, muzzled, gules, with a crown Or, by way of collar; ſignifying their extraordinary fidelity to the King, their many great ſervices and toilſome afflictions by them endured with patience; and I farther give and aſſign to the ſaid John and Peter Barwick, the addition and augmentation following; that is to ſay, in the midſt of the field abovementioned, a roſe gules irradiated Or, which arms, creſt, and augmentation ſhall be born by them and their poſterity, *&c.* (5). This we thought, might with greater propriety be taken notice of here than in the life of his brother John, who lived and died a bachelor.

(5) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. vii. This alſo by the permiſſion of the late Garter King at Arms, John Anſtis, Eſq; a true friend to all Engliſh Antiquaries, was examined with the Original Book of Grants, in the Heralds Office.

[*E*] *Remained all the time of the plague.*] This is taken notice of by Dr. Hodges, in his treatiſe *de Peſte*, wherein he ſays, that there were not wanting many learned and famous Phyſicians, who, notwithſtanding the great danger to which they were expoſed, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion, particularly Dr. Francis Gliſſon, Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic in the univerſity of Cambridge, Dr. Nathan. Paget, Dr. Thomas Wharton, Dr. Peter Barwick, Dr. Humphry Brooks, and others (6). This was a noble inſtance of piety, fortitude, and public ſpirit.

(6) Hodges de Peſte, p. 19.

[*F*] *In the library of St. John's college.*] Our author had a great reſpect for this learned ſociety, as appeared not only by his depoſiting theſe valuable papers there, but alſo by his lending two hundred and eight pounds to the college for many years without intereſt, and making at length a preſent of the whole ſum (7). This copy, however, was not the only one he left of his

(7) Præfat. ad Vit. Johan. Barwick, p. 17.

ſeventy fourth year of his age, and his eye-ſight ſo much decayed, that he was forced to make uſe of the hand of a friend, he added an appendix in defence of the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, againſt Dr. Walker, who was very well known to him, and of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account (*m*) [*G*]. This piece of his is written with a good deal of aſperity, occaſioned chiefly by the frequency of ſcurrilous libels againſt the memory of Charles I. To this appendix, our author, as well as he could, ſubſcribed his name. In 1694, growing quite dark, and being beſides frequently afflicted with fits of the ſtone, he gave over practice, and dedicated the remainder of his life to the ſervice of God, and the converſation of a few intimate friends, amongſt whom Dr. Buſby, the ever-famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, was one (*n*) [*H*]. From this ſedentary courſe of life, his old diſtemper the ſtone grew very much upon him, and toward the end of Auguſt 1705, being ſeized with a vomiting and looſeneſs, followed with an intermitting fever, and in a few days, with a great and ſudden evacuation of blood, he exchanged this life for a better, the fourth of September the ſame year, in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, and by his own direction, was interred without any monument, as well as with great privacy, near the body of his dear wife, in the pariſh church of St. Faith's under St. Paul's (*o*). He was a man of a very comely perſon, equally remarkable for the ſolidity of his learning, and for a wonderful readineſs as well as elegance in expreſſing it. His piety was ſincere and ſublime, his reputation abſolutely unſpotted, his loyalty exemplary, and his modeſty almoſt without example. In all ſtations of life he was admired and beloved, and of a chearful and ſerene mind in all ſituations. He was happy in the univerſal approbation of all parties, as he was himſelf charitable to all, and never vehement but in the cauſe of truth. He left behind him an only daughter, Mary, who married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherbourne in Dorſetſhire, Baronet, and brought to him a very conſiderable fortune (*p*). By this Gentleman ſhe had one ſon, Sir John Dutton, Baronet, and two daughters. The title is now extinct.

C.

(*m*) Vit. J. Barwick, p. 247.

(*n*) Præf. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(*p*) Preface to the Life of Dr. John Barwick.

his book: on the contrary, he left another MS. to his family, and a third given by him in his lifetime to Dr. Woodward, and depoſited for ſome time with the author's approbation in the library of St. Martin in the Fields. Of theſe the Cambridge copy is moſt authentic, which is fairly copied, bound up in Turkey leather, with three of the King's original letters, and an acquittance, all in his Majeſty's own hand. Together with this volume there is another of the Chancellor's, Dr. Barwick's, and other original letters and papers relating to the ſame ſubject (8).

(8) Preface to the Engliſh Life of Dr. Barwick.

[*G*] *Of whom in that treatiſe he has given a very copious account.*] This he was very capable of doing, ſince Dr. Anthony Walker, while at the univerſity of Cambridge was pupil to Dean Barwick, and a very indifferent character is given of him, though without mentioning his name, in the life of the Dean written by our author. In this appendix, the conduct not only of Dr. Walker, but Biſhop Gauden is fully expoſed, in relation to the point therein examined.

[*H*] *Dr. Buſby, the famous maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool was one.*] In Mr. Bedford's preface to the Latin life, there is inſerted an elegant letter from the ingenious Mr. Maittaire, wherein he, of his own knowledge, moſt pathetically deſcribes the dear friendſhip there was between thoſe two excellent perſons, particularly the infinite pains taken by Dr. Barwick, as a Phyſician, to alleviate the many painful diſeaſes to which, in the latter part of his life, Dr. Buſby was ſubject. The piece itſelf, though very curious and entertaining, is too long to be inſerted here (9).

(9) Præfat. ad Vit. J. Barwick, p. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

BASIER, or BASIRE (Isaac), a learned and active Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in the Iſle of Jerſey (*a*), in the year 1607 [*A*]. In what ſchool and univerſity he received his education is altogether unknown. For ſome time, he was maſter of the college or free-ſchool at Guernſey (*b*): But, at length, became Chaplain to Thomas Morton Biſhop of Durham (*c*), who gave him the rectory of Stanhope, and the vicarage of Eggleſcliff, both in the county of Durham (*d*). In July 1640, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him at Cambridge, by mandate (*e*); and was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford, the November following (*f*). About that time he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles I (*g*). On the twelfth of December 1643, he was inſtalled into the ſeventh prebend in the church of Durham, to which he was collated by his generous patron Biſhop Morton (*h*). The next year, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, he was alſo collated to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, with the rectory of Howick annexed (*i*). But he did not long enjoy theſe great preferments. For, in the beginning of the Civil Wars, being ſequeſtered, purſevanted, plundered, and forced to fly (*k*), he repaired to King Charles at Oxford, before whom, and his Parliament; he frequently preached (*l*). In 1646, he had a licence granted him under the public ſeal of the univerſity, to preach the word of God throughout England (*m*). Upon the ſurrender of the Oxford garriſon to the Parliament, not caring to ſtay any longer within the Britiſh dominions, he reſolved to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to go and propagate the doctrine of the Engliſh Church in the Eaſt, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. (*n*). Leaving therefore his family in England, he went firſt to Zante, an iſland near the Morea, where he made ſome ſtay; and had good ſucceſs in ſpreading among the

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. Faſti, col. 285, 286. edit. Lond. 1721.

(*b*) From the information of a friend.

(*c*) Life of Biſhop Morton, 8*vo*, p. 85.

(*d*) J. Walker's Attempt towards recovering the number and ſufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714, fol. p. 19. Tit. Durham.

(*e*) As appears from the univerſity regiſters.

(*f*) Wood, ubi ſupra. In the univerſity regiſter, he is ſtiled, *Vir doctiſſimus—ingenii & doctrinæ ornamentis præditus*, *i. e.* a very learned and ingenious man.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727. 4*to*. p. 270.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 263. 280.

(*k*) J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) *Ibid.* and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 57.

(*n*) Wood, Vol. i. Faſti, col. 286. J. Walker, ubi ſupra.

(1) Faſti, Vol. i. col. 285.

(*) View of the Government and Public Worſhip in the Reformed Churches, Lond. 1662, 4*to*, Appendix, p. 341.

[*A*] *Was born in the Iſle of Jerſey, in the year 1607.*] This is expreſsly aſſerted by A. Wood (1), but it is contradicted by a gentleman, who hath imparted ſome materials to the author. And Dr. Durel, a native of Jerſey, and an intimate acquaintance of his, calls him a Frenchman born (*). There is no memorial of him in the iſland, nor any account of his birth and baptiſm in the pariſh regiſters there, which have been ſearched upon this occaſion. That he was born in the year 1607 appears from his epitaph recited below (2); for in the year 1676 when he died, he was 69 years of age.

(2) Note [*I*].

Greek inhabitants the doctrine of the Engliſh Church, the ſum whereof he imparted to ſeveral of them, in a vulgar Greek tranſlation of our Church-Catechiſm (*o*). The effect of it was ſo remarkable, that it drew envy, and conſequently perſecution, upon him from the Latins [*B*]. This occaſioned his voluntary receſs into the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia prevailed upon him to preach twice in Greek, at a meeting of ſome of his Biſhops and Clergy, which was well taken. At his departure, he left with him a copy of the Catechiſm above mentioned. From thence, after he had paſſed through Apulia, Naples, and Sicily again (in which laſt, at Meſſina, he officiated for ſome weeks a board a ſhip) he embarked for Syria; and, after ſome months ſtay at Aleppo, where he had frequent converſation with the Patriarch of Antioch, then reſident there, he left a copy of our Church-Catechiſm, tranſlated into Arabic, the native language of that place. From Aleppo he went in 1652 to Jeruſalem, and ſo travelled over all Paleſtine. At Jeruſalem he received much honour, both from the Greeks and Latins [*C*]. The Greek Patriarch (the better to expreſs his deſire of communion with the Church of England, declared by the Doctor unto him) gave him his bull, or patriarchal ſeal, in a blank, which is their way of credence, and ſhewed him many other reſpects. As for the Latins, they received him moſt courteouſly into their own convent, though he did openly profeſs himſelf a Prieſt of the Church of England. After ſome diſputes about the validity of our Engliſh ordinations, they procured him entrance into the temple of the ſepulchre, at the rate of a Prieſt, that is half in half leſs than a layman's rate [*D*]; and, at his departure from Jeruſalem, the Pope's Vicar gave him his diploma in parchment, under his own hand and public ſeal, in it ſtyling him, 'a Prieſt of the Church of England, and Doctor of 'Divinity (*p*);' at which title many marvelled, eſpecially the French Embaſſador at Conſtantinople. Returning to Aleppo, he paſſed over the Euphrates and went into Meſopotamia, Abraham's country, where he intended to ſend the Church-Catechiſm in Turkiſh, to ſome of their Biſhops, who were moſtly Armenians. This Turkiſh tranſlation was procured by the care of Sir Thomas Bendyſhe, the Engliſh Embaſſador at Conſtantinople. After his return from Meſopotamia, he wintered at Aleppo, where he received ſeveral courteſies from the Conſul, Mr. Henry Riley. In the beginning of the year 1653, he departed from Aleppo, and came to Conſtantinople by land, being ſix hundred miles, without either ſervant, or Chriſtian, or any man with him, that could ſo much as ſpeak the Frank language [*E*]: Yet, by the help of ſome Arabic he had picked up at Aleppo, he performed that journey in the company of twenty Turks, who uſed him courteouſly; the rather, becauſe he was by the way, Phyſician to them and their friends: A ſtudy (as he ſays) whereunto the iniquity of the times, and the opportunity of Padua drove him (*q*). After his arrival at Conſtantinople, the French Proteſtants there deſired him to be their Miniſter. And, though he declared to them his reſolution to officiate according to the Engliſh liturgy (a tranſlation whereof, for want of a printed copy, coſt him no little labour) yet they orderly ſubmitted to it, and promiſed to ſettle on him, in three reſponſible mens hands, a competent ſtipend: And all this, as they told him, with the expreſs conſent of the French Embaſſador, but ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador [*F*]. Before he quitted the Eaſtern parts, he intended to paſs into Egypt, in order to take a ſurvey of the churches of the Cophties, and confer with the Patriarch of Alexandria, as he

(*o*) Letter written by Dr. Baſier to Sir Ric. Brown, at the end of The ancient Liberty of the Britannic Church, Lond. 1661.

(*p*) Sacerdotem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, & SS. Theologiæ Doctorem.

(*q*) Letter, as above.

[*B*] *From the Latins.*] The Latins are thoſe members of the Romiſh Church, diſperſed throughout the Eaſt; who, becauſe they perform their divine ſervice in the Latin tongue, are thence called Latins.

[*C*] *He received much honour both from the Greeks and Latins.*] Who the Latins are, hath been explained in the laſt note. As for the Greeks, they are ſuch of the original inhabitants as are Chriſtians and members of the Greek Church.

[*D*] *They procured him entrance into the temple of the ſepulchre at the rate of a Prieſt*, &c.] Chriſtians having always expreſſed an uncommon regard, and extreme veneration, for the place of Jeſus Chriſt's burial (on which a church is built), when the Turks became poſſeſſed of thoſe places, they took care to make an advantage of it. And therefore the church doors are guarded by ſeveral Janizaries and other Turkiſh officers; who are placed there to watch, that none enter in, but ſuch as have firſt paid their appointed caphar or tribute: This is more or leſs, according to the country, or character of the perſons that enter. For Franks (*i. e.* Europeans) it is ordinarily fourteen dollars a head, unleſs they are Eccleſiaſtics; for in that caſe it is but half ſo much, namely ſeven dollars. Having once paid this caphar, you may go in and out gratis as often as you pleaſe during the whole feaſt of Eaſter; provided you take the opportunities in which it is cuſtomary to open the doors. But if you would have them opened purpoſely for your own private occaſion, then the firſt expence muſt be paid again (3). The care of the holy ſepulchre formerly belonged to the Greeks; but was in the laſt century, committed to the Latins: For there being violent diſputes and animoſities about it between the two nations, ſo that, in ſtriving which ſhould go in to celebrate their maſs, they proceeded to blows and even wounds; Lewis the Fourteenth, in order to put an end to thoſe infamous quarrels, did, about the year 1685, write a letter to the Grand Viſier, wherein he requeſted him to order the holy ſepulchre to be put into the hands of the Latins. The conſequence of which letter, and of other inſtances made by that King, was, that the ſepulchre was appropriated about the year 1690, to the Latins: Since which time they alone have the privilege to ſay maſs in it. And though Chriſtians of all nations are permitted to go into it for their private devotions, yet none may ſolemnize any public office of religion there, but the Latins (4).

(3) A Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, by Hen. Maundrell, 4th edit. Oxford, 1721, 8*vo*, p. 67, 68.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 70, 71.

[*E*] *The Frank language.*] That is any of the European languages. For the Turks give the general name of Franks to the European nations, whether French, Engliſh, Dutch, *&c.*

[*F*] *But ſtill under the roof and protection of the Engliſh Embaſſador.*] 'How long, adds he, this li-'berty may laſt, I know not, becauſe they are all of 'them bred after the Geneva diſcipline, and conſe-'quently, not like to perſevere, or to be ſuffered to 'go on in our way, out of which, God willing, I 'am reſolved not to depart, though for it I loſe this, 'as I have loſt all.' This paſſage I take notice of, becauſe it plainly manifeſts the Doctor's inviolable affection for the Church of England.

had done already with the other three Patriarchs, partly to acquire the knowledge of thoſe Churches, and partly to publiſh and give them a true notion of the Church of England (*r*). But whether he accompliſhed his deſign, is not certain. He went next into Tranſilvania, where he was entertained for ſeven years by George Ragotzi the Second, Prince of that country; who honoured him with the divinity-chair in his new-founded univerſity of Alba Julia (or Weiſſenburg) and endowed him, though a mere ſtranger to him, with a very ample ſalary (*s*). During his travels he collated the ſeveral confeſſions of faith of the different ſorts of Chriſtians, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Maronites, &c. which confeſſions he kept by him in their own languages (*t*). His conſtant deſign and endeavour, whilſt he remained in the Eaſt, was, to perſuade the Chriſtians of the ſeveral denominations there, to a canonical reformation of ſome errors; and to diſpoſe and incline them to a communion, or unity, with the Church of England (*u*). But his pious intentions were afterwards defeated by the artifices of the Court of France (*w*). Upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II., Dr. Baſier was recalled by his Majeſty to England, in a letter written to Prince Ragotzi. But this unfortunate Prince dying ſoon after, of the wounds he received in a battle with the Turks at Gyala, the care of his ſolemn obſequies was committed to the Doctor by his relict, Princeſs Sophia, whereby he was kept a year longer out of England (*x*). At length returning in 1661, he was reſtored to his preferments and dignities; and made Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. (*y*) He wrote ſeveral things [*G*]. Having for many years after the Reſtoration, quietly enjoyed his large revenues, he died on the 12th of October in the year 1676, and in the 69th year of his age (*z*): And was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham [*H*], where a tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription, ſet down below in the note [*I*]. His character ſufficiently appears from what hath been ſaid of him in this article: Namely, That he was a learned, active, and induſtrious man; a true ſon of the Church of England; and a loyal ſubject to his two maſters, King Charles I. and II. [*K*]. His ſon, John Baſire, Eſq; who had been Receiver General for the four weſtern counties, died on the 2d of June 1722, in the 77th year of his age (*a*).

(*r*) Letter, as above.

(*s*) Dr. Baſier's own words, in Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 526. See alſo Wood's Faſti, Vol. i. col. 286.

(*t*) Letter to Sir Rich. Brown, as above.

(*u*) *Ibid.*

(*w*) See *Etat. preſent des Nations & Egliſes Grecque Armenienne, &c. par le Sieur de la Croix.* Paris 1695, 12*mo*, in the Preface.

(*x*) Dr. Baſier, in Kennet, ubi ſupra.

(*y*) See his epitaph below.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

(*a*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. vii. p. 29. of the Chronological Diary.

[*G*] *He wrote ſeveral things.*] Namely, I. *Deo & Eccleſiæ Sacrum*; 'Sacrilege arraigned and condemned by St. Paul, Romans ii. 22. Oxford 1646, 4*to*.' Reprinted at London in 1668, 8*vo*. II. *Diatriba de antiquâ Eccleſiæ Britannicæ libertate*; written on occaſion of Chr. Juſtell's intended *Geographia Sacro-politica*, but which was never publiſhed. It was found in the Lord Hopton's cabinet after his deceaſe, by Richard Watſon an exile for his loyalty, who not only cauſed it to be printed at Bruges in 1656, 8*vo*, but alſo tranſlated it into Engliſh, and put it out under the title of 'The ancient Liberty of the Britannic Church, and the legitimate exemption thereof from the Roman Patriarchate, diſcourſed on four poſitions, and aſſerted, &c.' To which are ſubjoined, 'Three chapters concerning the Privileges of the Britannic Church, &c. ſelected out of a Latin manuſcript intitled, *Cathelico-Romanus Pacificus*, written by F. I Barnes of the Order of St. Benedict.' At the end, there is 'A Letter, written by Dr. Baſier to the Honourable Sir Richard Brown, when Reſident at Paris for his Majeſty of Great Britain; relating his travels and endeavours to propagate the knowledge of the doctrine and diſcipline, eſtabliſhed in the Britannic Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c. dated from Pera, near Conſtantinople, 20 Julii, 1653.' Sir Richard Brown, in a letter to R. Watſon, printed at the beginning of this book, obſerves, 'That he could never read this letter, but as a kind of nine and twentieth of the Acts.' The Doctor wrote ſome farther accounts of his travels, in letters to Sir George Radcliffe, but they could not be recovered. This book, dedicated by the tranſlator to Sir Richard Brown above-mentioned, was printed at London 1661, ſmall 8*vo*. III. Dr. Baſier hath alſo written, 'The Hiſtory of the Engliſh and Scotch Preſbytery, Lond. 1659, 1660, 8*vo*.' IV. *Oratio privata, boni Theologi (ſpeciatim concionatoris practici) partes præcipuas complectens.* Lond. 1670, 8*vo*, in half a ſheet. V. 'The dead man's real ſpeech;' being a ſermon on Hebr. xi. 4. at the funeral of Dr. John Coſin, late Biſhop of Durham, 29th of April, 1672. 'Together with a brief (account) of the life, dignities, benefactions, principal actions and ſufferings of the ſaid Biſhop:' And an Appendix of his 'profeſſion and practice, and of his laſt will concerning religion.' Lond. 1673, 8*vo*. Mr. Wood thinks he publiſhed ſome other things, but does not mention what they were (5).

(5) Wood's Faſti Vol. i. col. 286.

(6) Col. 286.

[*H*] *He was buried in the yard belonging to the cathedral of Durham.*] And, as Wood informs us (6), 'Near the body of an ancient ſervant that had lived many years with him, and not by that of his wife in the cathedral.'

[*I*] *A tomb was erected over his grave, with an inſcription*, &c.] The inſcription on this tomb, is as follows: *Depoſitum* IS. BASIRE, S. T. D. *Archidiaconi* Northumbr. *hujus eccleſiæ Canonici, & Regibus aug.* CAROLO I. & CAROLO II. *a Sacris, qui obdormivit* 12 *die Octob. Anno Domini* 1676. *anno Ætatis ſuæ* 69. 1 Theſſ. iv. *Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jeſum adducet cum eo* (7); *i. e.* 'Here lie the remains of *ISAAC BASIRE, D. D.* Archdeacon of Northumberland, Prebendary of this Church, and Chaplain to their Majeſties King *CHARLES* I. and II., who fell on ſleep the 12th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1676, and in the 69th year of his age. 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 14. Them which ſleep in Jeſus, will God bring with him.'

(7) J. Le Neve Monum. Anglic. from 1650, to 1679, p. 171. n. 432. and Willis, ubi ſupra, p 263.

[*K*] *A true ſon of the Church of England; and a loyal ſubject*, &c.] An undeniable inſtance of this, and a ſignal proof of his ſincerity was, his ſuffering the loſs of his large preferments, rather than ſubmit to what he thought unlawful. And a farther confirmation of it was the reſolution he took, 'not to exerciſe his function where the duty of praying for King Charles ſhould be prohibited.' Accordingly, he refuſed from the Conſul at Smyrna the offer of a plentiful ſupport, becauſe that would not be allowed (8). But, let us hear the Doctor's own words to the ſame effect (9). 'I ſhould now, ſays he, long for a comfortable *poſtliminium* (return) to my family; but yet I am reſolved rather *intermori* (to die) in theſe toilſome eccleſiaſtical peregrinations, than to decline the leaſt, on either hand, from my religion, or allegiance.' M.

(8) R. Watſon, in his epiſtle dedicatory at the beginning of 'The ancient Liberty of the Britannic Church.'

(9) Concluſion of his Letter to Sir R. Brown, as above.

BASINGE (John) (*a*), more commonly known by the name of *Baſingſtochius*, or *de Baſingſtoke*, was born at Baſingſtoke, a town in the north part of Hampſhire, and from thence took his ſurname (*b*). He was a perſon highly eminent for virtue and learning. For having very good natural parts, he ſo improved them by ſtudy, that he became a perfect maſter of the Latin and Greek languages; and alſo an eloquent Orator, a complete Mathema-

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. Lond. 1709, p. 266. Baleus de Script. cent. iv. n. 15.

(*b*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. an. 1252.

Mathematician, a ſubtil Philoſopher, and a ſound Divine (*c*). The foundation of his great learning he laid in the univerſity of Oxford (*d*), and, for his farther improvement, went to Paris [*A*], where he reſided ſome years (*e*). Not ſatisfied with that, he travelled to Athens (*f*), that agreeable ſeat of the Muſes, and the mother of all polite literature, where he made many curious obſervations, and perfected himſelf in his ſtudies, particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue [*B*]. At his return from thence to England, he brought over with him ſeveral curious Greek manuſcripts (*g*), and introduced the uſe of the Greek numeral figures into this kingdom (*h*). He became alſo a very great promoter and encourager of the ſtudy of that language (*i*), which was much neglected in theſe weſtern parts of the world [*C*]: And to facilitate it, he tranſlated from Greek into Latin a Grammar (*k*), which he entitled, The Donatus of the Greeks [*D*]. Our author's merit and learning recommended him to the eſteem of all lovers of literature; particularly to the favour of Robert Groſteſte, Biſhop of Lincoln, by whom he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Leiceſter, as he had been ſome time before to that of London (*l*). He died in the year 1252 (*m*), the 26th of King Henry III.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Leland, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*g*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. 1640. p. 835.

(*i*) Leland, ubi ſupra, p. 267.

(*k*) M. Paris, & Leland, *ibid.*

(*l*) Leland, Baleus, & Pits, *ibid.*

(*m*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *For his farther improvement went to Paris.*] The univerſity of Paris was then, and had been for ſome years before in great reputation, on account of the famous perſons that taught there; namely, Peter Abailard, Alberic of Reims, and eſpecially Peter Lombard. See *Cinquieme diſcours ſur l'Hiſtoire Eccleſiaſtique, par l'Abbé* Fleury (1).

(1) Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique par M. Fleury, tom. xvii. Paris, 1721, 12*mo*.

[*B*] *Particularly in the knowledge of the Greek tongue.*] He uſed to ſay that he learned *moſt* there, from a young Lady named Conſtantina, daughter of the Archbiſhop of Athens; who, before the age of twenty, was a prodigy of learning, and, through her great ſkill in Natural Philoſophy, could foretel plagues, earthquakes, thunder, eclipſes, and the like (2).

(2) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *Which was much neglected in theſe weſtern parts of the world.*] From the ninth to the fourteenth century, nay even to part of the fifteenth, the ignorance in all points of learning, and among the reſt in the Greek tongue was extreme. So that, as Eſpencæus obſerves (3), *Græcè noſſe ſuſpectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*; for a man to underſtand Greek, rendered him ſuſpected; but, if he knew Hebrew, it made him be looked upon almoſt as a Heretic. The Monk's ſaying is alſo well known, *Græcum non eſt legi*, Greek is not to be read. For more inſtances of that monſtrous ignorance, See an Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God, by George Hakewill, D. D. (4).

(3) 2 Tim. iii. Digreſſione 17.

(4) Book iii. c. vii. § 2.

[*D*] *Which he entitled, The Donatus of the Greeks.*] The reſt of his works are, I. A Latin tranſlation of a Harmony of the Goſpels. II. A volume of ſermons. III. *Particulæ ſententiarum per diſtinctiones*, or a Commentary upon part of Lombard's Sentences, *&c.* (5).

(5) Baleus, Leland, & Pits, *ib.*

——It was he alſo that informed, Robert, Biſhop of Lincoln, that he had ſeen at Athens, a book called The Teſtament of the XII Patriarchs. Upon which the Biſhop ſent for it, and tranſlated it into Latin (6), and it was printed among the *Orthodoxographa*, Baſileæ, 1555, fol. M.

(6) M. Paris, ubi ſupra.

BASKERVILE (Sir Simon), Knight, (of the ancient family of the Baſkerviles in Herefordſhire) (*a*), an excellent ſcholar and eminent Phyſician, famous for his ſkill in Anatomy, and happy practice (*b*) in the time of King James the Firſt, and King Charles the Firſt, born at Exeter 1573, was the ſon of Thomas Baſkervile, an Apothecary of that city (*c*), who obſerving an early love of knowledge and thirſt after learning in his ſon, gave him a proper education for the univerſity, to which he was ſent about eighteen years old, entering him in Exeter-college in Oxford, on the 10th of March 1591, putting him under the care of Mr. William Helm (*d*), a man no leſs famous for his piety than learning, under whoſe tutorſhip he gave ſuch early proofs of his love of virtue and knowledge, that he was on the firſt vacancy elected Fellow of that houſe, before he had taken his Bachelor's degree in Arts, which delayed his taking it, till July the eighth, 1596 (*e*), to which he ſoon after added that of Arts-Maſter; and when he was admitted, had particular notice taken of him (according to our author's own words) for his admirable knowledge in Humanity and Philoſophy (*f*) [*A*]. After this, viz. 1606, he was choſen Senior Proctor of the univerſity; when he bent his ſtudy wholly to Phyſic, in the knowledge of which uſeful faculty, he became a moſt eminent proficient, and was then in as great eſteem at the univerſity for his admirable knowledge in medicine, as he had been before for other parts of learning, taking at once by accumulation (on the 20th of June, 1611) both his degrees therein, viz. that of Bachelor and Doctor (*g*). After many years ſtudy and induſtry, leaving the univerſity, he came to London, where he became of great eminency in his profeſſion; being a member of the College of Phyſicians, and for ſome time alſo Preſident thereof (*h*). His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in Phyſic [*B*], ſoon brought him in vogue at court, where he was ſworn Phyſician to King James the Firſt,

(*a*) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's, p. 107.

(*b*) Dugdale, ut ſupra.

(*c*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 93.

(*d*) Dr. Prideaux's Epiſt. Dedic. to his Conſecration Sermon, as in note [*B*]. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 539.

(*e*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 778.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 811.

(*g*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*h*) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 94.

[*A*] *For his admirable knowledge in humanity and philoſophy.*] He was ſo noted and eminent for his excellent parts, knowledge of the arts and ſciences, and quickneſs in arguing, that, upon the firſt coming of King James to ſee that flouriſhing univerſity, he was choſen as a prime perſon to diſpute before him in the philoſophic art, which he performed with great applauſe of his Majeſty, who was not only there as an hearer, but as an accurate judge.——After this he had the honour to be one of the Proctors of that univerſity, which gave him farther occaſion of ſhewing himſelf publicly; and, having laid his grounds ſo firmly in Natural Philoſophy, he went on happily in the ſtudy of Phyſic, according to the known method of *Ubi deſinit Philoſophus, ibi incipit Medicus* (1).

(1) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St. Paul's, p. 107.

[*B*] *His high reputation for learning, great ſkill and good ſucceſs in phyſic.*] This gentleman is one of the famous men mentioned by Dr. John Prideaux (as the great ornament of Exeter college, nay even of the univerſity itſelf in their time) in his epiſtle to the reader before his conſecration ſermon (2); the dedication whereof (to the right worſhipful George Hakewill, D. D. Archdeacon of Surry, and founder of St. James's Chapel), after a ſhort preamble, runs thus: 'About 'your ſtanding in Exeter college, what a knot of *noted* 'ſcholars appeared in ſight of one another, to the cre- 'dit of our common mother, who ſupplied her other 'defects with ſuch a fair iſſue?' He then enumerates the 'ſeveral perſons,' and among the reſt Dr. Baſkervile, (whom he compliments with the title of a *Worthy Phyſician*)

(2) Preached at the conſecration of St. James's chapel, Exeter-college, Oct. 5, 1624.

First, and afterwards to King Charles the First: with whom, Mr. Wood (*i*) tells us, he was in such esteem for his learning and accomplishments, that he conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. —— He, by his practice, obtained a very plentiful estate, and shewed in his life a noble spirit suitable to the largeness of his fortune [*C*]. What family he left besides his wife, or who became his heir to all his great wealth, we can no ways find: He died July the 5th, 1641, aged 68 years (*k*), and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London; unto which, says Mr. *Prince*, 'he had probably 'been a liberal benefactor.' Adding, where, if he had any monument erected to his memory [*D*], it fell under the ruins of that church, occasioned by the dreadful conflagration, which happened in the year 1666 (*l*).

(*i*) Fasti Oxon. Vol. i. p. 811. See also Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 107.

(*k*) Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's p. 106, 107. where also see his monument, as below in note [*D*].

(*l*) Danmonii Illustr. p. 94.

Physician) 'who had there laid those grounds which, 'since improved, have attained *that height* the *world* 'now *takes notice of.*'

[*C*] *He by his practice obtained a plentiful estate, and shewed in his life a noble spirit, suitable to the largeness of his fortune.*] No Physician of that age could, we imagine, have better practice than he, if what is reported of him be true, viz. that he had no less than one hundred patients a week; so that it is not at all strange he should amass so great an heap of wealth, as to acquire the title of *Sir Simon Baskervile the Rich* (3). *Fuller*, speaking concerning the stoppage of the river *Ex* in Devon, has the following words: 'Some 'knowing *Sir Simon Baskervile*, a Physician, and na- 'tive of this place, to have a plentiful purse and a 'public spirit, wished he would have taken the work 'in hand to cure this obstruction; but it was no Phy- 'sician's work to meddle therewith, nor is it either 'powder or steel, or gilded pills, which can do the 'deed, but only pills of massy gold and silver (4).'— *As to his spirit being equal to the largeness of his fortune*, we have, among others, the following instances recorded of him: That being a great friend to the clergy and inferior loyal gentry, *he would never take a fee of an orthodox minister under a Dean, nor of any suffering Cavalier in the* cause of King Charles the First, *under a gentleman of an hundred a year*, but would also with physic to their bodies generally give relief to their necessities (5).

(3) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, &c. p. 539.

(4) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 276.

(5) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. p. 635.

[*D*] *Adding, where if he had any monument erected to his memory*, &c.] By this Mr. Prince seems to make a doubt, or at least not to know of his having a monument at all. —— But in a catalogue of tombs, inscriptions, &c. of memorable persons (6) in London, destroyed by the fire, we find the name of Sir Simon Baskervile, Knight, M. D. as having one; but Dugdale (7) goes yet farther, giving the very figure of the marble tablets, on which were the following inscriptions:

(6) Printed in 1668.

(7) History of St. Paul's, p. 106.

On one,

NEERE THIS PLACE LYETH BURIED THE BODY OF THAT WORTHY AND LEARNED GENT. SIR SIMON BASKERVILE KNIGHT AND DR IN PHYSICK WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 3D OF *(it should be the 5th)* July 1641 AGED 68 YEARS

And on another,

P. M. CHARISSIM: CONJUGIS, P: KATH. RELICTA S: BASKERVILE EQ: AUR. O.

[BASKERVILLE (JOHN) (*), a very ingenious artist of the present century, especially in letter-founding and printing, was born, in January 1706, at Woverley, in Worcestershire, and was heir to an estate of about sixty pounds a year; the whole income of which estate, with an exemplary filial piety and generosity, he allowed to his parents till their deaths, which happened at an advanced age. He was brought up to no particular trade or profession; but acquired, early in life, a love for fine writing and cutting in stone, in which arts he attained to great proficiency. When he was about twenty years old, he commenced Writing-master at Birmingham. In a little while his active genius, attentive to the improvements which were making in the rising manufactures of that industrious town, and formed for the invention of such improvements, led him to the japan business. This he carried on a long time with distinguished excellence and success. Mr. Baskerville applied himself, in 1750, to letter-founding, the bringing of which to perfection cost him much labour, and was accompanied with a very large expence. From letter-founding he proceeded, in a few years, to printing. The first work published by him was an edition of Virgil, in royal quarto, which now sells for three guineas. Soon after this, he obtained leave, from the university of Cambridge, to print a Bible in royal folio, and editions of the Common Prayer in three sizes; for the permission of doing which he paid a great premium to that university. He afterwards printed Horace, Terence, Catullus, Lucretius, Juvenal, Sallust, and Florus in quarto royal, Virgil in octavo, and several books in 12*mo*. He published, likewise, some of our English Classics. These publications rank the name of Baskerville with those persons who have the most contributed, at least in modern times, to the beauty and improvement of the art of printing. Indeed, it is needless to say to what perfection he has brought this excellent art. The paper, the type, and the whole execution of the works performed by him are the best testimonies of their merit. Mr. Baskerville, however, not meeting with that encouragement from the booksellers which he hoped for and expected, set up, a little before his death, a letter-foundry for sale, which business is now carried on by his widow. He died in January, 1775, leaving no issue.

(*) From information of the family, communicated by Mr. Joseph Wilkinson, Merchant in Birmingham.

Mr. Derrick, in a letter written to the Earl of Corke, July 15, 1760, containing a description of Birmingham, says, 'I need not remind your Lordship, that Baskerville, 'one of the best printers in the world, was born in this town (*a*), and resides near it. 'His house stands at about half a mile's distance, on an eminence that commands a fine 'prospect. I paid him a visit, and was received with great politeness, though an entire 'stranger. His apartments are elegant; his staircase is particularly curious; and the 'room in which he dines, and calls a smokeing-room, is very handsome. The grate 'and furniture belonging to it are, I think, of bright wrought iron, and cost him a 'round sum. —— He has just completed an elegant 8*vo* Common Prayer Book; has a

(*a*) This, as we have seen, was a mistake.

'ſcheme for publiſhing a grand folio edition of the Bible; and will ſoon finiſh a beautiful 'collection of Fables by the ingenious Mr. Dodſley (*b*). He manufactures his own 'paper, types, and ink; and they are remarkably good. This ingenious artiſt carries 'on a great trade in the japan way, in which he ſhewed me ſeveral uſeful articles, 'ſuch as candleſticks, ſtands, ſalvers, waiters, bread-baſkets, tea-boards, &c. elegantly 'deſigned, and highly finiſhed.—Baſkerville is a great cheriſher of genius, which, 'wherever he finds it, he loſes no opportunity of cultivating. One of his workmen has 'manifeſted fine talents for fruit-painting, in ſeveral pieces which he ſhewed me (*c*).' The writer of this article can add his own teſtimony concerning Mr. Baſkerville's politeneſs to ſtrangers, and the chearful hoſpitality with which he treated thoſe who were introduced to him. He was well known to many ingenious men, and was particularly intimate with the late Mr. Robert Dodſley and Mr. Shenſtone.] K.

(*b*) All ſince publiſhed.

(*c*) Derrick's Letters, Vol. i. p. 4, 5.

BASNET (EDWARD), Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was an active man at the time of the Reformation, and a Privy-Counſellor to King Henry VIII., and King Edward VI. He was deſcended of an Eſquire's family, long ſeated at Eaton in the county of Denbigh, in Wales, and had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him [*A*]; for we find no ſuch names in hiſtory or records planted in Ireland before his time. He was preſented (*a*) by King Henry VIII. to the vicarage of Swords, in the dioceſe of Dublin, on the 11th of May, 1535, during the vacancy of that ſee by the murder of Archbiſhop Allen (*b*); and this is the firſt promotion we find he had in Ireland; ſo that in all probability he came over the year before in the retinue and under the countenance of Sir William Skeffington, Lord-Deputy. About the latter end of April 1537, he was elected by the Chapter Dean of the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin [*B*], that dignity being void on the the eighth of the ſaid month by the death of Geoffry Fitche, his predeceſſor; and this promotion gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal [*C*]. He was ſtiled Sir Edward Baſnet, and is ſo named in an act of parliament of that time [*D*]; not that he had been dubbed a Knight, but was called ſo in the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity [*E*]. However active he was in the work of the Reformation, when he found his Prince, King Henry the Eighth, was in earneſt to ſhake off the Pope's power, it is certain, he did not ſhew his zeal in other particulars, by running ſo faſt into it as his Metropolitan, Archbiſhop Brown, had done; who having received an order (*c*) from the Lord Thomas Cromwell, for removing all ſuperſtitious images and reliques out of the churches of his dioceſe, he ſet about it immediately, and removed them from all his pariſh churches. But the cathedral of St. Patrick's being not under his juriſdiction, as Ordinary, but under the Dean alone, he could not make any alteration there, but through the Dean in perſon, who had neglected to carry this order into execution. The Prior of Chriſt-Church, who was head officer of that cathedral, was guilty of the ſame diſobedience, and both of them had written to Rome for encouragement. The Archbiſhop attributes this their negligence to their avarice (*d*), on account of the rich offerings that devotees uſed to make at the ſhrines of the ſaints. Wherefore he applied to the Lord Privy-ſeal, Cromwell, for a more extenſive commiſſion, in the execution of which, if occaſion required, he might be ſupported by the civil power [*F*]. It is not likely that Dean Baſnet waited to ſee ſuch a new coercive authority in the hands of his Metropolitan: For he received ſuch honours from his Prince, for his

(*a*) Rot. Canc. Hib. 27 Hen. VIII.

(*b*) Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1534.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 256.

(*d*) *Ibid.* and Ware's Annals, ad ann. 1538.

[*A*] *Had ſome relations in Ireland, who probably came over with him.*] One Finian Baſſet was a near relation of his, who was ſeated at Nangre, in the county of Dublin, to whom Richard Baſnet of Eaton in Denbighſhire, Eſq; was heir. Our Edward, being a married man, had a daughter named Catherine, who was married to one Patrick Dillon.

[*B*] *Elected Dean of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.*] The Chapter of this cathedral had a right of electing their own Deans conferred on them by the crown, as early as the beginning of the reign of King Henry III.; and this right of election, after the ſuppreſſion of the cathedral in the laſt year of King Henry VIII., was expreſsly renewed to the Chapter, by the charter of renovation of 3d and 4th Philip and Mary.

[*C*] *Gave him a rank almoſt equal to the epiſcopal.*] The juriſdiction of the Dean of this church, is called *quaſi epiſcopalis*, as it were epiſcopal, and is founded upon the model of the church of Sarum in England. He is Lord of a manor extended about the cathedral, and has a ſeneſchal for holding courts leet and baron.

[*D*] *Named Sir Edward Baſnet in an act of Parliament of that time.*] He is ſo named in an Iriſh ſtatute of 28 *Hen.* VIII., chap. xiv. for the payment of the 20th parts, whereby it is provided, 'That nothing 'in the ſaid act ſhould extend to charge the ſaid Sir 'Edward Baſnet, now Dean of the ſaid cathedral 'church of St. Patrick's Dublin, for the payment of the 'ſaid twentieth part of the yearly profit or revenue 'of the ſaid deanery, till the feaſt of the nativity of 'our Lord, which ſhall be in the year 1538.' The ſame act diſcharged him, and the other dignitaries of the ſaid church, for the time being, from going or ſending to any hoſting, road, voyage, or journey, under the penalty of ten pounds forfeiture on the Sheriff who ſhould diſtrain for his or their abſence; the weight of which extraordinary charges of hoſting for reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the Engliſh government, uſed to be borne by ſuch ſubjects as were anſwerable to the Engliſh laws; and whenever they failed to ſend their proportion of armed men and horſes, they were amerced in certain ſums of money.

[*E*] *In the ſame ſenſe as thoſe are called Sirs, who have taken the firſt degree in the univerſity.*] In this ſenſe it is taken by Selden (1), and Chamberlayne (2); and we find in Chaucer and Shakeſpeare, Clergymen frequently introduced under the titles of Sirs, though they were no Knights.

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 551.

(2) Preſent State of England, Part iii. ch. iv.

[*F*] *Applied for a more extenſive commiſſion, and required to be ſupported by the civil power.*] All the matter alledged above in the text, appears from a complaining letter (3) of Archbiſhop Brown's couched in theſe terms, viz. 'I have obſerved your Lordſhip's let-'ter of commiſſion, and do find ſeveral of my pupils 'leave me for ſo doing. I will not put others in their 'livings

(3) See Ware's Engliſh Annals, in the Life of Geo. Brown, p. 150.

his fidelity and perſonal bravery againſt the Popiſh rebels, as wipes off any ſuſpicion of his being a bigot to Popery; farther, than ſtanding out a while againſt innovations, until he ſaw upon what foundation they were built. In 1539, O-Neal and O-Donnel, with ſome other Iriſh chieftains, or heads of clans, conſpired againſt the gentlemen of the Pale [*G*], and made terrible ravages in the county of Meath, by burning towns and villages as far as Tara-hill, before the country was able to oppoſe them. The Lord-Deputy Grey, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, and the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, marched out to ſuppreſs the inſolence of the rebels; and Dean Baſnet, laying aſide his ſacerdotal habit, ſerved in a military capacity upon this occaſion. Both armies were encamped on each ſide of the river Belahoa, where the Engliſh waited till their whole forces were come up; and then paſſing the river, they attacked the Iriſh, killed great numbers of them, put the reſt to flight, and took all their baggage. Stanihurſt (*e*) gives an account of thoſe gentlemen, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their courage and conduct in this action, and among the reſt, mentions Sir Edward Baſnet, Prieſt, who, on account of his good ſervices to the State upon this occaſion, was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council [*H*]. In 1541, an act (*f*) paſſed in the Iriſh Parliament, declaring Henry the VIIIth King of Ireland, who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland [*I*], and making it high-treaſon in any perſon to impeach that title. His Majeſty was accordingly proclaimed King of Ireland, in St. Patrick's cathedral, on the 13th of June, the principal nobility attending the ſolemnity in their parliament robes (*g*). And Dean Baſnet, with all his Chapter in their Pontificalibus; and the joy upon that occaſion in banquets, plays, and other entertainments, was very extraordinary. On the 5th of July 1542, the King wrote a letter (*h*) with his own hand to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council [*K*], 'Shewing them the neceſſity of providing good and faithful paſtors through 'the dioceſe of Dublin, for inſtructing the people in the duties of religion, and no leſs 'in obedience to thoſe new laws, which every day reſtored to them more and more of 'their Chriſtian liberty, and promoted trade and induſtry through the whole kingdom.' In 1544 a report was made by the Lord-Deputy about the ſingular merit of Dean Baſnet from the Crown. For this the King was pleaſed to reward him with a grant (*i*) to him and his heirs of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan [*L*], in the marches of the county of Dublin, to hold in capite by the ſervice of one Knight's fee for ever, and three

(*e*) Stanihurſt in Holinſhed's Ir. Chron. p. 101. and MS. Trin. Coll. Dub.

(*f*) Ir. Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. Seſſ. 1. cap. i.

(*g*) Annal. Waræi Lat. ad ann. 1541.

(*h*) Rolls of Chancery.

(*i*) Rolls Office; *ibid.*

'livings till I do know your Lordſhip's pleaſure; for 'it is meet I acquaint you firſt. The Romiſh reliques 'and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of 'the Holy Trinity, and St. Patrick's, took off the 'common people from the true worſhip; but the Prior 'and the Dean find them ſo ſweet for their gain, 'that they heed not my words: Therefore ſend in 'your Lordſhip's next to me, an order more full, 'and a chide to them and their Canons, that they 'might be removed. Let the order be, that the chiefe 'governors may aſſiſt me in it. The Prior and Dean 'have written to Rome to be encouraged, and if it 'be not hindered before they have a mandate from 'the Biſhop of Rome, the People will be bold, and 'then tug long before his Highneſs can ſubmit them 'to his Grace's orders, &c.' ———

[*G*] *Conſpired againſt the gentlemen of the Pale.*] The Pale was a canton of land, which was ſometimes larger, and ſometimes leſs, as the Engliſh power prevailed or was depreſſed. It originally comprehended all Leinſter, which, upon the Engliſh acquiſition, was divided into the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, (afterwards divided into two counties) Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, and alſo properly comprized that diſtrict, which, in latter times, was converted into ſhire ground, and called the county of Wicklow. For all Leinſter becoming the property of Earl Strongbow, upon his marriage with Eva, daughter of Mac-Murrough King of Leinſter, on the death of that Monarch in 1171, the whole became ſubject to the Engliſh power, and was called the Pale, from *Palor*, an old Latin word, which ſignified to incloſe with ſtatutes, as though the Engliſh by this imaginary fortification were ſeparated from the Iriſh. What was immediately without the Pale, was called the Marches; all within the Pale was ameſnable to law, and the King's writ obeyed there. It once extended from Dundalk, the moſt remote part of the county of Louth, to Carlow and Kilkenny; but in Queen Elizabeth's time was included within much narrower bounds. The notion of the Pale became obſolete when the whole kingdom ſubmitted to the Engliſh laws, and now is only to be found in hiſtory; the Marches of the kingdom being only the ſeas ſurrounding it.

[*H*] *For his ſervices upon this occaſion was made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council.*] Stanihurſt (4) alledges, that he was for this ſervice made alſo Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; but this muſt be a miſtake, he having been made ſo two years before this action; and it appears before, remark [*B*], that it was not in the power of the Crown to promote him to this dignity, the Deanery being elective by the Chapter.

(4) Holinſhed's Chron. p. 101.

[*I*] *Who before only enjoyed the title of Lord of Ireland.*] The Kings of England from the firſt conqueſt of Ireland to this time, never aſſumed any other title than Lords of Ireland, though they enjoyed Regal authority and juriſdiction under that ſtile, in as full a meaſure as if they had been called Kings: Yet the Iriſh did not pay the ſame reverence to the name of Lord, as they did to the name of King, and thoſe who were traiterouſly inclined often made uſe of the diſtinction to inveigle the common people into rebellion. This was the cauſe of making the ſtatute before mentioned in the text, and it anſwered the end intended by ſilencing all objections.

[*K*] *The King wrote a letter to Dean Baſnet, and others of the Privy-Council.*] The letter here mentioned was ſent in anſwer to an application made by the Privy-Council, in favour of Archbiſhop Brown, to obtain for him a remittal of a ſum of money which he owed to Lord Rochford, then a forfeiting perſon. It may not be unpleaſant to the curious reader to ſee the language and manner of writing in that age. It runs thus (*), 'We bene pleaſed at youre 'humble ſuittes to forgyve to th Archbuſhope of 'Dublyn the two hundreth and fyfte poundes, whyche 'he oughte to the late Lorde Rochford, not doubtynge but he woll the better applie his charge and 'offyce, and provyde that there may be ſome good 'prechers, to inſtructe and teche the people ther 'dutyes to God and us; the lacke whereof is grete 'in thos parties: Wyllyng therefor youe, our Deputie and Counſail, that yeoue have a ſpecialle 'regard alſoo to this poynte: And as youe may provyde, that they may lerne by good and Catholique 'teaching, and the mynyſtracione of juſtice to knowe 'Godde's lawes and ours togythir, whiche ſhall dailie 'more and more frame and conforme theym in honeſt 'lyving, and due obedyence to ther owne beneficſtes, 'and th univerſalle good of the countrey.'

(*) Chancery Rolls.

[*L*] *Grant of the caſtle, town, lands, and rectory of Kilternan.*] Kilternan lies about five miles S. S. E. of Dublin, in the road to Power's court; and was part of

three ſhillings Iriſh money, *per annum* rent. In 1545, Auguſt the 20th, the King, as a mark of his royal indulgence, granted to the Dean a particular favour [*M*], in which his Chapter, under his countenance, was concerned, which is regiſtered among the records of the deanery (*k*). About Chriſtmas this year, the Dean was employed to mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St. Leger, and the Earl of Ormond [*N*], whoſe bickerings and quarrels had cauſed no little uneaſineſs to the ſubjects; but he had the misfortune to fail of ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's gracious favour, lately conferred on the Dean and his Canons, yet, in the year 1546, the King projected (*l*) the ruin of that ancient cathedral, which he ſoon effected [*O*]. The Dean had a penſion aſſigned him of two hundred marks ſterling a year, to commence from the day that the church was ſurrendered, and penſions were ſettled by the King's Commiſſioners upon each of the Dignitaries, Prebendaries, Minor-Canons, and Vicars, in proportion to the income of their ſeveral offices before the diſſolution of the cathedral. In the firſt year of King Edward the VIth, Commiſſioners were appointed (*m*), for diſpoſing of all the revenues and buildings belonging to this cathedral. The deanery houſe, wherein Baſnet lived was given to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, who was deſired to accommodate the Lord Deputy with the Archiepiſcopal palace. Another houſe was ordered for the Lord-Chancellor's dwelling. The plate, jewels, and ornaments, were given to the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, except what was reſerved for the pariſh-church of St. Nicholas without the walls, whoſe ſervice was always celebrated in St. Patrick's church. One part of the building was ordered for holding the courts of juſtice in, while another part was appropriated to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh-church. The hall belonging to the Vicars choral, was appointed for keeping a grammar-ſchool, of which one Matthew Talbot was conſtituted maſter. The public records, which before had been kept in Bermingham tower, were removed from the caſtle, and lodged in the library of St. Patrick's; and the college of Minor-Canons and Choriſters was fitted up, for an hoſpital to entertain twelve decayed ſoldiers, worn out in the ſervice. Sir Edward Baſnet lived to ſee all theſe changes, and continued a member of the Privy-Council, during the reign of King Edward the VIth; but did not live to ſee his church reſtored to its former dignity, and all its ancient rights and privileges by King Philip and Queen Mary; for he died in the firſt of that Queen's reign, as appears by an inquiſition (*n*) *poſt mortem Edwardi Baſnet*. He continued to write himſelf Dean after the ſurrender of his cathedral. For in an act of Council (*o*) of the fifth year of Edward VI., about ſending the records of Bermingham-tower to the Library of St. Patrick's, he ſubſcribed himſelf Edward Baſnet, Dean; but a daſh of the pen is drawn over the word Dean.

(*k*) Dignitas Decani S. Patricii, MS.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 104. Annal Waræus, ad ann. 1546. Cox's Hiſt. Irel. p. 280.

(*m*) Chancery Rolls.

(*n*) Chancery Rolls.

(*o*) *Ibid.*

the poſſeſſions of the abbey of the bleſſed Virgin Mary near Dublin: After the ſuppreſſion of which it was leaſed for twenty-one years to Walter Pippard of Kilca, gentleman, whoſe intereſt therein probably Baſnet purchaſed; for he lived partly in this caſtle, and partly in the caſtle of Dean-Rath, near Cladolcan, which belongs to the deanery of St. Patrick's. Baſnet is diſtinguiſhed by both places in a pardon (5), that he ſued out in 1545, for the death of one William Fowle.

(3) Filac. Canc.

[*M*] *Granted to the Dean a particular favour.*] The favour was a licence or privilege, that if the Dean or any of the Canons of St. Patrick's, had benefices in any diſtant dioceſe, that they ſhould not be obliged to perſonal reſidence in thoſe parts, during their continuance in Dublin, as reſidentiaries near their own cathedral.

[*N*] *To mediate a reconciliation between the Lord-Deputy St. Leger and the Earl of Ormond.*] The quarrel between the Lord-Deputy and the Earl of Ormond, had its riſe the preceding year from this motive: The Exchequer being exhauſted, and the exigencies of affairs requiring a ſupply before a Parliament could be convened for that purpoſe, the Lord-Deputy by his own authority (6), would have laid ſome new and extraordinary impoſitions upon the people. The Earl of Ormond oppoſed the Deputy's proceedings; but finding his own influence could not prevail in obtaining a reſpite, he wrote letters of complaint to the Council of England, which were intercepted at ſea by a friend of the Lord-Deputy, and put into his hands. After peruſing them, he employed Dean Baſnet, as a perſon in whoſe prudence he could confide, to repair in all haſte to the caſtle of Kilkenny, and to communicate his knowledge of the letters to the Earl, that he might ſee the Deputy was not inſenſible of his complaints, and he had it in commiſſion, to reaſon with the Earl about the ſubject of their quarrel, and, if poſſible, to end the diſputes between them in a private, amicable manner, that neither the Council of England, nor the ſubjects of Ireland be troubled with their diſputes. The Dean found the Earl immoveable, and finding nothing could prevail on him to drop his complaint, he returned unſucceſsful. Soon after both parties were ſent for by the Engliſh Council, who made up the breach between them, and put an end to all diſputes.

(6) Stanihurſt in Holinſhed, p. 104. Cox, Vol. i. p. 280.

[*O*] *The King projected the ruin of that ancient cathedral, which he ſoon effected.*] On the 8th of November, 38 Henry VIII (1546), the King iſſued a commiſſion (7) to Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord-Deputy, Sir Richard Read, Lord-Chancellor, Edward Staples, Biſhop of Meath, Sir William Brabazon, Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, Sir Thomas Luttrell, Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, James Bath, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Cuſach, Maſter of the Rolls, empowering them, or any three of them, of whom Sir Anthony St. Leger was to be one, to receive a reſignation from the Dean and Chapter in perſon, of the church with all its revenues, lands, tythes, *&c.* which was accordingly complied with on the 8th of January following, and the ſame was inrolled in the High Court of Chancery. But all this was done without the conſent of the Archbiſhop, who is the chief Ordinary there, and the founder and Lord-Paramount of all their benefices. This undue reſignation of the cathedral church afterwards occaſioned a trial at law (8) about the validity of a leaſe perfected by the Archbiſhop of Dublin, without the conſent of this Chapter, to one Brereton, which was only confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church, whereas both Deans and Chapters uſually confirmed leaſes made by the Archbiſhop. When Archbiſhop Loftus was advanced to the See of Dublin, he looked upon the leaſe made to Brereton as bad, and endeavoured to break it. The caſe was adjudged in Eaſter-Term, 11 Elizabeth, and certified from England to the Lord-Deputy Sidney, under the hands of the Judges, that the leaſe was allowed to be good and valid in Law; becauſe that at the time of making it, there was no Chapter in being except that of Chriſt-Church. A majority of all the Judges of England were of this opinion, although many held the contrary; who maintained, that after the death of the Archbiſhop who made the leaſe, it could not bind a ſucceſſor; becauſe it ought to have been confirmed by both Chapters, as leaſes always had been before.

(7) Rolls Office.

(8) Dyer's Rep. f. 282.

D.

BASSANTIN (James), a Scots Aſtronomer in the XVIth century, whoſe writings have deſervedly tranſmitted his memory to poſterity, was the ſon of the Laird of Baſſantin in the Mers, and born ſome time in the reign of King James IV (*a*). He was ſent while young to the univerſity of Glaſgow, where, inſtead of applying himſelf to words, he ſtudied things, and while other young men of his age were perfecting themſelves in ſtyle, he arrived at a ſurprizing knowledge (for that time) in almoſt all branches of the Mathematics (*b*). In order to improve himſelf in this kind of knowledge, and to gratify his paſſion for ſeeing other countries, he travelled, ſoon after he quitted the college of Glaſgow, through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, fixing himſelf at laſt in France, where he taught the Mathematics with applauſe, in the univerſity of Paris (*c*). He fell in there with the common notions of the times, and was either credulous enough to entertain a good opinion of Judicial Aſtrology, or had ſo much addreſs, as to make the credulity of others uſeful to him, by ſupporting an erroneous ſyſtem, then in too great credit for him to demoliſh, even if that had been his inclination (*d*). For the humour of believing ſuch kind of predictions never ran ſo ſtrong as at this time, nor ran any where ſtronger than in that country [*A*]. At laſt, having a deſire to ſee his relations, and ſpend his remaining days in his own country, he reſolved to quit France, where he had acquired a high reputation and ſome fortune, and returned home in the year 1562 (*e*). It ſeems he made his journey through England; and as he was entering the borders of his native country, he met Sir Robert Melvil, a very worthy gentleman, and a moſt loyal and faithful ſervant to his unfortunate miſtreſs, Mary Queen of Scots; with whom he entered into a converſation on the then ſtate of affairs, which gained him the reputation of being deeply verſed in thoſe ſtiled the Occult Sciences (*f*) [*B*]. But whoever maturely weighs what paſſed in that conference, of which we have a moſt authentic

(*a*) Dempſter. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. p. 108.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 81.

(*d*) See note [*A*].

(*e*) Dempſter, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Melvil's Memoirs, Lond. 1683. fol. p. 92, 93.

[*A*] *Any where ſtronger than in that country.*] The great end of publiſhing lives of this nature, and in this manner, is not only to make the hiſtory of learned men, but of learning itſelf thoroughly known, which is a thing equally laudable and uſeful. In order to have a juſt notion of this Scots Aſtronomer's merit, we muſt conſider him as contemporary with the famous Nicholas Copernicus, and ſomewhat earlier than the celebrated Tycho Brahe; ſo that we may thence diſcern how few helps he had, and what an amazing progreſs he made, if, as Voſſius ſays, he was unacquainted with Greek, and knew but little of Latin (1). However, Voſſius himſelf does him injury, by placing him a century later than that in which he flouriſhed (2). In reference to Judicial Aſtrology, it muſt be owned it was at this time in ſo great credit, that almoſt all who applied themſelves to Geometry, Aſtronomy, or, in ſhort, to any branch of the Mathematics, ſtruck alſo into this way, which ſerved in times of ſo much ignorance to keep up the reputation of this ſuppoſed ſcience. As for Tycho Brahe, he was ſo addicted thereto, that he was wholly guided by it; and though he owned he was miſtaken in many, or moſt, of his predictions, yet he remained obſtinate in his opinion, alledging firſt, that the Aſtronomical tables then in uſe were faulty; and when with prodigious labour he had corrected theſe errors, and ſtill found his judgments wrong, he complained that the rules commonly received were bad or miſunderſtood, but never laid the fault on the Art itſelf (3). This conduct of the learned had ſo bad an effect, that almoſt every Prince in Europe had his Aſtrologer. There were, however, more at Paris than almoſt in any other place. Catharine de Medicis was exceſſively addicted to this ſort of ſuperſtition; and we know that the Horoſcope of her Huſband Henry II., was not only calculated, but publiſhed alſo by Gauric; and ſome affirm, but without due proof, that his death, and even the manner of it, was predicted by Jerom Cardan (4). Mr. Finé, better known by his Latin appellation Orontius Finœus, who taught Mathematics in the univerſity of Paris, was famous for the judgments given by him upon Nativities; and once, his predictions having offended the Court, he was impriſoned for it a long while in the Baſtile, which undoubtedly, had he been truly able to read future events in the Stars, he would have both foreſeen and avoided (5). The old friendſhip and intimacy between the Scots and French nations, joined to the cloſe connection between them at the time he was at ſchool, and while Baſſantin flouriſhed, was ſufficient to carry all the French cuſtoms over thither; and this, amongſt the reſt: and that in fact this was the caſe, will manifeſtly appear by what is related in the next note. If therefore we lay all this together, it will not ſeem at all ſtrange that a Scotſman, who had not comprehenſive knowledge, ſhould be led away by ſo many and great authorities, in a matter which perhaps made the beſt branch of his buſineſs, and for which he had naturally a happy turn: for we may with truth affirm, that no man ever ſet off the ſyſtem of the twelve Houſes, and the influences of the Planets in them, in a more plauſible way, or which ſeems more free from abſurdities. It is likewiſe more than probable, that as this humour long ſurvived him, and even grew more and more into faſhion after his deceaſe, it promoted the reputation of his writings, and procured them ſo quick a ſale. But how well or ill founded this notion may be, we are certain of this, that he laboured the point exceedingly, and left no ſtone unturned to maintain a doctrine he had too haſtily embraced, and from which, ſo long as he lived, he never departed. His having this kind of taking way of delivering himſelf on ſuch ſubjects, muſt have recommended him in Courts, where ſuch notions frequently prevail; and I can eaſily conceive, that his being ſo well received took place in his judgment, made him more ſatisfied of the rectitude of his opinions, and gave him ſpirit likewiſe to profeſs, maintain, and defend them againſt all opponents.

(1) Voſſ. de Matheſi, cap. lxiii, lxiv, lxv.

(2) He places him in the XVIIth century, becauſe Tornœſius's tranſlation of his book into Latin, was publiſhed at Geneva in 1609, and even this ſeems to have been a ſecond edition, but the original Work had been publiſhed in French ſixty years before.

(3) Niceron. Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtr. tom. xv. p. 168, 169.

(4) Gaſſend. Oper. tom. i. p. 745. Mem. de Brantom, tom. ii. p. 56. Lettres de Paſquiers, tom. i. p. 346.

(5) See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.

[*B*] *The reputation of being deeply verſed in thoſe ſtiled the Occult Sciences.*] There are very few books in better credit for the ſuppoſed candour and veracity of their author, than the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill, in which, after deſcribing the deciſive action which obliged Queen Mary to fly into England, he proceeds thus (6): 'After the loſs of the battle, her 'Majeſty loſt all courage, which ſhe had never done 'before, and took ſo great fear, that ſhe never reſted 'till ſhe was in England, thinking herſelf ſure of re'fuge there, in reſpect of the fair promiſes formerly 'made her by the Queen of England by word 'to her Embaſſadors, and by her own hand, writ 'before and after ſhe was captive in Lochleven. But 'God and the world knows how ſhe was kept and 'uſed; for not only ſhe refuſed to ſee her, of whom 'ſhe appeared ſo oft ſo deſirous of a ſight and a meeting, but alſo cauſed to keep her priſoner, and at 'length ſuffered her life to be taken away, or elſe it 'was ſubtilely taken againſt her intention. This puts 'me in remembrance of a tale my brother Sir Robert 'told me: The time that he was buſieſt dealing betwixt the two Queens to entertain their friendſhip, 'and draw on the meeting at a place near York, one 'Baſſintoun, a Scotſman, who had been a traveller, 'and was learned in high ſciences, came to him, and 'ſaid to him, Good Gentleman, I hear ſo good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore 'cannot forbear to ſhew you, that all your upright 'dealing and honeſt travel will be in vain: For whereas 'you believe to obtain advantage for your Queen at 'the Queen of England's hands, you do but loſe 'your time and your travel: For firſt, they will never 'meet together; and next, there will never be any 'thing

(6) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

authentic account, will ſee good reaſon to believe, that our learned author was more a Politician than a Prophet, or elſe, that he talked at random, and on falſe or precarious principles. It does not at all appear in what manner he ſpent the remainder of his life, after he came back to Scotland; but it is certain he did not ſurvive long, ſince his deceaſe happened, as thoſe who were well acquainted with him atteſt, in 1568 (*g*). As to his learning, we are told by thoſe who admired it moſt, it lay not in languages, of which, except his mother-tongue, he knew none thoroughly, though he ſpoke and taught in French, but in a very incorrect manner, and wrote much worſe (*h*). He had very clear notions in moſt parts of his writings, and was far from being a contemptible Aſtronomer, though the commendations beſtowed on him by ſome authors, very far ſurpaſs his deſerts. He was too much tinctured with the ſuperſtition of the times, not to intermix a vaſt deal of falſe, and even ridiculous ſtuff in his writings, on the virtues, aſpects, and influences of the planets; yet in other reſpects he ſhews much good ſenſe and induſtry, which render his works very well worth reading, and ought to ſecure both them and his memory from oblivion, as they are ſo many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit (*i*) [*C*]. As to his religion, he is reported to have been a zealous Proteſtant; and with regard to his political

(*g*) Dempſter, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Voſſius de Matheſi, cap. lxv. § 3.

(*i*) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 97, 98.

‘ thing elſe but diſſembling and ſecret hatred for a ‘ while, and at length captivity and utter wreck to our ‘ Queen from England. My brother anſwered, he ‘ liked not to hear of ſuch deviliſh news, nor yet ‘ would he in any ſort credit them, as being falſe, ‘ ungodly, and unlawful for Chriſtians to meddle ‘ with. Baſſintoun anſwered, Good Mr. Melvil, en- ‘ tertain not that harſh opinion of me, I am a Chriſtian ‘ of your own religion, and fear God, and purpoſes ‘ never to caſt myſelf on any of the unlawful arts ‘ that you mean; but ſo far as Melancthon, who was ‘ a godly Theologue, hath declared lawful, and ‘ written concerning the Natural Sciences, which are ‘ lawful and daily read in divers Chriſtian univerſities, ‘ in the which, as in all other arts, God gives to ‘ ſome leſs, and to others clearer knowledge; by the ‘ which knowledge I have attained to underſtand, ‘ that at length the kingdom of England ſhall of ‘ right fall to the crown of Scotland, and that at this ‘ inſtant there are ſome born who ſhall brook lands ‘ and heritages in England: But, alas! it will coſt ‘ many their lives, and many bloody battles will be ‘ fought ere things be ſettled, or take effect. And ‘ by my knowledge, ſays he, the Spaniards will be ‘ helpers, and will take a part to themſelves for their ‘ labour, which they will be loath to leave again.’ It has been ſhewn in the former note, that liſtening to theſe kind of predictions was one great foible of thoſe times; and if it had not been ſo, one could hardly account for ſo wiſe a man as Sir James Melvil giving this, and ſome ſtories of the like kind, a place in his book. But it is obſervable, that he gives no judgment upon it; he introduces it only as a tale, and does not at all recommend it to his readers belief by profeſſing it had gained credit with him. A leſs cautious writer, who repeats this ſtory (7), could not help adding, that all our author's predictions were fulfilled except the laſt, and even as to that he makes ſome apology. It may not be amiſs therefore to beſtow a few remarks upon this ſingular ſtory. I. It does not appear how he ſhould come at this knowledge on the principles of his art, ſuppoſing it to be an art. He might indeed have calculated the nativities of both the Queens, and from thence have predicted what would happen to them; but how could he from thence learn that the crown of England ſhould deſcend to a Prince of Scotland? It might be anſwered well enough if King James had been then born; but he was not till four years afterwards; and from the Horoſcopes of the two Queens it was impoſſible, by the rules of Aſtrology, for him to pretend to foretel what he did. II. It is in the next place clear, that the greateſt part of what he foretold was abſolutely falſe; for there was not ſo much as one battle fought, or a drop of blood ſhed, to make way for the acceſſion of the King of Scots, which was the act of Queen Elizabeth herſelf; and the King of Spain was ſo far from aſſiſting in this, that he actually ſet up a title againſt that Prince, and did all that lay in his power to hinder his ſucceſſion: So that if this ſtory proves any thing, it muſt prove that there was either no certainty in this art, or that our author did not ſufficiently underſtand it. III. Upon the whole, it is highly probable that this man was no friend to the negociation Sir Robert Melvil was then engaged in, and that he ſaid what he did, with a view to hinder that Gentleman from proceeding in it: And if we take the thing thus, he may be allowed to have acted very right as a Politician; but a man muſt have had very indifferent parts for a ſtateſman, who could be diverted from his duty by ſuch ſuggeſtions as theſe; and it is certain that they had no weight with Sir Robert Melvil, who behaved in all theſe tranſactions with the utmoſt prudence, ſteadineſs, and courage. But when things were over, and Queen Mary in her grave, Sir Robert Melvil told this tale to his brother, who committed it to writing, and ſo it has paſſed for a full proof of our author's proficiency in theſe high ſciences; whereas there cannot well be a more convincing argument of the contrary.

(7) Mackenzie's Scots Writers, Vol. iii. p. 82.

[*C*] *So many indubitable teſtimonies of his merit.*] The works publiſhed by our author were theſe that follow: viz. I. *Aſtronomia*, Jacobi Baſſantini *Scoti, opus abſolutiſſimum, in quo quicquid unquam peritiores Mathematici in cœlis obſervarunt, eo ordine, eaque methodo traditur, ut cuivis poſt hac facile innoteſcant quæcunque de Aſtris ac Planetis, nec non de eorum variis orbibus, motibus, paſſionibus, &c. dici poſſunt, ingens et doctum volumen ter editum Latinè et Gallicè:* That is, ‘ The ‘ Aſtronomy of *John Baſſintin*, a *Scot*, a complete ‘ work; wherein, whatever the moſt expert Mathe- ‘ maticians have obſerved in the heavens, is digeſted ‘ into ſuch order, and in ſo exact a method, that every ‘ one may henceforward apprehend whatever, as to the ‘ Stars and Planets, their orbs, motions, paſſions, &c. ‘ can be delivered; a work large and learned, now ‘ thrice publiſhed in Latin and French.’ This is the Title given by John Tornœſius, who tranſlated it into Latin, and publiſhed it in a large folio at Geneva in 1599. In his account of our author, in his Epiſtle dedicatory addreſſed to Frederick IV., Count Palatine of the Rhine, he repreſents him as a wonderful proficient in this ſcience; and, as a proof of it, tells him, that this circumſtance was very ſurprizing in him, that though he was unſkilled in polite learning, and underſtood only his Mother-Tongue, yet he made ſo great a progreſs in Aſtronomy, as to be eſteemed one of the greateſt Aſtronomers of the age. And whereas other perſons were obliged to learn the Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages, if they were deſirous of raiſing themſelves any reputation in that ſcience, our author was born an Aſtronomer, and not made one. He obſerves likewiſe, that Baſſantin's book was at firſt publiſhed in French, not as it was written by the author, who was ſo little maſter of that language, notwithſtanding he lived moſt part of his time in France, that he could not write even ſo much as tolerable Grammar; upon which account the ſtyle of his book had been corrected and poliſhed by ſome other perſons who better underſtood the genius of that language. This affords us a ſufficient account of the author: but, perhaps, the value of his book will be better underſtood by taking a view of its contents. In this great work he firſt of all lays down the neceſſary axioms and definitions for the underſtanding of the ſcience, and then gives a table of Sines; after this a treatiſe of Rectilineal Triangles, in twenty propoſitions; and another of Spherical Triangles, in thirteen propoſitions. The next Tract is concerning the Sphere of the World, in thirteen chapters. The firſt chapter treats of the Syſtem of the World in general, and the ſeveral parts of it. The ſecond of the Magnitude of the Earth compared with the Firmament. The third of the Circles

political principles, he is ſaid to have adhered to the famous Earl of Murray, then ſtruggling for that power which he afterwards obtained (*k*). C.

(*k*) Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92.

Circles of the Sphere. The fourth of the Declination of the Degrees of the Ecliptic from the Equinoctial. The fifth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of Signs in a direct Sphere. The ſixth of the Aſcenſion and Deſcenſion of the Signs in an oblique Sphere. The ſeventh of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Latitude. The eighth of the Declination, Aſcenſion, Deſcenſion, and Latitude, of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Stars. The ninth of the Elevation of the Stars above the Horizon. The tenth of the Variation of the Artificial Days and Nights in the different parts of the Earth. The eleventh of the Twelve Celeſtial Houſes, and their Diviſions. The twelfth of the Diviſion of the Zones and Climates. And the thirteenth of the Regions of the Earth; to which is annexed, A Table of the Longitudes and Latitudes of the principal cities and places of the world. Then follow the Hypotheſes of the Celeſtial Orbs, containing the Theory of the Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. After this he gives an account of the direct retrograde and ſtationary motions of the Planets, their various Aſpects, the Declination of the Stars, the Latitude of the Moon, the Latitude of the three Superior Planets, the Latitude of Venus and Mercury; of their Excentricities, Ellipſes, and whatever elſe relates to the Planets. After he has treated of theſe things, he gives us the Theory of the Motion of the Eighth Sphere, and concludes with the practical part of Aſtronomy, in thirty propoſitions; wherein he gives the figures of many curious inſtruments, with proper tables, and directions for the uſe of them. II. *Paraphraſe de l'Aſtrolabe avec un amplification de l'uſage, de la Aſtrolabe*; that is, 'A Paraphraſe (or ample explanation) of the Aſtrolabe, with an improvement as to the uſes to which this inſtrument may be applied.' This Treatiſe was printed at Lyons in 1555, and again at Paris 1617, in 8*vo*. III. *Super Mathematic Genethliaca*; i. e. 'Of the Calculation of Nativities.' IV. *Arithmetica*, or 'A Treatiſe of Arithmetic.' V. *Muſica ſecundum Platoni*; i. e. 'Muſic on the principles of the Platoniſts.' VI. *De Matheſi in genere*; i. e. 'Of the Mathematics in general.' The very titles of his works, joined to the age in which he flouriſhed, ſufficiently juſtify his right to a place in this work; and though he might have foibles, yet without doubt his practical ſkill was great, and the pains he took contributed not a little to bring in that accuracy and correctneſs in obſervations, which have effectually exploded thoſe ſuperſtitions to which, with other great men, he was too much addicted.

[Biſhop Tanner ſays, that Baſſantin far excelled all the Mathematicians of his own age; *omnes ſui ſæculi mathematicos longe poſt ſe reliquit*. We wiſh that the learned Prelate had aſſigned the reaſon for this high encomium. Was it probable that the Biſhop, who chiefly devoted himſelf to antiquities and hiſtory, had ſtudied Baſſantin's Mathematical works with ſuch attention, as to be able to give ſo deciſive a character of them; or did he take it from Dempſter, to whom he makes a reference? Dempſter was ſcarcely a ſufficient authority (8)]. K.

(8) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica, p. 79.

BASSET (FULK*), Biſhop of London in the reign of King Henry III. (*a*), was brother of Gilbert Baſſet, one of the Barons, who died by a fall from his horſe, leaving behind him one only ſon, an infant, by whoſe death ſoon after, the inheritance devolved to Fulk (*b*). In the year 1225, he was made Provoſt of the collegiate church of St. John of Beverly, and in 1230, Dean of York (*c*). In December 1241, he was elected, by the Chapter of London, Biſhop of that See, in the room of Roger Niger [*A*], both in regard of his family and his great virtues, and notwithſtanding the King's recommendation of Peter de Egueblanche Biſhop of Hereford (*d*). The See of Canterbury being vacant at the time of this Prelate's election, he was not conſecrated till the ninth of October 1244 [*B*], at which time the ſolemnity was performed at London in the church of the Holy Trinity (*e*). In the year 1250, Biſhop Baſſet began to have a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface (*f*), concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation [*C*]; in the courſe of which he met with very rough treatment from the Archbiſhop, and at laſt,

(*a*) *Vide* Henr. Wharton *Hiſtor. de Epiſc. et Decan. Londinenſ.* &c. p. 89, edit. 1695.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Grey. Eborac.

(*e*) *Ib. ib.* p. 650.

(*f*) *See the article* BONIFACE (Abp. of Cant.)

(*b*) Godwin, de Præſul. Angl. *inter* epiſc. Lond. *ann.* 1244.

(*d*) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640. *fol.* Vol. ii. p. 576.

(*) In Latin *Fulco*.

[*A*] *He was elected ——— in the room of Roger Niger.*] During the vacancy of the See, the King, in conſideration that the temporalities were in his hands, ordered his treaſurer, January the 17th, 1244 (1), to diſtribute victuals, on the enſuing feaſt of the Converſion of St. Paul, to fifteen thouſand poor people, in the church-yard of St. Paul's, and upon that occaſion to light up fifteen hundred wax tapers in the church. Whence it appears what large alms were formerly beſtowed by the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics (2).

(1) Clauſ. 28 H. III. m. 16.

(2) Hen. Wharton, Hiſt. de Epiſc. et Decan. Lond p. 89.

[*B*] *He was not conſecrated till the 9th of October, 1244.*] About the beginning of that year, Archbiſhop Boniface, being then in France, commiſſioned a certain number of Biſhops to conſecrate Baſſet at his church in London (3). But, at the interceſſion of the Chapter of Canterbury, he revoked that commiſſion in February following, under pretence that it was ſurreptitiouſly obtained, namely, by diſſembling the privilege of the church of Canterbury; ſo that Baſſet could not obtain conſecration but by entering a ſolemn proteſt (4), that he had no deſign to infringe the rights of that church.

(3) *Ex* Inſtrum. Autograph.

(4) *Extant in the Archives of the Church of Canterbury.*

[*C*] *He had a warm diſpute with Archbiſhop Boniface concerning the right of metropolitical viſitation.*] The See of Canterbury had from the beginning an undoubted authority over all the churches of that province, received appeals, cenſured offenders, and occaſionally exerciſed a juriſdiction over the Biſhops and Canons of the cathedral churches. But hitherto ſolemn metropolitical viſitations at ſtated times were not in uſe. Boniface was the firſt who introduced them (5), and loaded the Biſhops and Chapters with a prodigious expence, under the name of procurations. On the 12th of May, 1250, he viſited the Biſhop of London, and, being intolerably inſolent, as well as avaricious, treated the good Prelate with the groſſeſt indignities, and moſt opprobrious language. *In craſtino autem viſitavit epiſcopum Fulconem, apud quem inverecundiam ab eodem archiepiſcopo factam, tum in eſculentis, tum in poculentis, tum in ferratura, ſcilicet equorum deferratorum, ſi quis enarraret, aures et animos offenderet audientium, imo et corda cruentaret* (6). Deſigning to viſit the Chapter of St. Paul's, and the Priory of St. Bartholomew, he was oppoſed by the Canons of both places, alledging that they had a learned and diligent Biſhop, who was their proper viſitor, and that they neither ought, nor would ſubmit to any other viſitatorial power. *Cui reſpondit unus Canonicorum pro omnibus, quod epiſcopum haberent peritum et diligentem, qui eos habuit, cum neceſſe fuerat, viſitare, nec voluerunt, nec debuerunt ab alio, ne contemptus videretur viſitari* (7). The Archbiſhop hereupon excommunicated the Canons, and involved the Biſhop, as favouring their obſtinacy, in the ſame ſentence (8). Both ſides appealed to Rome, where the Archbiſhop, ſupported by money and the royal favour, pleaded his cauſe in perſon; and, notwithſtanding the Engliſh Clergy, by their Proctors, offered the Pope four thouſand * marks to be exempted from the archiepiſcopal viſitation, he obtained a confirmation of his viſitatorial power, with this reſtriction only, that he ſhould be modreate in his demand of procurations (9).

(5) *See* his *article*.

(6) Matth. Paris, Hiſt. Angl. *edit.* Lond. 1640, Vol. ii. p. 780.

(7) *Id. ib.* p. 781.

(8) *Ib.* p. 782.

* Some writers ſay 6000.

(9) *Id. ib.* & p. 142. 856.

after a long conteſt, thought it beſt to ſubmit [*D*], and acknowledge his juriſdiction (*g*). But he ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate [*E*], in 1255 (*h*). In 1256, this Prelate began to build the church of St. Faith, near that of St. Paul, on the ſpot which King John had formerly given to the Biſhops and Chapter of London for a market (*i*). In the latter part of his life, he is ſaid (*k*) to have inclined to the cauſe of the Barons [*F*]. He died of the plague in 1259, having ſat near fifteen years from the time of his conſecration, and was buried the twenty-fifth of May, in St. Paul's church (*l*). Biſhop Baſſet founded a chantry in his cathedral church, near the altar of the Bleſſed Virgin, for his own ſoul; and another near the altar of St. Catherine, for thoſe of Alan and Alice, his father and mother. He alſo bequeathed to his church a golden apple, two rich cheſts for relics, ſome eccleſiaſtical veſtments, and ſeveral books relating to church matters (*m*). B.

(*g*) M. Paris, ubi ſupra, p. 780. 809.

(*h*) *Id. ib.* p. 915.

(*i*) Dugdale's *Hiſt of St. Paul's*, p. 13.

(*k*) M. Paris, *ib.* p. 974.

(*l*) *Id. ib.* p. 987.

(*m*) Dugdale, Monaſt. Angl. tom. iii. p. 303. 309.

[*D*] *He thought it beſt to ſubmit.*] Matthew Paris repreſents his ſubmiſſion as the effect of fear, leſt his holding out againſt the Archbiſhop ſhould provoke the King to ſeize his effects, and ruin his family; and therefore, as the leaſt evil, he choſe for the preſent to humble himſelf under the Archbiſhop's authority, rather than experience the conſequences of the King's diſpleaſure. *His igitur ſubtiliter penſatis incommodis, quaſi inter duas molas contritus, anguſtiabatur: hinc honor et cauſa eccleſiæ ſuæ, hinc impetus regalis iracundiæ, ipſum hinc inde diſtrahebant. Tandem vero, ut minus malum ſubiret, præelegit, quamvis læſus, et quamvis paſſus injuriam, ad tempus humiliari, et jurare ſtare proviſioni archiepiſcopi licet adverſantis, potius quam regalis impetus diſcrimen experiri* (10).

(10) *Id. ib.* p. 809.

[*E*] *He ſucceeded better in the oppoſition he made to Ruſtand the Pope's Legate.*] The King and the Pope had agreed, with their joint force, to ſqueeze a large ſum of money out of the Engliſh Clergy, and to ſhare the plunder. To this end Ruſtand, the Pope's Legate, ſummoned a Council at London in October 1255, in which he produced a commiſſion from the Pope to demand a certain ſum of them. Upon this the Biſhop of London, riſing up, ſaid: 'Before I will ſubmit to 'ſuch great ſervitude, injury, and intolerable oppreſ-'ſion of the Church, I will loſe my head.' *Antequam tantæ eccleſiæ conſentiam ſervituti, injuriæ, et intolerabili oppreſſioni, profecto decapitabor.* The reſt of the Prelates being animated by Baſſet's conſtancy, it was unanimouſly decreed, that the Pope's demand ſhould not be complied with, nor any regard paid to Ruſtand's authority or cenſures. The Legate carried his complaints to the King, who, ſending for the Biſhop of London, reviled him moſt ſhamefully, threatening him with the ſevereſt Papal cenſures. To which Fulk replied, 'The King and the Pope, though they cannot 'juſtly, yet, as being ſtronger than me, may force my 'Biſhopric from me; they may take away the mitre, 'but the helmet will remain.' *Auferant epiſcopatum, quem tamen non poſſunt de jure auferre, Papa et Rex, qui me fortiores ſunt; tollant mitram, galea remanebit.* This ſteadineſs, and the decree of the Council, quite diſconcerted the ſcheme (11).

(11) *Id. ib.* p. 915.

[*F*] *He inclined to the cauſe of the Barons.*] Take notice, that it is Matthew Paris, a Monk, who cenſures our Prelate for ſo doing, telling us, That, by this ſtep, he brought the greater ſtain upon his character, inaſmuch as he was a man of more honour than the reſt. *In hoc tanto plus famam ſuam denigravit, quanto aliis fuerat generoſior* (12). And afterwards, mentioning Baſſet's death, he ſays of him: 'He was 'a noble and an honourable man, and, excepting only 'his laſt ſlip, the anchor of the whole kingdom, and 'the ſhield of ſtability and defence.' *Vir quidem nobilis et magnæ generoſitatis, et, niſi paulo ante titubaſſet, totius regni anchora, et clypeus ſtabilitatis et defenſionis* (13).

(12) *Ib.* p. 974.

(13) *Ib.* p. 987.

[Biſhop Godwin informs us, that our Hiſtorians, who acknowledge Fulk Baſſet to have been a good man, and a wiſe, pious, and moſt vigilant paſtor, blame him for not favouring the cauſe of the ſeditious Barons, that is, for his fidelity to his Prince. *Huic ab Hiſtoricis noſtris vitio vertitur, quod ſeditioſorum Baronum cauſæ non faveret, hoc eſt, quod Principi ſuo fidelis exſtiterit. Virum cæteroqui bonum fatentur prudentem, pium, et vigilantiſſimum paſtorem. Quod ſeditioſorum conſiliis ſe non immiſcuerit, puſillanimitati haud tribuendum cæteræ ejus actiones demonſtrant, quibus animi magnitudinem conſtantiamque abunde declaravit* (14).] K.

(14) Godwin de Præſulibus, Richardſon's edit. p. 181.

BASSET (PETER, Eſq;) a gentleman of a good family [*A*], and a writer in the XVth century, was Chamberlain (*a*), or Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry V. (*b*). He was a conſtant attendant on that brave Prince, and an eye-witneſs of moſt of his glorious actions both at home and abroad: All which he particularly deſcribed, and faithfully related (*c*). For, beginning at his tendereſt years, he gave a full and exact account of his ſeveral expeditions into France; his glorious victories, large conqueſts, and illuſtrious triumphs in that kingdom; his moſt advantageous and honourable peace with Charles VI.; his marriage with the Princeſs Catherine, his coronation at Paris: And, finally, his death, and the coronation of King Henry VI., his ſon and ſucceſſor. Theſe ſeveral remarkable events, Peter Baſſet comprized in one volume, which he entitled, *The Actes of King Henry* V. This book was never printed; but is extant in manuſcript in the college of Heralds, and perhaps in ſome other places [*B*]. In one particular he differs from the reſt of King Henry the Vth's hiſtorians: For whereas Monſtrelet ſays (*d*), that that Prince died of a St. Anthony's fire; others, of a fever and dyſentery (*e*); or of the diſeaſe of St. Fiacre (*f*), which is a flux accompanied with the hæmorrhoids; Peter Baſſet, who was with him at the time of his deceaſe, affirms, that he

(*a*) Hall, Chronicle, or Unyon of the two Famelies of Lancaſtre and Yorke, &c. edit. 1550, fol. 82.

(*b*) Holinſhed's Chronicles, Lond. 1587, fol. p. 662.

(*c*) Baleus, Scriptor. Brytanniæ, cent. VII, No. 80. Pits, de Illuſtrib. Angliæ Script. Æt. XV. ann. 1430, n. 795.

(*d*) Fol. 325, Paris edit.

(*e*) Walſingham, Hiſt. Hen. V., Francof, 1602, p. 406.

(*f*) J. Des Urſins, fol. Paris, 1653, p. 394. R. Gaguin, l. ix. f. 207, edit. Paris, 1521, 8vo.

[*A*] *A gentleman of a good family.* This noble family, which was ſeated at Draiton-Baſſet in Staffordſhire, derived its deſcent from one Turſtin, Lord of that place in the reign of Henry I. They grew up into a numerous and conſiderable family (1). For, from this ſtock at Draiton, were derived the Baſſets of Welleden, Northamptonſhire; Wiccomb, Bucks; Sapcott, Leiceſterſhire; Hedendon, Oxfordſhire; (which were all Barons of the Realm) (2), beſides ſeveral other eminent private families (3).——Ralph Baſſet, and Richard his ſon, were ſucceſſively Juſticiaries of England, in the reigns of King Henry I. and King Stephen (4).

(1) Camden. Britannia, edit. Lond. 1722, col. 635.

(2) Dugdale, Baron. Vol. i. p. 378, &c.

(3) Camden, ubi ſupra, col. 102. 301. 327. 526. 586. 635. 643. 681.

(4) Dugdale, p. 378.

[*B*] *But is extant in MS. in the college of Heralds*, &c.] Upon the cloſeſt examination it appears, that he is originally quoted only by Edw. Hall in his Chronicle (5), and perhaps by J. Bale (6). What hath been ſaid of him, or quoted out of his writings, either by Mr. Thomas Goodwin in his 'Hiſtory of the reign of 'Henry the Vth,' or by other Hiſtorians within that period, is viſibly borrowed from Hall. Dr. Nicolſon (7) mentions Baſſet only upon the authority of Pits, who had taken his account from Bale.

(5) Fol. 82.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

(7) Engliſh Hiſt. Library, edit. Lond. 1736, p. 82.

he died of a pleuriſy [C]. This author flouriſhed about the year 1430, under the reign of King Henry VI. (g).

(g) Bale, and Pits, ubi ſupra.

[C] *P. Baſſet —— affirms that he died of a Pleuriſy.*] Edw. Hall, from whom we learn this particular, calls it a *Pluriſis*; 'whiche (adds he) at that tyme 'was ſo rare a ſickenes, and ſo ſtraung a diſeaſe, that 'the name was to the moſt part of men unknowen, 'and phiſicions were acquainted as little with any remedy for the ſame; and therfore every man judged 'as he thought, and named a ſickenes that he knew, 'ſhoting not near the pricke, nor underſtandyng the 'nature of the diſeaſe (8).' M.

(8) Unyon of the two Famelies, &c. as above, p. 82.

BASTARD (THOMAS), a Clergyman and a Poet, was born at Blandford in Dorſetſhire, and educated at Wincheſter-ſchool; from whence he removed to New-College in Oxford, where he was choſen Perpetual Fellow in the year 1588, and two years after took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. But indulging too much his talent for ſatire, he was expelled the college for a libel. Not long after, being then in Holy Orders, he was made Chaplain to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Treaſurer of England, through whoſe favour and intereſt he became Vicar of Beer-regis, and Rector of Amour or Hamer, in his native country, having ſome time before taken the degree of Maſter of Arts. He was a perſon of great natural endowments, well ſkilled in the learned languages, a celebrated poet [A], and, in his later years, an excellent preacher [B]. His converſation was witty and facetious, which made his company courted by all ingenious men. He was thrice married, as appears from one of his epigrams [C]. Towards the latter end of his life, being diſordered in his ſenſes, and thereby brought into debt, he was confined in the priſon in All-Hallows pariſh in Dorcheſter; where, dying in a very obſcure and mean condition, he was buried in the church-yard belonging to that pariſh, April the 19th, 1618 (a).

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 431, 432.

[A] —— *A Poet.*] Among other poetical performances of our author's, that had been publiſhed, Mr. Wood tells us (1), he had ſeen only the following: 1. *Epigrams*, which were greatly admired in that age, and occaſioned Sir John Harrington's addreſſing one or more epigrams to our author. 2. *Magna Britannia*, a Latin poem in three books, dedicated to King James I. London, 1605, in *quarto*. Beſides which, there is in the King's Library, *Jacobo regi* I. *carmen gratulatorium* (2); *i. e.* 'A congratulatory poem to King James I.' Under this head we may mention his *Libels*, two of which Mr. Wood met with in his collection of Libels or Lampoons, written by ſeveral Oxford Students in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. One of them is intitled *An Admonition to the City of Oxford*; or his Libel intitled *Mar-prelate's Baſtardine*; wherein he reflects upon all perſons of note in Oxford, who were ſuſpected of criminal converſation with other men's wives, or with common ſtrumpets. The other, made after his expulſion, and in which he diſclaims the former, begins thus; *Jenkin, why man? why Jenkin? fie for ſhame*, &c. But neither of theſe were printed (3).

(1) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 432.

(2) D. Caſley's Catal. p. 197.

(3) Wood, *ibid.*

[B] —— *a Preacher.*] Under this character, he publiſhed, I. *Five Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4*to*. The three firſt, on *Luke* i. 76, are called *The Marigold and the Sun*. The two laſt, on *Luke* vii. 37, 38, are intitled *The Sinner's Looking-Glaſs*. II. *Twelve Sermons*, Lond. 1615, 4*to*. The firſt, on *Epheſ.* iv. 26, is intitled *A Chriſtian Exhortation to innocent Anger*. The ſecond, on *Exod.* iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, is intitled *The Calling of Moſes*, &c. (4).

(4) *Id. ibid.*

[C] *He was thrice married, as appears by one of his epigrams.*] It is this (5):

(5) *Ibid.*

Terna mihi variis ducta eſt ætatibus uxor,
Hæc juveni, illa viro, tertia nupta ſeni.
Prima eſt propter *opus* teneris mihi juncta ſub annis,
Altera propter *opes*, tertia propter *opem*.

The meaning of which (for it is impoſſible to give the force of it in an Engliſh verſion) is, that he married his firſt wife, in his youth, for *love*; his ſecond, when he was grown a man, for *money*; and his third, in his old age, for a *nurſe*. B.

BASTON (a) (ROBERT), a Poet of ſome note in the XIVth century, and author of ſeveral works [A], was deſcended of a noble family, and born in Yorkſhire, not far from Nottingham. In his youth he became a Carmelite Monk, and afterwards Prior of the convent of that order at Scarborough. He was likewiſe Poet Laureat, and Public Orator, at Oxford (b). King Edward I., in his expedition into Scotland in 1304, took Robert Baſton with him, in order to celebrate his victories over the Scots: But our Poet, being taken priſoner by the enemy, was obliged by torments to change his note, and ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce [B], who then claimed the crown of Scotland (c). Our author's poetry was ſomewhat barbarous, but not contemptible for the age in which he lived. He died about 1310, and was buried at Nottingham, being ſucceeded in his monaſtery by his brother Philip (d).

(a) Leland (*Comment. de Script. Brit.* c. 351) calls him *Baſſodunus*.

(b) Bale, de Script. Brit. Centur. IV. n. 92. *and* Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. *ann.* 1310. n. 452.

(c) Hector. Boëth. *Hiſt. Scot.* l. xiv. & Joan. Major. Chronic. l. v. c. 3.

(d) Bale and Pits, ubi ſupra.

[A] *Author of ſeveral works.* Bale and Pits mention the following: I. *De Strivilnienſi obſidione*; i. e. 'Of the Siege of Striveling;' a poem in one book. II. *De altero Scotorum bello*; i. e. 'Of the ſecond 'Scottiſh war,' in one book. III. *De Scotiæ guerris variis*; i. e. 'Of the ſeveral wars of Scotland,' in one book. IV. *De variis mundi ſtatibus*; i. e. 'Of the 'various ſtates of the world,' in one book. V. *De ſacerdotum luxuriis*; i. e. 'Of the luxury of the prieſts,' in one book. VI. *Contra Artiſtas*; i. e. 'Againſt the 'Artiſts,' in one book. VII. *De Divite et Lazaro*; i. e. 'Of the rich man and Lazarus,' in one book. VIII. *Epiſtolæ ad diverſos*; i. e. 'Letters to ſeveral 'perſons,' in one book. IX. *Sermones Synodales*; i. e. 'Synodical Sermons,' in one book. X. A Book of Poems; and XI. A volume of Tragedies and Comedies in Engliſh.

[B] *He was obliged to ſing the ſucceſſes of Robert Bruce.*] This taſk he undertook ſore againſt his will, as he intimates in the two firſt lines:

In dreery verſe my rhymes I make,
Bewailing whilſt ſuch theme I take (1). B.

(1) Winſtanley's *Lives of the moſt famous Engliſh Poets*, Lond. 1687, 8*vo*. p. 15.

BASTWICK (John), a man more remarkable for the great noiſe he made in the laſt century, than for any ſingular merit of his own, was born at Writtle in Eſſex (*a*), in the year 1593 [*A*]. He was entered in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, the nineteenth of May 1614, where he continued but a little while (*b*). Leaving the univerſity without a degree, he travelled beyond ſea for the ſpace of nine years (*c*), where he ſpent his time between the ſchools and the camp (*d*), and was made Doctor of Phyſic at Padua (*e*). Upon his return to England, he ſettled at Colcheſter, where he practiſed Phyſic for ſome time (*f*). But not ſatisfied with his profeſſion, and being a man of ſtrong zeal, with a warm imagination, and commanding a pure and fluent Latin ſtyle (*g*), he applied himſelf to write books, eſpecially againſt Popery. About the year 1633, he printed in Holland (*h*) a treatiſe called *Elenchus Religionis Papiſticæ*, with *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, 'A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the 'Latin Biſhops (*i*);' which he induſtriouſly diſperſed in London, and throughout the kingdom (*k*). It was in effect an anſwer to one Short a Papiſt, who maintained the Pope's Supremacy, the Maſs, and Papal Religion [*B*]: And Baſtwick, in his epiſtle to the reader, declared, that he intended nothing againſt ſuch Biſhops, as acknowledged their authority from Kings and Emperors (*l*). But it ſeems, as Mr. Fuller obſerves, he confined not his character ſo to the Latian Biſhops beyond the Alpes, but that our Engliſh Prelates counted themſelves touched therein (*m*). The author therefore being queſtioned for this book in the High-Commiſſion-Court, in 1633 (*n*), was, on the twelfth of February, fined a thouſand pounds, ſentenced to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of Phyſic, his books to be burnt, to pay coſts of ſuit, and to remain in priſon till he made a recantation [*C*]. In purſuance of this ſentence, he was committed two years to the Gate-Houſe (*o*), where his violent temper would not permit him to be quiet. For he wrote during his confinement there, *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos, &c.* 'An Apology for himſelf, addreſſed to the Biſhops (*p*),' and another book called the *Letany* (*q*), wherein he groſsly reflected upon the Biſhops, taxed them with an inclination to Popery, and exclaimed againſt the ſeverity and injuſtice of the High-Commiſſion's proceedings againſt him (*r*). The perſons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper, to let ſuch reflections and invectives go unpuniſhed [*D*]. Accordingly, on the 11th of March 1637, an information was exhibited againſt him (and Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, Barriſter at Law) in the Star-Chamber, by the Attorney-General, 'For writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libel-'lous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church (*s*).' They being thereupon ſerved with ſub-pœnas returnable immediately, refuſed to appear, unleſs they had liberty of acceſs to Counſel; which being granted them, they prepared their anſwers; but Dr. Baſtwick's Counſel, for fear of offending the Court, refuſed to ſign his anſwer, which he had drawn up himſelf; alledging it was of ſuch a nature, that they could not well ſet their hands to it (*t*). And indeed, according to Mr. Whitelocke (*u*), it contained ſomething very abuſive, to this effect: 'The Prelates are invaders of the King's prerogative 'royal, contemners and deſpiſers of the holy ſcriptures, advancers of Popery, ſuperſtition, 'idolatry, and prophaneneſs; alſo they abuſe the King's authority, to the oppreſſion of 'his loyaleſt ſubjects, and therein exerciſe great cruelty, tyranny, and injuſtice; and in 'execution of thoſe impious performances, they ſhew neither wit, honeſty, nor tempe-'rance. Nor are they either ſervants of God, or of the King, but of the Devil, being 'enemies

(*a*) Church Hiſt. of Great Britain, by T. Fuller, Book xi. p. 151.

(*b*) As appears by the college books.

(*c*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, edit. Oxford, 1732, 8*vo*, Vol. i. p. 199.

(*e*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Clarendon & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Clarendon, *ib.*

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, Lond. 1732, p. 22. and Baſtwick's Petition in Uſhworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Vol. iv. p. 79, 80.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*l*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Fuller, ubi ſupra, Book xi. p. 152.

(*n*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra. See Baſtwick's Dedicat. to his Flagellum, *&c.* Lond. 1641, p. 6. and his Petition, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) Printed at London, 1630, 8*vo*. See his Dedication to his Flagellum, *&c.* Lond. 1641, 12*mo*, p. 6.

(*q*) See Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 771.

(*r*) *Ibid.* & Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. i. p. 380, edit. Lond. 1680. See alſo State Trials, and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 17. 27, *&c.*

(*t*) *Ibid.*

(*u*) Memorials, ubi ſupra, p. 26. See Nalſon's Collect. Vol. i. p. 499, 500, 501, *&c.*

[*A*] *Was born —— in the year* 1593.] This appears from the date on his picture, prefixed to his *Flagellum pontificis & epiſcoporum Latialium* (1): For there it is ſaid, that he was forty-ſeven years old in 1640, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1593.

(1) Second edit. Lond. 1641, 12*mo*.

[*B*] *He printed in Holland a Treatiſe called Elenchus*, &c.] It was firſt printed in Holland, in 1633, and reprinted at London in 1641, 12*mo*, under the title of *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium, auctum & multis argumentis locupletatum*, with three Letters at the end: 1. To a Proteſtant who had embraced Popery. 2. Concerning the abſurdity of the Popiſh Religion, to one Mr. St. John: And the 3d, to prove that the Church of Rome is not a true Church, directed to one Coleman. In the beginning, there is a Letter of thanks to the King, the Parliament, and the people of England; in which he bitterly inveighs againſt his perſecutor Archbiſhop Laud. The book is written in good Latin, and, to an unprejudiced reader, there doth not appear any thing in it that could deſerve ſo ſevere a cenſure as was inflicted on the author; except it is his maintaining a parity or equality between Biſhops and Preſbyters (2), which was by ſome perſons reckoned a moſt heinous crime in thoſe days. The contents of the book are, An Anſwer to theſe Queſtions: 1. 'Whether Chriſt conſtituted Peter mo-'narch, or ſupreme head, of the Catholic Church: 'Nay, whether Peter was ever Biſhop of Rome? '2. Whether the Pope (if he is Biſhop), as Biſhop 'of Rome, has authority and juriſdiction over his 'fellow-chriſtians, and the flock of God, or no? '3. Whether the Popiſh Biſhops are true Biſhops?' The firſt he thinks is ſufficiently overthrown by theſe paſſages of Scripture, Matth. xx. 25, 26. Mark x. 43, 44. Luke xxii. 25, 26. To the ſecond he oppoſes Acts xx. 28. Titus i. 5. Philip. i. 1. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, &c. from all which he infers, that Biſhops and Preſbyters were originally the ſame. In anſwer to the third he affirms, that the Popiſh Biſhops not performing the functions of a Biſhop, as laid down by St. Paul, (to Timothy and Titus) are not true Biſhops.

(2) Page 58, *&c.* 75, *&c.*

[*C*] *The author —— was fined*, &c.] All the Biſhops preſent at this cenſure, as Whitelock obſerves (3), denied openly that they held their juriſdiction, as Biſhops, from the King; but they affirmed, that they had their juriſdiction from God only. For which, as that author farther obſerves, they might perhaps have been cenſured themſelves in the times of Henry II. Edw. III. or Henry VIII.

(3) Memorials, p. 22.

[*D*] *The perſons then in power were of too impatient a temper*, &c.] It appears from Ruſhworth (4) that June 6, 1636, all the Judges, and the King's counſel, met at Serjeant's-Inn to conſider, whether there were not divers paſſages in Baſtwick's and Burton's books that amounted to high-treaſon? But the Judges agreeing, that no indictment would be found good for treaſon, unleſs it was grounded upon the ſtatute 25 Edw. III.; 'tis probable that nothing could be found in their books that amounted to high-treaſon, according to that ſtatute.

(4) Hiſtoric. Collect. Part ii. Vol. i. p. 324.

'enemies of God and the King, and of every living thing that is good. All which he is 'ready to maintain.'——And none of his friends could prevail with him to expunge this, and other the like paſſages. Upon the Counſel's refuſing to ſign the anſwers, Baſtwick, and the reſt of the defendants, petitioned the court, that, according to ancient precedents, they might put in their anſwers ſigned with their own hands; and declared, they would abide by the cenſure of the court, if they did not make good what was contained in them. But this was refuſed by the court; which ordered them to put in their anſwers by the Monday following under Counſel's hand, or elſe they ſhould be taken *pro confeſſo*. Baſtwick, upon this tendered his anſwer under his own hand at the Star-Chamber-Office, and there left it. On the 14th of June, the day wherein ſentence was paſſed on them, they firſt preſented to the court a croſs-bill againſt the Biſhops, which was not admitted (*w*). Next, they were told, That they had not put in their effectual anſwer into the court, though they had ſufficient notice and competent time. And the Lord-Keeper Coventry informed them of a precedent, wherein, for ſuch a neglect, the court had, after *ſix days* notice, taken a cauſe *pro confeſſo*, [as if the parties had confeſſed] whereas they had had *ſix weeks* allowed them; and therefore the court deſired them to ſhew cauſe, why ſentence ſhould not paſs upon them immediatel; (*x*). Dr. Baſtwick, in particular, being aſked, why he did not bring his anſwer in due time? laid the blame on the cowardice of his Counſel, that durſt not ſign it, for fear of the Prelates; and then tendered an anſwer upon oath under his own hand: but the Lord-Keeper told him, they had no need of his anſwer. Whereupon Baſtwick ſaid, 'My Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech your Honours to accept of 'it; for it is pretended that it is taken *pro confeſſo*, as if we had failed on our parts, either 'out of contempt to the order, or negligence, both which on my part I am free from; 'and if your Honours ſhall refuſe it, then I proteſt before men and angels this day, that 'I will put this anſwer of mine in Roman buff (*), and ſend it through the whole Chriſtian 'world, that all men may ſee my innocency, and your illegal proceedings, and this I will 'do if I die for it:' and then caſting it into the court, my Lord-Keeper ſaid, 'Dr. Baſt-'wick, it ſeems we muſt have your anſwer.' After that, Baſtwick taking notice of the puniſhment, which he underſtood was deſigned for him and his fellow-ſufferers, added ——— 'I ſhall preſume to ſay unto your Honours, as Paul ſpake unto the Centurion, 'when they went about to whip him, What, ſaith he, will you whip a Roman? So, my 'good Lords, let me ſay unto your Honours, What, will you cut off a true and loyal 'ſubject's ears for doing his duty to his King and country? Will you cut off a Scholar's ears? 'Will you cut off a Doctor of Phyſic's ears, able to cure Lords, Peers, Kings, and Em-'perors? Will you cut off a Chriſtian's ears? Will you make curs of Chriſtians, my Lords? 'Will you cut off a Catholick, apoſtolick, a Roman's ears? Men, brethren, and fathers, 'what an age do we live in, that we muſt thus be expoſed unto the mercileſs fury of every 'malignant ſpirit (*y*).' In the end, he, and Burton, and Prynne were cenſured, as ſcandalous, ſeditious, and infamous perſons (*z*); and condemned in a fine of five thouſand pounds each; to ſtand in the pillory in the palace-yard at Weſtminſter, and there to loſe their ears; and to perpetual impriſonment (*a*) in three remote places of the kingdom [*E*]. According to this rigorous ſentence, the three unhappy perſons were ſet in pillories in Palace yard, Weſtminſter, on the 30th of June. Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech [*F*]. Soon after, he was ſent priſoner to Launceſton-caſtle in Cornwall; as Prynne was to Caernar-

(*w*) New diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. as above, p. 27. and Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 20.

(*x*) Fuller, ubi ſupra; and New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 40. and Relation of certain Paſſages in the Star-Chamber, p. 12, &c.

(*) *i. e.* In *Latin*.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 24. Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 200.

(*a*) Baſtwick Cenſure, & 32. Clarendon, *ibid.* & Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 38. July.

[*E*] *In the end, Baſtwick, Burton, and Prynne were cenſured*, &c.] At the paſſing of this cenſure, Archbiſhop Laud made a ſpeech, which was afterwards printed by the King's order. In the dedication to the King (5) he ſays, 'I muſt humbly beſeech 'your Majeſty to conſider, that 'tis not wee only, that 'is, the Biſhops, that are ſtrucke at, but through 'our ſides, your Majeſty, your honour, your ſafety, 'your religion, is impeached. — And again (6)— 'both myſelfe and my brethren have been very 'coarſely uſed by the tongues and pennes of theſe 'men, yet ſhall I never give your Majeſty any ſower 'counſell; I ſhall rather magnifie your clemencie, 'that proceeded with theſe offenders in a court of mer-'cie as well as juſtice: ſince (as the reverend Judges 'then declared) you might have juſtly called the 'offenders into another court, and put them to it in 'a way that might have exacted their lives, for their 'ſtirring (as much as in them lay) of mutinie and ſe-'dition.' And in the ſpeech itſelf (7) —— 'This I 'will ſay, and abide by it, that the calling of Bi-'ſhops is *jure divino*, by divine right, though not all 'adjuncts to their calling.—But this takes nothing 'from the King's right or power over us: for though 'our office be from God and Chriſt immediately, yet 'may we not exerciſe that power, either of order or 'juriſdiction, but as God hath appointed us, that is— 'by and under the power of the King ——— No 'man can libell againſt our calling (as thoſe men 'doe), bee it pulpit, print, or otherwiſe, but hee 'libels againſt the King and the State, by whoſe 'lawes wee are eſtabliſhed (8).'

(5) Page 3.

(6) Page 9.

(7) Page 6.

(8) Page 9.

[*F*] *Baſtwick made there a very odd ſpeech.*] It was to this effect: 'There are many that are this day 'ſpectators of our ſtanding here as delinquents, yet am 'I not conſcious to myſelf wherein I have committed 'the leaſt treſpaſſe to take this outward ſhame, either 'againſt my God or my King.——The firſt occaſion 'of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book 'againſt the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury ſaid I 'wrote againſt him, and therefore queſtioned me: but 'if the preſſes were as open to us, as formerly they 'have been, we would ſhatter his kingdom about his 'ears. But be ye not deterred by their power, neither 'be affrighted at our ſufferings; let none determine to 'turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight 'courageouſly againſt Gog and Magog. I know there 'be many here who have ſet many days apart for our 'behalf (let the Prelates take notice of it), and they 'have ſent up ſtrong prayers to Heaven for us; we 'feel the ſtrength and benefit of them at this time.— 'In a word, ſo far am I from baſe fear, or caring for 'any thing they can do, or caſt upon me, that had I as 'much blood as would ſwell the Thames, I would 'ſhed it every drop in this cauſe. ——— As I ſaid 'before, ſo I ſay again, had I as many lives as I have 'hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I 'would give them all up for this cauſe (9).'

(9) Fuller, ubi ſupra, p. 155. and New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, p. 34, 35. Part ii.

von, and Burton to Lancaſter-caſtle (*b*). But they finding means to hold a correſpondence together, and to have ſome of their virulent books diſperſed in London (*c*), the Court thought fit to remove them at a greater diſtance from that city. Accordingly Baſtwick was ſent to St. Mary's-caſtle in Scilly-iſland (*d*), Prynne to Jerſey, and Burton to Guernſey (*e*), whence they were not allowed to keep correſpondence with any one (*f*). And the wives of Baſtwick and Burton were not permitted, after many petitions, to have acceſs unto them, nor to ſet foot in the iſlands where they were confined (*g*). As the puniſhment of theſe men was exorbitant, and diſproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath ever ſince, been looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced perſons with horror and deteſtation [*G*]. Their impriſonment was of no long continuance: for, upon the meeting of the Parliament in 1640, a petition was preſented by their wives and friends, November 7, to the Houſe of Commons (*h*), wherein they requeſted 'That the juſtice 'and rigour of their ſentence might be reviewed and conſidered; and their perſons 'brought from thoſe remote and deſolate places they were confined in, to London, that 'ſo they might be able to facilitate or attend their own buſineſs.' Upon this the Houſe ordered, That they ſhould be removed from the foreign priſons they were in, to the places to which they were regularly firſt committed [*H*]. And for that purpoſe, warrants were ſigned by the Speaker to the Governors and Captains of the ſeveral caſtles, to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to London; which were ſent with all poſſible expedition (*i*). Baſtwick landing at Dover, on the 4th of December, had his charges borne all the way to London; was loaded with preſents, and received every where by vaſt numbers of people, with wonderful acclamations of joy: particularly, before he came to Southwark, he was met by great crouds of Londoners, with boughs and flowers in their hands [*I*], and conducted by them to his lodging in the city (*k*). The 21ſt of February following, the Houſe of Commons declared, That the ſeveral proceedings againſt him were illegal, unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of the ſubject: That the ſentence paſſed upon him be reverſed, his fine remitted, and he reſtored to his profeſſion [*K*]; and that, for reparation of his loſſes, he ought to have 5000 *l.* out of the eſtates of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the High-Commiſſioners, and thoſe Lords who had voted againſt him in the Star-Chamber. But the enſuing confuſion of the times prevented the payment of the money (*l*). However, to make him ſome amends, we find that in 1644, his wife had an allowance ordered for her own, and her huſband's maintenance (*m*): And October 24, 1648, there was a debate in the Houſe of Commons about Ordinances for him to have reparation for the illegal ſentence againſt him, in the Star-Chamber (*n*). What became of him, or how long he lived after that time, is not known: only it is very probable that he died in St. Botolph's pariſh, Colcheſter, where a niece of his was living within the memory of man [*L*].

M.

(*b*) *Ibid.* & Whitelocke, ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 436. The order was made in Auguſt 1637.

(*e*) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra. Dr. Baſtwick landed in Scilly, Oct. 16, 1637. *New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c.* Part ii.

(*f*) Baſtwick's Dedicat. before his Flagellum, as above, p. 8. and Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Coll. Part iii. Vol. i. or Vol. iv. p. 20 and 80.

(*g*) Ruſhworth, *ibid.*

(*h*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. iv. p. 20. Nalſon's Collect. Vol. i. p. 779, 780.

(*i*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202. New Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. p. 135.

(*k*) Clarendon, ubi ſupra, p. 202. Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, p. 41. 4*to*. Ruſhworth's Hiſtoric. Collect. Vol. iv. p. 193. 203.

(*l*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. p. 385. edit. Lond. 1733.

(*m*) Whitelock, ubi ſupra, p. 107.

(*n*) *Id.* p. 345.

[*G*] *The puniſhment of theſe men —— hath ever ſince been looked upon —— with horror*, &c.] My Lord Clarendon obſerves (10), 'That they were men of 'the three ſeveral profeſſions which had the moſt in'fluence upon the people, *though* none of them of in'tereſt or any eſteem with the worthy part of their 'ſeveral profeſſions, having been formerly all looked 'upon under characters of reproach; yet when they 'were all ſentenced, and for the execution of that 'ſentence brought out to be puniſhed as common and 'ſignal rogues, expoſed upon ſcaffolds to have their 'ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded 'with hot irons; men began no more to conſider 'their manners but the men; and each profeſſion, 'with anger and indignation enough, thought their 'education, and degrees, and quality, would have 'ſecured them from ſuch infamous judgments, and 'treaſured up wrath for the time to come.'

(10) Hiſtory, ubi ſupra, Vol. i. p. 94.

[*H*] *To the places to which they were regularly firſt committed.*] It ſeems their firſt ſentence was, that they ſhould be committed to ſome priſons in London: but they were afterwards removed thence by an order of the Privy-Council, which was now looked upon as a violation of the ſentence; and therefore that order was reverſed without any ſcruple (11).

(11) See Clarendon, ubi ſupra. p. 201. and Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. or Vol. iv. p. 193.

[*I*] *He was met by great crowds of Londoners*, &c.] This could not but be looked upon as a very great affront to, and bold inſult upon authority: but, as Mr. Hobbes judiciouſly obſerves (12), the Parliament's deſign, in ſending for thoſe men to London, was, to try 'how the people would be pleaſed therewith, and, 'by conſequence, how their endeavours to draw the 'people's affections from the King had already pro'ſpered.—So, by the people's flocking together to 'behold thoſe men, and receiving them with ſuch 'acclamations, and almoſt adoration, as if they had 'been let down from Heaven, the parliament was 'now ſufficiently aſſured of a great and tumultuous 'party, whenſoever they ſhould have occaſion to 'uſe it.'

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of England, Lond. 1679, 8*vo*, p. 87.

[*K*] *And he reſtored to his profeſſion.*] June 11, 1641, it was ordered that Dr. Baſtwick be reſtored to his place in the College of Phyſicians, and to the liberty of his practice as formerly (13). The former part of which order ſhews the miſtake of Lord Clarendon, when he ſays (14), that he was 'unknown to 'either Univerſity, or the College of Phyſicians.'

(13) Ruſhworth, Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. iv. p. 283.

(14) Vol. i. p. 199.

[*L*] *Where a niece of his was living*, &c.] Beſides the books abovementioned, Dr. Baſtwick publiſhed, I. *Independency not God's Ordinance*; to which H. Burton wrote an anſwer under this title; 'Vindiciæ Ve'ritatis: Truth vindicated againſt Calumny. In a 'brief Anſwer to Dr. Baſtwick's two late books, 'entitled *Independency not God's Ordinance*, Lond. '1645, 4to. (15)' II. *The utter Routing of the whole Army of all the Independents and Sectaries, with the total Overthrow of their Monarchy.* III. *Defence of Himſelf againſt Lilburn.*

(15) Wood's Faſti, Vol. i. col. 192.

[Mr. Hume, ſpeaking of Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, ſays, 'Beſides, that theſe writers had 'attacked, with great ſeverity, and even an intem'perate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and government 'of the Church; the very anſwers which they gave 'into the Court, were ſo full of contumacy, and of 'invective againſt the Prelates, that no Lawyer could 'be prevailed with to ſign them. The rigour, how'ever, which they underwent, being ſo unworthy 'men of their profeſſion, gave general offence; and 'the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they 'ſuffered, increaſed ſtill farther the indignation of 'the public (16).' Upon this paſſage a Correſpondent hath favoured us with the following remarks. 'Baſtwick offered defences: as they were not ſigned 'by a Lawyer, they were not received. On this he 'was held as confeſt: that is, his anſwers were held 'as never given in at all. Did it require much 'knowledge

(16) Hiſt. of Great Britain, Vol. vi. p. 244, 245. 8*vo*. edit. of 1763.

'knowledge in law, or plain reaſoning, to diſcover 'that Baſtwick could not be puniſhed for expreſſions 'in a paper, for the writing of which he was not ac-'cuſed, and which the Court would not receive.'

We cannot help ſubjoining what is immediately added by Mr. Hume. 'The ſeverity of the Star-'chamber, which was generally aſcribed to Laud's 'paſſionate diſpoſition, was perhaps, in itſelf, ſome-'what blameable; but will naturally to us appear 'enormous, who enjoy, in the utmoſt latitude, that 'liberty of the preſs, which is ſo neceſſary to every 'Monarchy, confined by legal limitations. But as 'theſe limitations were not regularly fixed during the 'age of Charles, nor at any time before; ſo was the 'freedom of ſpeech totally unknown, and was gene-'rally deemed, as well as religious Toleration, in-'compatible with all good government. No age 'or nation, among the Moderns, had ever ſet an 'example of ſuch an indulgence: and it ſeems un-'reaſonable to judge of the meaſures, embraced 'during one period, by the maxims which prevail in 'another (17).' Every reader of reflection will be ſtruck with the beginning of what has now been quoted. 'The ſeverity of the Star-chamber —— was *perhaps*, 'in *itſelf*, *ſomewhat* blameable.' Much, too, might be ſaid, were it needful, on the remainder of what has been advanced by our elegant Hiſtorian. It is, undoubtedly, a juſt obſervation, that, in eſtimating the conduct of former periods, a regard ſhould be had to the maxims which then prevailed. But this rule ought not to be applied to the vindication, or even to any great extenuation of oppreſſion, perſe-cution, and cruelty. There are certain actions which no received principles can juſtify, and which they can ſcarcely palliate. How little ſoever the age of Charles the Firſt might know with regard to the rights of men to freedom of ſpeech and religious Toleration, the nation was enlightened enough to be filled with the utmoſt diſſatisfaction at the treatment of Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick. But Mr. Hume had very little occaſion for recurring to the ſenti-ments of the times, in order to apologize for the ſeverity of the Star-chamber, if that ſeverity was only *perhaps*, in *itſelf*, *ſomewhat* blameable. Did not the human mind afford ſo many inſtances of incon-ſiſtency, it might ſeem ſtrange that any man ſhould endeavour to leſſen the malignity of perſecution, who had himſelf ventured to attack the moſt ſacred and fundamental principles of religion.] K.

(17) *Ibid.*

BATE (GEORGE), an eminent Phyſician of the laſt century, was ſon of Mr. John Bate of Burton or Bourton in Buckinghamſhire, and was born at Maid's-Morton near Buckingham in the year 1608. At fourteen years of age, he became one of the Clerks of New-college in Oxford; from whence he removed to Queen's-college for a time, and from thence to St Edmund's-hall. Having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, he proceeded on the Phyſic line, and commenced Bachelor in that faculty in the year 1629; about which time, having obtained a licence, he practiſed in and about Oxford for ſome years, but chiefly among the Puritans, who at that time conſidered him as one of their party. In 1637, he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, and became more emi-nent in his profeſſion, eſpecially while King Charles I., to whom he was Principal-Phy-ſician, kept his court ſeveral years at Oxford, in the time of the rebellion. When the King's affairs began to decline, Dr. Bate left Oxford, and ſettled in London; where, complying with the times, he became Phyſician to the Charter-houſe, and Fellow of the College; and afterwards Principal Phyſician to Oliver Cromwell; nor did he ſtick (though he pretended to be a concealed Royaliſt) to flatter the Protector in the higheſt degree. At the Reſtoration, he ingratiated himſelf with the Royal party, by means of a report induſtriouſly ſpread by his friends, that he had ſecretly, by a doſe, haſtened the death of the Uſurper; upon which he was made Principal-Phyſician to King Charles II. He was one of the earlieſt members of the Royal Society. Dr. Bate wrote in Latin, *An Account of the late Commotions in England, together with a ſhort Narrative of the Regal and Parliamentary Privileges* [*A*], and ſome other pieces [*B*]. He died at his houſe in Hatton-

[*A*] *An Account of the late Commotions in England*, &c.] The Latin title is: *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia, ſimul ac Juris Regii et Parliamentarii brevis narratio.* It was printed at Paris in 1649, and at Francfort upon the Maine in 1650, in *quarto*. Before it went to the preſs, it was communicated to Dr. Peter Heylyn, who made ſeveral obſervations on it greatly tending to the honour of the King and the Church. The firſt part of the *Elenchus* was tranſlated into Engliſh by an unknown hand, and printed at London in 1652, in *octavo*. The ſecond part, in which the au-thor had the aſſiſtance of ſome papers communicated to him by the Lord-Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was printed in Latin at London in 1661, at Amſterdam the year following in *octavo*, and re-printed with the firſt part at London in 1663, in *octa-vo* (1). A learned writer, having condemned George Hornius, Honorius Reggus, an anonymous Scotchman (2), and Salmonetus Scoto-Britannus (3), who have written very erroneouſly of our Engliſh affairs, aſſures us, Dr. Bate is the only author, who has written in La-tin concerning the late tranſactions, that deſerves to be read, though he is accuſed by an anonymous writer of leaning too much to the ſide of Puritaniſm. *Eorum omnium, qui hactenus de rebus apud nos nuper geſtis ſcrip-ſerunt Latino idiomate, unus Bateus dignus eſt qui lega-tur; quanquam etiam ab anonymo ſcriptore propenſi ni-mium in Puritanos animi nuper eſt accuſatus* (4). There was publiſhed at London, in 1676, a third part of *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum*, &c. written in Latin by Thomas Skinner, Doctor of Phyſic, and publiſhed with the two former parts. But this part would have been much better performed, if Dr. Bate had lived one year longer. In 1685 came out a tranſlation into Engliſh of all the three parts by one A. Lovel, A. M. of Cambridge. The two parts publiſhed by Dr. Bate having given offence, not only to the Papiſts, but to the Cavaliers likewiſe, on account of their favouring the Puritans; one Robert Pugh, who had been an officer in the King's army, wrote an anſwer to them, entitled *Elenchus Elenchi*, printed at Paris in 1664, in *octavo*. Dr. Bate replied thereto; but his anſwer was never publiſhed (5). The firſt part of Dr. Bate's *Elen-chus* is dedicated to King Charles II. In the preface, the author gives us a plan of his deſign. He tells us, 'he has touched upon ſuch particulars as may ſerve to 'ſettle the juſt boundaries between the Rights of the 'King, the Parliament, and the People; that he has 'briefly related the Cauſes, Progreſs, and Concluſion 'of our Civil Diſſenſions; that he has purpoſely omit-'ted dwelling upon military affairs, chiefly to avoid 'prolixity; and that the facts he relates were not taken 'from the report of others, but from his own know-'ledge and experience, confirmed by Records, Parlia-'ment Rolls, and the authorities of the moſt eminent 'Lawyers; all which he had an opportunity of con-'ſulting in perſon.' He obſerves, that 'towards the 'end of this Tragedy, he was fired with indignation 'at the villanies he related, and his pen grew warm; 'but that he ſtrictly confined himſelf within the 'bounds of truth, and even treated thoſe horrid crimes 'and their actors in a milder ſtyle than they deſerved.'

(1) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 425.

(2) Qui ſcripſit Hiſtoriam Motuum nuperorum in Scotia.

(3) Qui Gallicè ſcripſit de Rebus Anglicis.

(4) Joh. Durel. S. Eccl. Angl. Vindiciæ, Lond. 1669. c. 28. p. 332.

(5) Wood, ubi ſupra.

Sub

Hatton-Garden, April the 19th, 1669, and was buried at Kingſton upon Thames in Surry, near his wife Elizabeth, who died April the 17th, 1667 (a).

(a) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 425, 426.

There

Sub hujus Tragœdiæ finem, rerum atrocitate motus concepit flammas animus, et incaluit calamus; ſed intrà veritatis metas religioſe ſe continuit, et ſcelera autoreſque meliore ſtylo quam par erat perſtrinxit (6). At the end of the firſt part (7), the Doctor tells us, the manuſcript, before it went to the preſs, was reviſed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Nicolas Oudart, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, Sir John Wederburn, Dr. Richard Owen, Dr. George Ente, and Fabian Philips the Lawyer; the laſt of whom aſſiſted him in ſearching records, &c. The ſecond part is dedicated to King Charles II., and Edward Earl of Clarendon. The author tells us, it contains an account of King Charles II.'s wonderful eſcape after the murder of his father, and a diſtinct account of the affairs, both civil and military, of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And he promiſes a third part, if his health ſhould permit. Dr. Skinner (as has been obſerved) executed this deſign. His performance is entitled *Elenchus*, &c. *Pars Tertia; ſive Motus Compoſiti. Ubi illuſtriſſimi G. Monchii Albemarliæ Ducis è Scotia Progreſſus; nec non Auguſtiſſimi Caroli 2di in Angliam Reditus, ejuſdemque regiæ majeſtatis per decennium geſta fideliter enarrantur.* It is dedicated to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State to King Charles II. I cannot forbear giving the learned reader a ſpecimen of Dr. Bate's Latin ſtyle, which I chuſe to do in his character of King Charles I. (8) *Nec ſane facile mihi eſt non hic immittere rudentes, non vela pandere, totoque ingenio vehi per virtutum ipſius Oceanum; quanquam hanc mihi licentiam compendii, cui jam incumbitur, ratio interdicat. Paucis itaque iiſdemque perobſcuris radiis hunc ſolem oſtendam. Princeps ſane erat inter optimos omnis retro ævi numerandus; magna ingenii vi, majoribus morum dotibus; omnium ſuffragiis (vel inimiciſſimorum) dignus imperio, ſi non imperaſſet. Qui omnium confeſſione illud magnum præ ſe tulit, quod idem ubique fuerit, quod eundem virtutis et morum tenorem, eundem vultum tenere, in diverſiſſimis, quas expertus eſt, fortunis noſſet; quaſi è torrida in frigidam tranſmigraret Zonam, nil ad quicquam mutato cœloris temperamento. Qui vel invitis placuit, et quaſi incantamento quodam multorum odia lenivit, hoſtes in amicitiam conciliavit, convitia in laudes convertit. Qui tanta prudentia, tot heroicis planè virtutibus præpolluit, ut clarius per opprobria et calumnias emicuerit. Quem mentis inopem finxerant hoſtes, experti ſunt, non politicis modo, ſed et Theologicis ſelectiſſimis parem, ſi non et ſuperiorem: Quem timidum et ad omnia facilem, fluxæ fidei et muliebris inconſtantiæ, infamarunt, eundem in præliis milite promptiorem, minis, probris, periculis interritum, carcere et morte ſenſerunt inconcuſſum: Quem* Pontificium *affirmarunt*, Reformatam Apoſtolicam Religionem *ſcriptis viderunt nervosè confirmantem, nec fuſo tantum atramento, ſed et ſanguine vindicantem. Qui eum ut ſanguinarium et ſævum proſciderant, ad eam calumniandi licentiam ſolâ regis clementiâ perducti proceſſerunt, ad quam facilem nimis receptum ſibi promiſerant Rebelles; donec ultrà veniæ metas aſpirante fortuna evecti, mallent tantæ clementiæ Principi veniam negare, quam tandem ab eo jam exarmato petere. Cui ſi revera quid objici poteſt, næ illud fuerit non eximii principis vitium aliquod, ſed corruptiſſimi ſæculi et alieni temporis intempeſtiva quædam et noxia virtus; nimia ſcilicet apud ſævos lenitas, apud prava ingenia candor, rigidumque* Honeſtum *vix regibus conceſſum; ac verecundia ſuis diffiſa viribus; animuſque tantopere à faſtu alienus, ut minus ſibi tribuerit in optimis conſultis, quam aliis in minus bonis, quaſi inimicorum de ſe convitiis, crederet.* Magnum vivendi, majus moriendi exemplum: *quem, eâdem qua virtus ipſa ſorte, indignis modis habitum,*

(6) Elench. Mot. nuperor. &c. edit. Lond. 1676. *Ad Lectorem.*

(7) *In* Epilogo.

(8) *Vide* Elench. p. 121, 122.

——————— incolumem odimus
Sublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi.

[*B*] *He wrote ſome other pieces.*] I. *The Royal Apology; or, The Declaration of the Commons in Parliament, Feb.* 11, 1647. Printed in 1648, in *quarto.* II. *De Rachitide, ſive morbo puerili, qui vulgo* the Rickets *dicitur*, Lond. 1650, in *octavo.* Mr. Wood tells us (9), the Doctor was aſſiſted in this work by Francis Gliſſon, and Ahaſuerus Regemorter, Doctors of Phyſic, and Fellows of the College of Phyſicians; and that it was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by Philip Armin, and printed at London 1651, in *octavo*; and about the ſame time tranſlated by Nicolas Culpepper, who ſtyles himſelf *Student in Phyſic and Aſtrology*, and who was author of ſeveral books and Almanacks. III. After Dr. Bate's death came out a *Diſpenſatory* in Latin, entitled *Pharmacopœia Bateana; in qua octoginta circiter pharmaca pleraque omnia è Praxi Georgii Batei Regi Carolo 2do Proto-medici excerpta.* Lond. 1688 and 1691. It was publiſhed by Mr. James Shipton, Apothecary, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. William Salmon, under the title of *Bate's Diſpenſatory*. We have the following account of this book in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* (10). 'The tranſlator 'of this work, in his preface, gives firſt an account of 'the Original, that it is a collection of moſt excellent '*Recipes* made by Mr. James Shipton, who was the 'preparer and maker-up of the greateſt part of them, 'though their author was the famous Dr. Bate, whom 'to name is ſufficient, by whoſe knowledge and ex'perience this work was produced. The firſt edition 'was ſo well received by the Learned, that they were 'ſoon preſented with a ſecond, with an addition of 'not only above 100 more of Dr. Bate's *Recipes*, but 'alſo of the *Arcana Goddardiana* from the author's 'own MS. which much advanced the value of the 'book, ſo that at leaſt 6000 of this Latin edition 'were ſold; which was digeſted into an alphabetical 'method, with the *Arcana Goddardiana* at the end 'thereof, which were only *nominal* without their 'preparations; whereas in this Engliſh edition they 'are at large, and interſperſed in their proper places: 'The method of the book is likewiſe altered claſſically, according to the method and order of the 'chapters of the *London Diſpenſatory*. The work in the 'Latin being thus approved of by the Learned, and eſpecially Phyſicians, induced our author to publiſh 'this Engliſh edition, as he ſays, for its more general 'uſe and entertainment; adding ſome preparations 'never before printed, as *Goddard's Drops*, *Ruſſel's Powder*, *Emplaſtrum Febrifugium*, with near 50 'more valuable *Recipes* out of the *Collectanea Chymica*, and other authors of which he gives a catalogue both of the ancient and modern which he 'has conſulted in this undertaking; which is not a 'bare tranſlation, a Comment being added upon each 'particular, eſpecially upon all the chymical proceſſes, which he has ſearched out from their original 'fountains, and explicated the proceſs itſelf, adding 'as a Supplement a *Rationale* upon the ſame; and 'having examined the preſcripts of other authors, he 'ſhews wherein they chiefly differ from theſe, and 'gives their proceſſes at large, if new.——He obvi'ates ſome objections againſt the publiſhing this 'work in Engliſh, and diſcovering the ſecrets of the 'Art to the Vulgar, which he hopes he has made 'ſome amends for, by divulging ſeveral ſecrets not 'generally known even by the Learned; amongſt 'which is the *Prince's Powder*, once accounted a 'great ſecret, and ſold for above five pounds a doſe; 'the preparation whereof is *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 9. *Sect.* 80. '*Pag.* 526. which happens to be omitted in the 'Table; and, as a general anſwer, adds, that all 'particular intereſts ſhould be ſacrificed to the com'mon good, which ought to be preferred before any 'private one, how dear and valuable ſoever: and 'juſtifies himſelf in this by the examples of Hippo'crates, Galen, Paracelſus, Celſus, and others, who 'all publiſhed a ſyſtem of Phyſic in their own lan'guages: as likewiſe from the preſent uſage of the 'French, who now treat of all ſubjects in their own 'tongue; and, as he conceives, they are not to be 'imitated only in their vices.' B.

(9) Ubi ſupra.

(10) Vol. xvii. *for the year* 1693. N. 206.

[It ought to be remembered, that the ſtory of Dr. Bate's having ingratiated himſelf with the Royal party, by the report of his friends that he haſtened the death of Cromwell, reſts only on the authority of Anthony Wood, who might derive it from accidental rumour. The Doctor, who was very eminent in his profeſſion, who had been chief Phyſician to Charles the Firſt, and who had written in favour of that Monarch, did not ſtand in need of ſuch a ſtrange recommendation to King Charles the Second.

There was another GEORGE BATE, who wrote the *Lives, Actions, and Execution of the prime Actors, and principal Contrivers of that horrid Murder of our late pious and ſacred Sovereign King Charles* I., London, 1661, 8vo (*b*).

(*b*) Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 425, 426.

The Salmonetus Scoto-Brittannus, mentioned in the note [*A*], was Robert Monteith, who had been Miniſter of Preſton or Haugh, in Eaſt Lothian. The tradition is, that he was obliged to leave Scotland upon his being ſuſpected of adultery with the wife of Sir James Hamilton of Preſton-field. Monteith appears to have been a Chaplain of Cardinal de Retz. See Joli. Memoires, tom. ii. p. 86. where he is called 'Homme Scavant & de Merite.' Cardinal de Retz alſo mentions him, Vol. iii. p. 323. His brother was Lieutenant-Colonel of Douglas's regiment (the Royal), and killed in Alſace. In the privilege for printing Monteith's Hiſtory, granted the 13th of September 1660, to Jaques St. Clair de Roſelin, he is ſtyled le defunct St. Montet. In the title-page he is called *Meſſire*. He ſays, in his Hiſtory, that Salmonet is a place between Airth and Grange, on the South-ſide of the Frith of Forth (11).

(11) From a learned correſpondent.

Dr. Francis Gliſſon, who united with the Doctors Bate and Regemorter, in writing the Treatiſe *De Rachitide, ſive Morbo puerili*, was the ſecond ſon of Mr. William Gliſſon of Rampiſham in Dorſetſhire. He was educated in Gonville and Caius-college in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he took, in 1620, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and, in 1624, that of Maſter, and became Fellow of his College. On the 25th of October 1627, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford. Having taken the degree of Doctor in Phyſic in 1634, he was afterwards appointed Regius Profeſſor of Phyſic at Cambridge, in the room of Dr. Ralph Winterton. On the firſt of Auguſt 1634, Dr. Gliſſon was admitted Candidate of the college of Phyſicians in London, and Fellow of it on the laſt day of September in the following year. In 1639 he was choſen Lecturer of Anatomy in that college. During the war between the King and Parliament he practiſed Phyſic at Colcheſter, where he reſided in 1648, when that town was beſieged. He afterwards removed to London. In 1654 he publiſhed, in 8vo, his *Anatomia Hepatis: cui præmittuntur quædam ad Rem Anatomicam univerſè ſpectantia: et ad calcem operis ſubjiciuntur nonnulla de Lymphæductibus nuper repertis*. This work, which was formed from the Lectures he had read at the College of Phyſicians, contains a more exact deſcription of the liver and its ſeveral veſſels, than had been given by any anatomiſt before: and beſides the diſcovery of the *Capſula communis* or *Vagina Portæ*, and an excellent account of Sanguification, acquaints us in what manner, by the continual concoction of the blood, the bile is neceſſarily produced and ſeparated from the blood, with the reaſons of its bitter taſte. In the piece de Lymphæductibus ſubjoined, Dr. Gliſſon gives an admirable account of them, and of the *ſuccus nutritius*, with the manner of its conveyance; and conjectures about the uſe of the ſpleen and glands. In 1655, he was choſen one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians, and was afterwards Preſident of that College for ſeveral years. He was one of the earlieſt members of the Royal Society. His *Tractatus de Naturæ ſubſtantia energetica, ſeu de Via Vitæ Naturæ ejuſque tribus primis Facultatibus*, was printed at London, 1672, in quarto; and his *Tractatus de Ventriculo et Inteſtinis* at Amſterdam, 167-, in the ſame ſize. Dr. Gliſſon died at a very advanced age, on the 14th of October 1677. Several of his original manuſcripts, which were in Sir Hans Sloane's poſſeſſion, are now in the Britiſh Muſeum (12).] K.

(12) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. iii. p. 356, 357.

BATE, in *Latin* BATUS (JOHN), Prior of the monaſtery of Carmelites at York, in the fifteenth century, was born in Northumberland, and educated at York in the ſtudy of the Liberal Arts; in which he was greatly encouraged by the favour of ſome perſons his patrons, who were at the expence of ſending him to Oxford, to finiſh his ſtudies in that univerſity. Bate abundantly anſwered the hopes conceived of him, and became an eminent Philoſopher and Divine, and particularly remarkable for his ſkill in the Greek tongue. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author [*A*]. The Carmelites of York were ſo ſenſible of his merit, that, upon a vacancy, they offered him the government of their houſe; which he accepted, and diſcharged that office with great prudence and ſucceſs (*a*). He died the 26th of January 1429, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. (*b*) Bale, who cannot refuſe him the character of a learned man, pretends he adulterated the word of God with falſe doctrines, to ſupport the blaſphemies of Antichriſt, and defiled his own writings with the filth of Paganiſm (*c*).

(*a*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 705.

(*b*) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. c. 79.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an author.*] His works, as enumerated by Leland, Bale, and Pits, conſiſt of the following Treatiſes. I. *On the Conſtruction of the Parts of Speech.* II. *On* Porphyry's Univerſalia. III. *On* Ariſtotle's Prædicaments. IV. *On* Porretanus's Six Principles. V. *Queſtions concerning the Soul.* VI. *Of the Aſſumption of the Virgin.* VII. *An Introduction to the Sentences.* VIII. *The Praiſe of Divinity.* IX. *A Compendium of Logic.* X. *An Addreſs to the Clergy of Oxford.* XI. *Synodical Conferences.* XII. *Determinations on ſeveral Queſtions.* XIII. *A Courſe of Sermons for the whole Year.* XIV. *A Preface to the Bible.* B.

BATECUMBE or BADECOMBE (WILLIAM), an eminent Mathematician (*a*), is ſuppoſed by Pits (*b*) to have flouriſhed about the year 1420, in the reign of Henry V. He ſtudied at Oxford (*c*), where he applied himſelf to Natural Philoſophy in general, but chiefly to the Mathematics, in which he made a very great proficiency, as is evident by his writings in that ſcience [*A*], which introduced him to the acquaintance and intimacy of the greateſt men of thoſe times (*d*). It is not known when he died.

(*a*) Leland, de Script. Brit. n. 509. *et* Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VII. n. 67.

(*b*) De Illuſtr. Angl. Scriptor. *ann.* 1420, n. 784.

(*c*) Bale, *ibid.*

(*d*) Leland, Bale, & Pits, *ibid.*

[*A*] *His mathematical writings.*] He wrote, I. *De Sphæræ Concavæ Fabrica et Uſu*; i. e. 'Of the 'Formation and Uſe of the Concave Sphere.' This treatiſe Bale ſaw in the library of Dr. Robert Recorde, a learned Phyſician. II. *De Sphæra Solida*; i. e. 'Of 'the Solid Sphere.' III. *De Operatione Aſtrolabii*; i. e. 'Of the Uſe of the Aſtrolabe.' IV. *Concluſiones Sophiæ*; i. e. 'Philoſophical Concluſions (1).' B.

(1) Leland, Bale, & Pits, ubi ſupra.

BATEMAN (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Norwich in the fourteenth century, and founder of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, was born at Norwich; being the ſon of a citizen of good repute in that place (a). He was, from his tendereſt years, of a docile and ingenuous diſpoſition (b). Having therefore made a good proficiency in learning, wherein he ſurpaſſed all his equals (c), he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge (d). After having gone through the uſual circle of the ſciences, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law, in which he took the degree of Doctor, before he was thirty years of age, a thing then uncommon (e). On the 8th of December 1328, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of Norwich (f). Soon after this, he went and ſtudied at Rome, for his farther improvement; and ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge [A] and exemplary behaviour, that he was promoted by the Pope to the place of Auditor of his Palace. He was likewiſe advanced by him to the Deanery of Lincoln (g); and ſo great an opinion had he of his prudence and capacity, that he ſent him twice as his Nuncio, to endeavour to procure a peace between Edward III., King of England, and the King of France (h). Upon the death of Anthony de Beck, Biſhop of Norwich, the Pope did, by his uſurped proviſional authority, confer that Biſhoprick upon our William Bateman, on the 23d of January 1343, and conſecrated him with his own hands. He was confirmed the 23d of June 1344 (i). Being inveſted with that great dignity, he returned into his native country after many years abſence; and lived in a regular, and withal in a generous and hoſpitable manner (k). Of Pope Clement VI. he obtained for himſelf and ſucceſſors, the firſt-fruits of all vacant Livings within his dioceſe; which occaſioned frequent diſputes between himſelf and his Clergy (l). In the year 1347 (m), he founded Trinity-hall in Cambridge, for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws [B]; and another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary [C], for the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Divinity (n). Being a perſon

(a) His father's name was William, and his mother's Margaret, Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, P. i. p. 803.

(b) De Vita & Morte Rev. admodum Willielmi Batteman, &c. in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. ii. lib. vii. p. 1.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 2.

(d) Godwin, de Præſulibus, &c. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 490.

(e) See Peck, ubi ſupra.

(f) Le Neve, *Faſti Eccleſ. Anglicanæ*, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 217.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 145. and Peck, ubi ſupra.

(b) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(i) *Ibid.* J. Le Neve, as above, p. 210. Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(k) Vid. Peck & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

(l) Godwin, ubi ſupra. Anglia Sacra, P. i. edit. Lond. 1691, fol. p. 414.

(m) Camden ſays, that it was in 1353. *Britannia*, in Cambridgeſhire.

(n) Vide Peck, ut ſupra, p. 3. & Godwin, p. 490. & Anglia Sacra, ubi ſupra.

[A] *And ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge.*] He was reckoned, at the court of Rome, the moſt eminent Lawyer of his time. *In tanta vero juſtitie, equitate, & ſententie, ſoliditate in gradibus illis inflexibilis prepollebat, ut ipſius ſummi Pontificis, ac totius curie, aſſertione, utriuſque Juriſperitorum flos precipuus diceretur* (1).

(1) Peck's *Deſiderata*, &c. ut ſupra, p. 2.

[B] *He founded* Trinity-*Hall in* Cambridge, *for the ſtudy of the Civil and Canon Laws.*] In the place where he built it, there formerly flouriſhed a ſociety of ſtudents, who lived at their own expence. John Crandene, the twenty-ſecond Prior of Ely, purchaſed that houſe with his own money, in the reign of King Edward III., and converted it into an hôtel for the reception of the Monks of Ely, coming thither at their leiſure to improve in learning (2). To theſe beginnings, Richard Ling, Chancellor of the univerſity, Archembald Norwich, Simon Rekenghall, and Walter Elveden, Rector of Smitterton in Norfolk, added four tenements. Likewiſe Robert Stratton, John French, Walter Bakton, Walter Aldeley, and Peter Bittering, gave ſeven parcels of land and two meſſuages, one of which was called Drake's entry. All theſe Biſhop Bateman purchaſed of the aforeſaid Prior and Monks of Ely, giving ſome rectories in exchange for the ſame, and converted them into a Hall, in the year 1347, twenty-firſt of Edward III., which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity. He endowed it with the rectories of Briſton, Kymberley, Brimmingham, Woodalling, Cowling, and Stalling in the dioceſe of Norwich: and deſigned that it ſhould conſiſt of a Maſter, twenty Fellows, and three Scholars; to ſtudy the Canon and Civil law, with an allowance for one Divine. But being prevented by death, he left proviſion only for a Maſter, three Fellows, and as many Scholars. However, by the munificence of ſeveral worthy perſons, it now maintains a Maſter, twelve Fellows, and fourteen Scholars. [Among the twelve Fellows are two Divines for the ſervice of the chapel, who, beſides an equal dividend and privileges with the ten Lay Fellows, enjoy an additional benefaction of 50l. per ann. for reading catechetical lectures in the chapel, in Term time.] The chief benefactors thereto, have been Simon Dalling the third Maſter, who gave two Fellowſhips, and one Scholarſhip; Walter Huke, the eighth Maſter, who gave one Fellowſhip; Robert Goodknape, once a Fellow there, who gave one Fellowſhip; Richard Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, three Fellowſhips and two Scholarſhips; Laurence Maptid, Fellow of the ſame, one Fellowſhip; Gabriel Dun, Canon of St. Paul's cathedral, London, one Scholarſhip; Henry Harvey, the twelfth Maſter, one Scholarſhip; Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one Scholarſhip, &c. (3).

(2) Hiſtoria Elienſis, in Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 650.

[To this liſt of benefactors others may be added. Dr. Eden, who was Maſter of Trinity-Hall in King Charles the Firſt's reign, gave 1000l. with which lands were purchaſed, to maintain wax-candles in the chapel, for an annual commemoration, a Latin ſpeech, and other uſes. Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, who was Maſter in the preſent century, from 1710 to 1735, left 3000l. for rebuilding the Hall, &c.; at the upper end of which there is a beautiful picture of him. Dr. Monſey bequeathed 80l. per ann. for repairing the road towards *Hawkſton-Mills*, and for placing mile-ſtones on the ſaid road, the execution of which was faithfully attended to by Dr. Warren, Fellow of the College. But the greateſt benefactor has been John Andrews, LL. D. Maſter of the *Faculties*, and Chancellor of London. This gentleman, who had been Fellow of Trinity-Hall, gave 20,000l. for ſix Fellowſhips, and as many Scholarſhips, and for finiſhing the new buildings. Theſe endowments, which are for the ſtudy of the Civil Law, are appropriated to Merchant-Taylors ſchool. Dr. Andrews, who died at London in 1747, was brought down to Cambridge, and interred in the College-chapel. (*).] K.

(3) J. Caii, Hiſt. Cantebrig. Academiæ, Lond. 1574, 4to, p. 62, 63. and A View of Cambridge, by Ric. Parker, 8vo, Lond. 1721, p. 65, &c.

(*) Carter's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 101. 106, 107.

[C] *And another Hall dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin* Mary.] This is what the writer of his life, publiſhed by Fr. Peck (4), affirms, in the following words: ——— *Duas aulas collegiatas in univerſitate* Cantebrigienſi, *propriis ſumptibus honorifice conſtruxit; unam, quam intitulavit S.* Trinitatis, *de ſtudentibus in utroque jure; aliam vero Annunciationis B.* Marie, *de vacantibus theologis & dialectis diſciplinis; quas poſſeſſionibus et proventibus — ditabat;* ——— i. e. 'He founded two collegiate halls in the univerſity of Cambridge, at his own expence; one called 'Trinity-Hall, for ſtudents in Law; and the other 'named of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, for 'ſtudents in Divinity and Philoſophy, which he en-'riched with poſſeſſions and revenues.' Biſhop Godwin aſſerts the ſame (5), and adds, that he likewiſe adviſed one Gunvile to found the college that bears his name. The author of Biſhop Bateman's life in *Anglia Sacra* (6), thus expreſſes this fact: ——— *Hic etiam duo collegia in univerſitate* Cantabrigiæ *fundavit, viz. S.* Trinitatis & *Annunciationis B.* Mariæ *vocatum* Gunwyle-hale; *quæ ditavit redditibus & ædificiis* —— i. e. 'He alſo founded two colleges in 'the univerſity of Cambridge, viz. Trinity-Hall, 'and that of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 'called *Gunvylehale*, &c.' Upon comparing theſe ſeveral hiſtorians one with another, and examining

(4) In his *Deſiderata Curioſa*, ut ſupra.

(5) De Præſulibus, ubi ſupra.

(6) Part i. p. 414.

a perſon of great wiſdom, eloquent, and of a fine addreſs, he was often employed by the King and Parliament in affairs of the higheſt importance; and particularly was at the head of ſeveral embaſſies, ſent on purpoſe to determine the great differences between the Crowns of England and France. In 1354, he was, by order of Parliament, diſpatched to the Court of Rome, with Henry, Duke of Lancaſter, and others; to treat (in the Pope's preſence) of a peace, then in agitation between the two Crowns above mentioned (*o*). This journey proved fatal to him; for he died at Avignon, where the Pope then reſided, on the 6th of January 1354-5, and was buried with great ſolemnity [*D*], in the cathedral church of that city (*p*). With regard to his perſon, we are told that he was of an agreeable countenance; and tall, handſome, and well made. He was, likewiſe, a man of ſtrict juſtice and piety, punctual in the diſcharge of his duty, and of a friendly and compaſſionate diſpoſition (*q*). But he was a ſtout defender of his rights, and would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one (*r*) [*E*]. He gave a cheſt with a hundred pounds to Trinity-hall, to be lent to poor ſcholars (*s*).

(*o*) Peck, ubi ſupra. H. de Knyghton, de Eventibus Angliæ, apud *Scriptores* X. edit. Lond. 1652, col. 2607. Tho. Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. &c. edit. 1603. p. 170.

(*p*) Peck, ut ſupra.

(*q*) Peck, ubi ſupra.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) Anglia Sacra, P. i. p. 803. & Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 61.

every circumſtance, the truth ſeems to be this; Gonville-college was dedicated by its founder, Edmund Gonville, to the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* (7); now, as Biſhop Bateman was executor to Gonville, and finiſhed and ſettled what the other had begun; hence viſibly aroſe the miſtake, and to this it was owing, that Biſhop Bateman came to be reputed, and called by ſome, the founder of Gonville-hall, or College. But, upon the ſtricteſt examination, it doth not appear, that he otherwiſe founded a diſtinct Hall of the *Annunciation*; eſpecially conſidering, how ſlender a foundation his own Hall of Trinity originally was.

(7) Vide Caii Hiſtor. ut ſupra, p. 64.

[*D*] *And was buried with great ſolemnity.*] He was attended to his grave by the College of Cardinals, and by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all the other great men at the Pope's court. The funeral ſervice was performed by the Patriarch of Jeruſalem (8).

(8) See Peck, as above, p. 3.

[*E*] *And would not ſuffer himſelf to be injured, or impoſed upon, by any one.*] Of his reſolution in this point, we have this remarkable inſtance. Robert, Lord Morley, having killed ſome deer in his parks, and miſuſed his ſervants, he made him do public penance for the ſame; that is, he obliged that nobleman to walk, uncovered and barefoot, with a wax-taper of ſix pounds in his hands, through the city of Norwich to the cathedral, and there to aſk his pardon. And all this was done notwithſtanding an expreſs order of the King to the contrary, and though his Majeſty had ſeized the Biſhop's revenues, for his obſtinacy. But the King was ſoon after reconciled to him (9). M.

(9) Anglia Sacra, ut ſupra, p. 415. & Godwin, ubi ſupra.

BATES (William), an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine of the laſt century, was born in November 1625 (*a*), and, after a ſuitable ſchool education, was ſent to Cambridge, where he was admitted of Emanuel college, from which he removed to King's, in 1644. He commenced Bachelor of Arts in 1647, and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity, became a diſtinguiſhed preacher among the Preſbyterians. In a courſe of time he was appointed Vicar of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, London; and joined with ſeveral other Divines in preaching a morning exerciſe at Cripplegate church. At this exerciſe Dr. Tillotſon preached, in September 1661, the firſt ſermon which was ever printed by him (*b*). Upon the Reſtoration of Charles the Second, Mr. Bates was made one of his Majeſty's Chaplains; and, in the November following, was admitted, together with Mr. Thomas Jacomb and Mr. Robert Wilde, to the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge, by royal mandate. The King's letter to this purpoſe was dated on the 9th of that month (*c*). About the ſame time, he was offered the Deanery of Litchfield and Coventry, which he refuſed (*d*); and it is ſaid that he might afterwards have been raiſed to any Biſhopric in the kingdom, if he would have conformed to the eſtabliſhed Church (*e*). Dr. Bates was one of the Commiſſioners at the Savoy-conference in 1660, for reviewing the public Liturgy, and was concerned in drawing up the exceptions againſt the Common Prayer (*f*). He was, likewiſe, choſen on the part of the Preſbyterian Miniſters, together with Dr. Jacomb and Mr. Baxter, to manage the diſpute with Dr. Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, Dr. Gunning, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Sparrow, afterwards Biſhop of Ely (*g*). In 1665, he took the oath required of the Nonconformiſts [*A*] by the act commonly called the *Five Mile Act*, and which had paſſed in the Parliament held that year at Oxford, on account of the plague's being in London. When, about January 1667-8, a treaty was propoſed by Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and countenanced by the

(*a*) Calamy's continuation of the account of the ejected Miniſters, Vol. i. p. 73.

(*b*) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 19. ad edit.

(*c*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 308.

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 302.

(*e*) Calamy's account of the ejected Miniſters, Vol. ii. p. 50.

(*f*) Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 502.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 503. 505. 508.

[*A*] *He took the oath required of the Nonconformiſts.*] It was to this purpoſe; that they ſhould ſwear, 'that 'it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to 'take arms againſt the King; and that they abhorred 'the traiterous poſition of taking arms, by his autho-'rity, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe, that are 'commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſ-'ſion; and that they would not at any time endeavour 'any alteration in the government, either in Church 'or in State.' Thoſe who refuſed this Oath were to be reſtrained from coming (except upon the Road) within five miles of any city or corporation, or any place which ſent Burgeſſes to Parliament, or where they had been Miniſters, or had preached ſince the Act of Oblivion. The Act, which impoſed this oath, openly accuſed the Nonconformiſt Miniſters of ſeditious doctrines and practices. Hereupon ſome of them ſtudied how to take the oath lawfully; and Dr. Bates conſulted the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who promiſed to be preſent at the next Seſſions, and openly to declare from the bench, that by *Endeavour to change the Government in Church* was meant only *Unlawful Endeavour*; which ſatisfying him, he thereby ſatisfied others; and accordingly twenty of them came in at the Seſſions, and took the oath. Dr. Bates wrote a letter hereupon to Mr. Baxter, repreſenting the caſe, and the reaſons upon which the Miniſters acted; but Mr. Baxter, who gives us this account (1), tells us, that the arguments uſed in the letter ſeemed to him not ſufficient to enervate the force of the objections againſt their taking the oath.

(1) *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, &c. Part iii. p. 2, &c.

Lord-

Lord-Chief-Baron Hale, for a comprehenſion of ſuch of the Diſſenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and for a toleration of the reſt, Dr. Bates was one of the Divines who, on the Preſbyterian ſide, were engaged in drawing up a ſcheme of the alterations and conceſſions deſired by that party. He was concerned, likewiſe, in another fruitleſs attempt of the ſame kind, which was made in 1674 (*b*). Dr. Bates bore a moſt excellent character [*B*], and was honoured with the eſteem and acquaintance of Lord Keeper Bridgman, Lord Chancellor Finch, and his ſon, the Earl of Nottingham (*i*). Dr. Tillotſon had ſuch an opinion of our Nonconformiſt's learning and temper, that it became the ground of a friendſhip between them, which continued to the death of that moſt excellent Prelate (*k*). Dr. Bates uſed his intereſt with the Archbiſhop, in procuring a pardon for Dr. Nathaniel Crew, Biſhop of Durham, who, for his conduct in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, had been excepted out of the act of indemnity, which paſſed in 1690 (*l*). When the Diſſenters preſented their addreſs to King William and Queen Mary, on their acceſſion to the throne, the two ſpeeches to their Majeſties were delivered by Dr. Bates (*m*). The Doctor was much reſpected by King William the Third; and Queen Mary often entertained herſelf in her cloſet with his writings (*n*). His reſidence, during the latter part of his life, was at Hackney, where he preached to a reſpectable ſociety of Proteſtant Diſſenters; and at that place he died, on the 14th of July, 1699, in the 74th year of his age (*o*). He publiſhed the *Lives of ſeveral eminent Perſons*, in Latin [*C*]; and after his death, his *Works* [*D*], which had been ſeparately printed, were collected into one volume in *folio*; beſides which a poſthumous piece of his appeared in *octavo*, containing ſome Sermons on the everlaſting Reſt of the Saints (*p*). He wrote, likewiſe, in conjunction with Mr. Howe, a Prefatory Epiſtle to Mr. Chaffy's Treatiſe of the Sabbath, upon its being reprinted; and another before Lord Stair's Vindication of the Divine Attributes (*q*). Dr. Bates is univerſally underſtood to have been the politeſt writer among the Nonconformiſts of the laſt century. It is reported, that when his library came to be diſpoſed of, it was found to contain a great number of romances. It ſhould be remembered that the romances of that period, though abſurd in ſeveral reſpects, had a tendency to invigorate the imagination, and abounded in heroic ſentiments of honour and virtue. B. and K.

(*b*) Birch, ubi ſupra, p. 42, 43.

(*i*) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part iii. p. 13.

(*k*) Life of Tillotſon, ubi ſupra, p. 16, 17.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 138.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 156, 157. Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. i. p. 423—425.

(*n*) Calamy, ubi ſupra, Vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

(*o*) Palmer's Nonconformiſt's Memorial, Vol. i. p. 103. Calamy, ubi ſupra, p. 51.

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) Calamy's Continuation, Vol. i. p. 74.

[*B*] *He bore a moſt excellent character.*] Mr. Baxter (2) ſtiles him a *learned, judicious*, and *moderate* Divine. Mr. John Howe, formerly Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, in his *Funeral Sermon* for him, has given his character at large. He repreſents him as a man of the moſt graceful appearance and deportment; of ſtrong natural abilities, and extenſive learning; of an admirable memory; a great collector and devourer of books; of the moſt agreeable and uſeful converſation; and remarkable for a peculiar ſpirit of moderation, and zeal for union among Chriſtians (3).

(2) *Ib.* p. 94.

(3) Vid. *Funeral Sermon for that excellent Miniſter of Chriſt, the truly Rev. William Bates*, D. D. Lond. 1699.

[*C*] *The* Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons, *in Latin.*] They were written by different perſons; and the copies being grown ſcarce and valuable, Dr. Bates collected them into one volume, intitled, *Vitæ Selectorum aliquot Virorum, qui doctrina, dignitate, aut pietate inclaruere.* London, 1681, 4*to*. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* (4) have diſtributed theſe *Lives* into three claſſes. The firſt contains the Lives of Princes, and men of ſuperior rank and quality. Among theſe are, The Funeral Oration upon Henry Prince of Wales, by Francis Neatherſole, Orator of the Univerſity of Cambridge; Optitius's Funeral Oration upon Ulderic, the King of Denmark's ſon; Frederic Spanheim's Funeral Oration upon Frederic Prince of Orange; the Life of John Picus, Prince of Mirandula and Concordia, by John Francis, his ſon, Prince of Mirandula; John Hales's Funeral Oration upon Sir Thomas Bodley; and Gerard Voſſius's Commentary concerning the Life and Actions of Fabian a Dona. To the ſecond claſs are referred the Lives of men eminent in the Church; among which are, Dr. Arthur Duke's Life of Henry Chichley, Archbiſhop of Canterbury; William Budden's Life of William Waynflete, Biſhop of Winchester, and Lord-Chancellor of England; John de la Caſa's Life of Cardinal Bembo, and of Cardinal Gaſpar Contareni; the Life of Jerom Savanarola, by John Picus, Prince of Mirandula; Sir John Cheke and Nicholas Carr's Letters concerning the Death of Martin Bucer; the Life of Bernard Gilpin, by Dr. George Carleton, Biſhop of Cheſter; and the Life of Archbiſhop Uſher, with a Catalogue of his Works. The third claſs contains the Lives of men diſtinguiſhed for their Learning; particularly, the Life of Eraſmus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by Rhenanus; of William Budæus, by Ludovicus Rhegius; of Chriſtopher Longolius; of Vincent Pinnellus, by Gualdus; of Scævola Sammarthanus, by Gabriel Michael Rupimalletus; of Julius Cæſar Scaliger, with an Account of his Writings; Daniel Heinſius's Letter to Iſaac Caſaubon concerning the Death of Joſeph Scaliger; the Life of Hugo Grotius, with an Account of his Writings; the Life of Peter Pithæus; an Elogium upon Janus Gruter, with a Catalogue of his Writings, by Balthaſar Venator; the Life of Julius Cæſar Lagalla, by Leo Allatius; of William Camden, by Degory Wheare; of Anthony Wallæus; of Peter Puteanus, by Rigaltius; of Dionyſius Petavius, by Henry Valeſius; of James Sirmondus, with a Catalogue of his Works, by the ſame author; of Peter Molinæus: and of Henry Valeſius, by his brother Hadrian.

(4) For *January*, 1682, p. 12.

[This diſtribution of the lives into three claſſes was made by the authors of Acta Eruditorum, and doth not take place in the work itſelf. It was dedicated to the famous Lord William Ruſſel.]

[*D*] *His* Works.] They conſiſt of *Sermons* and *Diſcourſes* on the moſt important Subjects, ſuch as *The Harmony of God's Attributes, The Final Happineſs of Man, the Four laſt Things*, &c. With regard to his manner of treating what he undertook, Mr. Howe tells us (5), Biſhop Wilkins's Character of Mr. Baxter might be applied to him, that *he cultivated every ſubject he handled*, and that, *if he had lived in an age of the Fathers, he would have been one.* His Panegyriſt particularly celebrates him for the critical exactneſs of his Method, and the inimitable politeneſs and refinement of his Style. B.

(5) Funeral Sermon, &c.

BATHE (Henry de), a learned Knight, an eminent and ſkilful Juſticiary of the thirteenth century (*a*), was a younger brother of an ancient family of that name, (which we find variouſly written) [*A*] born, moſt probably at that ancient ſeat of this family

(*a*) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 610.

[*A*] *A younger brother of an ancient family of that name, which we find variouſly written.*] We have three obſervations to make upon this paragraph, viz. 1ſt, *The various manners in which we find the name written*;

mily, called Bathe-houſe in the county of Devon. Being a younger brother, it is not unnatural to imagine he might, upon that account, apply himſelf to the ſtudy and profeſſion of the laws of his country, in the knowledge of which he grew ſo eminent, that he was advanced by King Henry III. in 1238, to be one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (*b*); and in 1240, was conſtituted one of the Juſtices Itinerant (as they were then called), for the county of Hartford (*c*); and in 1248 he was appointed the ſame for Eſſex and Surry; in 1249 for Kent, Berks, Southampton, and Middleſex; and in 1250 for Lincolnſhire; at which time he had allowed him out of the Exchequer, by a peculiar favour, an hundred pounds a year for his ſuſtentation in the diſcharge of his office (*d*). But the year following he fell from the King's grace and favour; the occaſion of which were certain crimes laid to his charge, which if true [*B*], he cannot be juſtified; although upon a due examination of the matter we may obſerve ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot them out [*C*] (*e*). He is however reported, unfortunately to have been of a narrow, ſqueezing diſpoſition, which was encouraged by the arts of an extravagant, rapacious wife, proud of her origin, as ſprung from the Baſſets and Sandfords, great men in thoſe days (*f*), ſo that what through his own natural diſpoſition, and her ſtrenuous encouragement, he, in a very ſhort time accumulated a prodigious eſtate: in one circuit only he is ſaid to have gotten land of inheritance to the value of 200 pounds *per annum* (*g*). This charge, *viz.* That he had not exerciſed his office uprightly, but to his own private gain, having perverted juſtice through bribes, upon an occaſion of a ſuit betwixt him, and one Everard Trumpington, was chiefly ſupported againſt him by one Philip de Arcis, Knt. who alſo added treaſon to that of infidelity in his office. The accuſed was attached in the King's-Court; but one Manſel, who was now become a great favourite at court, offered bail for his appearance: King Henry refuſed this, the caſe, as he alledged, not being bailable, he terming him guilty of high-treaſon (*h*). Fulk Baſſet however, then Biſhop of London, and a great many of De Bathe's friends interceding, the King at laſt gave orders that he ſhould be bailed, twenty-four Knights becoming ſureties for his appearing and ſtanding to the judgment of the court. But De Bathe ſeems to have been conſcious of his own demerits, or the prepoſſeſſion of his Judges againſt him; for he was no ſooner ſet at liberty, than he wrote to all his relations either by blood or marriage, deſiring that they would apply to the King in his favour, at firſt by fair ſpeeches and preſents, and that if theſe did not prevail, they ſhould appear in a more warlike manner, thereby to intimidate the court (*i*): this they faithfully and unanimouſly promiſed to do, upon the encouragement given them by a bold Knight, one Nicholas de Sandford. But the King, imagining, that his own power and the intereſt of De Bathe's accuſers infinitely outweighed all the

(*b*) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 11.

(*c*) Matth. Paris, p. 538. n. 30.

(*d*) *Henry de Bath* habet C.L. annuatim percip. de Scac. ad ſe ſuſtentandum in officio Juſtiarii. *Liberatæ de anno*, 34 H. III. 1350, Chron ſeri. p. 15.

(*e*) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 50.

(*f*) Matth. Paris, p. 811.

(*g*) Ubi ſupra, & Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, p. 616.

(*b*) Matth. Paris, p. 811. 1250.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, p. 812. 1250.

written; 2dly, *The antiquity of the family*; and 3dly, *Of his being a younger brother*. The name appears among various authors very differently written; as DE BAA, DE BADA, DE BATHON, DE BATHOND, DE BATHONIA, DE BATH, DE BATHE, DE BASH, DE BACH, &c. (1). Which name the family either took from, or left unto an ancient ſeat of that name, called *Bathe-Houſe* (in the pariſh of North Taunton, in the heart of the county of Devon), the principal place of the family's reſidence, where we find it of ſo long ſtanding, that our author ſays (2) it ran ſo very far back, that he could not trace out and overtake the original; of which he alſo adds, that the honour and reputation of it was not at all diminiſhed by Sir Walter de Bathon, Kt. who was High-Sheriff of Devon 1 Hen. III. 1217, and after that in the ſecond year of the ſame reign, he was again advanced to the ſame honourable office, in which he continued fourteen years together; unto which Sir Walter, adds our author, 'we take 'Sir Henry, of whom we are treating, to be a younger 'brother, being expreſsly ſaid to be a branch of this 'family *.'

(1) See Matth. Paris. Speed's Chron. Riſdon's Deſcript. MS. Mr. Iſaac's Catalogue of Sheriffs, &c. Fuller's Worthies, &c.

(2) Danmonii Orientale Illuſtr. p. 50.

* Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 50.

[*B*] *Which if true.*] There are very good reaſons to imagine that this proſecution was incited and carried on by the intereſt of the court, at the inſtigation perhaps of a few, whom he might poſſibly have injured or diſobliged in the execution of his office, or the envy and malice of others, whom he then excelled in favour and fortune. Nor is it at all to be wondered at that the King himſelf (as we find) ſhould be his chief enemy in this affair, ſince his beggarly circumſtances at this time were ſuch, that Hiſtorians inform us, he, his Queen, the young Prince, and his court, went about upon their own invitation from houſe to houſe, where, beſides their own entertainment, they generally expected large donatives. It was no wonder then if a Prince, thus needy and diſtreſſed, ſhould encourage any proceedings which could favour ſuch a charge (againſt ſo wealthy and envied a ſubject as De Bath was) as might infer treaſon and forfeiture of eſtate. For farther proofs of his innocency ſee the next note.

[*C*] *Although, upon a due examination of the matter, we may obſerve ſome circumſtances that will greatly alleviate, if not totally expunge and blot out his crimes.*] Theſe we ſhall endeavour to prove from the following particulars, viz. That ſo great a number of perſons of the firſt quality took his part, powerfully defending him from any intended miſchief to his perſon. Another no inconſiderable circumſtance in behalf of his innocence is, that the King's own brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, was ſo zealous an interceſſor for him, *urging the danger of the time, the diſcontentment of the kingdom, and how the proceeding in ſuch a manner with one of his Council, whom he had uſed in ſo great buſineſs, would diſcourage others to ſerve ſuch a maſter, who upon malicious accuſations ſhould ſo forſake them whoſe places were ever expoſed to envy and detraction* (3); concluding his ſpeech with theſe words: *We muſt not forſake gentlemen in their right, nor in preſerving the tottering peace of this kingdom* (4). The Biſhop of London alſo, and ſeveral others, became mediators in his behalf with the King, which it is not natural to ſuppoſe they would, had he been ſo notorious a criminal.—Another argument of his innocence, or at leaſt of his not being ſo guilty as ſuſpected, may be gathered from hence, that after this ſtorm was blown over, the King took him again into his good grace and favour.——But leſt it may be imagined, that this gentleman's reſtoration to ſo weighty a truſt ſhould be the act of the King's mere arbitrary pleaſure, we are informed it was done by the advice and proviſion of the Lords and great men of his council, as appears from this clauſe in the writ 'Hi omnes *(ſpeaking of Sir 'Henry and his aſſociates)* per proviſionem magnatum 'Angliæ, qui ſunt de concilio regis ad meliorationem 'ſtatus totius regni, aſſignati erant (5). *Theſe all by the 'providing of the great men of the kingdom, who are of 'the King's council, were appointed for the better eſtate 'of this realm.*'—That this gentleman ſhould be re-admitted to the diſpenſation of public juſtice is a manifeſt argument that he either was not guilty of the corruption he had been accuſed of, or that thoſe great men who entruſted him in that office were not innocent (6). All theſe arguments together, with note [*B*], do almoſt amount to a proof he was not guilty, or at leaſt not in ſo heinous a manner as is ſuggeſted in our chronicles.

(3) Daniel's Hiſt. of England, p. 166. 1250.

(4) Speed's Hiſt. of Great Britain, in the reign of Hen. III. p. 610.

(5) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 19.

(6) Danmonii Orient. Illuſtr. p. 52.

preparations of the others, appeared the more inexorable upon the intimation of theſe proceedings: he rejected all preſents from the friends of the accuſed, and put on an air as if nothing but his puniſhment ſhould ſatisfy his and the nation's juſtice. De Bathe knew well to what all this outward inflexibility tended; but was certain that if Henry perſiſted in his reſolution, he himſelf muſt periſh. He therefore had recourſe to a more prudent meaſure: he applied himſelf to the Biſhop of London, and other his ſpecial friends, and with a great poſſe of theſe goes to Richard Earl of Cornwall (afterwards King of the Romans) (*k*), whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt [*D*]. The King continued deaf to all his remonſtrances, and about the end of February (*l*) De Bathe was ſummoned and obliged to appear to anſwer what ſhould be laid to his charge. This he accordingly did, but ſtrongly defended by a great retinue of armed Knights, Gentlemen, and others, viz. his own and his wife's friends and relations, among whom was the family of the Baſſets and the Sandfords; a band as undaunted as his perſecutors were violent (*m*). We may, from what our hiſtorian has delivered upon this occaſion, conclude, that the aſſembly was divided between thoſe who depended upon the King for their poſts and preferments, and thoſe who (though a great majority) were ſo thoroughly exaſperated at the meaſures of the court, that they were reſolved not to find De Bathe guilty (*n*). It was not long before the King perceived this, and upon that occaſion, he made an unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation [*E*]. A new charge was now brought againſt De Bathe, and perhaps the chief and only one, at leaſt that had exaſperated King Henry, viz. he was impeached (not only on the former articles, but particularly) for alienating the affections of the Barons from his Majeſty, and creating ſuch a ferment all over the kingdom, that a general ſedition was now on the point of breaking out (*o*). This ſpeech was enforced from Bathe's Brother-Juſticiary, who declared to the aſſembly, that he knew the accuſed to have diſmiſſed without any cenſure, for the ſake of lucre, a convicted criminal (*p*). Many other complaints were urged againſt De Bathe, but they ſeem to have been diſregarded by all but the King and his party; who was ſo much exaſperated to ſee De Bathe likely to be acquitted, that he mounted his throne, and with his own mouth made proclamation, That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry de Bathe, ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs [*F*]; after which ſpeech he flung out of the room in a great paſſion. Many of the Royal party who were exceedingly keen upon this occaſion, would readily have executed the King's terrible doom, and were for diſpatching De Bathe in court: but his friend Manſel, one of the King's Council, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually, that he was ſaved [*G*]; and afterwards, by the powerful mediation of his friends (among whom was the Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and the Biſhop of London), and the application of a ſum of money, viz. 2000 marks † to the King, he obtained not only a pardon, but all his former places and favour with the King, who re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſame ſeat of judicature, as he was in before, and rather advanced him higher; for he was made Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench (*q*), after about three years diſcontinuance from his office of a Judge, in which honourable poſt he continued for eight years after, till the time of his death, as Dugdale informs us (*r*): for in the year 1260, we find that he was one of the Juſtices Itinerant for the counties of Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, which was the year before he died (*s*). Where his aſhes were laid, or what family or iſſue he left we do not find.

(*k*) Ypodigma Neuſtriæ per T. de Walſingham, p. 467. 43.

(*l*) The 13th of the Calends of March. Matth. Paris, Feb. 16. Holinſhed.

(*m*) Danmonii Orientales Illuſtres, p. 5. Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(*n*) Hiſtory of England by Guthrie, p. 757.

(*o*) Matth. Paris, p. 814.

(*p*) Holinſhed, Speed, Matth. Paris, &c. ut ſupra.

† 1333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

(*q*) Dugdale, Chron. Scri. Juſtic. ad plac. coram Rege, 1253, 37 Hen. III. Henricus de Bathonia, Pat. 37 Hen. III. m. 5.

(*r*) Chron. Scrip. p. 19.

(*s*) Henric de Bathon. Defunctus, an. 45 Hen. III. Chronica Series, p. 19. Holinſhed places his death in 1260.

[*D*] *Whom by prayer and fine promiſes he won over to his intereſt.*] The motives which determined the Earl to befriend the accuſed, proves the wretched ſituation of the kingdom at this juncture; for De Bathe ſwore by a ſolemn oath, that if the King ſhould attempt his life, or even the forfeiture of his eſtate, he would raiſe ſuch a diſturbance as ſhould not be in the power of the government to ſuppreſs (7); knowing that the diſaffection of the kingdom, at Henry's partiality to Foreigners, would render this the more practicable. The Earl was conſcious what great cauſes the people had of rebellion, and how ſmall a matter might kindle it. So that partly through fear, and partly, as our Hiſtorian ſays (8), through rich preſents, and the prayers and entreaties of De Bathe and his friends, he at laſt came entirely into the ſentiments of De Bathe's parties, and applied to the King in his favour.

(7) Matth. Paris, p. 812.

(8) Ut ſupra.

[*E*] *Upon that occaſion he made an unjuſt and impolitic ſtretch of his prerogative, in an unheard-of proclamation.*] The King was ſo reſolved upon the downfal of De Bath, that he had public proclamation made, that *whoſoever had any action or complaint againſt Henry De Bath, ſhould come in, and they ſhould be heard* (9). 'A ſtrange encouragement this for envy and malice to 'break in upon and confound the greateſt innocence; 'though we do not find that any one thereupon urged 'any thing againſt him, which is no mean evidence 'that he was not ſo guilty as repreſented (10).' This however was a miſtake of Mr. Prince's; for all the authors that mention this affair take notice, that there were many accuſations againſt him, though none of them were at all regarded; by which we may indeed imagine they were very inconſiderable, or far from being proved upon him.

(9 Daniel's Hiſt. of Engl. p. 160.

(10) Danmonii Illuſtr. p. 50.

[*F*] *That whoſoever ſhould kill Henry De Bathe ſhould have the royal pardon for him and his heirs* (11).] Holinſhed (12) varies theſe words a little, viz. If any man will ſlay Henry De Bath, he ſhall not be impeached for his death, for I do here plainly declare him acquit and guiltleſs for the ſame.——Others have it, Whoſoever ſhall kill Henry De Bath ſhall be quit of his death, and I do hereby acquit him.——This is the neareſt the words of Matth. Paris (13), which are, 'Si 'quis Henricum de Bathionâ occidet quietus ſit a 'morte ejus, & quietum eum proteſtor.'

(11) Guthrie's Hiſt. of England, p. 757.

(12) Vol. i. p. 244.

(13) Page 814.

[*G*] *But his friend Manſel, and Fulco Baſſet, Biſhop of London, interpoſed ſo effectually, that he was ſaved.*] They aſſuaged their fury with the following words (14): 'Domini mei et amici non eſt neceſſe, quod in ira 'præproperè dicitur, proſequamur, pœnitebit fortè do-'minum noſtrum, jam elapſo iræ tempore hæc intonu-'iſſe: Præterea ſi aliquid violentiæ ipſi Henrico intu-'leritis ecce epiſcopus Londinenſis qui ſpiritualem, et 'alii amici ejus militares, qui vindictam exercebunt 'materialem, &c.' Gentlemen, it is not at all neceſſary that we ſhould put in immediate execution what the King has thus too haſtily commanded, which perhaps, when his paſſion is paſt, he may repent him of: beſides, if any violence or outrage be offered to De Bath, his friends are here ready to aſſiſt and revenge him, ſome by ſtrength of arms, and others by their prayers and good wiſhes, &c.

(14) Matth. Paris, p. 815.

O.

BATHE (William). The family of the Bathes were heretofore of conſiderable conſequence in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and diſperſed into many branches [*A*]. But what by rebellions, extravagance of heirs, or one misfortune or other, it has been reduced to narrow bounds, inſomuch that not one of them remains now of any rank in their country. The perſon who is now our ſubject was of a citizen's family, though deſcended from Bath of Dullardſton, and was born in Dublin in 1564 (*a*). We have it by tradition, that he was of a ſullen, ſaturnine temper, and diſturbed in his mind that his family was reduced from its ancient ſplendor. His parents, who were Proteſtants, had a greater regard to the learning of their child, than his religion; and therefore put him in his green years under the tuition of an eminent Popiſh ſchoolmaſter, who thoroughly corrupted his principles, and fitted him for that ſtation of life which he afterwards embraced. He removed to Oxford, where he ſtudied ſeveral years with indefatigable induſtry: but the inquiſitive Anthony Wood (*b*) could not diſcover in what college or hall he ſojourned, or whether he took any univerſity degree. The ſame writer alledges (*c*), that growing weary of the hereſy profeſſed in England, (as he uſually called the Proteſtant faith) he quitted the nation and his religion together, and in the year 1596 was initiated among the Jeſuits, being then between thirty and forty years of age; though one (*d*) of his own order ſays, he was then but twenty-five, which certainly is erroneous. Having ſpent ſome time among the Jeſuits in Flanders, he travelled into Italy, and compleated his ſtudies at Padua; from whence he paſſed into Spain, being appointed to govern the Iriſh ſeminary at Salamanca. He is ſaid (*e*) to have had a moſt ardent zeal for the gaining of ſouls, and was much eſteemed among the people of his perſuaſion for his extraordinary virtues and good qualities; though he was of a temper not very ſociable. At length, taking a journey to Madrid to tranſact ſome buſineſs of his order, he died there on the 17th of June 1614, and was buried in the Jeſuits convent of that city (*f*), bearing among his brethren a reputation for learning; which nevertheleſs from the titles of his books, as given in the remark [*B*], one would not judge to be his talent, but rather that of devotion. D.

(*a*) Church Regiſter.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. i. p. 394.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Sotvellus, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jeſu ſub Gulielmo Batheo.

(*e*) Ath. Oxon. *ibid.*

(*f*) Bibl. Script. Societ. Jeſu ſub Batheo.

[*A*] *The family of the Bathes were diſperſed into many Branches.*] There were ſeven or eight families of conſideration of this name; as, I. Sir Luke Bath, Baronet, who had his eſtate ſeized and ſequeſtered in the Rebellion of 1641, but was reſtored to it by the Act of Explanation of the Act of Settlement (1). —— II. Luke Bath of Athcarne, who was in like manner reſtored for his great ſervices to the King againſt the Pope's Nuncio. — III. Bath of Dromconrath, near Dublin, of which James was Chief-Baron of the Exchequer in the reigns of Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and under that name had a grant (2) of the lands of Ballybought near Dublin, parcel of the poſſeſſions of Mary's abbey, made to him, on condition of maintaining a Foot Archer, ſufficiently armed, on his lands of Dromconrath.—IV. Bath of Dullardſtoun, of whom William was active in the Rebellion of Thomas Fitz-Gerald in 1534, and was that year attainted (3) of high-treaſon, and executed. — V. Bath, of Colper in the county of Meath, who furniſhed his quota of men at the general hoſting (4), at the hill of Tarah, on the 29th of September, 1593, equal to many men of rank of that county. — VI. Bath of Rathfeigh, who ſent as many to the ſaid hoſting as the Baron of Skrine.—VII. Bath of Caſhel and Morton. —And VIII. Bath of Laundeſton.

(1) Stat. Ir. 17, 18 Car. II. cap. ii.

(2) Pat. 8 Dec. 3 Eliz.

(3) Irrot. in dorſo Rot. 3 Eliz. in Officio Cancel. Hib.

(4) MS. Jac. Waræi.

[*B*] *One would not judge of his learning by the titles of his books.*] Here follows a catalogue of them, as given by Allegambe (5), and Anthony Wood (6). I. *An Introduction to the Art of Muſic*; wherein are ſet down exact and eaſy rules, with arguments, and their ſolutions, for ſuch as ſeek to know the reaſon of the truth. London, 1584, 4*to*. He wrote this treatiſe while he was a young ſtudent at Oxford, being then very fond of Muſic. — II. *Janua Linguarum: Seu modus maximè accommodatus, quo patefit aditus ad omnes linguas intelligendas. Salamanticæ*, 1611; i. e. An Entrance into the Languages. — This book was much uſed in Spain for the inſtruction of youth, and was publiſhed under the inſpection of the Jeſuits of Salamanca. — III. *A Methodical Inſtitution of the principal Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; with a Method annexed for the right exerciſe of General Confeſſion.* He publiſhed (7) this tract in Engliſh and Latin, but without his name; however, Allegambe (8) aſcribes it to him.—IV. He wrote alſo in Spaniſh, and publiſhed it under the name of Peter Manrique, A Preparation for the Sacrament of Penance, intitled, *Aparejos para adminiſtrar el Sacramento de la Penitentia, con mas facilidad y fruto*; *en* Milan, 1604, 4*to*, rather 1614, as appears at the end of the work.

(5) As before.

(6) As before.

(7) Archdekin's Theologia Tripartita. Venet. 4*to*, p. 401.

(8) Allegambe, as before.

[The whole title of the Treatiſe on Muſic is, 'A 'brief Introduction to the true Art of Muſicke, 'wherein are ſet downe exact and eaſie rules for ſuch 'as ſeeke but to know the trueth, with arguments 'and their ſolutions, for ſuch as ſeeke alſo to know 'the reaſon of the trueth: which rules be meanes 'whereby any by his owne induſtrie may ſhortly, 'eaſily, and regularly attaine to all ſuch thinges as 'to this arte do belong: to which otherwiſe any can 'hardly attaine without tedious difficult practiſe, by 'meanes of the irregular order now uſed in teaching, 'lately ſet forth by William Bathe, Student at Oxen-'ford. Imprinted at London by Abel Jeffes, dwel-'ling in Sermon Lane neere Paule's Chain, anno '1584.' Small oblong quarto, black letter. In this work, which is dedicated by William Bathe to his uncle Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the author diſplays a good opinion of his own performance. However, he thought proper, ſome years after its firſt publication, to write it over again in ſuch a manner, as ſcarcely to retain a ſingle paragraph of the former edition. This latter edition was printed by Thomas Eſte, without a date, with the title of 'A briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song: con-'cerning the practice; ſet forth by William Bathe, 'Gentleman.' From Sir John Hawkins's account of both theſe productions, and his extracts from them, it doth not appear that they have any great merit. The ſtyle, in particular, is very perplexed and diſagreeable (9).] K.

(9) Hiſt. of Muſic, Vol. iii. p. 356—360.

BATHURST (Ralph), a diſtinguiſhed wit, and a celebrated Latin Poet, was deſcended of an ancient family (*a*), and was born at Howthorpe, a ſmall hamlet belonging to the pariſh of Theddingworth in Northamptonſhire, near Market-Harborough in Leiceſterſhire, anno 1620 (*b*). He received the firſt part of his education at the free-ſchool in Coventry

(*a*) Thoreſby's Leon. Ducat. p. 14 & 607.

(*b*) Regiſt Trin. Coll. Oxon.

ventry (*c*), where his father ſeems to have reſided in the latter part of his life [*A*]. Here our author made ſo quick a progreſs in the claſſics, that at the age of fourteen he was ſent to Oxford, and entered October 10, 1634, in Glouceſter hall, now Worceſter college (*d*); but was removed thence in a few days to Trinity college in the ſame univerſity (*e*), and probably placed under the immediate tuition of his grandfather Dr. Kettel, then preſident [*B*], in whoſe lodging he reſided, and at whoſe table he had his diet, for two years. In this ſituation, his merit concurring, he was elected ſcholar of the houſe, June 5, 1637 (*f*), and having taken the degree of A. B. January 27th following (*g*), he was appointed fellow June 4, 1640 (*h*). He commenced A. M. April 17, 1641 (*i*), and on March 2, 1641, conformably to the ſtatutes of his college, he was ordained prieſt (*k*) by Robert Skinner Biſhop of Oxford [*C*], and read ſome theological lectures in the college hall in 1649. Theſe, which he called *Diatribæ theologicæ, philoſophicæ, & philologicæ*, are ſaid to diſcover a ſpirit of theological reſearches, and an extenſive knowledge of the writings of the moſt learned Divines (*l*). He likewiſe kept his exerciſe for the degree of B. D. but did not take it. The confuſion of the times promiſing little ſupport or encouragement to the miniſterial function, he reſolved to follow the example of his friend the famous Dr. Willis (*m*) changed his propoſed plan, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, and entering upon that line agreeably to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, he performed his exerciſe, and proceeded to accumulate the degrees in that faculty [*D*], June 21, 1654 (*n*). Before this time he had ſufficiently recommended himſelf as a perſon of competent ſkill in his new profeſſion (*o*); and he had not been long engaged in it, when he was employed in the ſervice of the ſtate, in the quality of phyſician to the ſick and wounded of the navy, which office he executed with equal diligence and dexterity, to the full ſatisfaction both of the ſea-commanders, and the commiſſioners of the admiralty. We find him ſoon after ſettled at Oxford, and practiſing phyſic in concert with his friend Dr. Willis [*E*], with whom he regularly attended Abingdon market every Monday (*p*). To the ſtudy and

(*c*) Three of his ſchool proved perſons of note: Holyoake, author of a learned dictionary; Dr. Hen. Clark preſident of Magdal. coll. and fellow of the college of phyſicians; and Dr. Alleſtree, canon of Chriſtch. and provoſt of Eaton college. E cod. A. Wood MSS. in Muſ. Aſhmol. Dict. qu. ſub tit. *School notes.*

(*d*) Regiſt. Mat. Univ. Oxon. He was entered *Plebeii filius.*

(*e*) *Ibid.* in a note.

(*f*) Regiſt. Coll. Trin.

(*g*) *Idem.*

(*h*) *Idem.*

(*i*) Regiſt. Univ. Oxon.

(*k*) His deacon's orders do not appear.

(*l*) Warton's life of Dr. Bathurſt, p. 34.

(*m*) See his article in this work.

(*n*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 106.

(*o*) In the firſt lecture for his degrees, *De Reſpiratione*, he brings an example from this department. See Warton in Bathurſt's literary remains, p. 152.

(*p*) Warton, p. 39.

[*A*] *His father ſettled at Coventry*, &c.] His mother was Elizabeth Villiers, daughter and coheir of Edward Villiers, Eſq; of the ſame place. They had iſſue thirteen ſons (1), and four daughters. Six of the ſons loſt their lives in the ſervice of King Charles I. during the grand rebellion: the reſt, beſides one who died young, were Ralph (of whom we now treat) Villiers, Edward, Moſes, Henry, and Benjamin, father of the late Earl Bathurſt, who was grandſon and heir of Edward Villiers, Eſq; whoſe grandfather died ſeized of the manor of Howthorpe, &c. 26 June, 5 Hen. VIII. and was fifth ſon of Sir John Villiers, of Brookeſby, Knt. grandfather of Sir George Villiers, father of George Duke of Buckingham. George Bathurſt, who was the youngeſt ſon of Lancelot of Franks in Kent, had with his wife the manor of Howthorpe, where he ſettled (2). He died 1656, aged ſeventy-ſeven. He was buried with his wife in the church of Howthorpe, where there is a monument erected to their memory.

(1) Collins mentionsonlytwelve, leaving out Edward, who ſurvived the rebellion. Life of Dr. Bathurſt, p. 30.

(2) Collins's Peerage, Vol. iv. p. 289. edit. 2d, 1741.

[*B*] *Dr. Kettel the Preſident.*] This gentleman had formerly married our author's grandmother Villiers, relict of Edward Villiers, Eſq; and his father George Bathurſt had been educated in the ſame college, where he married in 1610 Elizabeth Villiers above mentioned, then living with her mother and younger ſiſter in the Preſident's lodgings. George, at the time of his marriage, was worth 300 l. a year, and all his children were very ingenious and proſperous in the world, and moſt of them handſome (3). Two of Ralph's brothers likewiſe, at the time of his admiſſion there, were members of that foundation. One was George, elected ſcholar June 6, 1626, fellow of the houſe June 8, 1634, an elegant ſcholar, and author of an oration ſpoken at the burial of George Allen, fellow of Trinity college, the famous mathematician and antiquary. He was created B. D. July 7, 1640, and died 1644, of a wound in his thigh, received in defending the garriſon of Farringdon in Berks againſt the rebels. The other was Edward, a ſcholar of the ſame houſe, his father's ſecond ſon. He died Nov. 1668, ætat. 54. being then Rector of Cheping Warden in Northamptonſhire, where there is a monument to his memory by his ſiſter and heir Judith, and a Latin inſcription, probably written by his brother Ralph. He was a perſon of ſingular learning and probity (4). He was nominated with Seth Ward as a candidate for the Preſidentſhip in 1659 (5), and conſigned by his will, dated 1667, certain lands in Northamptonſhire to his college for charitable uſes, after the death of his ſiſter Judith, He likewiſe erected, at his own expence, the ſtatue of the founder of the ſaid college over the entrance into the hall in 1665. It appears that our author Ralph reſided in the lodgings, and took his diet at the table of Dr. Kettel for about two years before his election into the foundation (6).

(3) Aubrey, MSS. lives in Muſ. Aſhmol. part i. No. 10. fol. p. 36. Cod. Aſhmol.

(4) He aſſiſted Wood in his account of Arthur Wilſon, who had been a fellow collegian with him about 1631. See Wood's article.

(5) Warton, p. 35. note (‡), from the college regiſter.

(6) *Idem*, p. 34. from papers communicated by the reverend Mr. Pryce, Prebend of Wells.

[*C*] *Ordained prieſt by Biſhop Skinner.*] Divinity was the profeſſion to which he originally dedicated his life. Accordingly he performed the exerciſe for the degree of B. D. but did not take it, 'when, Dr. Duppa 'obſerves (7), that degree was not only diſuſed by 'moſt men, but generally abuſed; and the wearers 'of that holy badge contemned by the bad men in 'thoſe worſt of times, and rather kicked back, than 'ſet forward to any preferments.'

(7) Duppa's letter to the college, dated May 2, 1661. See Coll. regiſter.

[*D*] *He accumulated his degrees in Phyſic.*] However, while engaged in this profeſſion, he did not entirely diſclaim his clerical character. When Dr. Skinner, Biſhop of Oxford, was deprived during the uſurpation, the parliament allowed him the revenues of his rectory of Launton near Burceſter in Oxfordſhire for the ſupport of himſelf and his family. Being releaſed upon bail from the Tower of London, to which he had been committed, as one of the twelve proteſting Biſhops, he retired to his living, and, when occaſion offered, privately ordained ſuch ſtudents of Oxford as deſired epiſcopal ordination. On this buſineſs, in which it was dangerous to be concerned, Bathurſt frequently and readily aſſiſted his friend the Biſhop. He was now in prieſt's orders, and whenever any candidate ſolicited to be ordained, he privately applied to Bathurſt, who examined him, and appointed a day for meeting him at the Biſhop's houſe; at which time, under pretence of viſiting patients, he attended the ſolemnity at Launton, in which he officiated as Archdeacon. This ſervice he executed with the utmoſt fidelity and punctuality till the Reſtoration (8). The ceremony was ſometimes performed in the chapel of Trinity college (9). Skinner, who had been tutor to Chillingworth at Trinity college, was ſuppoſed to be the only Biſhop who conferred holy orders during the ſuppreſſion of the church and hierarchy; of whom it is likewiſe recorded, that immediately after the Reſtoration, he ordained one hundred and three perſons at once in Weſtminſter Abbey (10).

(8) Warton, p. 36, 37.

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. edit. 2. col. 906.

(10) *Idem*, col. 1158.

[*E*] *He joined Dr. Willis.*] The friendſhip and eſteem with which Bathurſt regarded Willis, appears by the two mandates of *imprimatur*, which, when Vice-chancellor, he prefixed to the two parts of Willis's *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*; nor was Willis wanting in public teſtimonies of reciprocal regard to Bathurſt, to whom his diſſertation *De urinis* is addreſſed, as being the reſult of ſeveral converſations with him on that ſubject, undertaken by his advice, and publiſhed at his requeſt (11). Willis's Anatomy of the Brain was

(11) Preface to that diſſertation, p. 332. Lond. 1677, 12*mo.* and the laſt paragraph of the diſſertation itſelf.

and practice he joined every branch of philoſophical knowledge: he attended the lectures of Peter Sthael, a Chymiſt and Roſicrucian [*F*], who had been invited to Oxford by Mr. R. Boyle, and was afterwards Operator to the Royal Society about 1662 (*q*). About the ſame time he had alſo a ſhare in forming the rudiments of that Society (*r*); and when it was eſtabliſhed, he was elected Fellow, and admitted Auguſt 19, 1663 [*G*]. While this Society was at Greſham college in London, a branch of it was continued at Oxford, and the original Society books of this Oxford department are ſtill preſerved there in the Aſhmolean Muſæum (*s*), where their aſſemblies were held. Their latter Oxford meetings were ſubject to regulations made among themſelves; according to which Dr. Bathurſt was elected Preſident April 23d, 1688, having been before nominated one of the members for drawing up articles, February 29, 1683-4 [*H*]. Hitherto we have viewed our author in the light of a Phyſician and Philoſopher: but in the mean time he ſeems to have been chiefly diſtinguiſhed as a claſſical ſcholar. At the univerſity acts, in the collections of Oxford verſes, and on every public occaſion, when the ingenious were invited to a rival diſplay of their abilities, he appears to have been the moſt principal and popular performer. Upon the publication of Hobbes's Treatiſe of *Human Nature*, &c, 1650, Bathurſt prefixed a recommendatory copy of Latin Iambics, written with ſo much ſtrength of thought, and elegance of expreſſion, that they moſt deſervedly and univerſally eſtabliſhed his character as a maſter of Latin poetry (*t*); and what was better, recommended him to the notice of the Duke of Devonſhire, the eldeſt ſon of Hobbes's patron (*u*), by whoſe intereſt he afterwards obtained the Deanery of Wells. He had thought fit, by a temporary compliance, to retain his Fellowſhip at Oxford, under the conditions of the parliamentary viſitation in 1648 (*v*). This ſtep was manifeſtly prompted by prudential motives: and upon the like principles, after the death of Oliver, whoſe power died with him, our Doctor procured a majority of the Fellows of his college, in 1659, to elect Dr. Seth Ward Preſident [*I*], who was abſolutely diſqualified for it by the college-ſtatutes (*w*). After the Reſtoration, he reaſſumed the character of a Clergyman, and returned to his theological ſtudies. But his long attachment to Philoſophical purſuits, ſeems to have alienated his mind from Divinity, or at leaſt to have extinguiſhed all hope and ambition of ſucceeding in a ſtudy, which he had ſo long neglected: however, he entirely relinquiſhed his profeſſion of Phyſic, and was made King's Chaplain in 1663 (*x*). He was choſen Preſident of his college September 10, 1664, and the ſame year he was married, December 31, to Mary the widow of Dr. John Palmer, Warden of All Souls college, a woman of admirable accompliſhments (*y*). June 28, 1670, he was inſtalled Dean of Wells, procured, as before mentioned, by the intereſt of the Duke of Devonſhire. In April 1691, he was nominated by King William and Queen Mary, through the intereſt of Lord Somers, to the Biſhopric of Briſtol, with licence to keep his Deanery and Headſhip in commendam [*K*]. But he declined the acceptance of that valuable offer (*z*), from a perſuaſion that ſuch a preferment might too much detach him from his

(*q*) Wood's Diary, by Hearne, p. 559.

(*r*) See Dr. Wallis's article.

(*s*) Muſ. Aſhmol. MSS. 600 V. p. 23, 24.

(*t*) They are in his literary remains, publiſhed by Warton, p. 255, 256.

(*u*) William Cavendiſh, the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, the eldeſt ſon of Hobbes's patron William Cavendiſh, third Earl of Devonſhire.

(*v*) Several others, not out of diſloyalty, did the ſame thing. See Howel's and Langbain's articles.

(*w*) This was the more extraordinary, as our Doctor's own brother Edward was nominated a candidate together with Ward. See remark [*B*], and Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 827.

(*x*) He ſeems to have owed this to Seth Ward, by whoſe advice he reſumed his clerical profeſſion. Letter of his to Ward. Warton, p. 54. & ſeq.

(*z*) Wood, ubi ſupra, ſays, he declined the biſhopric that he might be a benefactor to the college, and his church of Wells, to which laſt he gave 100l. in his life-time, and 100l. more by his will. Warton, p. 197.

(*y*) By this marriage he became poſſeſſed of an eſtate at Bampton Oxon. Id. part from the Doctor's will.

was alſo ſubmitted to his inſpection and judgment. That elegance and purity, ſo celebrated in Willis's Latin diction, were greatly owing to the friendly aſſiſtance of Dr. Bathurſt, in whoſe hand writing there have been ſeen frequent corrections, and even large interlineations in the manuſcript copies of Willis's Works, particularly of the *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*. While he continued a regular practitioner in Phyſic, moſt of his motions ſeem to have been regulated, and his deſigns directed by Dr. Willis. It appears that Bathurſt had been ſolicited by Aubrey to attend him on his travels, which, however agreeable or advantageous, was declined by Bathurſt, who alledged, that he could not leave his friend Willis, with whom he was ſo cloſely connected, and who was not likely to engage in the party (12). About 1651, we find him concerned with Dr. Willis, Petty, and others, in the recovery of Anne Green (13), and he prefixed a copy of verſes to the pamphlet, called *News from the Dead*: but that piece is attributed to our author by Denham through miſtake. It was written by one Richard Watkins, a ſtudent of Chriſtchurch, afterwards Vicar of Ambroſden near Oxford, &c. (14)

(12) Warton, p. 41. from a collection of original letters, MSS. Muſ. Aſhmol. No. 15. fol. in Aſhmole's ſtudy, Vol. i.

(13) See Sir W. Petty's article.

(14) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 59.

[*F*] *He attended the lectures of Peter Sthael.*] Mr. Wood's remark upon Locke's behaviour at theſe lectures will be mentioned in that antiquary's article. Nor was it diſconſonant to that Philoſopher's manner on ſuch occaſions; who, though remarkably cautious and reſerved upon the ſubject of ſtate affairs, was, in reſpect of arts and ſciences, as remarkably inquiſitive, and ſufficiently converſable and communicative (15).

(15) See his article in remark [*CC*], and that of Dr. Pococke in remark [*QQ*].

[*G*] *Elected a member of the Royal Society.*] His name does not appear in the catalogue of propoſed members made Nov. 28, 1660. But Feb. 6, 1660-1 (16), the members were directed to enquire whether Dr. Bathurſt, with many others, deſired to be of the ſociety (17). This was before the royal charter was granted, July 15, 1662. He was appointed, March 30, 1664, one of the committee for improving and conſidering all mechanical inventions; and again, on the ſame day, for collecting all the phænomena of nature hitherto obſerved (18). Nov. 16, 1674, he communicated a relation of an extraordinary bleeding of a little child (19), and his name occurs in the letter book of the ſociety concerning an extraordinary caſe of fits, Oct. 11, 1685 (20).

(16) Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, Vol. i. p. 4. 13.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 406, 407.

(19) Phil. Tranſ. No. 109. p. 193.

(20) *Id.* Vol. iv. p. 424.

[*H*] *He was nominated a member for drawing articles for the Oxford department.*] This ſeparate committee held at Oxford has not, I believe, been diſtinctly or circumſtantially mentioned in the accounts of the Royal Society (21), of which it was an appendage. Dr. Bathurſt's engagements at Oxford about this time prevented his attendance on the grand meetings at Greſham college, for the ſupport and advancement of which, however, he generouſly contributed ſeveral ſums of money at different times, and 10l. at his death (22).

(21) See Birch, ubi ſupra, Vol. ii. p. 180.

(22) See the articles of his will, by Warton, p. 195.

[*I*] *He procured the election of Seth Ward*, &c.] When Ward's predeceſſor, W. Hawes, was elected in 1658, the Biſhop of Wincheſter's power being abrogated, it was thought expedient to order his election by a mandate from the protector. But Seth Ward, as appears by the college regiſter, was elected by Dr. Bathurſt and his friends, in open contempt and defiance of the uſurping powers (23).

(23) Warton, p. 53.

[*K*] *Nominated to the ſee of Briſtol in April* 1691.] This date is adopted from Wood, ubi ſupra, but it could not be ſo early; for that ſee became vacant by Ironſide's tranſlation to Hereford, which was on the death of Croft, May 18, 1691 (24).

(24) Godwin de præſulib. p. 497. edit. by Richardſon, who ſays, p. 567. the biſhopric was offered him by King James II.

college, and consequently prevent or interrupt the completion of those improvements in its buildings, which he had already begun. An account of them is inserted below [*L*]. Had Dr. Bathurst exerted his activity and interest alone for the service of his society, he might have fairly claimed the title of an ample benefactor; but his private liberality concurred with those public applications he made for completing his design. He expended near 3000*l.* of his own money upon it; to which we must add, besides gratuities hereafter mentioned, that he purchased for the use of the fellows, the perpetual advowson of the rectory of Addington upon Otmere near Oxford, with the sum of 400*l.* A. D. 1700. Nor was he less serviceable to its advantage and honour in other respects. His discipline and his example, his vigilance as a governor, and his eminence as a scholar, actually contributed to raise its reputation to an extraordinary height, and filled it with students of the first rank and family. He is said to have constantly frequented early prayers in the chapel, then at five in the morning, till his eighty-second year. He punctually attended the public exercises of the college, inspected the private studies, relieved the wants, and rewarded the merit of his scholars. In the mean time he was a man of the world, and his lodgings were perpetually crowded with visitants of the first distinction. October 3, 1673, he was appointed vice-chancellor of the university, and continued for the two following years, the Duke of Ormond being chancellor *(aa)*. During the execution of this office, he reformed many pernicious abuses, introduced several necessary regulations, defended the privileges of the university with becoming spirit, and to the care of the magistrate added the generosity of the benefactor. He established the present practice of obliging the bachelors of arts to stipulate for their determination: he endeavoured, at the command of the King, to introduce a more graceful and oratorial manner of delivering the public sermons at St. Mary's *(bb)* [*M*]: he procured an addition of 20*l.* per annum to the places of each of the inferior beadles: he restored the practice of the vice-chancellor's court, and added several other improvements in the academical œconomy. As Dr. Bathurst was intimately acquainted with the most eminent literary characters of his age, so few remarkable productions in literature were undertaken or published without his encouragement and advice [*N*]. Besides those mentioned below, Dr. Sprat was one of his chief admirers. Dr. South, Dr. Busby, Dr. Allestree, Creech the translator, Sir George Ent, a celebrated physician, and defender of the Harveyan system, with others, were of his common acquaintance. Such were his friends: in the mean time he had his enemies, who have hinted that he was unsettled in his religious principles. This insinuation most probably arose from his Iambics prefixed to Hobbes's book, which are a mere sport of genius, written without the least connection with Hobbes [*O*], and contain no defence or

(aa) Wood's Fasti for those years.

(bb) See his programma, in his literary remains at the end of his life, by Warton, p. 107, & seq.

[*L*] *His improvements in the college buildings.*] The next year after his promotion to the Presidentship, viz. anno 1665, he undertook the foundation of the north side of the new quadrangle in the Fellows garden, laying the first stone himself. The building was begun at the expence of the college (25), but carried on by contributions collected by him from various benefactors; the first of which was Archbishop Sheldon, formerly a member of the college (26). The architect was Sir Christopher Wren, and the edifice was finished about 1668. The west side of the same court, undertaken and conducted in the same manner, was completed in 1682. The building near the east end of the chapel being intended as an enlargement of the President's lodgings, was raised entirely at Dr. Bathurst's own expence, viz. 430*l.* in 1687. The lodgings themselves he had before considerably repaired and adorned, at the expence of 150*l.* (27) The chapel, with its tower, &c. was begun, himself laying the first stone, July 9, 1691. He had before, in 1682, given 200*l.* with a view to this noble design. The shell was completed at his own expence, to the amount of near 2000*l.* (28) The furniture and decorations of the inside were defrayed from large collections, which he had solicited, with his usual address and activity, from many persons of the first rank, Lord Shaftesbury, Craven, and Somers; the Bishops of Chester, Wincheſter, &c. The architect was probably his friend Dean Aldrich (29). But the original plan received some improvements from Sir Christopher Wren. It was finished in three years, and consecrated by Bishop Fell, April 12, 1694 (30). Mr. Warton had been informed that this chapel was professedly built in imitation of the Duke of Devonshire's at Chatsworth.

In these improvements of the buildings of a particular college, it is observable that Dr. Bathurst became by example a general benefactor, being the first who introduced the just and genuine proportions of Grecian architecture into the university, which have ever since been so successfully followed. The venerable beauties of Gothic magnificence prevailed, till his new court at Trinity college appeared: particularly, the splendid decorations and exquisite finishings of modern art were absolutely unknown in Oxford, till the first effort of these elegancies was exhibited in the chapel of his college, in a stile of which other specimens are not now uncommon. It was reserved for the taste, the genius, and the spirit of Dr. Bathurst to work the reformation; and in this respect he reminds us of a King of Athens, mentioned, I think, by Plutarch, who first placed the statues of the graces in an ancient temple of Minerva (31).

[*M*] *St. Mary's church.*] To this church, which still retained many marks of fanatic barbarism, he freely gave the sum of 300*l.* towards paving the choir, which was reduced to a heap of rubbish, with marble, and for erecting the organ, with its gallery, the seats and pews in the body of the church, together with the galleries on the west (32). He likewise asserted the right of the university to one copy of every book from the company of Stationers at London (33); in which he was assisted by Dr. Wallis, the Custos Archivorum. He also asserted the privilege of the university in regard to granting wine licences (34).

[*N*] *Books undertaken or published by his encouragement.*] Besides some instances of this already mentioned, Wood acquaints us, that Dr. Bathurst procured him an admission into the tower of the schools, to the end he might advance his esurient genius in antiquities (35). He wrote a letter to Dr. Langbain, to encourage the publication of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (36). He promoted the design (though without success) of publishing Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* (37). He was a singular patron and promoter of Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire* (38). He was instrumental in advancing Dr. Derham to the Notice of Seth Ward, &c. (39), and in reclaiming S. Parker from the ridiculous severities of puritanism (40).

[*O*] *He had no connection with Hobbes.*] The verses before-

(25) Wood's English MS. Hist. and Antiq. of the Univerſity of Oxf. in Trin. college.

(26) Register of Trinity college. See also his article.

(27) Register of the college.

(28) Warton, from Mr. Payne of Wells.

(29) The building is intirely in the style of the parish church of All-saints in Oxford, designed by Dr. Aldrich, and esteemed a finished specimen of his knowledge and skill in architecture.

(30) Warton, p. 72.

(31) *Id.* p. 87, 88.

(32) See a poem on this subject, intituled, Templum Academicum instauratum. Mus. Angl. Vol. iii. Oxon. 1717. p. 159. & *ibid.* p. 161.

(33) See his speeches at his entrance upon his discharge from the vice-chancellorship, in his literary remains, ubi supra.

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) Wood's diar. ut supra, sub anno 1660, p. 532.

(36) Preface to Tanner's Notitia monastica, 1st edit.

(37) Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia.

(38) Oxfordshire, p. 131. edit. 1755. Staffordshire, p. 380.

(39) Biog. Brit. art. Derham.

(40) *Ib.* art. Parker.

or illuſtration of his pernicious doctrine. Several paſſages of his life, mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, ſhew this charge to be a groundleſs calumny; and in the preamble to his will, he formally declares himſelf a true and dutiful ſon of the Church of England, and deſires to live and die in an obedience to that religion, which is ſo happily by law eſtabliſhed. And the ſincere and laſting intimacies he maintained with Skinner, Fell, South, Alleſtree, Aldrich, and ſeveral others, are alone an obvious and unanſwerable refutation of this unfavourable imputation. At length our author, having conſtantly enjoyed a perfect ſtate of health, and being unviſited at the laſt with the ſevere diſeaſes of old age, died in his eighty-fourth year, June 14, 1704. He had been blind for ſome time; and his death was occaſioned by the accident of breaking his thigh, while he was walking in the garden, which, on the failure of his eyes, became his favourite and only amuſement. Under this malady he languiſhed for ſeveral days in acute agonies. It is ſaid that at firſt, and for ſome time, he refuſed to ſubmit to the operations of the ſurgeon, declaring in his tortures, that there was no marrow in the bones of an old man. He had loſt his memory a year or two before his death. He was interred on the ſouth ſide of the anti-chapel of Trinity college chapel without the leaſt appearance of pomp and extravagance, according to his own appointment. He left legacies, in his will to his friends, ſervants, and the college, to the amount of near 1000 l. [*P*]. As to his character, it is obſerved that his temperance in eating and drinking, particularly the latter, was ſingular and exemplary. Amidſt his love of the polite arts, he had a ſtrong averſion to muſic, and diſcountenanced and deſpiſed the ſtudy of all external accompliſhments, as incompatible with the academical character. His behaviour in general was inoffenſive and obliging. The caſt of his converſation was rather ſatirical, but mixed with mirth and pleaſantry. He was remarkably fond of young company, and indefatigable in his encouragement of a riſing genius [*Q*]. John Philips was one of his chief favourites, whoſe *Splendid Shilling* was a piece of ſolemn ridicule, perfectly ſuited to his taſte, and which gave him infinite pleaſure. Old men are apt to fall into peculiar capricious humours [*R*]: he

before-mentioned, upon Mr. Hobbes's *Human Nature*, were written, ſays Mr. Wood, in Athen. vol. ii. p. 20. at the deſire of one Bowman, a ſtationer of Oxon, *as I have heard the Doctor ſay*. The Doctor had then no acquaintance with Hobbes. I have, ſays Mr. Warton, before me, a letter of Bathurſt to Hobbes, dated May 27, 1651, by which it appears that Hobbes ſent him two copies of his *Leviathan*, in acknowledgment for the Iambics. Among other things, he tells Hobbes—I hope your learned book of optics, and that other *De corpore*, if it be yet finiſhed, may no longer lie concealed, eſpecially ſince now the beſt wits, as well here as in other countries, are ſo greedy to liſten after works of that nature, and to vindicate themſelves from the chimerical doctrines of the ſchools; under which (to the bane of true knowledge), they have for theſe many hundred years ſo miſerably laboured. And thus much I am the rather bold to ſuggeſt to you, becauſe, if by your other works already publiſhed, you have gained ſo high an eſteem, how much more ſhall thoſe be received with honour, in whoſe argument no man's Diana will be brought into queſtion (41)? In behalf of Dr. Bathurſt it is obſerved, that the orthodox clergy of thoſe times judged more favourably of this and the preceding work of Hobbes, than we do at preſent. At the publication of this piece, they perceived the aim of Hobbes's philoſophy as perfectly as they ever could, yet they did not apprehend that its principles tended to impiety, which Hobbes always profeſſedly diſavowed. His books, they conceived, inculcated the doctrine of ſubjecting the eccleſiaſtical to the civil power, in point of order and diſcipline; that religion ſhould diſpoſe men to mutual love, and not be proſtituted to the purpoſes of ſedition, as it had been for many years paſt. This doctrine, while the ſectaries continued triumphant, and could alone be affected by it, was thought innocent enough, and its author a very wiſe man (42).

(41) Warton, p. 49 in a note.

(42) *Id.* p. 51, 52. Alſo Hobbes's article in this work, Vol. iv. remark [*E*].

[*P*] *His legacies*, &c. *amounted to* 1000 *l.*] It is not known what was the Doctor's eſtate, beſides his preferments. The following extract from Mr. Thoreſby's *Ducat. Leod.* may throw ſome light on this particular. After a pedigree of the Bathurſt's family, I ſhall here, ſays that author, add a note I find at the end of the manuſcript (43), whence I extracted this pedigree; that John the Alderman, Sir Edward the Baronet, Sir Edward the Knight, Moſes, Benjamin, *Dean* RALPH, Theodore and Charles, had an eſtate of 9000 l. per annum, and each their coaches at the ſame time (44).

(43) A parchment penes Ch. Bathurſt, Eſq;

(44) Thoreſby, p. 14.

[*Q*] *He was fond of young company.*] The late Earl Bathurſt, who was entered in Trinity college at fifteen, when his uncle the Doctor was upwards of eighty, remembered that he had been often charmed with his converſation; that no man ever poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of chearful, engaging, and unaffected wit; that although he maintained the moſt exact diſcipline in his college, his method of correction chiefly conſiſted in turning the faults of the delinquent ſcholars into ridicule, in which expedient he always effectually ſucceeded; and that all the young ſtudents admired and loved him (45).

(45) *Id.* from the information of Lord Bathurſt, p. 199, 200.

[*R*] *Old men are apt to fall into capricious humours*, &c.] The inſtance given above of this caprice had its uſe. But there is another inſtance aſcribed to his zeal for his college, and imputed to the dotage of old age, as the beſt apologies for the caprice. Baliol college had ſuffered ſo much in the outrages of the grand rebellion, that it remained for the moſt part in a ſtate of deſolation for ſome years after King Charles's return. Dr. Bathurſt was perhaps ſecretly pleaſed to ſee a neighbouring and once a rival ſociety reduced to this condition, while his own flouriſhed beyond all others. One afternoon he was found in his garden, which then ran almoſt contiguous to the eaſt ſide of Baliol college, throwing ſtones at the windows with much ſatisfaction, as if happy to contribute his ſhare in completing the appearance of its ruin (46).

(46) Warton, p. 203.

[Though Dr. Bathurſt and Mr. Anthony Wood ſeem, in general, to have been upon good terms, and Wood hath ſeveral times ſpoken of the Doctor with reſpect, yet at other times he uſes a different language. In one place, he ſays, 'Upon the deſire of 'Dr. Bathurſt, Preſident of Trinity College, A. W. 'did communicate to him part of the hiſtory and 'antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxon; but he be-'ing a *moſt falſe perſon*, did ſhew ſeveral parts of it 'to other perſons, particularly to Anth. Etterick, 'ſometime a Commoner of Trin. Coll. who acci-'dentally came to give him a viſit, who finding 'a paſſage therein, which reflected, as he thought, 'on the credit of Dr. John Bidgood, a phyſician of 'the city of Exeter, he did forthwith acquaint him 'by letters. *Et hinc Lachrymæ, &c.* Several com-'plaining letters he ſent to Dr. Bathurſt, to have that 'paſſage expurged (expunged), wherein the author 'was very ſlightly mentioned, &c. See *Ath. et Faſti 'Oxon.* Vol. ii. p. 806. He the ſaid Dr. Bathurſt 'did alſo ſhew to Dr. John Wallis the Memoire 'of his Election to the Cuſtodie of the Archives, 'under

he delighted to ſurprize the ſcholars, when walking in the grove at unſeaſonable hours; on which occaſions he frequently carried a whip in his hand, an inſtrument of academical correction, then not entirely laid aſide. But this he practiſed, on account of the pleaſure he took in giving ſo odd an alarm, rather than from any principle of approving, or intention of applying an illiberal puniſhment (*cc*). His writings, under the title of literary remains, &c. are annexed to the account of his life, by Mr. Warton, who has given a characteriſtic account of them, well worthy the peruſal of all who have any curioſity in ſuch matters. We ſhall only here take notice, that he chiefly excelled in Latin poetry: Ovid was

(*cc*) Warton, p. 202.

' under the year 1657, as Dr. Wallis did afterwards ' intimate to the author; but when the hiſtory or annals of the ſaid univerſity were printed, that memoire was omitted, becauſe the annals reached no farther than the latter end of 1648. When the author alſo communicated to the ſaid Dr. Bathurſt his ſecond book of the ſaid hiſtoire, he daſhed out many things relating to Trin. Coll. and ſomething of the epitaph of Dr. Rob. Harris there: which epitaph Dr. Bathurſt had made, but afterwards was aſhamed of it (47).' As to Mr. Wood's calling Dr. Bathurſt a *moſt falſe perſon*, few friends of the Doctor, as Mr. Warton juſtly obſerves, who are acquainted with Wood's manner, will be offended at this expreſſion (48). Dr. Robert Harris had been appointed Preſident of Trinity College by the parliamentary party, when Dr. Hannibal Potter was ejected from his Headſhip. In Dr. Harris's epitaph, Dr. Bathurſt had ſtiled him *Præſes æternum celebrandus*, which are the words ſaid to have been ſtruck out (49). In another place, Mr. Wood writes thus: ' James ' of Ch. Ch. made his logic ſpeech at the ſchools, ' and reflected on Dr. Bathurſt late Vice-Chancellor, ' for his former carriage in this office. Dr. Bathurſt ' is no great friend to the Maſters, and hath ſaid it ' often, that many of them deſerved to be put out ' of the houſe (50).' What ground there was for this laſt aſſertion, we are not able to ſay: but it is certain, from Dr. Bathurſt's ſpeech, when he quitted the Vice-Chancellorſhip, that there were ſome perſons who had, though we believe very unjuſtly, impugned his conduct (51). Anthony Wood, who appears to have been no admirer of women in general, expreſſes himſelf in his uſual ſplenetic manner concerning Mrs. Bathurſt. ' Dr. Bathurſt took his ' place of Vice-Chancellor, a man of good parts, ' and able to do good things, but he has a wife ' that ſcorns that he ſhould be in print; a ſcornful ' woman ſcorns that he was Dean of Wells: no ' need of marrying ſuch a woman, who is ſo conceited, that ſhe thinks herſelf fit to govern a college or univerſity (52).' No judicious reader will hence be induced to form an opinion to the lady's prejudice. Dr. Bathurſt himſelf gave the following character of her, in the epitaph which he wrote to her memory: ' Beſides the graceful comelineſs of her ' perſon, ſhe was endowed with all the accompliſhments of education, fit for her ſex and quality. ' Her prudence, piety, and other virtues, were very ' exemplary; and ſo ſtudious was ſhe in her younger ' time, till the cares of her eſtate and family tooke ' her off, that ſhe underſtood moſt of the chiefe languages, both ancient and moderne, beſides other ' parts of learning, without the leaſt vanity or oſtentation (53).'

(47) Life of Anthony Wood, p. 228. 230.

(48) Warton, ubi ſupra, p. 145. Note.

(49) Life of Anthony Wood, p. 230. Note.

(50) *Ibid.* p. 271.

(51) Bathurſt's Remains, p. 83.

(52) Wood, ubi ſupra, p. 257.

(53) Life of Bathurſt, ubi ſupra, p. 215, 216.

Among the letters written by Dr. Bathurſt, to promote the deſign of carrying on the improvements of his college, there is one which ſo agreeably diſplays the union of vivacity and benevolence in his character, that we cannot withhold it from our readers. It was in return to one from a lady of quality, who, having been applied to for a benefaction, pleaded the gout in her right hand, and the payment of ſeveral thouſand pounds to her five grand-children.

' MADAM,

' I had ſooner returned my thanks for the honour ' of your ladyſhip's letter, had not the carrier's times ' been miſtaken by my ſervant. I am ſorry to underſtand by it, that your ladyſhip has been ſo ſeverely handled by that malady, which is uſually accounted the companion of the *rich*; and that my ' letter ſhould have the ill fortune to come when it ' was in your *right* hand, which the ſcripture makes ' to be the *giving* hand. But ſince I find it ſo well ' recovered as to *write* with its wonted accurateneſs, ' I hope it will alſo e'er long be able to *extend* itſelfe ' toward the promoting of that pious worke, which ' now humbly craves your aſſiſtance. The many ' thouſands your ladyſhip is pleaſed to mention yourſelfe engaged in, do but ſharpen our appetites, and ' encreaſe our hopes, that, though the feaſt goes ' another way, yet a ſmall crumb may poſſibly fall ' from ſo plentifull a table. Five or ten pounds will ' not be miſſed amongſt ſuch great ſums; and yet ' will make a welcome addition to our ſlender ſtock. ' Beſides the honour that will accrue to us, when ' preſent and future times ſhall find ſo worthy a name ' recorded among our benefactors.

' Whatever be the event, yet your ladyſhip's undeſerved favours to myſelfe, and affectionate inclinations expreſſed toward the worke we are now ' about, ſhall ever, with the utmoſt reſpect and gratitude, be acknowledged by,

' Hon. Madam,

' Your ladyſhip's moſt humble, &c.

' Oxon, Trin. Coll. R. BATHURST.

' March 17, 1693-4 (54).'

Dr. Bathurſt, in his poem on Hobbes's Treatiſe on the Nature of Man, hath carried his encomium upon that philoſopher very far. He repreſents him as capable of Prometheus's bold exploit, and aſks what God had inſpired him with a divine light, and enabled him to penetrate into things, which for ages had been entirely concealed. He deſcribes his mind as equal to the comprehenſion of every mind, while none could conceive the extent of Mr. Hobbes's; and ſays, that he enjoyed the ſingular praiſe of doing the next thing to creating a ſoul, the ſhewing what it is.

(54) *Ibid.* p. 76, 77.

' Conſultor audax, et Promethëi potens
' Facinoris, anime! quis tibi dedit Deus
' Hæc intueri Sæculis longè abdita,
' Oculoſque luce tinxit ambroſiâ tuos?
' Tu mentis omnis, at tuæ nulla eſt capax.
' Hâc laude ſolus fruere: divinum eſt opus
' Animam creare; proximum huic, oſtendere (55).'

(55) Bathurſt's Literary Remains, p. 256.

To what hath been ſaid in the note [O], it may be added, that Hobbes, notwithſtanding his erroneous and dangerous principles, diſplayed great ſagacity in many of his obſervations. He contributed to emancipate the learned from the ſhackles of the ſchool philoſophy, and to introduce a bold and liberal method of enquiry into the nature and operations of the human mind. By this means, however great the miſtakes might be into which he fell, he threw out uſeful hints, which were afterwards improved upon by more ſober philoſophers. Neither is it ſurpriſing, that ſome ſhould be ſo far dazzled with the ſplendor of his firſt apprehended diſcoveries, as not to be able immediately to perceive the full tendency of his opinions. His real excellencies and defects will be the ſubject of future conſideration.

Dr. Bathurſt's productions, though they have great merit in their particular way, and may be read with much pleaſure, are not written in ſuch a taſte as entitles them to imitation. This is acknowledged by Mr. Warton. ' His Latin orations, ſays that ingenious ' Biographer, are wonderful ſpecimens of wit and ' antitheſis, which were the delight of his age. ' They want upon the whole the purity and ſimplicity of Tully's eloquence, but even exceed ' the ſententious ſmartneſs of Seneca, and the ſurpriſing turns of Pliny. They are perpetually ſpirited, and diſcover an uncommon quickneſs of ' thought. His manner is conciſe and abrupt, but ' yet perſpicuous and eaſy. His alluſions are delicate, and his obſervations ſenſible and animated. ' His ſentiments of congratulation or indignation are ' equally forcible: his compliments are moſt ele-

' gantly

was the principal pattern, and his favourite claſſic. One of his pupils having aſked him what book among all others he choſe to recommend? he anſwered, *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*. The pupil, in conſequence of this advice, having carefully peruſed the Metamorphoſes, deſired to be informed what other proper book it would be moſt neceſſary for him to read after Ovid; upon which Dr. Bathurſt adviſed him to read Ovid's Metamorphoſes a ſecond time. He had ſo mean an opinion of his performances in divinity, that in his will he enjoins his executors, in a more particular manner, entirely to ſuppreſs all his papers relating to that ſubject, and not even to permit them ſo much as to be peruſed by any, excepting by a very few ſuch friends as were likely to read them with candour (*dd*). We are told, however, that on Sunday, March 20, 1680, he preached before the houſe of Commons at St. Mary's, the univerſity church, and gave great content (*ee*).

(*ee*) Of the King's coming to Oxford. MSS. Wood's diary, qu. in Muſ. Aſhmol.

(*dd*) Mr. Warton, p. 220, & ſeq. has given ſome ſpeciment which ſhew them to be much in the manner of Dr. South, but with more elegance of alluſion and quickneſs of imagination.

'gantly turned, and his ſatire is moſt ingeniouſly ſe-
'vere. Theſe compoſitions are extremely agreea-
'ble to read, but in the preſent improvement of
'claſſical taſte, not ſo proper to be imitated. They
'are moreover entertaining, as a picture of the times,
'and a hiſtory of the ſtate of academical literature.
'This ſmartneſs does not deſert our author even on
'philoſophical ſubjects (56).' Among Dr. Bathurſt's Oratiunculæ, his addreſs to the convocation, about forming the barbers of Oxford into a company, is a moſt admirable ſpecimen of his humour, and of that facetious invention, with which few Vice-Chancellors would have ventured to enforce and enliven ſuch a ſubject (57). With regard to the Doctor's Latin poetry, though his hexameters have an admirable facility, an harmonious verſification, much terſeneſs and happineſs of expreſſion, and a certain original air, they will be thought, nevertheleſs, too pointed and ingenious by the lovers of Virgil's ſimple beauties. The two poems which he hath left in iambics (58) make it to be wiſhed that he had written more in that meaſure. 'That pregnant brevity,
'ſays Mr. Warton, which conſtitutes the dignity
'and energy of the iambic, ſeems to have been his
'talent (59).' Dr. Bathurſt's Engliſh poetry has that roughneſs of verſification which was, in a great degree, the fault of the times. How manly and beautiful his conceptions were, will appear from the following compariſon, in the lines upon the death of Mr. Selden.

'We aſk not now for anceſtors, nor care
'Though Selden do no kindred boaſt, nor heir;
'Such worth beſt ſtands alone, and joyes to be
'To't-ſelf both founder and poſteritye.
'As when old Nilus, who with bounteous flowes
'Waters an hundred nations as he goes,
'Scattering rich harveſts, keeps his ſacred head
'Amidſt the clouds ſtill undiſcovered (60).'

(60) *Ibid* Remains, p. 291.

Though Dr. Bathurſt was truly reſpectable as an author, he doth not appear to have had any great ambition of ſhining in that light. The pieces written by him were moſt of them drawn from him by particular occaſions and circumſtances. He chiefly contented himſelf with having a large ſtore of learning in his own mind, and with being a zealous encourager of literary purſuits and undertakings. His prime glory undoubtedly ariſes from his admirable government of his college, from the reputation to which he raiſed it, from the active benevolence of his temper, and from his noble benefactions. He had, beſides, a vivacity and chearfulneſs of manners, with a turn of humour in his character, which have rendered his memory peculiarly agreeable. This we have obſerved to be the caſe with Dr. Aldrich, and a few others; who have hence left ſuch a pleaſing remembrance behind them as hath not been attained by learned men, of equal general merit, who happened to have received a more ſevere and ſolemn caſt of diſpoſition.] K.

(56) Life, ubi ſupra, p. 216, 217.

(57) *Ibid.* p. 218. Remains, ubi ſupra, p. 98. 10.

(58) The Verſes to Hobbes, and thoſe on the peace with Holland, in 1654. Vide Remains, p. 255. 259.

(59) Life p. 225, 226.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

CMC
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